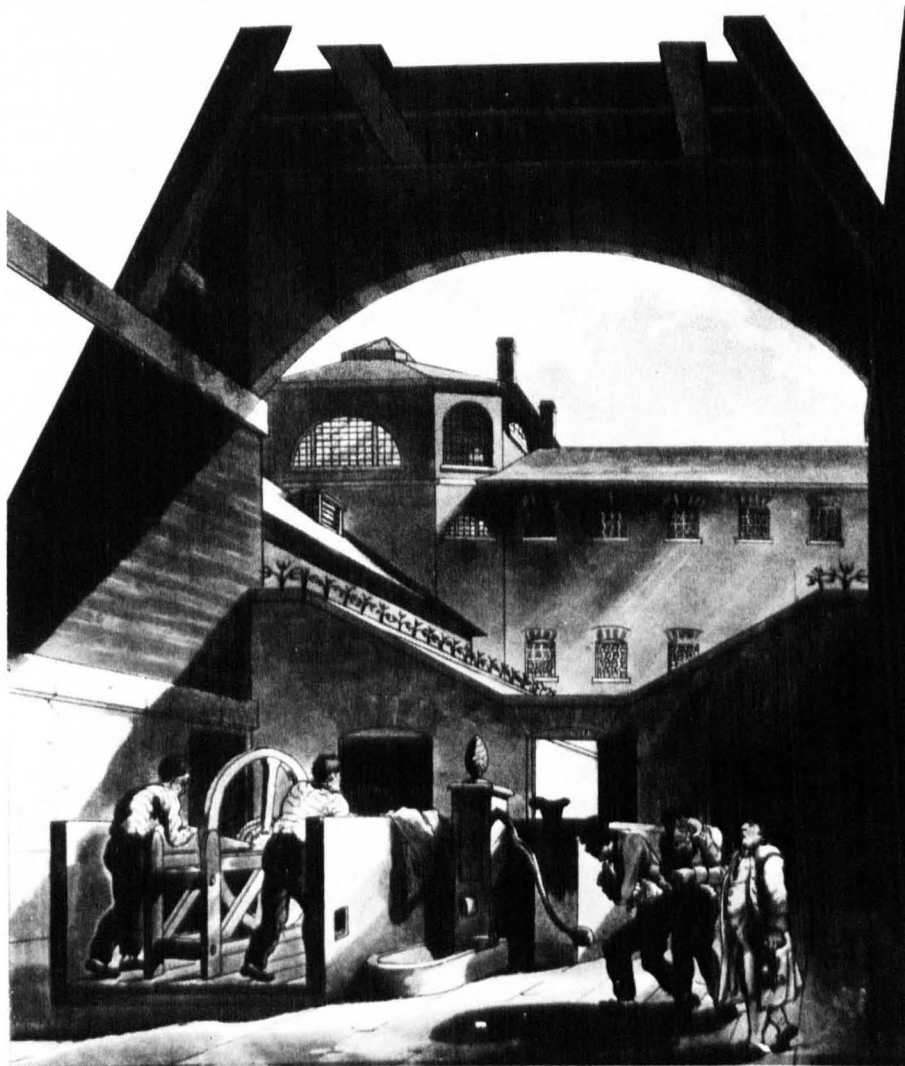


PRISON SERVICE

JOURNAL



WATER ENGINE
The Cold Bath at
Field's Prison



PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

No. 30 New Series April 1978

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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

The Bristol Group of the Radical Alternatives to Prison have produced their annual statistics showing the rates of imprisonment in Magistrates' Courts in 1976. They have given their "Ball and Chain Award" to the Dorset magistrates for imprisoning 13.43 per cent of convicted male offenders over the age of 21, the national average being 7.37 per cent. At the same time they urge the Lord Chancellor to withdraw the Queen's Warrant from "rogue" benches like Dorset. As an alternative they suggest that the power to imprison should be entirely removed from magistrates. Finally if the Chancellor fails to do this then he is urged to step down and make way for another.

No doubt this is all good clean fun and R.A.P. having made its point will fall back into obscurity until this time next year. However, they raise one other point which cannot be ignored and that is that the national average rate of imprisonment in magistrates' courts, which fell every year from 1963 to 1974, has gone up in each of the last two years. Projecting this trend into the future will give the doom mongers plenty to enjoy. At present the pressure of population in prisons, borstals and detention centres prevents the Prison Service from doing little other than carrying out a policy of humane containment. If the population continues to rise at a modest two per cent each year then even that policy will become impossible.

Alternatives to imprisonment are many and are used to a great extent by the courts. Anyone sent to prison now has usually tried all other methods of treatment not once but many times. It is accepted that prison does not deter or reform large numbers of its population but it does provide the community with a brief respite from the activities of the anti-social and criminal elements within it.

The weakness of R.A.P.'s case is that it cannot show how other forms of treatment would achieve the desired aim of keeping offenders out of the courts. Those who recently watched B.B.C. TV's "Panorama" programme on alternatives to prison will doubtless have been impressed by the activities of day training centres and community service. They also cannot fail to have been depressed by the almost universal pessimism expressed both by the offenders and their supervisors when questioned about the *success* of such activities.

It is not the purpose of this editorial to "knock" other methods of treatment; for many lightly convicted offenders the use of a fine or a probation order is sufficient but it is the *habitual* offender with whom we should be concerned. The Prison Service would be the first to cheer if a solution to this problem could be found which did not include the use of imprisonment. However, until that happy day society should accept that it needs a Prison Service and should provide it with the necessary resources to do its job.

The Use of Imprisonment in Manchester 1550-1650



by Martin Baggoley

Manchester had no prison until the second half of the sixteenth century. Prisoners were committed to the County gaol at Lancaster, and as this was an age of swift retributive punishments, the numbers of those committed were not necessarily so great. However, during the latter part of that century, prisons became a feature of the town's life, and the period until 1650 provides an interesting picture of the various religious, economic and social factors which influenced the contemporary penal philosophy. The growing use of prisons in Manchester also reflected the national trends, and this period is of particular importance in studying the origins of the modern penal system.

THE DUNGEON

During the Reformation, a small Catholic Chapel on Salford Bridge, which spanned the River Irwell, and linked the towns of Manchester and Salford, fell into disuse. It was quickly realized that the Chapel could be used effectively as a prison, and by the mid-sixteenth century was in regular use as such, and was known as the "Dungeon". The Manchester Court Leet had overall responsibility for the Dungeon, whilst the day to day maintenance was that of the local constable. It consisted of one upper chamber, from which a ladder led down into what was known as the "Lower Dungeon", beneath the water level of the Irwell. There appears to have been no furnishing, and only straw was provided for prisoners' comforts. It was in constant use, and there was a continuing requirement for new equipment, which with the normal outlay of 2d. per meal for inmates, came from the town's coffers, examples of which are:

Itm pd for Ironne for to bee a barr for one of the Dungeonne Windowes and for setting of yt in the last of December 1612... 3s. 4d.

Itm paide for a Locke for ye Dungeon... 4d.

No guard was provided, and local historians have tended to dismiss the Dungeon as a mere "lock-up" for containing vagrants and beggars, until they were otherwise dealt with. It was undoubtedly used for this purpose, and also for holding strangers, until sureties could be found for them:

Itm pd for whippinge of Willm Hill and Margaret his wiffe... (and others)... and keepinge of them 2 days in the Dongeon... 2s. 6d.

Itm pd keepinge of Knowles and William Barlow 4 days in the dungeon for want of Suertyes... 1s. 6d.

paid for makeinge of a passe for Jone Buckingham ... and another passe (for) Gregorye Partington... and Grace Hanmer, sent into Salford whoe had beene all three in the Dungeon 5 days and indyted and convicted at the Sessions and brand one (on) the left shoulder as Incorrageable Rogues and soe sent away... 1s. 0d.

However, despite this function as a lock-up, the Court Leet made full use of the Dungeon as a prison. It is questionable that the Court Leet had the legal right to do so, but nevertheless, they did. For instance, the first two orders against drunkenness in Manchester, made at the Court Leet on 30th September 1573, sanctioned imprisonment in the Dungeon as punishment:

What pson soever shalbe founde dronken in any Alehouse within the Towne or els sene abroade in the strets shall therefore be punyshed all night in the Dongeon And moreover pay psently when they be released 6d. to the Constables to be geven to the poore...

and also:

If the Alehowse keeper eyther man or woman be sene dronken in their owne houses or elsewhere Then he or shee... shalbe punyshed by ymprisonment on(e) nyght And from thence further be Dyscharged from Alehouse kepinge.

Further evidence of the Dungeon being more than just a lock-up, but of being a place of imprisonment as a punishment in itself, is provided in an order concerning the game of "giddy gaddy". This was a dangerous game which entailed placing a stick, sharpened at both ends, on the ground, striking it so that it rose into the air, striking it with another piece of wood as it did so, with



the object of driving it as far a distance as possible. Not surprisingly, local inhabitants complained, and on 23rd April 1579, the Court Leet ordered:

... that no miner pson shall playe at the same game being above the age of 12 years upon payne of everye pson so playenge to be imprisoned in the donegon for the space of 2 howres...

On 4th April 1583, it was necessary for this to be amended to include children above the age of seven years, and also the following significant addition, which meant it was possible for the children's parents to be imprisoned:

... evry pson so playenge to be ymprisoned in the Donegon for the space of 2 hours or ells evrye pson so offendinge to pay 6d. for evrye tyme And yf have not to paye then the parents or masters of suche psons so offendinge to paye the said 6d. or to suffer the lyke ymprisonment.

Despite the brevity of the sentences, and the fact that it was used for local inhabitants, who could possibly be better described as nuisances rather than criminals, it does indicate a growing awareness of the use of prison as a punishment, and the Dungeon continued to be used for this purpose until the eighteenth century.

NEW FLEET PRISON

In 1581 a quite special type of prison was established in Manchester, as the town was chosen to be the site of what became known as The New Fleet Prison. This was to contain the recusant prisoners, who were those Catholics who refused obedience to the new religious order of the day. As with other recusant prisons, it was not intended to serve as local or County gaol, but was to serve a particular diocese, and thus the New Fleet contained Catholics from many parts of Lancashire and Cheshire.

In December 1581 it was decided to transfer the recusant prisoners from Chester Castle to Manchester, and a Privy Council letter dated 7th December 1581 stated: "at such times as we made choyce of Manchester for the bestowinge of the recusants of that diocese, we considered that the place was more fitt and convenient for that purpose than the castle of Chester". By January 1582, the prisoners had left Chester for the New Fleet, as Manchester's inhabitants were considered "to be generally well affected in religion" and considering the possibility of escapes, Chester Castle was thought to be "stood too

near unto the sea coast". Another important consideration was that it was thought to be a more economical choice, "one keeper, one diet, one chaplain, and one guard would suffice". The cost of food for the poorer prisoners and the preacher's salary were to be raised from recusant fines from within the diocese, but this proved to be rather difficult to achieve.

Robert Worsley was appointed Keeper of the New Fleet, and in common with other sixteenth century prison officials, he received no salary but made his living from a variety of fees, the payment of which by inmates made prison life a little less uncomfortable. Thus, richer prisoners could enjoy better food and perhaps private quarters. Additionally, after paying fees, prisoner William Hough was allowed to return home temporarily, and another, Sir John Southworth was allowed to take walks outside the prison, in Alport Park and College Gardens.

However, not all Worsley's prisoners could afford to pay such fees, and their upkeep caused him some financial difficulties. A Statute of 1572 authorized local Magistrates to levy 8d. weekly on parishes to provide food for poor prisoners. However, when this was attempted for the New Fleet prisoners, there were discontented murmurings from local citizens. In 1582 Worsley advised the Privy Council that his food bill was £252. The council was sympathetic but gave little practicable assistance. Their promise that he would begin to receive a part of the recusant fines was of little help due to the practical difficulties in getting these paid by those fined. Advice to release the poorest and least offensive recusants produced little benefit for Worsley, as it made little impact on his total financial commitment. In an effort to get the parish levy, Worsley offered to establish a House of Correction in Manchester, if he was given one year's payment of the rate. This offer was made in 1582, and was turned down, and finally, in 1586, after only five years' existence, the New Fleet closed. Some prisoners had died in the New Fleet, and the remainder were either released on bond or transferred to other prisons. These other recusant prisons continued to exist until tolerance of others' religious beliefs made them just a part of history.

HUNT'S BANK HOUSE OF CORRECTION

Perhaps the most significant development in penal thought during this period centred on the massive building programme of Houses of Correction, throughout the country. As early as 1553, Edward VI gave Bridewell Palace to be a workhouse for London's paupers. This was an indication of the changing attitudes towards the masses of vagrants and beggars, who hitherto had been treated with the utmost brutality, as punishment. During the sixteenth century, the belief grew that the State, rather than the Church, should have the responsibility of eradicating pauperism. Bridewell developed from this belief, and an important principle of the institution was the idea of relief for the poor in return for work. The Poor Law of 1572 empowered Counties to establish Houses of Correction, based on the Bridewell model. Not all did so, until it was made compulsory at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In 1582, Robert Worsley had offered to "erect a permanent Correction-House to receive and set-a-work such rogues, vagabonds and idle persons as might be found in the shire". However, it was not to be until 1616 that the Manchester House of Correction was opened at Hunt's Bank. The constable's accounts of

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RELEASE COURSES:

A NEW VENTURE FOR PRISON OFFICERS

Philip Priestley describes an experiment which has been run at Ranby and Ashwell prisons for the past two years



APART from a few lifers, all men in prison are eventually released. For almost all of them it is a time of stress and re-adjustment to work, to family relationships, and to all the pressures which contributed to the commission of previous offences.

For the past two years, specially trained prison officers at Ranby and Ashwell prisons have been helping selected men to prepare themselves for the shock of release. More than 200 men, in groups of twelve, have taken part in full-time, experimental Release Courses lasting from one week to eight weeks.

The courses were designed to help men look closely at themselves and their problems and to acquire the skills they need to cope better with them. They contain a mixture of activities: pencil and paper assessment methods; group discussion; social skills training; personal counselling; lectures, visits and projects. They cover all the major problem areas faced by men after release; work, family, money, rights, accommodation, etc.

Three kinds of results have been obtained from the experiment: an extension of the role of the prison officer; changes in the attitudes and performance of men leaving prison; and the production of course materials with wide applicability in the prison system and elsewhere.

Release Courses: are they really necessary?

When a man commits an offence against the laws laid down by society, the penalty in many instances will be imprisonment. The reasons for this penalty being invoked are mainly as punishment for transgressing the laws of the land, but also to remove a man from society because that society no longer feels disposed to having him at large.

Many people involved with the incarceration of prisoners, such as prison officers, probation staff, psychologists, teachers, and others, have suggested a number of reasons for people committing crimes. Much of this knowledge is obtained from observation and from psychological theory, and although it is highly professional and learned, is seldom communicated to the prisoner in order that he may become aware of the reasons for his criminality. And even when it is, his reaction is usually one of resentment at the violation of what he sees as his private motivation.

And so the prisoner serves his time! He may, depending on the establishment to which he is allocated, receive little more from prison than a dry bed and three meals a day. Conversely, he may be fortunate enough to acquire new skills which will help prepare him for his eventual return to society; ranging from an ability to lay bricks to a degree from the Open University. But hardly ever will he be encouraged to examine himself in such a way that he will develop a personal insight into his own strengths, weaknesses and limitations. Even if this insight were given it would be difficult to imagine this new awareness having much relevance to the individual without some form of additional and external guidance. Release Courses for prisoners nearing the ends of their sentences seem able to provide this guidance.

If the claims of the people with practical experience of these courses are to be believed, both prisoners and officers, then perhaps the Prison Service can at

last begin to combat the lethargic, unfeeling, dehumanizing process that is the regime for many prisoners in many of our prisons today.

An Action-Research Project

The design of the project, the initial training of the officers and the monitoring of results is the work of researchers attached to the Department of Psychology at University College, London, and employed on a three year project funded by the Home Office Research Unit.

The primary objectives of the research, as commissioned by the Home Office are:

1. To develop, test and evaluate a training package which will equip selected offenders with skills relevant to keeping them out of trouble. These will include work, survival and social skills.

2. To develop training materials and training courses for instructors so that the package can be administered by personnel normally available in the prison setting.

The intention was, in other words, to devise Release Course materials which will help men after they have left prison; and to train prison officers to administer the materials effectively.

Pilot work for the project took place at H.M.P. Cardiff in the autumn of 1975 and was followed by the first training course for nine officers from Ranby and Ashwell, which lasted for six weeks. Because of promotions and transfers, an additional staff training course was needed in 1976.

Descriptive material has been collected on all the prisoners who have completed courses at both prisons, together with test results, evaluations, and reports of progress after release. A C.R.O. check is also being made on course members and a sample of non-course members to see whether the courses have made any impact on re-conviction rates. A final report on the project will be delivered to the Home Office in 1978, together with a staff training manual, and a manual of Release Course materials.

Training the Officers

The design of the courses necessitates that the instructor's role is extremely demanding. He must have skills in the following areas:

Interviewing
Counselling
Assessment/Testing
Group Leading
Vocational Guidance
"Social Skills" Training
Programme Writing
Course Management

These skills were taught and practised with inmates in Leicester and Nottingham prisons, in a way which was as near to reality as possible. The emphasis throughout was on activity rather than abstract theory. The basic model followed in both officer training courses was of two weeks classroom work leading to a four day placement. Officers enjoyed the courses and claimed to have learned a lot during them. But the acid test of the training lies in the results they have achieved with men on Release Courses. And they speak for themselves.

Release Problems: A Survey

More than 200 serving prisoners have completed a survey sheet which asks them to nominate the most important problems they must tackle when they are released. A preliminary analysis of the results produced the following results:

Problem	Proportion of prisoners for whom this is their most important problem (%)
Work	81
Family	53
Accommodation	42
Money	34
Rights	25
People	19
Settling in; drink; police; stigma; re-offending; sex; leisure; violence; drugs;	Less than 10%

The design of the Release Courses

When men leave prison, they are faced with an array of personal problems which they must solve or come to terms with in some way if they are to survive in the free world. Traditional efforts to prepare men for release have concentrated on making contacts with helping agencies outside. In this project the emphasis has been on creating opportunities for men to acquire "take-away" skills with which they can solve not only the immediate problems they face on release but any subsequent ones as well. This approach draws from the idea of "social skills training" which asserts that social behaviour can be analysed and learned in the same way as purely manual skills. It uses a variety of techniques: observing and analysing behaviour; setting behavioural objectives; role play; and rehearsal. It makes considerable use of closed-circuit television for recording and evaluating personal behaviour in a variety of situations.

These methods have been combined with others into the four stages of problem solving:

1. **Assessment:** pencil-and-paper methods; interviews; group discussion and observation used to gather information about personal problems and about the characteristics of the person with the problem;
2. **Settling objectives:** using this information to formulate objectives for behaviour which will lead to the solution of personal problems;
3. **Learning:** any activity whatsoever which assists the individual in his efforts to achieve his objectives, including direct teaching or information giving, games and simulations, role-play, group discussion, counselling, project work, speakers, films, visits, etc.
4. **Evaluation:** checking up on the results to see whether the personal objectives have been

met or, if not, why not.

Within each of these stages emphasis is placed on the acquisition of problem solving skills, seeking out information, self-presentation, working with other people, generating alternative solutions, planning and organizing, taking stock of results.

Activities from each of these four stages which relate to particular personal problem areas are then grouped together into "programmes" which are written down as session plans and are available to staff who are planning and putting into effect a Release Course. So far there are programmes on the following areas:

Job search
Accommodation search
Family
Interacting with others
Rights
Police
Violence
Drink
Test taking and form-filling
Money
Leisure
Telephone use
Contraception
Mental health

These programmes are not intended to be followed to the letter by the officers running Release Courses; they are simply guides and resources to be adapted to meet the needs of particular individuals and groups. A lot of this material has been developed by officers and tested and improved in use with course members.

Release Courses at Ranby

Release Courses started at Ranby in January 1976 after staff had completed a seven-week training course at Leicester, Rugby and Nottingham. The training course was itself an analogue of what the project planners expected the Release Courses to be like. The first course lasted for nine weeks. The stress of organizing and administering the course was tremendous but, after the third or fourth course, it was found that

staff coped fairly well.

Suddenly the Service as a whole was struck by "Budgetary Control"—an exercise in "good house-keeping" it was said. Effectively, course preparation time was limited to one week, and no overtime could be worked by officers in the Release Unit. Consequently, there was no time available for daily preparation or review of course content; and, because of the shift system, one officer had to man the Unit by himself on two days of the week. Directly linked to this, selection for courses suffered as there was not enough time to interview all the applicants. As a result quite a few course members started off as "dead wood"; but surprisingly even those who came along for a "skive" became interested in what was going on and, at the end of their courses, said that they had learned a lot.

Staffing the courses became a problem in the latter half of 1976 as officers left the Unit; one to become an instructor, one because the stress had become intolerable, and one because of ill health (nothing to do with the courses). It was eventually necessary to suspend the courses until two extra officers had been trained in November and December 1976.

Courses started again in January 1977 and, throughout the year, seven courses were completed, varying from one to six weeks in length. It was thought useful to try some short courses to see if there was any value in running pre-release exercises as short as one week. Opinion is divided on this issue but the general view of the staff is that one week is better than nothing.

Throughout this period, feedback was being received in the form of letters from former course members. And in December 1976 a number of them attended a one-day follow-up meeting in Nottingham and talked about how the course had helped, and how they could be improved in the

TIMETABLE FOR A COURSE AT RANBY

WEEK	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
1	General introduction. A first look at release problems.	Introduction to tests and form-filling. Role play.	Money problems checklist. First impressions; slides and discussion.	Questionnaires and Self-perception. Video-taping, self-presentation.	Film of ex-course member. Probation speaker. Weekly evaluation.
2	Reasons for working. How to find work. Film on decision making. Role-play.	Occupational Interests. Questionnaire. Signposts. I.Q. and personality tests (optional).	Introduction to leisure. Speaker from Sports Centre. Writing for jobs. Job interviews.	Role-play interviews. Play-back of video-tapes and discussion.	Film on small business management. Trade Unions. Weekly evaluation.
3	Interacting with the police. Film and discussion.	Problem solving. Cycle of deprivation. Results of I.Q. tests. "Driving test".	Handling money. Accommodation search.	Accommodation role-play. Speaker from Citizens' Advice Bureau.	Consumer rights. How to complain. Weekly evaluation.
4	Employment interview practice with personnel officer.	Alcoholics Anonymous checklist. Film: <i>Edna the Inebriate Woman</i> . Speaker from Alcoholics Anonymous.	Setting post-course objectives. Video-film on "Release". Violence programme.	Film: <i>60 seconds of Hate</i> . Speaker from Marriage Guidance Council. Discussion.	Video-tape evaluations. Course evaluations.

This is an example of a four-week programme from one prison. It is not a standard format and each team of Release Course officers prepares a new and different timetable.

future. Throughout the whole two-year period not one man has left a course at his own request and it has been necessary to remove only two who were disruptive.

Staff, as well as inmates, have gained a lot of satisfaction from these Release Courses and have a firm conviction that this type of work goes a long way towards fulfilling the ambitions of *The Role of the Modern Prison Officer* and should be extended to all penal establishments.

Release Courses at Ashwell

The first Release Course at Ashwell began on 9 February 1976 and lasted for eight weeks. The group comprised twelve inmates and two officers; and the course ran from Monday to Friday for eight hours a day. Selection of course members was made from about 20 volunteers who answered an advertisement placed around the prison.

Although the officers found this first-ever course a strain, it was decided to continue with another eight-week one, to see if it became any easier on staff. Then, when the second course was barely two weeks old, "Budgetary Control" was introduced and the Release Unit suffered along with everything else in the prison. In addition to the reduction in hours, three of the four officers trained to run the Unit were shortly to leave on promotion and transfer; and in June 1976 full Release Courses ceased at Ashwell, due to lack of trained staff. This situation continued until January 1977 when three newly trained officers returned to Ashwell. The third Release Course began.

Courses 3, 4 and 5 ran for six weeks to see what effects a change in length would have. This move proved advantageous. A further reduction to four weeks was tried on courses 6 and 7 and, whilst successful in the areas covered, it proved to be the minimum time required to meet the original course objectives. Course 8, which lasted for two weeks, confirmed this conclusion, for whilst it was undoubtedly of benefit to those who took part in it, it came nowhere near fulfilling the aims originally envisaged for Release Courses.

What do you think of the Course so far?

All the members of Release Courses were volunteers who have replied to advertisements placed around the prisons. To be considered, a man must normally have a discharge date which falls in the four weeks following the end of the next course. It has been found that between 25 and 50 per cent of those eligible actually apply for each course. This response rate holds good for both prisons despite the fact that many of the applicants realize they will be taking a drop in earnings amounting, in some cases, to 50 per cent if they are successful in obtaining a place on a Release Course.

It has become apparent, during the courses and afterwards, that the attitudes and behaviour of the course members can change notice-

ably; even to the extent that other staff, not involved in the courses, have commented favourably on it. These changes are sometimes brought about very quickly due to the nature of the staff-inmate relationship which is built up on the courses, and the desire of the course members to co-operate fully in this working relationship.

The interest created by the materials used on Release Courses is evident from the fact that men talk to fellow inmates, to their own families and even their probation officers about what they think they are achieving. And also from some of the things they have said about Release Courses in the written evaluations which are filled in at the end of each week. One man said, "It's the best thing that has happened in the Prison Service". And another said, "I have found I can cope; I'm not inadequate; and my confidence is restored". Comments like these have been made after every Release Course but critical comments have also been made, such as, "I disliked the inactivity on some days; but I liked the speakers".

Although the majority of men come on courses prior to discharge in order to help themselves, both prisons have had minor problems with the disruptive elements in their groups. It is interesting that these elements are almost always noticed and corrected by the groups themselves; occasionally the course officers have had to act. From the outset of the project, less than 2 per cent of all the course members have had to be removed for one reason or another.

One important question has been raised on each of the Release Courses during the experimental period: "Who are the best people to run Release Courses in prison?" And the answer from the men has been almost without exception that it should be Prison Officers rather than outside agencies such as Probation or Education Officers—an interesting point and one that should not be overlooked in any final assessment of the project.

Dave Brown: A "Hard Case"

Release Courses are intended to help men look at their own problems and do something constructive about them. The most typical problems are those to do with finding work or accommodation, managing money, or getting on with other people. This last category can range from shyness at one extreme to unrestrained violence at the other. Dave Brown (not his real name) is a self-confessed "hard man" with a string of twenty convictions for drunkenness, assaulting police, criminal damage, ABH, GBH, and a growing list of previous prison sentences, some of them lengthy. When he applied to join a Release Course the officers were apprehensive; his reputation inside the prison suggested that they and the other course members would be in for a rough ride. But because the next course was a short one they decided to take a chance.



Their fears were short-lived because, although Dave was a compulsive talker in group discussions, he was clearly participating in order to get something from the course; and, in particular, those parts of it drawn from the "Violence Programme". At the end of the course he wrote a two-page statement which he gave to the officers in charge of the course. In it he said:

"If a course of this kind had been set up on one of my earlier sentences I honestly believe in my own mind that I would not have the record I have today.

"Not only has it taught me a lot about myself, but it has taught me how to understand a lot about other people and their problems.

"I now understand my own problems and how to deal with them, and no way without this course could I have ever got anywhere near the help and advice I have received throughout the past two weeks".

Fine words, the cynic might say, forgotten the minute the gates close behind him. But Dave came to the Nottingham follow-up meeting, several weeks after his release, still expressing the same sentiments, and describing situations where he had consciously defused situations which he felt were leading to violence. There is no way of telling at the moment how long this effect will last, or whether what he got from the course will keep him out of trouble and out of prison, but there can be no doubt about the impact the experience has made on him.

But does it last?

Whatever men may say at the ends of courses whilst still in prison, the real test of the experiment comes when they are released. What happens then?

All course members are en-

couraged to keep in touch with their Release Unit officer after release and to let him know how they are getting on. Some men have continued to write back to officers for almost two years; many have written just after discharge to say that the course has helped them to get jobs, relate better to their families, control their drinking, stop gambling, feel more confident, make better and more considered decisions, and so on. And a number of Probation Officers have commented on the changes in men they have known for many years.

All course members have also been invited to follow-up meetings. The last of these took place during December 1977 and was attended by 27 ex-course members from all over the country, plus most of the Release Course officers, and researchers. The men who came represented practically every course completed at Ranby and Ashwell prisons during the project. They had different stories to tell; but mostly they were encouraging, and even after long periods of liberty men were still claiming that the courses had helped them to sort out their lives and stay out of prison.

But the men who turned up at the follow-up meeting were the successes. What about the failures? Until the C.R.O. check is completed, it is not possible to say with any accuracy whether Release Courses have any effect on the subsequent re-convictions of their graduates. However it is possible to make a rough check on whether discharged men have been in custody elsewhere because their files are requested by the receiving institution from the prison where the last sentence was served. In these terms, and it must be emphasized it is a very rough and ready measure, the results for the first five courses at Ranby look like this:

	Course Members	People who couldn't get on a Course	People who didn't want to join a Course
Total in group	59	34	110
Records called for (i.e. implies reconviction)	13	10	37
Percentage of "failures"	22%	29%	34%

The Officer's Role: an Inside View

It could be said, with some justification, that prison officers can be fairly reactionary in their attitudes to new methods for the treatment and training of inmates. With this in mind, would it be surprising to find a group of so-called "reactionaries" accepting with enthusiasm an entirely new and untried method of preparing men for their release from prison? After two years of Release Units based squarely on the concept of "Prison Rule Number One", the enthusiasm of the officers concerned has not diminished. The officer's role in the project has been one of total commitment to these concepts, and an involvement with inmates to a degree which hitherto had not been envisaged by serving prison officers. The roles taken on by the officer working on Release Courses have been those of teacher, counsellor, instructor, confidant and motivator. These roles have always existed and been part and parcel of being a prison officer. But this scheme has formalized and struc-

tured them. It has, in effect, clarified the inmate-officer relationship so that an inmate can approach an officer with a problem and feel confident that it will be dealt with competently and confidentially. More importantly, the officers have gained increasing confidence in their own ability to deal with the problems.

Previously, officers had felt that their role in the system had been one of minimum involvement; to refer the inmate to the various helping agencies. This led to feelings of impotence and dissatisfaction with the whole system. But there is, within the Prison Service, a vast, untapped pool of resources. Men come to the Service from a wide variety of backgrounds and occupations, bringing with them skills and knowledge they have acquired over many years. Why are these resources allowed to go to waste? It must surely be of benefit to everyone concerned if the uniformed staff are permitted to utilize their skills in a more positive way.

The officers who have been running Release Units have, for the first time, had a feeling of

involvement in the penal system, and have felt that they are making a worthwhile contribution to the treatment and training of inmates. Involvement in the project has also forced officers to examine their attitudes towards inmates, fellow officers, and other agencies. This has led in turn to a greater understanding of other people's problems; increased tolerance of others, and, through an awareness of our strengths and weaknesses, confidence in our abilities to deal with situations.

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CORRECTION

re: Probation Journal
Vol. 24 No. 2
Reviewed p. 20 P.S.J.
No. 29

The review of a study of the effects on families of the fathers' imprisonment should have read "37 per cent of mothers underwent a definite decline in morale" not "in morals".

THE USE OF IMPRISONMENT IN MANCHESTER 1550-1650 *continued from page 2*

1615 show that arrangements were in hand for its opening:

Itm receaved for Hulme towards buildinge a house of Correction & other Necessaryes thereunto belonginge . . . 11s. 4d.

Itm paide unto Mr Oswald Mosley for ye house of Correction . . . £6. 14s. 1d.

Hunt's Bank served the Salford Hundred only, which included Salford, Manchester and the smaller surrounding townships. Another was established at Preston Lancashire, and Manchester's inhabitants were obliged to subscribe to this also:

Itm paid the twentieth day of October 1618 . . . towards the erecting of a house of Correction at Preston . . . £2. 0s. 10d.

The Statute of 1609, making their erection compulsory, stated that they should be "with Mills, Turns, Cards and such like necessary Implements, to set the said Rogues or such other idle Persons on Work". Apart from confirming the ethic of relief only in return for work, a further innovation was the requirement to appoint a salaried Governor or Master. This was an important step away from the system of prison officials having to rely on fees from prisoners to earn their living, and was instrumental in ridding the penal system of much abuse. The share of Manchester's contribution to his wages in 1620 is given by the constable:

paid to the Mr (Master) of the House of Correctionne for his wages for this yeare . . . 15s. 0d.

Besides the Governor's wages, repairs to the building were also a local responsibility, as indicated in this entry for April 1621:

Itm pd Mr Lawrence Bradshaw high constable for the repaire of the house of Correction and for carienge prisoners thither . . . £4. 6s. 9d.

Despite these financial responsibilities borne by local

residents, an important part of the Statute said that inmates "shall in no sort be chargeable to the County for any Allowance . . . but shall have such and so such Allowance as they shall deserve by their own Labour and Work".

Local Magistrates were responsible for the running of the Houses, and were required to meet at least twice yearly for this purpose. Four or five days prior to their meeting, all constables were to make a "privy search" in their own districts within the Salford Hundred, to find suitable rogues and vagabonds, who were brought before the Magistrates for committal to Hunt's Bank.

Houses of Correction were not intended to be for the criminal as such, but they quickly became established as an integral part of the penal system, and their place in prison history is an important one. By 1640, the Manchester constable's record, "Bordman to the House of Correcon for Coz(ening)", was becoming more typical.

Cozening was a contemporary term for cheating, a distinctive criminal type, as opposed to the pauper or beggar, for whom the Houses were originally intended. This shows that Hunt's Bank was being used for the imprisonment of criminals rather than the rehabilitation of the vagrant poor. This trend continued, not just in Hunt's Bank, but in many other Houses of Correction. The number of offences punishable in them increased steadily, and the distinction between them and the ordinary gaols had all but disappeared by the eighteenth century. However, they were responsible for the introduction of many important innovations into the penal system, not least of which was the new concept of rehabilitation, which was to have a profound influence on future penal policy.

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Editor's Note. It is not often that we publish contributions from overseas in the "Prison Service Journal" but no apology is made for including this article from Dr. Kayode. For many years now the Prison Service has been privileged to train the administrators of the Nigerian Prison Service and those from other African countries. Dr. Kayode's article indicates how far and how fast his country's prison population is emulating that of Western Europe and the U.S.A.

A SURVEY OF MALE INMATES IN SELECTED NIGERIAN PRISONS

by Oluyemi Kayode
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INTRODUCTION

The debate on the actual predisposing factors of crime causation is far from closed. There appears, however, to be general agreement that those who are convicted and incarcerated can be described in terms of certain characteristics which individually or severally help in throwing some light on their situation. Studies that have been reported in this respect fall into two categories: those that deal with specific crimes and try to show the varying involvement of kinds of persons in such criminal activities and those which attempt general conclusions on criminal behaviour in a wider sense. An attempt will be made in this investigation to see the extent to which the population of inmates in selected prisons differs from the general population of the region in which those prisons are located.

THIS STUDY

This report is based on part of a much larger study of the Nigeria prison system which was started in 1974. Information on prison inmates was collected in seven carefully selected "correctional" institutions in the Southwestern area of Nigeria. These seven prisons are located in Ilesha, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ilaro, Oyo, Ondo and Ile-Ife. At the commencement of the project the total male population in the institutions was about 1,250.

A complete enumeration of the population was carried out and the inmates were grouped according to official prison categories: *Star* and *Ordinary* prisoners. Generally, the star inmates are first offenders while the ordinary ones are criminal repeat-

ers. The population was further subdivided into four groups: short-term star, long-term star, short-term ordinary and long-term ordinary. The information on which this report was based was collected in 1974 on 355 inmates of the prison male population selected through a stratified random sampling procedure.

FINDINGS

The findings reported here are based on questions on certain social background characteristics posed to the prison inmates. Information is available for most of the prisoners on *age, religion, sex, level of education, and occupation*. Before we discuss the distribution of our sample on each of these variables, it would be necessary to examine the range of

offences for which inmates were serving sentences. Table I shows the distribution of the respondents against the offences that led to conviction.

A sizeable proportion (39 per cent) of the convicts were committed for stealing and related offences; these include conspiracy to steal, being in possession of stolen goods, and receiving stolen property. About 27 per cent were convicted for various offences connected with the possession, smoking, selling and cultivation of marijuana (Indian Hemp). The 13 per cent of the respondents imprisoned for miscellaneous offences were guilty of acts connected with currency offences, bribery and corruption, intention to commit felony, refusal to pay income tax levy and so on.

A close look at the Table reveals that about 48 per cent of prison inmates were convicted for offences against property. This figure was arrived at by adding figures for burglary, forcible entry, armed robbery and smuggling. On the basis of available information, therefore, there is no doubt about the relative predominance of property crimes over other kinds of crime for which persons are normally sent to jail in Nigeria. This appears to confirm conclusions reached by studies in other countries (Clifford, 1960, 133; Tooth,

TABLE I

Types of Offences for which Respondents were serving Prison Sentences

Number and proportion of inmates who commit specific offences	OFFENCES								
	Stealing, etc.	Burglary	Assault, Fighting	Smuggling	Indian Hemp	Murder Manslaughter	Kidnapping	Armed Robbery	Other Offences
Absolute frequency	140	16	23	6	94	14	5	10	47
Percentage	39.4	4.5	6.5	1.7	26.5	3.9	1.4	2.8	13.3
									100.0

TABLE II

The Age Structure among Prison Inmates compared with the Structure of Age in the Adult Population of the Catchment Area of the Prisons.

POPULATION (%)			
Age Bracket	Prison Inmates	Western Nigeria*	Urban Areas of Western Nigeria*
18-24	30	29	31
25-45	62	56	56
46 and above	8	15	13
TOTAL	100	100	100

* Source: Nigeria Population Census 1963: Western Nigeria (Federal Census Office, Lagos).

TABLE III

Occupations pursued by Prison Inmates as compared with Occupational Distribution among the population of Western Nigeria.

POPULATION (%)			
Occupation	Sample of Prison Population	Western Nigeria Labour Force*	Western Nigeria Urban Labour Force*
Farming & Related Occupations	12.1	33.4	19.3
Clerical Workers	3.1	2.1	4.4
Professional, Technical & Related Workers	0.3	2.9	3.7
Artisans, manual workers, etc.	58.0	21.7	28.0
Trading/Business	12.4	29.4	34.9
Others	12.9	8.9	7.0
Unemployed	1.1	1.6	2.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Based on the Nigeria Census, 1963 Returns for Western Nigeria.

1956, 98; Busia, 1956; Du Bois, 1968; Tschoungui 1962; Toby, 1969, 286).

AGE

The sample was broken into three age categories. The first group is made up of inmates within the age bracket of 18-24 years; the second

age bracket runs from 25 to 45 inclusive, and the third for those above 45 years in age.

From the available data, 30 per cent of the sample fall in the tender age category of 18-24 years; 62 per cent—the bulk of the inmates—reported ages between 25 and 45

inclusive. The remaining eight per cent are above the age of 45. It is pertinent at this point to examine the extent to which one can conclude from this that indeed persons in the largely active bracket of 25-45 are more likely than any other age category to commit criminal acts and also to end up in jail. The distribution of the inmates in the various age brackets was compared with the age structures of the population of south-western Nigeria from where the vast majority of the inmates are drawn and in which the prisons are located.* Table II summarizes the findings.

When compared with the general population, the persons in the 25-45 age bracket appears to be over-represented in the prisons; while they constitute about 56 per cent of the total population, in the jails they make up about 62 per cent of the inmate population. The reverse is the case for persons older than 45 years; they are under-represented in the prison population (15 per cent compared with eight per cent in the general and prison population respectively). The 18-24 age bracket appears to have its adequate share of the prison population. An attempt is also made to compare the prison population with the urban population: this is based on the premise that an overwhelming majority of prison inmates are either residents of these urban areas or have committed their offences in such places. Given the lopsided deployment of law enforcement personnel in favour of urban areas (Kayode, 1976, 59) and thus the increased possibility of attracting the attention of law officers, it appears logical to expect the prison population to reflect the urban population. From Table II, however, it is obvious that there is no noticeable difference in the age structure of the urban population when compared with the general population.

* The prisons selected for this study are part of the Nigeria prison system: because of the centralized nature of the system, persons convicted in judicial districts where their offences were committed could be made to serve their jail terms in prisons located outside their "area". This might be due to security reasons, congestion in nearby prisons, the need of the convict, to mention just a few. The prison population in an area may not therefore necessarily be drawn in its entirety from that particular area: it can be assumed, however, that exchange of prisoners between the three major geographical areas of Nigeria—North, East and West will tend to cancel out.

SEXUAL COMPOSITION

As expected, the population covered in this study was overwhelmingly male: there is no reason to believe that the situation would be any different when the total prison population of Nigeria is considered. Although females constitute 49 per cent of the general population of the catchment area (and 48 per cent of the population of urban areas), they make up only three per cent of the prison population. Recorded male crimes in Nigeria, as in any country that provides arrest figures, far outnumber female crimes. Once again this confirms conclusions reached by studies in other countries.

OCCUPATION

We asked the respondents to indicate their previous occupational pursuits prior to imprisonment. The responses are grouped into five main categories as shown in Table III. Data for various occupations were extracted from the 1963 Nigerian Census Returns for Western Nigeria in an attempt to see how occupational distribution among prison inmates differs from that found among the labour force in the larger society.

Well over half of the prison inmates (58.0 per cent) were artisans or manual workers prior to their conviction. This category includes automobile mechanics, bricklayers, barbers, sign-writers, daily-paid labourers, native drummers, etc. When compared with the population at large, this category is over-represented in the convict population; the percentages are 22.0, 28.0 and 58.0 for the Western Nigeria population, Western Nigeria urban labour force and the prison population respectively. Apart from the nebulous "others" category, no other occupational type appears over-represented in the prison population. Those in trading and business are clearly under-represented; so too are farmers and those in related occupations. It is also significant that the level of unemployment among the inmates prior to imprisonment does not appear higher than among the labour force at large.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION

It will be interesting to compare the average level of education of the prison inmates with that among the general population. Unfortunately, no information is available on education in the 1963 census returns. About 47 per cent of the prison inmates have no formal education: these

could be regarded as functionally illiterate. Those who claim up to six years of schooling account for 38 per cent of the total prison population. The "most" educated in this instance would be persons who completed their primary school education: for most of this 38 per cent, however, functional literacy cannot be safely assumed. The remaining 16 per cent have varying years of post-primary education but by far the overwhelming majority of inmates in this category had secondary modern school education—a system of post-primary education generally meant for the "not-so-bright". The opportunities available to the products of such schools are necessarily restricted and many of them, though a shade better than their less-educated counterparts, tend to end up in the same way. They are largely attracted to vocational training in various skills with the objective of becoming artisans and skilled workers.

DISCUSSION

The data presented in this study do not appear to confirm the fear that the Nigeria prison population is becoming more "youthful". The proportion of the inmates up to 25 years of age in our sample does not differ markedly from the proportion in the Nigeria prisons between 1950 and 1965 (Milner, 1972). Since arrest rate may not necessarily explain the rate of conviction we cannot conclude from this study that the rate at which younger persons are arrested for various crimes has remained relatively unchanged over time. The 25-45 age bracket accounts for the bulk of the prison population: this could be explained partly be the fact that a sizeable proportion of the general population falls in that age category (see Table II). It could also be due to the fact that these years represent the most active in an individual's life. The pressure to hold on to a well-paying pursuit, to get a family going and to fulfill societal expectations appears the strongest at this age: the implications of this for criminal tendencies should not be ignored.

A major finding of this study is the preponderance of unskilled, semi-skilled and poorly-remunerated skilled persons in the prison population. In terms of income and reward for service rendered, artisans and their like are largely marginal—in an economic sense—to the urban setting where most of them operate. Although we do not have any information on

the income of the prisoners in our sample, it is very doubtful if the average artisan or manual-worker fares worse than the typical farmer. In other words, much as one may be tempted to explain the disproportionate representation of this category in prison to their relative poverty, one should take cognizance of other circumstances that could have accounted for this "over-representation". From Table III it can be seen that the urban population while less farming-oriented than the general population contains relatively more artisans', manual workers' occupations. The economic disparities in urban areas, the exposure to differential expectations, the temptation of unlimited aspirations are no doubt pressures to deviance. When these are coupled with the availability of opportunities to experiment with crime, and the presence of law enforcement officers for apprehending crime suspects, the vulnerability of this category of urban residents becomes obvious.

In a society where the individual's chances for material success are still closely tied to the amount of formal schooling he has acquired, the factor of education appears crucial in discussing the population of persons who end up in our prisons. As we pointed out earlier, less than 20 per cent of the inmates of the prisons studied proceeded beyond the primary-school level. A primary school certificate does not offer many opportunities for its holders; learning a trade or taking up an unskilled job may be all that a graduate of a primary school, who cannot proceed to a secondary school, can hope for. In the absence of information on the educational level of the general population, it will be difficult to draw any conclusion from this finding. If it can be shown that the average number of years of education completed by those who end up in prisons is significantly lower than the comparable figure for the general population and the urban population in particular, this could have implications for the whole process of law-enforcement and judicial administration in Nigeria.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted in this study to focus attention on some background characteristics of convicts in seven selected prisons in Southwestern Nigeria: they were compared with the general population of the area as

continued on page 14

The Borstal Officer and Rule 1

K. F. LAWSON
Feltham Borstal

THE PURPOSE of this article is to emphasise the educational role of Prison Officers working in Borstals and to see how Borstal Rule number 1 could be better applied.

The first Borstal Rule runs as follows:

"i. The purpose of Borstal Training requires that every inmate, while conforming to the rules necessary for well-ordered community life, shall be able to develop his individuality on right lines with a proper sense of personal responsibility. Accordingly, officers, while firmly maintaining order and discipline, seek to do so by influencing the inmate through their own example and leadership, and by enlisting their willing co-operation.

ii. The objects of Borstal Training shall be to bring to bear every influence which may establish in the inmates the will to lead a good and useful life on release and to fit them to do so by the fullest development of personal responsibility."

This rule can be called the Borstal officer's terms of reference and, to carry them out, he wears four different hats. The Borstal officer has a responsibility for security, for discipline, for motivation and even, at certain times, for being relaxed and more approachable from the trainees' point of view. Whichever of these particular hats an officer is wearing at any given time, he is acting in a general educational role, where education is used in its broadest sense of learning about life.

SECURITY

Newly appointed officers have been trained in various custodial techniques but are not always sure of the role they are expected to play in a Borstal. In the January 1977 issue of the *Prison Service Journal*, an article entitled "Some Attitudes to Job Training and Careers of Borstal Officers" points out the danger of retreating into the safe role of containment. Security has a very definite place in the Borstal

officer's job—after all, if the trainees are not securely contained, they cannot be trained—but the containment is to achieve the main object which is the inmates' general education.

DISCIPLINE

What Borstal Rule number 1 calls a "well-ordered community" has to have a time-table and a set of rules. The Borstal officer must apply the rules of the community, otherwise chaos would ensue. But he must do so according to the circumstances and not just apply the rules for their own sake. Throughout the day, he has constantly to make decisions based on the facts and on the individual personality of the trainee concerned. Whichever decision is made, whether an officer administers a pat on the head or a metaphorical kick in the pants, it all goes towards the inmate's education.

MOTIVATION

Borstal Rule number 1 points out that it is the task of the officer to influence the trainees, to develop their own characters, capabilities and responsibilities by his own example and leadership. Among Borstal staff, the officer has the greatest opportunity to exert influence, because he deals with inmates 24 hours a day. The party officer motivates a trainee to work, the group officer motivates him to earn his discharge by good results, and each officer—in a hundred and one situations—influences the trainee to get on with the job in hand.

APPROACHABILITY

One of the periods of the day when the Borstal officer has a particular opportunity to influence trainees is during association time. While always being aware of his supervisory role, an officer can to some extent relax with the trainees and join them during their recreation. It is at this time, perhaps more than any other, that the officer is seen by the inmates as being more approachable. The trainees may allow the barriers between himself and the officer to drop, and the officer can influence the trainee, whether or

not each of them is aware of this process.

None of this is new; it is just emphasising the educational role of the Borstal officer which pervades all his work activities.

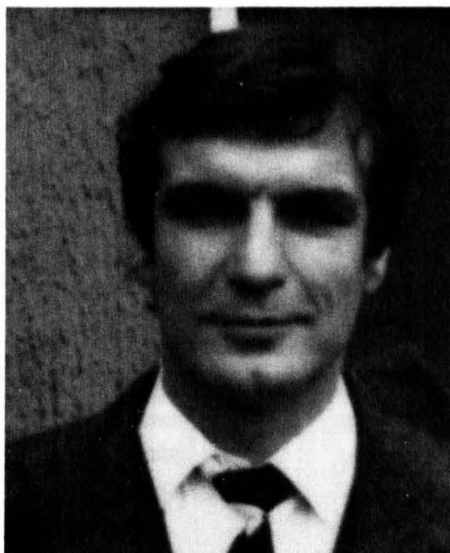
SURVIVAL TRAINING

Can the system be improved so as to help the Borstal officer achieve Rule number 1 and at the same time avoid the danger of trainees becoming institutionalized? Trainees have to stand on their own feet, even with the helping hand of a hostel for the first period of their release, so they have to be taught to survive outside. At Feltham Borstal, some trainees attend four classes a week for a month learning how to cook, do their own laundry, be more socially skilled, handle rent and H.P. repayments, and so on. I would suggest that this sort of learning about survival should be the basis of all Borstal Training and not just an isolated class. Education to cope better with life outside should be the routine.

Under such a system, Borstal houses would be much smaller units than at present—perhaps with 20 trainees. Within the house, trainees would have to learn to do things for themselves or go without; they would have to think for themselves. Laundry, housework, simple general maintenance, and perhaps cooking, could be done in the house, some trainees staying in while the others go out to the various work parties as usual. As part of their education, trainees would earn money but pay for their food, soap, TV rental, bootlaces, etc. They would learn to manage all the small things that make up everyday life.

I make these suggestions to indicate the sort of changes that could be made to create a Borstal Training geared to educating inmates in a more realistic way for what they will find on discharge.

The role of the Borstal officer would not change. His main role would continue to be general education. His working framework would still be trying to implement the ideals of Borstal Rule number 1.



THE BORSTAL MATRON

MARY BOWMAN and
TOM PITT-AIKENS

Feltham Borstal

OUR SUBJECT is female, is not eligible for promotion or transfer and may therefore be able to work in the same place throughout her career. The Borstal Matron is a person of some experience and some influence; providing continuity is one of her professional contributions to the setting in which she works.

Being the person liable to have the longest period of service in a Borstal house or unit, the Matron will have a wider concept of time and the cycles of staff and inmates. She can help a member of staff who is anxious to do things quickly because she knows things can wait. She will, for example, be able to help an officer in charge for the first time to see he may not need to make a decision immediately: he might be able to let the matter rest until the morning when a more experienced person comes on duty. This might be very helpful for a young officer who is anxious not to appear incapable of exercising authority concisely and speedily. Moreover, his sticking at it—in spite of this seeming not worthwhile at first—may be preferable to the “big stick”, wielded prematurely.

Frequently, a Matron may support a new Assistant Governor whose anxiety, were it passed down to the inmates, might make them panicky. She can also help such an authority figure to take on a necessary, but what feels to be a repressive, attitude. This, too, she does by the perspective of time which she embodies, being subject to neither promotion nor transfer.

The Matron is like a grandparent to the institution. She can confront the authority of the staff whilst caring about them and the inmates. She knows better than most when it is the system that is at fault and when an individual is crashing the system to call attention to himself. She understands the nature of authority and knows the advantages and disadvantages of democratic and autocratic styles. Being a continuity figure, she can counter any passing vogue for one particular style, knowing that both have a place and that neither is totally good or bad.

The Matron has an important part to play in an all-male establishment where anxiety about homosexuality can give rise to sleeplessness and

irritability. During a three months' absence of a Matron from one Borstal unit, late evening and early morning episodes of violence were frequent, but disappeared at once on her return.

The Matron epitomizes two other important aspects of life. Firstly, as someone who has only indirect access to punishing inmates, she represents firmness rather than punitiveness: other staff cannot so easily demonstrate this differentiation of authority. Secondly, she is the personification of unpredictability. Unlike other staff whose work is highly organized into shifts and strict hierarchical relationships, the Matron may appear as a law unto herself. Both these aspects—firmness and unpredictability—are important facts of life and ones which inmates could learn are common features of the world outside.

In summary, we believe that Matrons, as a distinct minority within the Service, are both extremely vulnerable and extremely valuable. Too often, the Matron's experience is a commodity which is taken for granted rather than appreciated, not simply by others but by the Matron herself.

In this article, a serving prisoner looks at two difficult and emotive issues: he comments on the compensation of victims and then turns to ways of preventing re-offending, arguing that many of the future's victims—especially the victims of sexual assaults—would not be at risk if prison staff offered more help to offenders presently in custody.

VICTIMS OF UNNECESSARY A PRISONER CRIME

RECENTLY, there have been more calls for schemes which will force offenders to compensate their victims.* This is a difficult problem; and perhaps, once again, society has the cart before the horse.

It is a guess, but I would think it correct to claim that the greatest percentage of offenders, and especially prisoners, are without means. When a person completes a term of imprisonment, he leaves the portals of the institution with only a discharge grant. Being so meagre, the sum undermines society's claimed desire for men to rehabilitate themselves. The amount of money needed for a man to support himself, to help him settle, and to allow him to find a job is not available. The person who leaves prison, therefore, does so in a state of insolvency which, in part, creates and forces upon him another encounter with crime and consequently another prison sentence.

I have sympathy with victims. I think the victims of *yesterday* must be supported and aided in every conceivable way. Indeed, I place the responsibility for the care of past victims upon society, for society is partly to blame. But the child who is killed, the woman who is raped, the business premises which are ransacked—none of these can ever be compensated for. The pain and suffering to everyone concerned can never be erased. Money cannot buy it off.

I am thinking of *tomorrow's* victims too. Particularly the victims of sexual assaults. I have in mind a statement about sex offenders made recently on television by a prison governor. The aim of their containment was that they be treated no worse than other prisoners. Prisons contain all kinds of offenders, but to contain such people for a term and hope they go out no worse than they came in is a dreadful

and defeatist attitude.

Yet, regretfully, this is just what does happen. Arrest, detention and release. Re-arrest, detention and release. A cycle which for many offenders is as certain as the day brings light.

Yesterday's victims have suffered horribly at the hands of offenders: my thoughts and sympathies are with them. As I look around me I see men who, when discharged from prison, will find new victims. Harsh fact, but fact nevertheless. People will be assaulted, raped, and some killed—by men who are now contained in prison. The authorities must be aware of this, and yet they talk about legislation that will compensate people who are already victims. Can they not visualize the child, teenager or woman enjoying life today who will tomorrow suffer death or serious mental and physical injury at the hands of a person whom the authorities saw leave prison no worse than he was when he entered? The answer is not to compensate victims but to lessen the risk for tomorrow's victims.

Of course, such offenders disgust all decent people. Hatred and wrath, however, do not help. You cannot on the one hand feel sympathy for the victim and, on the other, express detestation for the offender. You cannot simply contain and then release, hopeful that he goes out only as bad as he was when arrested.

There is probably no pat answer to this problem. But can you not throw into gear some sort of systematic screening of those who are at risk to society? Can you not try to start, as soon as a man enters into reception, preparing him for release? Can you not cast your personal feelings aside and at least try to relieve some of the pressure that is locked within such offenders? If you at least try, however repugnant you may find such offences,

it may well be that your efforts go some way to preventing the making of some future victim. Denigrating and ignoring such offenders may give personal satisfaction to some. Containing and then turning such men back into society, no worse than they came in, is not enough. The offender must be aided if you are to prevent his meeting his next victim.

Many such offenders are permeated with guilt and many feel terribly confused. Without interest or guidance, the pressures they feel magnify and grow in complexity. Such feelings are contained only whilst they are in prison. When released, the feelings explode with the most dreadful consequences.

Prison staff in this day and age have not only experience but a voice. Both could be used to force the authorities to evolve a sort of detention and a form of rehabilitation which may eradicate the threat awaiting many innocent people. Past victims have our sympathy; tomorrow's casualties deserve more than just our prayers.

In the past I have felt sickened to meet sexual offenders. On one particular occasion, I was angry because a sexual offender had tried to tell me about his case. In conversation with a senior officer later, however, I told him about this incident. What he said was a slap in the face as far as I was concerned. "Are you not man enough to listen?", he asked. I went back to that man and he was one of many who have since told me in confidence of what they have done. I have gripped a chair on some occasions when listening to some of the nightmarish stories. I have felt sick and sometimes suppressed thoughts of violence. But I have seen men prepared to talk, craving for an opinion, searching for help.

They would look to you and respond to you, if you would allow them to. I think *my* listening has helped. I have tried to show some they are capable of cementing good and satisfactory relationships. I am now convinced prison staff can—if they are allowed to and if they want to—show such men how to look at themselves. When they can stand that painful experience of seeing themselves as others would see them, only then can they start to change, to go out *better* than when they came in.

* See *Making Amends* (Howard League for Penal Reform, 1977) and *Prison Service Journal* for October 1977. I was also thinking of Community Service Orders as a means of compensating society.

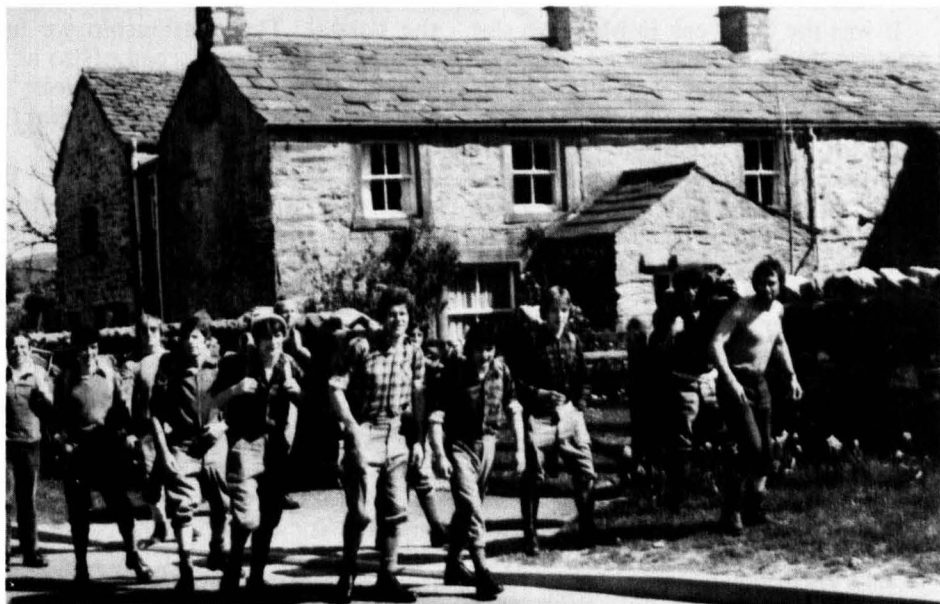
THE CENTURION WALK

A. FARRER

Officer P.E.I.

THE "Centurion Walk" extends for 100 miles in the Yorkshire Dales National Park. It is an interesting and challenging route; circling the outer peaks of the Dales. It covers 16,000 feet of hill climbing and beautiful countryside. It is a walk on existing foot paths that range from clear bridle ways and roads to bleak moorland and wild hills. The walk itself is not well known and so is not as popular as other more familiar walks such as the "Pennine Way" or the "Three Peaks". It should be completed within seven days but the Hindley Borstal team planned to walk it in six days.

In the past few years groups of staff and trainees from Hindley Borstal have been camping in the Yorkshire Dales area under canvas on static camps. The object of the camps was to complete the "Three Peaks Walk" over Pen-y-Ghent, Whernside, and Ingleborough. It was at the end of one such "Three Peaks Walk", that a fellow P.E. instructor noticed the official Centurion Walk map in a Pen-y-Ghent café. It looked challenging and would provide a different type of camp to those we were used to. Whereas in our previous camps "stragglers" or weary trainees could be picked up by the van this would not be possible on this new adventure. The trainees and staff considering to attempt this Centurion Walk would have to be fit. Although part of the walk would be on clear foot paths most of the terrain would be rough and would involve good map reading. There was the question of whether to use tents or Youth Hostels for overnight stops. The use of Hostels seemed to be the better idea for a number of reasons. We would be able to see how the trainees reacted in Hostels, and there could be a remote chance that it would introduce them to Youth Hosteling as a hobby. Food and tents would not have to be carried and the Hostels would provide us with better drying, washing and cooking facilities.



After considering what the walk would involve it was decided to go ahead with this new adventure and start the preparations. The selection of staff and trainees was one of our first considerations. We needed volunteers who were willing to participate in a vigorous three-month training programme. It would entail daily lunch time sessions of fitness training including circuit training, running, weight training, and occasional games. At weekends it was arranged to walk on the local hills at Anglezark Moor near Winter Hill. This gave the opportunity for the future party to adapt to walking on rough terrain and also to find out who would be able to keep up the pace when the final moment arrived.

Towards the end of the pre-camp

training it was planned to travel to the Yorkshire Dales and complete the "Three Peaks Walk" and return back to the borstal. This proved to be an endurance test that covered 23½ miles and 7,000 feet of ascent. It was from this walk that we selected our final eight trainees. They all did well as we finished the walk in under eight hours. We had eight vacancies for trainees and four for staff. From an initial 38 trainees we had unfortunately to take one trainee off the list and the others opted out of pre-camp training themselves. The staff comprised of a P.E. instructor, an Assistant Governor, a senior Probation Officer and a lively but useful Caterer.

When planning the walk it was discovered that some of the Hostels were not open at the times we wanted.



Prior to joining the Prison Service in 1970, Alan Farrer worked for British Rail as a locomotive fireman. He was at Hindley Borstal before taking a P.E.I. training course in 1974 and was then P.E.I. *in situ*. He has also taken part in area and national competitions at judo, and instructed at Prison Service N. Region Judo Course. Recently acquired Mountain Leadership Certificate at Plas y Brenin. Currently involved in canoeing and outdoor activities at Hindley Borstal.

However, it was discovered that if we travelled the reverse way round the recognized walk, we would then fit in with the Hostels' opening times. So if we were not the first to walk the Centurion Walk we must have been the first to walk it the opposite way round!

Hosteling was new to all our party so two of the staff members had to join the Y.H.A. This enlightened us on the necessary rules and regulations for staying at Hostels. The appropriate maps, equipment and clothing were ready and all that was left to do was the walk itself.

It was the last week in May and the weather forecast was good for the next six days. They weren't kidding either! We never saw a cloud, apart from the second day. Our only problems were to be sunburn and sore feet!

We all started and ended in good spirits. Every member completed over 100 miles and nine of us walked 107 miles although it was necessary to re-route three of our members on the fifth day because they had very sore feet. On the second day visibility over a thousand feet was down to ten yards so that when we arrived on the summit of Great Whernside I decided to retrace our route. This proved to be the best decision. We ended up walking a little further than we planned but arrived safely at our next Hostel.

There was a willingness to work together in the Hostels on the first and second days. However, as we progressed through the week this was not maintained so that we turned to encouraging and finally to detailing the trainees to various duties in the Hostels.

Some of the scenery we experienced was magnificent. The wild life seemed endless. I was quite surprised with one particular trainee who knew quite a large variety of birds and animals. In general, the wild life and the quietness of the open countryside was new to the party who all seemed to appreciate it.

We were fortunate to stop and look around Castle Bolton on the third day. This is a 12th century castle which housed Mary Queen of Scots at the time of her imprisonment. It was a building which interested the trainees when comparing furniture, weapons, etc., with those in our modern days. They also felt how lucky they were today when they glanced at the dungeon! This third day was our shortest journey of the week which enabled us to enjoy the countryside and gave us time to recuperate. The next three days, however, were much

harder, with longer distances and higher and rougher terrain to cover. We stopped only for very short periods and the trainees kept up all the way with little complaint. As we walked, there was hardly any conversation and everybody concentrated on keeping going.

It was during the short breaks and in the evenings that the group talked and mixed together. In general, the group worked together well. All the staff had nicknames by the second day. This familiarity worked well all week, but it had to change back to normal routine when we returned to the borstal. The relationship we had created had to be switched off so as to enable both staff and trainees to regain their former roles within the institution.

There was much respect for the older staff members of the group from the trainees as it was their maturity and willpower that urged the trainees to keep going. For myself, I became quite unpopular at times when I shouted to them to keep up. I was given a phrase by the end of the week—"If there's a hill he will find it!"

It is hard to judge the effects of the walk on the borstal trainees, apart from the fact that they thoroughly enjoyed it, despite their sore feet! When approached with various questions they either did not know what to say or seemed to answer our questions through loyalty so as to give the answer they thought we were looking for. This didn't give us a true picture of what they thought. I decided to ask our borstal Chaplain to approach them. He was a complete outsider from the "Centurion Walk" and would be better at asking objective questions! Some of the answers he received were that it was hard and strenuous but that they were pleased with themselves for having completed the walk. They also had more self-respect for themselves, not just for completing the walk but also for reaching the final eight and surviving the pre-camp training.

There are all sorts of ideas, projects and activities within the borstal system and some of them are open to criticism. I feel with the type of activity we had just completed that a borstal trainee can see what he has achieved. Not only had he to work hard physically but he needed a certain amount of willpower to keep going. He may never repeat this sort of activity again but at least he will have gained something from his borstal training. It was an activity he will never forget.

A SURVEY OF MALE INMATES IN SELECTED NIGERIAN PRISONS

continued from page 9

available in the 1963 Nigeria census. The essence of the exercise is to see in what ways the population of prisons in this area differs from that of its catchment area on these attributes. Even where differences have appeared to have been discerned caution is required in jumping to conclusions.

This study, hopefully, has served to increase our knowledge with respect to the composition of the prison population in the area studied. There is, however, insufficient data in the present investigation to enable us to make conclusive statements on the differential contributions of specific categories in the population to the total volume of crime in this area of Nigeria. There is no one-to-one relationship between a society's prison population and its apprehended offenders; the relationship is even much less so when one considers actual offenders.

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Editor's Note

1. Since this Survey was completed, the Editorial Board have acted on many of the points that it raised. The whole system of distribution of the Prison Service Journal is under radical review and an advertising campaign both within the Service and outside of it is planned for the Spring of 1978.

2. As to the content, we are aware how difficult it is to serve two different groups of readers in the Service: those who prefer reflective and even philosophical articles, and those who demand the coverage of more immediately practical matters. We hope to include more articles of operational relevance—like "The Danger of Fire" which appeared in the April 1977 edition—and more descriptions of the work carried out in particular establishments. We hope this will maintain a balance and satisfy both groups of readers. More articles than ever before are now being commissioned on specific subjects, such as young offenders and victims.

3. In the last analysis, the Prison Service Journal can only be as good as its contributors allow. Please send us a letter or an article to put your point of view. We welcome all comments, reactions and ideas.

What do you think of it so far?

A Survey of how this Journal is received by staff working in Prison Department establishments

RICK EVANS and RAY MITCHELL

Ray Mitchell, an Assistant Governor at the Prison Service College in Wakefield, took over last year as the Reviews Editor of the *Prison Service Journal* from Rick Evans who is Senior Psychologist at Bristol Prison.

MOST STAFF know there is a magazine called the *Prison Service Journal* and, on average, read between one and two of the quarterly editions each year. Nearly one-third do not read the magazine because they say it is not readily available or because they are not interested in it. From those who read the *Journal*, there is a spread of opinion about the articles and book reviews and about the presentation of the whole magazine. Most people favoured less academic content, suited to the work of uniformed staff and dealing with more practical issues.

These are the results of a survey conducted last year to find out how the *Prison Service Journal* is seen by staff working in establishments. The idea of a survey came from the committee which chooses the books and puts together the book review section of the magazine. They had wondered for some time who their audience was and how their work was received. The survey was carried out to answer these and other questions about the *Prison Service Journal*.

THE SURVEY

A one-page questionnaire was completed by 300 people who work in Prison Department establishments

while they were students at the Prison Service College in Wakefield. The survey was made as fair as possible by choosing College courses which represented a range of experience and of seniority within each group of staff. In particular, the survey aimed to be representative of the various groups which make up the staff of the Prison Department:

The survey tapped a reasonable cross-section of staff. The governor grades

and probation officers are slightly over-represented because a strict sampling would have made the numbers of their replies too small for comparison. Unfortunately, industrial staff could not be included as they do not attend courses at the College.

HAVE YOU HEARD OF IT?

Most staff (85 per cent) knew there is a magazine called the *Prison Service Journal*: only 3 in 20 (15 per cent) did

	Proportion of our replies (%)	Proportion of staff in establishments (%)
UNIFORMED GRADES (officers and senior, principal and chief officers)	64	69
GOVERNOR GRADES (governors and assistant governors)	8	2
OTHER NON-INDUSTRIAL STAFF (administrators and specialists)	17	17
INDUSTRIAL STAFF	0	10
PROBATION OFFICERS (on secondment)	12	2
	100	100

*These figures are based on the *Report of the Work of the Prison Department 1976* plus an estimate of the number of Probation Officers

on secondment as shown in the *Staff Directory* at the time of the survey.

not know. This second figure comes from the lower grades of each group (below senior officer, executive officer and senior probation officer respectively) except for the governor group all of which had heard of the magazine.

HOW MANY HAVE YOU READ?

On average, the respondents who knew about the *Prison Service Journal* had read 1.5 of the last four editions. Governor grades were the most frequent readers and uniformed grades the least frequent. Nearly a third of the people who had heard of the magazine said that they had read none of the preceding four editions. Just over half of them put this down to the *Journal* not being readily available in their establishment while the others indicated that they were not interested in the contents.

WHAT ABOUT THE ARTICLES?

Two-thirds of the respondents were still with us by this stage of the questionnaire; they went on to fill in rating scales and add comments about different aspects of the *Journal*. Asked how they rated the articles, half of them went for the middle box of the scale, indicating that the articles were of medium interest overall. Some thought they were more interesting than this, but almost as many thought they were less interesting. This difference of opinion was reflected in the comments which were used to describe the articles: half thought they were good, informative or at least good in parts, while the other half found them not relevant or criticised the style. This division of opinion was true for all groups of staff although probation officers generally found the articles more interesting than others. Apart from the lack of relevance to their jobs, most critics described the articles as "highbrow" (too academic and sometimes over-technical) or too "welfare" (idealized and, at times, insipid).

WHAT ABOUT THE BOOK REVIEWS?

The book reviews section has grown in size over the years as more books have been considered relevant to the work of Prison Department establishments. Although reviews always had the merit of having been commissioned (in the past, most articles were submitted for publication in the *Journal* by their authors), there has not previously been any opportunity to check their appeal with readers. As with articles, opinion was divided, though book reviews were found slightly more interesting on average: one-third of the respondents plumped for the middle of the scale, but over a third more thought the reviews were more interesting than that. Comment was divided: the majority found the reviews good, informative and a comprehensive selection of books, but there were also criticisms of the style, relevance or—in a few cases—the number of reviews.

WHAT ABOUT THE WHOLE MAGAZINE?

Respondents thought the whole magazine was quite well presented. Average ratings for the various staff groups showed the following evaluation (in order, from liking the magazine most to least): probation officers, governor grades, other non-industrial staff, uniformed grades. This tends to bear out the comments of a lot of staff who believed the magazine was geared more to governors and administrators than to uniformed staff. There were several suggestions about making the *Journal* less academic and more practical, perhaps by including more articles by uniformed members of staff. There were also calls to improve the distribution of the *Journal* in Prison Department establishments.

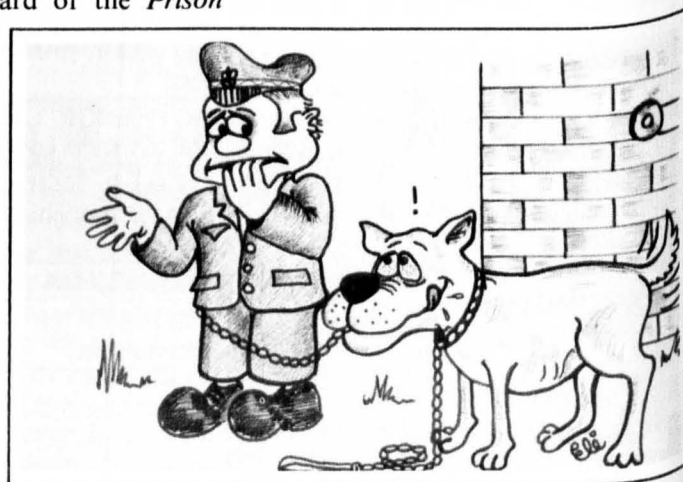
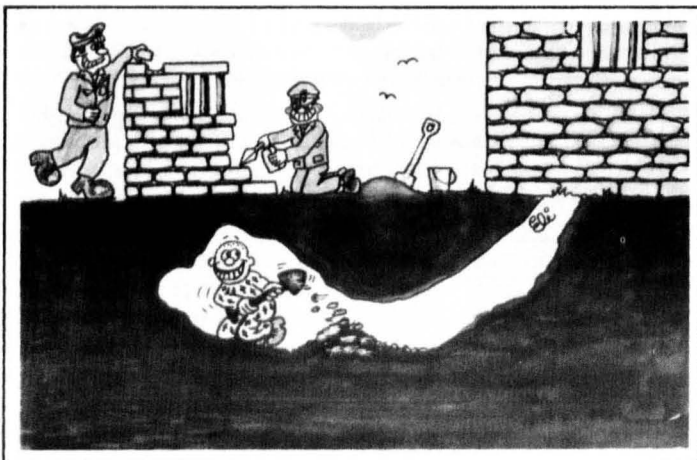
RECOMMENDATIONS

The editorial board of the *Prison*

Service Journal has an extremely difficult task in producing a magazine which will satisfy all readers. This survey has shown that there are differences of opinion as to its worth among staff of Prison Department establishments (and not restricted to particular groups). In addition, the board has to satisfy readers outside the Service—those who work in other agencies or other parts of the criminal justice system; social workers, academics, pressure groups and the public—both in Britain and abroad. Nevertheless, if the *Journal* is to reach a wider or a more representative audience within Prison Department establishments, there are several lessons which stem from this survey.

Although most staff know of the existence of the *Journal*, there are sufficient numbers of the newer and less senior staff who had not heard of the magazine to warrant some sort of advertising campaign. Since more than half the non-readers indicated that they had not seen any of the previous four editions because it was not readily available, there is a case for revising or revitalizing the whole distribution of the magazine within establishments.

A distribution campaign should go hand-in-hand with a review of the contents of the *Journal* which had a mixed reception in this survey. Undoubtedly, there are many non-readers in the Service who feel the magazine is not relevant to their work. They said the *Journal* did not interest them. Many readers shared the perception that the magazine was not geared to uniformed staff and suggested more practical issues to be dealt with in a less "highbrow" style. The editorial board should act on this, reviewing their criteria for accepting material for publication, encouraging correspondence and commissioning articles on specific topics.



WRITERS

THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal,
Dear Sir,

You may care to print this extract from the Commissioner's Minute Book at North Sea Camp made by R. L. Bradley, C.B.E., M.C., former Director of Borstals who died recently.

It is highly characteristic and, for me and possibly many more who knew him and held him in affectionate respect, conveys his personality and preserves his memory.

Entry for May 21/22, 1940.

"Roll now 103. The Spirit is improving, the kitchen is dirty, Housemasters should pay more attention to detail, and the first potatoes are pushing through on the reclaimed marsh—AND, the Germans are in Amiens and the epoch making battle is raging. The eternal jumble of the big and little things. Presumably they all count".

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

THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal,
Dear Sir,

Just occasionally, I feel that I should pay some kind of penance for my sins. During those rare moments, I reach for the current copy of the *Prison Service Journal*. Oh dear, if only my life style merited such retribution.

After more years than I care to remember of this self-inflicted punishment, I am still not sure what this journal is all about. Is it a more socially acceptable version of the P.O.A. Magazine? Is it an inexpensive way of obtaining books in the guise of writing a review? Presumably, in the firm's time. Or is it, as I suspect, an avenue of advancing obtuse ideas that nobody will listen to. Safe in the knowledge that nobody of any importance will read them, or if they do, will ignore them completely.

If we must have a *Prison Service Journal*, surely it should be used by meaningful people to discuss meaningful topics. (I love well worn clichés). It may be that penal topics should be banned altogether and it could be presented as a slightly coarser version of *Punch* magazine. Certainly, we have our fair share of comedians in the Service.

In the meantime, I shall continue to read somebody else's copy of the *Journal*, in the forlorn hope that one day I may understand it.

Yours faithfully,
A. O. Kennedy
Prison Officers' Training School, Wakefield.
P.S. I like the cover.

THE EDITOR,
Prison Service Journal,
Dear Sir,

It seems today that the world and our existence upon it centres around an ability to relate to and get on with one another. Most certainly in this country the need to pull together for the good of all has never been more called for or needed.

The call for Government, Management, and workers, to unite and work together rings across the Nation and all are urged to share in this responsibility.

The responsibility that Management faces is great for it plays a very influential part in the democracy of the state. Management on the whole controls the moods, energies and passions of the work force. Our success as a Nation depends largely upon Management, just as the success of an individual company or establishment does.

Successful management depends upon the people it manages. Accepting this, we are left with the importance of people in the scheme of success.

People are important and need to feel important. They need to feel needed. Make them feel indispensable and they will involve themselves to the limit of their capabilities, giving their all.

Tell them they are replaceable, however, that they can be spared without being missed, and you will hurt and insult to the extent that they will want to get out. Unable to do this they will simply withdraw and think of methods of getting back at you.

People who are hurt will seek revenge. They will often become destructive and disruptive in order to achieve that revenge. They may become rebellious, militant and anti-authority. They become candidates for the ranks of those who seek industrial action as an answer to their frustrations.

How do we involve people? How do we make them feel important? We do so, I suggest, by way of consultative management. Consultative management recognizes the need of the individual. Under consultative management whereby involvement is encouraged and recognized, an obvious pride and interest becomes apparent. Staff will display a pride and interest in their work. They will even develop a competitive spirit, striving for perfection and efficiency just to be better than other departments.

This attitude of course, will enhance their own performances and so long as they are not allowed to run out of control, then enormous benefit is derived by the department and ultimately the organization and management itself.

Recognition and rewards are essential fuel for these attributes and must be forthcoming. Recognition need only be an awareness by upper management of the effort being made. A friendly and supportive word often being enough. Rewards will be seen as tolerance and understanding of individual habits. Monetary rewards, whilst appearing to be important, become secondary to the degree of job satisfaction.

Without doubt, staff involvement is a must for any organization. A feeling of responsibility and importance being resultant.

It is bad management to suggest or imply to middle managers that anybody could do their

job and that they would not be missed if absent. Even if that were true it should never be even hinted at. Once you lose middle management you have lost your complete work force, for their position invariably allows them to become more destructive to the department and they are more inclined to influence subordinates and take them along with them. They more than any other member of the organization must be made to feel important. No restriction should be put upon them that requires them to leave.

Opposite consultative management we see scientific management structures. How appropriate is this form of management?

Scientific management is of course, a much tidier form of management. Areas of responsibility are more clearly defined. Work loads apportioned out more fairly. On paper results indicate a foolproof coverage of related tasks, whereby consistently sound decisions are reached. It demands less of the individual and requires nothing more than an adequate knowledge of one's own job. It does not allow for freedom of expression, nor does it encourage growth of the personality. It is in fact dehumanizing in its inflexibility.

Scientific management allows very little scope for individuality and is boring in its rigidity. It allows no one individual to rise any quicker than his contemporaries as a result of his efforts, therefore it can only achieve basic satisfactory performance. Whilst such performances may meet the needs of the organization they do little for the individual's sense of job satisfaction.

Any form of management must take into account the needs of its work force. It must meet these needs even if to do so means modification of some of its ideals.

People are people and must be recognized as such. They are not statistics or cardboard cut-outs that can be shuffled around to suit the needs of any organization.

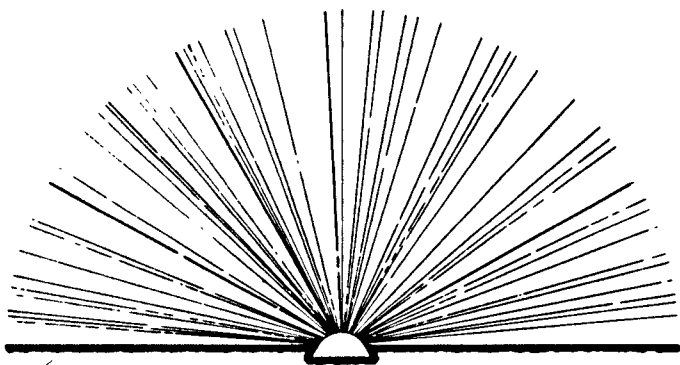
Utilization of manpower is still utilization of the human spirit. Manpower reports fail to recognize this. They talk of people as units, as parts of machinery that when put together in sequence will make the engine run. This of course they will achieve because they will have got their statistics right. How that engine will work is of course another thing.

Because people have emotions they will never work machine-like for long and inevitably such an assembled engine will splutter into lifelessness. It would take an exceptional mechanic to keep such an engine running smoothly. He would need to inject the right fuel in the right quantities at the right times; to be tuned-in so that he would immediately pick up any noises suggesting all was not well, and would need the ability to modify or improvise if necessary. He must not be bogged down by an inability to change the programme or pitch of such an engine. In essence he would need room to manoeuvre and negotiate and must not shirk that responsibility. He must be seen to care for such machinery and to protect its parts. Machinery being organization and the parts its people. He would need to consult.

Managing an organization is managing people. To care for the organization is to care for its people. This is essentially the number one priority. Get the people right and the rest will follow.

I would suggest that Consultative Management goes a long way to achieving this.

Yours faithfully,
A. B. Punchard,
Principal Officer, H.M. Prison, Long Lartin



BOOK REVIEWS

DECARCERATION: COMMUNITY TREATMENT AND THE DEVIANT—A RADICAL VIEW

ANDREW T. SCULL

Prentice-Hall, 1977. £3.15.

Those who share my prejudice against sociologists—especially American sociologists—will be surprised by this book. One might expect to find an associate professor of sociology from the University of Pennsylvania among the proponents of the fashionable view that institutions should be a last resort in treatment. How refreshing, then, to find that Andrew Scull is proposing the opposite. From today's conventional wisdom, one could almost believe that there is no fate worse than being in an institution. Scull suggests instead that reducing our dependence on custodial facilities may be a mistake.

The introductory chapter begins with an explanation of this ugly new jargon word "decarceration" to designate a policy of dealing with the deviant "in the community" rather than in asylums, prisons or reformatories. Scull expresses his reaction to decarceration thus: "We are told by those who run programs of this sort that keeping the criminal and the mentally disturbed in our midst is 'humane'. We are informed that it is a 'more effective' means of curing or rehabilitating such people. And, miracle of miracles, we learn that this approach is also 'cheaper'! With an alternative which embraces such an array of virtues, who can be surprised to learn... that with each passing day the convicted felon's chances of going to prison grow more remote? On closer examination, it turns out that this whole enterprise is built on a foundation of sand."

Having adopted this unorthodox stance, Scull devotes much of the rest of his book to justifying it to good effect by a sustained examination of the sources of this major shift in social control systems and practices.

Setting institutional treatment in its historical context, with examples from Britain and the United States, Scull shows that the optimism of the early nineteenth century about the potential of institutions to be reformative

was as groundless as the modern expectations of treatment "in the community". Institutions became a convenient way to be rid of inconvenient people. As a nineteenth century observer put it, "They are for the most part harmless because they are kept out of harm's way". In recent times, the policy of decarceration from prisons, borstals and mental hospitals has proceeded apace and the indications are that this trend will continue. The Younger Report recommends, "a major switch from custody to supervision in the community." The recent interim A.C.P.S. report on the length of prison sentences proposes that all short and medium-term sentences should be reduced.

Scull therefore examines the effectiveness of this policy. In the process, he inflicts grievous wounds upon some established purveyors of wisdom. The Californian Community Treatment Programme for Juveniles (C.T.P.), which is often quoted as evidence for the superior effectiveness of probation over a custodial sentence, is accused of, "manipulations of the data which stopped just short of outright falsification." Scull's review of the research fails to find any reliable evidence that care "in the community" is more effective than institutional treatment. He highlights some indications that the reverse may be true. Decarceration, however, is cheap. The outcome is the suggestion that decarceration is inhumane and ineffective—amounting to no more than a misguided attempt to save money—and that the whole process is clothed in a false air of scientific integrity by the spurious results of badly-conducted research.

There is more in the book, but perhaps its main interest to the Prison Service is its revelations of some possible flaws in the conventional wisdom which governs our future course. Scull writes with a wry smile, and I found his book persuasive, revealing and amusing.

REDUCING THE PRISON POPULATION

Society of Civil
and Public Servants, 1977.

The weekend conference sponsored by the S.C.P.S. Prison and Borstal Governors Branch in February, 1977

Reviews Committee:

RAY MITCHELL *Prison Service College, Wakefield*
RICK EVANS *HMP Bristol*
MARK BEESON *Leeds University*
DAI CURTIS *Officers' Training School, Wakefield*

caused some ripples throughout the Service. This booklet appraises some of the arguments, and advances seven recommendations arising from the conference.

1 Cost must not be the only criterion in dealing with this problem

According to the booklet, "society has a responsibility to protect itself from its more extreme and harmful elements". The implication seems to be that this is necessary regardless of cost. Since 1950, magistrates have reduced their use of imprisonment by eighty per cent and higher courts by nearly fifty per cent, despite a five-fold increase in the annual number of indictable offences known to the police. Thus, courts have been following a decarceration policy (see review above), the effect of which has been heightened by increased use of parole and bail, and reductions in the lengths of some sentences. One may wish to ask how much further this policy may be pursued before it conflicts with society's responsibility to protect itself.

2 There should be an urgent review of the use of short custodial sentences for socially inadequate offenders

The booklet estimates that ten per cent of the prison population consists of, "inadequates serving short sentences at regular intervals". Whilst one might agree that imprisonment for such offenders is inappropriate, one needs to be sure that the proposed alternatives—detoxification centres and improved mental health after-care—are likely to be an improvement. Mental hospital patients have sometimes been discharged to even worse conditions in private boarding houses.

3 There should be legislation to define the offence of wilful and persistent refusal to pay fines or maintenance arrears

In 1976, 19,144 people were received into custody for default of payment of fines or maintenance arrears. Their sentences, however, were short. Twenty-five per cent of the fine defaulters were released in less than five days and virtually all the maintenance defaulters served less than two months. Reduction or withdrawal of the custodial sanction for these

offences would make only a marginal difference to the average daily population.

4 The parole system should be further developed

The recommendation is that the qualifying period for parole consideration should be reduced from eighteen to nine months, and the responsibility of the Parole Board devolved to regional authorities. The proposed change would extend parole eligibility from thirty-five per cent to fifty-one per cent of the prison population. The number actually paroled might rise by about 2,500. Given current practice, this would entail a fall of about seven per cent of the prison population. The penalty might be loss of public confidence in the system and a further reaction by the courts.

5 The current review of maximum sentences should be urgently completed, and a reduction in the "tariff" introduced. First offenders and young offenders should receive special attention

This "tariff" recommendation is the only one which would create any profound change in the overcrowding situation. If the British "tariff" were aligned with the Dutch, the prison population could be reduced by about half. Whether British society could tolerate this step is open to dispute. The "tendency to longer sentences" which is criticised in the booklet may be artificial. Those imprisoned represent a decreased proportion of those convicted, so a higher proportion of long sentences does not necessarily imply greater harshness. The recommendation that first offenders and young offenders should receive special consideration appears superfluous. First offenders are rarely imprisoned, and young offenders already qualify for a range of lesser custodial and non-custodial sentences.

6 Courts should state their reasons for using a custodial sentence

It is unclear whether this recommendation implies that courts should state what treatment and training each inmate should receive, or whether they should simply explain why they have not chosen a non-custodial disposal.

As with the recommendations about fine and maintenance defaulters and first offenders, what is sought seems to be a formal statement of what should be happening already.

7 There should be extensions of the legal aid and bail systems

The recommendation that legal representation should be offered to all defendants for whom a custodial sentence is envisaged may not be contentious. The "reluctance of the courts to offer bail" is more controversial. Though the administration of bail might be improved, so that those to whom it is granted are more promptly released, a further increase in the use of bail would probably lead to increased "bail jumping" and offences committed whilst on bail, though this might be partly contained by the provision of bail hostels and improved selection and supervision facilities.

In summary, either the present decarceration policy must be further accelerated or overcrowding will worsen. Apart from the recommendation of a reduced "tariff", the S.C.P.S. proposes measures which would earn only a temporary respite in overcrowding, at the expense of an increase in offending.

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THE HULL PRISON RIOT

1. Report of an Inquiry by the Chief Inspector of the Prison Service—"The Fowler Report"; H.M.S.O., 1977.

2. Report by a Committee appointed by PROP, Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners, 1977.

"Hull is a dispersal prison, one of the seven selected from 56 closed prisons throughout Britain, to which are sent those prisoners considered by authority to present the greatest 'threat to prison security'. This phrase in the mind of prison authorities seems to include such 'threatening' activities as learning to read and write, or which is even worse, trying to teach others."

This extract from the PROP report gives an indication of its quality. This is a pity because most people will throw it down after a few paragraphs, but members of the Prison Service should read it, as it will tell them quite a lot about PROP.

Until quite recently, PROP performed some useful services (contrasted with its more disruptive activities) not only as a pressure group but also in providing for the welfare of ex-prisoners and the running of hostels for them. In their journal for December 1977, however, they suggested that such activities should be left to other groups and that PROP's aim should now be the wider one of using conflicts in the prisons as a means of changing not merely the prison system but the political and social system as a whole.

Mr. Fowler, in his Report, draws attention to the changes in the prison population since the 1960's and to the increasing

involvement of groups outside in attempting to promote and exploit difficulties inside. There are increasing numbers of educated, politically-motivated prisoners, convicted of crimes such as murder and assault, or bomb offences, who come in to prison armed with a knowledge of how laws, rights and procedures, which were designed to facilitate a constructive relationship between staff and inmates, can best be manipulated to poison that relationship.

It is not difficult to find and develop issues on which the feelings of the more conventional long-term prisoners can be aroused. The politically-motivated prisoners are guided and kept informed by "godfathers" communicating through legitimate visitors, but also abusing the opportunities to contact prisoners as lawyers or tutors. The potential of these activities has been dramatically demonstrated in connection with the Baader-Meinhof prisoners in Germany and their comrades still outside. The need for vigilance is evident. In Britain, thus far, the role of these "godfathers" has been to arouse unrest in the hope of provoking over-reaction and thereby generating adverse publicity, with the overall aim (coinciding with that of their opposite numbers in Germany) of contributing to a radical change in society.

The Fowler Report vividly brings out the dilemma faced by the prison officers who joined the service with an ambition to help in the treatment and rehabilitation of prisoners (as surely most did). On the one hand, the co-operative relationship which has for so long been the corner stone of the treatment of long-term prisoners within a secure perimeter is now much harder to sustain, due not only to the increased tolerance of personal violence, but also to the awareness that every word or action, friendly or otherwise, may be taken out of context and used by litigious prisoners and their external allies. Inevitably, some prison staff are driven to withdraw into the role of observers and avoid personal involvement. On the other hand, an over-familiar relationship not based on respect (and there was some evidence of this at Hull) is unstable and dangerous.

In Hull prison these relationships were further undermined by dissatisfaction on both sides with the effects of budgetary control which cut the permissible staff overtime. This meant the curtailment of some popular activities (for example, in the gymnasium and workshops) because of the lack of money to pay staff to supervise them. Many prisoners were aware that the staff resented their loss of earnings and it was suggested that some prisoners felt that demonstrations and sit-ins (which were fairly frequent at Hull) were actually welcomed by the staff.

There is strong evidence that a number of the prisoners' leaders were looking for a pretext for a demonstration. There were some clear intelligence pointers to this—notably from prisoners who resented the manipulation and were anxious only to "do their bird" in peace. *The Fowler Report*

is critical of the lack of response to these pointers—which was probably because demonstrations had become "normal" at Hull.

Fowler also believes (though he cannot be sure) that the riot was not premeditated, but was, "a planned passive demonstration that went wrong, and was exploited by a number of prime movers in the inmate population".

The critical and explosive moment came with the discovery of prisoners' confidential files in wing offices. These were eagerly distributed to their "victims" and, predictably, a number who had previously been reluctant to take part thereupon joined in. This is one point on which Fowler and PROP agree. From that moment on the demonstration became a violent and vicious riot. Severe damage was done (costing £½ million and closing the prison for Category A prisoners for a year). Staff were subjected to continuous bombardment from the roof with sharp slates and heavy coping stones. A photograph in the official Report shows the ground strewn with these missiles and, in the foreground of this picture, it is possible to count at least 100 which, had they hit a man on the head, would have been lethal. There were also some nasty incidents in which prisoners attempted to divert a gaspipe into a room in which staff were trapped, and later tried to set fire to it.

The Fowler Report is a perceptive piece of writing. It shows what a demonstration can become; so its description and analysis should be in the mind of every prison officer whenever he deals with day-to-day troubles in embryo. What were the predisposing factors? What were the intelligence pointers? How did the staff first lose control? Why did the riot thereafter explode? What kind of people led and exploited it, and why, and how? It is all in the Report.

DR. RICHARD CLUTTERBUCK
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of six books on Political Violence.

THE DANGEROUS OFFENDER

Institute of Criminology,
Cambridge University, 1977.

This short paper is described as "a consultative document". It has been prepared by a committee, on the initiative of the Academy of Contemporary Problems, an American "think-tank".

The paper poses a series of questions, and seeks to ascertain the views of any interested parties, to assist the formulation of a full report. There are four headings, each of which gives a brief introduction and poses some pertinent questions. For example, in Section One, "What is grave harm?", the committee discusses the concept of "dangerousness" and some of the problems in identifying the dangerous offender.

This approach means that the document provides only limited information on the committee's train of thought: the introduction claims that "we indicate the direction of our thinking on a selection

of questions . . .", but for me the indications were too broad to be useful. I did, however, like the concept of involvement which is inherent in this approach. It is immediately made clear in the paper that, "this is a consultative document, not an interim report". If this statement is seen to be borne out in the report which finally emerges, then this committee will have performed a service in showing that committees can reach the individual as well as the pressure group, and can effectively sound out opinion.

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GROWING UP TO BE VIOLENT

M. M. LEFKOWITZ, L. D. ERON,
L. O. WALDER & L. R. HUESMANN

Pergamon, 1976.

Hardback £9.00. Paperback £6.00.

This book describes important work which took the best part of two decades to complete. The publisher suggests it will be of interest to graduate students and professionals in the social sciences; it is a research report rather than a general overview. It describes a project in which 875 American children and most of their parents were interviewed in 1960. That stage of the project was reported in an earlier book, *Learning Aggression in Children*, Eron *et al.*, 1971, but its main results are included in the present book. About half of the original sample were seen again in 1970.

The book opens with reviews of three theories about the origin of aggression: as an innate instinct, as a response to frustration, or as a learnt reaction. Lefkowitz and his colleagues side with the last theory. Their results are included in chapters three, four and five. The best predictor was the eight year olds' lack of identification with their parents. There was a relationship between aggression in boys and their having watched TV violence. With girls, however, no direct relationship was found.

In their final chapter, the authors draw some implications from their results. These emphasize the experimental rather than the innate origin of aggression. At a practical level there are implications in child rearing, for instance about the use of punishment. Looking at treatment, after noting some discouraging data, they quote a former U.S. Attorney General who suggested that habitual violent offenders cannot be rehabilitated and therefore probation is not only meaningless but dangerous to society. This of course is not implied in their study; if aggression is learnt, it can, in principle, be unlearned. They maintain that behaviour modification may be useful with juvenile delinquents.

This book is not, of course, intended as an introduction to the study of aggression and certainly it does not offer much help in the day-to-day management of aggression. I would, however, recommend it to those professionally concerned with aggression in young people,

especially those who have charge of youngsters over a long period.

PETER WATSON
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GUIDELINES FOR THE NURSING MANAGEMENT OF VIOLENCE

The Bethlem Royal Hospital and
the Maudsley Hospital, 1977.

This is a small booklet which suggests some principles and methods for the control of violent behaviour of psychiatric patients. It is well laid out and written in a style that should make it readily understood; the methods suggested are simple and require little practice.

The first three sections are concerned with the principles involved in the use of force by staff. Paragraph 2 of Section 3, for example, states the importance of ensuring that only that degree of force appropriate to the danger or resistance offered by the patient is used. These sections also draw attention to skilled management and staff deployment as influences on potentially violent patients. Paragraph 2 of Section 2 suggests how the patient may be feeling and his likely reactions. General advice appears in Section 4 and whilst it appears to be commonsense (e.g. dangerous clothing accessories—cufflinks, pens, etc.) not everybody finds commonsense readily apparent.

The rest of the booklet deals mainly with methods of immobilizing a violent patient, either for personal defence or for the giving of an injection or other treatment. The main advantage of the methods suggested in this booklet is their simplicity and, if one accepts that nothing can guarantee 100 per cent success, then they are as good as any. Certainly, there could be no criticism of Paragraph 5 of Section 5, sub-titled "Threats with firearms". It says, "Do as patient demands... try persuasion but no heroics".

The booklet ends with a section on follow-up procedures; for example, incident and injury reports. I particularly liked the final paragraph which states that as soon as possible after the incident all staff should have a meeting to attempt to learn from the experience and determine the future management of the patient.

Violent behaviour is a fact of life that everyone, but especially the psychiatric nurse and the prison officer, has to face. It is a frightening situation to be in (doubly so if staff are unsure of what to do to protect themselves, or of the limitations of their restraining actions) and frightened people are more likely to use undue force. Any plan or method, known by all staff, inspires some confidence and lessens the risk of injury to all involved. Those responsible for the publication of this booklet have had the courage to recognize this and lay down guidelines for the physical protection of staff and patients. Protection against legal problems that staff may face arising from violent

incidents also lies in such guidelines.

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MEDICAL REMANDS IN THE CRIMINAL COURT

T. C. N. GIBBENS, K. L. SOOTHILL
& P. J. POPE

Maudsley Monograph, No. 25,
Oxford University Press, 1977.
£6.50.

In autumn 1975, a circular commending the recommendations of the Working Party on Bail Proceedings was sent to all courts. In 1976, the *Bail Act* gave statutory backing to the presumption of bail. Though the latter has yet to be brought into force, the reception figures for untried and unsentenced prisoners since 1975 suggest that these measures have halted the upward trend of recent years. But there is no room for complacency on this issue: the number of receptions remains high and, though slightly diminished in 1976, so also does the proportion of persons remanded in custody who subsequently receive a non-custodial sentence. We still need to know more about bail refusal decisions and we need to further develop constructive and less costly alternatives to custody.

Remands for medical reports comprise a significant proportion of these decisions. In 1976, 11,057 persons (about one-fifth of all untried and unsentenced receptions) were remanded in custody for reports on their mental condition. This research monograph, on a hitherto little documented area of decision making, suggests that this number could and ought to be very much lower.

The interpretation of the data presented in this study is problematical. First, all the material was collected in the period 1969-71: for reasons already cited, there has undoubtedly been a significant change in court practice since that time. The number of custodial remands for medical reports has fallen each year since 1973. Secondly, variation in court practices in different areas raises the question of representativeness. This research is based upon a retrospective analysis of medical remands in 1969 in Inner London and Wessex and a prospective study of Wessex in 1970-1. The differences reported in the first part may be related not only to rural/urban crime patterns, and the degree to which courts were overloaded, but also the locally established pattern of co-operation between National Health and Prison Medical Services. Indeed the authors report that Wessex had a reputation for such co-operation. For these reasons it is difficult to draw more general conclusions on the extent and form of requests for medical information, either with or without bail, from these data.

Nevertheless, the research raises important questions which will not have greatly altered with the passage of time. Most striking perhaps was the fact that though

Inner London courts asked for more medical reports than was the case in Wessex, the latter courts made a higher proportion of medically related disposals. Furthermore, a remand in custody for medical reports was the rule in London: in Wessex a much higher proportion were granted bail for the preparation of reports irrespective of the type of offence. The relationship between these findings is not straightforward but the authors suggest that the apparently more efficient use of psychiatric facilities in Wessex is the product of greater involvement by hospital consultants, as opposed to prison psychiatrists, in forensic work. If more remands are made on bail this appears to increase the likelihood that medical treatment in the community will be both offered and accepted. Conversely, though the prison medical specialists may have extensive experience of serious offenders they may have little experience of how such persons might be treated in the community. Clearly, greater interchange between the two services (already substantial in some areas) is vital.

Thus, magistrates who take the view that a remand in custody will ensure the most thorough and practical medical assessment are likely to be mistaken. Not only are custodial conditions usually unsuitable for observation but prison psychiatrists will usually have to persuade an outside consultant to accept the prisoner for subsequent treatment. In consequence, the authors wisely conclude that there are no good reasons for differentiating medical remands from any others.

It was beyond the scope of this study to interview justices. As a consequence, the report contains a great deal of speculation as to how the courts both came to a decision to ask for, and how they subsequently interpret, the medical information provided. It is hoped that further research will reduce this speculation.

ROD MORGAN
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO MEDICAL PSYCHOLOGY— VOLUME I

Edited by S. RACHMAN
Pergamon Press, 1977. £8.00.

THE TREATMENT OF PHOBIC AND OBSSIVE COMPULSIVE DISORDERS

Edited by JOHN C. BOULOGOURIS
AND ANDREAS D. RABAVILAS
Pergamon Press, 1977. £7.50.

Psychologists are taking over the world! In the introduction to his book, intended to be the first of a series, Dr. Rachman announces the birth of a new subject. To be called Medical Psychology, it is to herald the maturity of the application of clinical psychological concepts and methods to medical problems, as distinct from their previous almost exclusive application to "psychiatric psychology". Following on the heels of many similar incursions by psychologists into the fields of industry, educa-

tion and other areas, and at a time of a review of the workings of the prison psychological services, the book is likely to confirm for most of us that practitioners are anything but modest in their ventures into new disciplines.

Despite the arrogance inherent in this present claim, the supporting hypothesis—that technological advances in medicine have reduced or precluded treatment of the whole man—does strike a chord and must have some merit for those involved in alleviating bodily dysfunction.

The volume is a selection of ten papers by writers eminent in the field of psychological sciences and is preceded by an introduction putting the argument of the underlying theme in a tempting and provocative manner. Topics taken for discussion are a cross section of medical and associated conditions found in daily life, the surgery or hospital ward, and troubling most of us at some time. They illustrate the assistance that can be provided in improving communication between doctor and patient, preparing patients for reception and treatment in hospital and specifying remedies for diverse conditions.

The argument in favour of medical psychology is put clearly and well. In spite of its expansionist terms of reference, this book has demonstrated the significance of psychologists' contributions to medicine.

The book by Boulougouris and Rabavidas is a collection of papers presented to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the European Association of Behaviour Therapy, held in Greece in September 1976.

The prototype of the obsessive or phobic patient has been for many years a subject of public derision. It is characterized by amusement at the endless checking and re-checking rituals, the compulsive handwashing and the apparently irrational and morbid fears in relation to a situation or stimulus which would not normally evoke such a response. Whilst it cannot be said that the medical profession have contributed to this image, it is fair to say that only in recent years has clinical research and behaviour therapy brought to public awareness the crippling effects of such conditions. Hopefully, the publication of this book will help in speeding that process.

J. HEYES
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PROBATION JOURNAL Volume 24, Number 3

National Association
of Probation Officers—
September 1977.

This edition shows how large the prison issue looms for probation officers. Almost all the articles refer to prisons: reducing the population to about 29,000; welfare work with politically motivated inmates; telling parole rejects why they have been refused; and so on. Their book review section, too, is punchy and to the point. The Journal could almost be a sister publication.

M. B.

SECTION SIX: A STUDY OF THE USE OF BREACH PROCEEDINGS BY PROBATION OFFICERS

COLIN BRIDGES

Wakefield Probation and Aftercare Service, 1977. 50p.

For the uninitiated, Section 6 of the *Powers of Criminal Courts Act (1973)* is the legal process by which probationers may be brought before the courts by supervising probation officers when conditions of a Probation Order are not being observed. The process requires probation officers to lay a complaint, apply for a summons or warrant, prosecute the case, supply prosecution evidence which may be tested in cross-examination by the probationer or his legal representative and, finally, to present social background and sentencing information in the form of a social inquiry report. This is not a combination generally relished by probation officers, nor comprehended by all participants.

Prompted by the Younger Report recommendation that probation officers be involved in the proposed "Supervision and Control Orders", Mr. Bridges of the West Yorkshire Research Unit has examined the uses of Section 6 over one year's terminated cases in West Yorkshire—in effect, to assess what use the Probation Service makes of existing statutory "control" powers. It will come as no surprise to most probation officers that the powers were invoked in only 2.7 per cent of the (admittedly limited) sample.

This research has all the virtues, and one or two inevitable drawbacks, of a local project. The author is close enough to his material for data checking (for example, to reduce a stated 4.2 per cent use of Section 6 to an actual 2.7 per cent). He is able to "point" the findings to local office needs, and has the rare opportunity to publish before the findings become out of date. National research is urgently needed into the incidence and relevance of formal legal sanctions now that the Probation Service may be about to embark on another "control" exercise. Mr. Bridges very properly condemns the "paucity of knowledge" on the subject.

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(1) CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS IN CUSTODY

National Association for the
Care and Resettlement
of Offenders, 1977. £2.00.

(2) SIGNS OF TROUBLE

Edited by LAURIE TAYLOR
B.B.C. Publications, 1977.

(3) YOUTH CRIME POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

ANDREW RUTHERFORD

Institute for the Study and
Treatment of Delinquency, 1977.
20p.

It is amusing to discover that of these three publications, the most *avant-garde* should come from that object of Home Office love/hate—NACRO. Laurie Taylor's *Signs of Trouble* is to be recommended to any reader who discovers that his Governor is despatching him to the National Housewives' Register to talk about juvenile delinquency. Andrew Rutherford's paper provides an insight into the problems and philosophies faced by American practitioners in the light of new policy as given from the perspective of a person trained in British traditions. As a result, it is a useful and stimulating document.

NACRO'S paper is of a different genre. It is a product of a working party headed by Peter Jay and including many Home Office and Prison Department worthies. This paper provides a very good description of the current residential provision. Having the information in one publication is invaluable to any serious student of the subject. The first two of the three chapters which deal with future policy are innocent enough. They suggest a tidying up of the present system, and all of us could find room to agree with some of their proposals. The third chapter, however, gives cause for alarm for all of us working with young offenders. A brief and biased rendering of their radical proposals would be that existing establishments are to be closed down and that all future emphasis is to be placed upon non-institutional provision, with a national custodial service for only the dross.

If current NACRO thinking becomes future government policy, one is left with the uneasy feeling, especially given the results of the *1969 Children and Young Persons Act*, that the provision made by the state for the young offender will, in reality, prove to be reactionary. Suppose children and young people are not provided with specialist institutional facilities and that it is (surprise, surprise) discovered that they cannot be contained within society and, furthermore, that the national custodial service for young people has a very limited capacity. The result would be that even larger numbers will find their way into the prison system, and we will end up in a situation far worse than anything the young offender, or society, has experienced during the 20th century.

To conclude, it seems an *Alice in Wonderland* situation to discover that given three publications to review (one by a quasi-official body, and two by former rebels) that it is the rebels' publications that appear to be pragmatic, constructive and realistic.

It is tempting to say that with official friends like these, we are in dire need of pragmatic critics such as Laurie Taylor and Andrew Rutherford.

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ABSCONDING FROM BORSTALS

GLORIA K. LAYCOCK

Home Officer Research Report
No. 41 H.M.S.O., 1977. £1.50.

Absconding from borstals is a serious problem to the Prison Department in terms of administration, further charges and economics, but little research has been done into the practical or theoretical possibilities of its reduction. Beyond the Department's procedures of allocating those considered to be high risks to closed institutions and of punishing trainees when they abscond, this pamphlet extends our knowledge of who is most at risk and suggests what more we might do to limit absconding. Dr. Laycock, incidentally, is the first prison psychologist to publish in the Home Office Research Report series.

First of all, the report explodes the myth that absconders are a particular "personality type", unless their absconding simply marks them out as greater risk-takers than other trainees. Absconding must be seen as the result of an interaction between inmates and their borstal environment. The most clearly identified group of absconders, for example, is motor vehicle offenders in open conditions.

Secondly, the report's important contribution is to present alternative models or theoretical explanations and to examine their implications to the borstal system. Of practical significance are Dr. Laycock's suggestions that secure induction units be introduced into open borstals since most absconds occur within the first month, that trainees be transferred from closed to open conditions as the probability of their absconding decreases, and that leaders (those who persuade other trainees to abscond with them) can be identified.

R. E.

POLICING A PERPLEXED SOCIETY

SIR ROBERT MARK

George Allen & Unwin, 1977.

In recent times, there has been a trend that any book incorporating in its title the term "society" should be a mish-mash of sociological jargon which either pursues ideological thought starved of practicality or clouds the realities of life with the terminology of academics.

Thankfully, *Policing a Perplexed Society* resists the trend and comprises a selection of papers, including the notable 1973 Dimbleby Lecture, which were delivered to mainly non-police audiences. In consequence, Sir Robert's views are presented in a concise, thought-provoking fashion.

The papers have been carefully selected so that the theme of each one is interwoven with the others. Sir Robert identifies the major problems which beset the police today. At first sight, one might be tempted to make the observation that the book is mainly of interest to the police alone. In fact, it should prove to be of great value

to anyone with at least a passing interest in society's problems.

Having highlighted the fact that the majority of the public are ignorant of the organization and accountability of the police, the book provides a concise history of the Police Service and its relationship with Parliament and with local and central government. The author then expresses forthright views for which, particularly in more recent years, he has become noted.

His criticism of the judicial system pin-points anomalies which sometimes escape, and are often evaded by, politicians and people who seem to want to court the popularity of those who appear to be bent on destroying society. The accused's right of silence and the fact that there is an imbalance in the "scales of justice" are amongst the issues he discusses.

The book touches on many emotive issues: political and industrial matters, terrorism, and race riots. Not surprisingly, these compel Sir Robert to comment on the need for a "third force", similar to the C.R.S., and the resort to military support as well as the less-contentious matter of arming the police. He provides an excellent and compelling chapter on "Liberty without Responsibility" which strikes at the core of the problems which we must come to terms with if our relatively civilized society is to survive.

Sir Robert Mark, a policeman for 40 years and possibly the best known officer since Sir Robert Peel, has produced a book which richly deserves to be regarded as an authoritative work on society in the seventies. One can only hope that "Markism" will become fashionable.

DAVID PICKOVER
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POLICING A FREE SOCIETY

HERMAN GOLDSTEIN

Ballinger/Wiley, 1977. £10.00.

The author has a wealth of knowledge of police administration in the United States. Drawing upon his experience, Professor Goldstein examines a whole range of topics associated with the police.

In his introductory chapter, he outlines the basic problems and asserts that the police function has not been the subject of systematic study until recently. He highlights rioting, demonstrations and terrorist activities as the main problems of the past decade but suggests that the police response has varied from one jurisdiction to another. He goes on to argue that while improvements in police standards have been made, they have not been sufficient nor built on strong foundations. What needs to be done, he says, is to focus upon fundamental issues to make the police function more tenable and to reduce the conflicting pressures which face the police. In addition, some attention must be paid to police discretion and to determining public expectations. According to Professor Goldstein, "greater openness regarding their true capacity in handling various aspects of their business would

greatly reduce the pressures brought to bear upon the police" and "it is better to be truthful than attract criticism by attempting the impossible, taking short cuts or using unlawful or unauthorized procedures".

Professor Goldstein highlights the numerous tasks undertaken by the police which are not related to crime. The array of services includes, "filling in for social workers, housing inspectors, physicians and psychiatrists." The author will attract support for his argument that if the police response to these "highly individualized situations" is polite, efficient and effective, greater trust will be engendered and the citizen will be more inclined to work with the police in dealing with serious crime.

There are two chapters on the accountability of the police. One is concerned with the relationship between police agencies and the political process; the other considers the control of individual police officers at street level. According to Professor Goldstein the corruption problem, unlike other forms of wrongdoing, is to a great extent initiated and sustained by the community. He suspects that the public do not generally appreciate how detrimental corruption is to the overall effectiveness of the police.

In the end, improved policing depends on the community, and a community receives the quality of policing it deserves.

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(1) THE PAROLE DECISION— A GUIDE COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES

DR. K. HAWKINS

Howard League for Penal Reform
Barry Rose, 1977. 75p.

(2) REPORT OF THE PAROLE BOARD, 1976 H.M.S.O., 1977. 90p.

Because the Parole Board does not give reasons for their decisions in parole cases, the Howard League has published *The Parole Decision*. It is intended to be read by prisoners to "help you when you are thinking what to say to the member of the Local Review Committee at your interview. If you are not given parole it may suggest some of the reasons".

Inevitably, as the author has kept to the official language of his sources the booklet has a disjointed style. The introductory pages may be of use to some readers but the body of the publication contains almost nothing that most of us, including prisoners, would not be able to put down when thinking of the facts likely to affect parole decisions. Nevertheless, there is merit in bringing various official statements together in this way as the booklet does—it could certainly be given as a hand-out on staff training courses.

Of greater interest to staff, however, is the 1976 *Report of the Parole Board*. The Report gives an excellent breakdown of the procedure followed in parole

consideration and the overall impression is of sincerity and thoroughness in carrying out the Home Secretary's policies.

In 1975 the Home Secretary had indicated that he wanted, because of the success of the parole system so far, to increase both the number of prisoners getting parole and the length of time parolees spent on licence. In 1976 both his wishes were granted: the overall paroling rate increased from 49 per cent to 54 per cent and the average amounts of time spent on licence went up from 8 months to 13 months.

During the year the average failure rate (including those who were recalled and those who were convicted of a further offence but not recalled) was 12 per cent—a price that society seems willing to pay to assure that many prisoners are returned earlier to become contributing members of society rather than a continued drain on its limited resources.

M. GANDER
Assistant Governor
Wakefield Prison

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT ON CRIME CONTROL

NORVAL MORRIS AND
GORDON HAWKINS

University of Chicago Press, 1977.
£1.50.

THE INSOLUBLE PROBLEMS OF CRIME

ROBERT P. RHODES
Wiley, 1977. £5.75.

To question the efficacy of a society's criminal justice system is to criticize one of the major elements in that society's social structure. That is not necessarily to deny the value of such criticism, but to question its practical relevance.

Of these two American books on the subject of criminal justice reform, the first, *Letter to the President*, addresses itself more to reforming the system. The other, *The Insoluble Problems of Crime*, attempts an appraisal of how the system works and the impact of social forces on it. The second book is the more comprehensive and more thoroughly researched. In terms of literary impact and mental stimulation *Letter to the President* is short and crisp. Rhodes, however, makes various commendable suggestions, especially concerning a victim-orientated, anti-crime policy. *Letter to the President* is only meant to stimulate thought and leaves the question of application to others.

It is evident that the task Rhodes set himself, of examining the entire criminal justice system of America, is immense. The analysis covers perception and measurement of crime, a role study of the participants in the criminal justice system, and an interesting commentary on policy making. The primary question he poses—"Is there a crisis of law and order?"—is equally relevant to Britain. Whilst not denying that there are substantial increases in crime, he illustrates how, over the last century and a half, there were

probably higher crime rates at times.

Equally well depicted are changes in community standards, enhanced middle class perceptions of crime, middle class control of bureaucracy and pressure groups, and the notable focus of criminal behaviour on the intensely populated urban areas. The inability of the criminal justice system to cope with these forces is proved by implication. Rhodes concludes with unusual alacrity that: "the dysfunctional character of the police, court and correctional sub-systems is not entirely amenable to improvement or reform: its conflicts reflect the institutions of American politics...". The theme is that reform, the keystone of liberal values for decades, is essentially idealistic but very limited in impact. Change should be in the political and cultural emphases placed on parts of the system. Rather than increasing the professionalism of the police, for example, they should be given more precisely and realistically defined functions. Rhodes also maintains that "eliminating the J.P. undoubtedly has increased objectivity of judgement". All minor judiciary in America now have some legal qualifications, are paid and work within a unified court system.

As far as planning and policy determination are concerned, Rhodes makes a cogent case for a victim-orientated approach to crime. Paramount in such a policy would be a stronger emphasis on protection of the public, especially against violent or injurious crime. Rhodes argues for the accumulation of information concerning both reported and non-reported crime. The outcome could determine the seriousness of some crimes and allow for the more efficient use of anti-crime resources based on reducing the suffering of victims. The argument, whilst theoretical in nature, has obvious potential and is at least designed to relate the budget and the organization of the criminal justice system in America to concern for the victim. Again, the parallels are clear for the British system.

Morris and Hawkins have written a lively, provocative and readable letter. They distinguish three broad types of crime: "violent or predatory", "public welfare" (including traffic, drugs, industrial safety), and "corporate criminality" (essentially business corruption and fraud). They argue that these three types should be dealt with by appropriate enforcement agencies, adjudicators and penalties. Like Rhodes, Morris and Hawkins emphasize the need to decide which crimes have high priority in terms of victims and what resources are appropriate to deal with such crimes. The remainder of the letter is devoted to American waywardness (gun control, victim compensation, and the death penalty) and to the encouragement of systematic and co-ordinated policies about the courts, the police, and sentencing. Their conclusions are more predictable and less convincing than Rhodes'.

ALAN COLVILLE
Assistant Governor
Albany Prison

ANGEL FACE: THE MAKING OF A CRIMINAL

WALTER PROBYN

Allen and Unwin, 1977. £4.95.

Mr. Probyn presents a colourful and thought-provoking account of his institutional experiences and brief bouts of crime. He paints his childhood scenes with a strong Dickensian flavour although one suspects that Dickens would have preferred more Bill Sykes and less Beadle. His early exposure (at the age of nine) to the penal system began his running war with authority, which continues to this day.

The fight is recounted in great detail, encompassing the entire range of establishments from Rampton to Leyhill. He seems to use considerable licence in his descriptions of violent and frustrating incidents which litter his life. Many of his statements are confused and open to question, but it would be easy to fall into the trap of concerning oneself with particulars rather than considering the motivation of a man who has chosen to forfeit so many years of freedom.

The theme of Mr. Probyn's book appears to be that crime is preserved and perpetuated by the very institutions designed to control and prevent it and he argues his case with considerable force. Certainly, his version of his personal experiences lends much weight to his argument, for he seems to have been trapped in a perpetual round of aggression towards authority and its refusal or inability to provide him with the means of rehabilitating himself. A classic "chicken and egg" situation; although Mr. Probyn's view of which came first may differ from that held by prison staff who came into contact with him.

Much of his book is devoted to a bitter attack upon the parole system and what he sees as the "Catch 22" situations contained in it. If one strips away the wrappings of rage there are many facets with which one would agree. The system is not perfect and is open to criticism. It is a pity that his rage so distorts his arguments, for it is obvious that he possesses the ability to present his case most lucidly. It is reasonable to assume that he obtained most of his education from a system that, ironically enough, he accuses of denying him rehabilitative training so, to that extent if nothing else, he seems to have derived some benefit.

Walter Probyn makes a bitter and sustained attack upon the objectives of the penal system and he succeeds in posing some important questions of policy. Certainly, it would be difficult to present an honest claim that we are turning offenders into law-abiding citizens. Prison population figures alone would deny that and, here too, perhaps we concern ourselves too much with the "quick and easy" solutions of population reduction by increased parole and possibly increased remission, rather than tackle the difficult problems of determining a viable penal policy.

This harsh, strident and frequently infuriating book should give us cause for concern and self-examination.

BRIAN THOMAS
Assistant Governor
Cardiff Prison

DEVIANCE AND CONTROL: THE SECULAR HERESY

TERENCE MORRIS

Hutchinson University Library,
1976. £2.45.

Sin and crime are inseparable: that is the theme of this book. Professor Morris makes no attempt to disguise his moral commitments and the result is a timely and provocative counterbalance to the sentimentality of wet-eyed liberalism, the relativism of those who see crime as the arbitrary imposition of labels, and the doctrinaire tunnel-vision of the new radicals.

There is, Morris acknowledges, an assortment of moralities in modern society. This moral pluralism he attributes to the growth of industrialism and liberal democracy, but he insists nevertheless that justice must assume a moral consensus, for in its absence there can be no blame or justified sanction. It was this essentially moral assumption that earlier sociologists had incorporated into their model of crime as social pathology. To reject this model as empirically unsound does not preclude the sociologist from commenting upon whether acts which are defined as deviant really pose any threat to the social order or, indeed, whether there are others far more threatening which have yet to be identified as such. The fact of conflict between ethical systems should not simply be acknowledged; sociologists should seek to discover how these systems are generated and maintained, and whether, in fact, they are as divergent as they appear.

Pluralists point to the normality of crime as a feature of social life and how it may promote beneficial social change. Morris agrees, but challenges the implication that because we now venerate Socrates—who was punished in ancient Greece for showing dissent—all deviants should be given *carte blanche*, only to be judged by later generations. The test should be whether their action is likely to expand the liberty of all. Likewise, to observe that there is a shortfall between what is morally objectionable and what carries criminal sanctions—where trivial offences are subject to heavy penalties, whilst other serious acts are treated as no more than the infringement of bureaucratic rules—does not require that we ignore the crime that exists, rather we should condemn harmful acts, officially recognized or not.

The real enemy, however, is determinism, which in denying the moral autonomy of man reduces him to the dimensions of a complex billiard ball, shunted around by forces beyond his control. This is expressed, on the one hand, through the view of crime as individual pathology, and, on the other, by "welfare positivism"

and its emphasis upon deprivation. The ghost of Lombroso can still be detected in the work of Eysenck, Trasler and others, who search for a biosocial connection in crime and still fail to see that man is constrained not only by his biology but also by the social and moral environment which he, himself, has created. Morris asks those, like West and Farrington, who investigate the psychology of delinquents and criminals, how they can possibly draw general conclusions about deviants, when they so systematically ignore the criminality of the higher social classes?

The social context is important, indeed crucial, but the simple-minded belief that exposure to poverty and other forms of deprivation is sufficient to produce criminality, denies the reality of moral constraints. It is the fact that man is a moral being that enables him to transcend his purely material surroundings. Yet, when viewed in the social context, the meaning of criminal behaviour takes on a different complexion, being both less irrational and more moral than presupposed. Take property offences, the most common of crimes; offenders are often dismissed as moral degenerates, having little or no respect for property. However, argues Morris, it is not necessarily a question of morals, for it may be a matter of definition. Those who live in conditions where one does not acquire property which can be inherited may possess a conception of property as wholly personal and consumable goods: the notion that property can be corporately owned by firms and public bodies is almost literally meaningless. Consequently, given this point of view, actions against impersonal property are not immoral, because they harm no one directly: a wages snatch does not mean that workers will not be paid.

The rationality of crime becomes much more apparent as the focus shifts from traditional to professional, organized and white collar crime. The professional thief is pursuing an economic activity, which, though it may strike you and me as unprofitable in the long term, offers the quick reward desired by those for whom hedonism is a sane response to all-pervading insecurity. The white collar criminal is often explicitly rational, weighing the cost of any likely penalty against the costs of compliance. In short, it is the similarities rather than the differences between these types of criminality which are striking. It cannot even be said that the petty thief or habitual drunkard are any more of a threat to society than the corrupt public official or the employer who recklessly disregards the safety of his workers. Any differences that emerge in the criminal statistics reflect not a differential distribution of virtue, but the selective, even discriminatory, administration of justice.

Determinism still reigns supreme, however, in the way punishment is justified, for it is implicit in the treatment ethic that man lacks moral autonomy and should be

refashioned in accordance with social requirements. But it is when responsibility is denied and sanctions employed in accordance with their utility that tyranny is possible. Witness the Soviet use of psychiatric hospitals: dissidents are an obvious threat to that society; they must, therefore, be pathological; they can and should be treated so as to reintegrate them into Soviet ideology. Indeed, what restraint is there, other than a moral one, against screening everyone, criminal or not, for those signs of pathology known to be associated with crime? It may be impossible to perfectly balance the severity of the sentence against the harm done by the offence, but at least it is done in open court, subject to scrutiny and appeal. Executive decisions, like those of the Parole Board, have the habit of being clothed in secrecy, under whose cover the prejudices of assessors can be mixed with their dubious expertise to result in arbitrary injustice.

To strip the penal system of its pretence of treatment exposes it for what it is: "no more than warehouse for those social misfits and offenders who society cannot, or is not prepared to, tolerate". Non-custodial sentences are preferable, not because they are a more effective "cure", but because they offer the twin components of punishment: penance and the expiation of guilt. Morris's conclusion is to elevate the principle of restitution as the prime basis for punishment—let those who harm society restore the harm that they have done—not just as a means for dealing with young hooligans, but as a principle to be applied generally. For example, the drunken or dangerous driver could spend long hours reflecting upon his guilt as he tends the maimed and crippled victims of his particular brand of criminality.

There are detailed criticisms that could be made, but they are insignificant alongside the importance of this book's central message: crime and justice are inescapably moral concepts.

P. J. WADDINGTON
University of Reading

CHRISTIAN POLITICS

DONALD SOPER

Epworth Press, 1977. £2.00.

Lord Soper is doubtless a warm-hearted man and here he preaches his simple socialism, offering elevation to those with a line to God. In his chapter on "Law and Order" he asks us to, "repudiate the entire philosophy of punishment as it is now conceived and practiced." "The prison system is a piece of social cowardice masquerading as a piece of civilized conduct." It has improved but, "the principle behind the prison system remains and it is basically an unchristian one," and we "must repudiate the basic notion that underlies the policy of putting away and shutting up the anti-social members of... society."

M. B.

THE DEADLY INNOCENTS: PORTRAITS OF CHILDREN WHO KILL

MURIEL GARDINER

Hogarth Press, 1977. £5.50.

There are three main themes to this book: (a) The social and family circumstances of the children whose cases are presented; (b) their imprisonment; and (c) their treatment by society on release.

The first of these themes is presented with the professional expertise that one would expect from a trained psychoanalyst, though without the jargonistic elitism which so frequently accompanies such case studies. Indeed, the author develops arguments, long since propounded by Bowlby, Winnicott and others, concerning the influence of material and emotional deprivation in early childhood on the production of maladjustment or delinquency in teenagers. It would appear, however, that American society suffers the same dilemma as our own; though we know it to be a fact, what can we do about it? How can we give to a fourteen year old boy the motherly love he should have felt from birth to five years old? True, certain preventative measures exist in the form of the Social Services or specialist educational provision such as schools for the maladjusted, and their back-up agencies: Social Services involvement usually takes place too late, and specialist educational services cater only for the tip of the iceberg. Though Muriel Gardiner makes no suggestions for resolving these issues, we might profitably investigate those children whose durability allows them to come through such childhood experiences relatively unscathed.

The second and third themes of the book examine issues which are more open to debate. The American penal system does, of course, differ vastly from state to state in terms of the judgement and treatment of offenders. The majority of offenders in this book were, it seems, guilty of premeditated murder and received indeterminate custodial sentences. It is the kind of treatment received in juvenile correction centres or prisons to which Mrs. Gardiner takes exception. She argues that such institutions are not the best places to treat young people suffering mental disorder rooted earlier in life. This is because these young people have two basic needs: a stable caring adult with whom they can communicate, and some kind of therapy which can develop their sense of self to the point where they might become independent enough to return safely to society. Unfortunately, such an institute exists no more in the U.S.A. than it does here. Instead, young people may be forced to turn to hardened criminals for their stable relationships or accept isolation and join the never-ending waiting lists to see prison psychiatrists.

Not all cases end with failure. Some were treated, though minimally, and paroled to become respectable and successful citizens. The inference is that, properly institutionalized and treated, all

the cases could have turned out this way.

Furthermore, the book highlights the lack of communication between various agencies which ought to have been responsible for those young people at the various stages of their development. Such communication breakdowns during parole often led to recall or empty futures.

The number of children who kill will increase. Muriel Gardiner's book throws down a challenge to our orthodox treatment of such cases. How will we answer it?

LAURIE WALSH
Chief Officer
Midland Regional Office

NEW WAYS OF MANAGING CONFLICT

RENSIS LIKERT
AND JANE GIBSON LIKERT

McGraw-Hill, 1977. £12.05.

This is a fine book; enshrining many of the best insights into American theory and practice. It is, however, totally irrelevant to us. In political bureaucracies moving rapidly to the right as in Britain, there is no ability to cope with managerial reality. We are fixed in a situation of political expediency which allows no flexibility.

For a free society, the Likerts have many messages of relevance. For the Prison Service in our country, however, their analysis and recommendations are totally irrelevant. Rationality is not something of which the Home Office can ever be accused. Drearily we all follow the demands of a political bureaucracy; we rationalize and defend the nonsenses of our masters.

The Likerts talk sense, but we will never listen. We are beyond rationality. We are beyond help of any kind. The Likerts' book is great: it is, however, irrelevant to a people who will not learn from theory, or from practice, or from experience.

ANDREW A. FYFE
Governor
Hollisley Bay Colony

TRIANGLE OF DEATH The Inside Story of the Triads— The Chinese Mafia

FRANK ROBERTSON

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.
£3.95.

When asked to review this book my first reaction was to doubt the relevance of the subject to the contemporary prison scene. The writer explains how the book arose from a conversation he had with a London policeman following the arrest and conviction in January 1977 of a fourteen-strong gang of Chinese drug pedlars in London: they are now serving sentences ranging from three to fourteen years. It is with their story that the book starts and as the problem of drug misuse in our society seems less and less amenable to treatment the subject of this book is likely to be increasingly relevant.

The origins of the Triads are traced from their beginnings as a

patriotic, political organization and the way in which that aspect of the society still exists as a kind of free masonry within the Chinese community wherever they are found. In Hong Kong it is estimated there may be as many as 300,000 members. Not all of these by any means are involved in the drug peddling and protection rackets that Robertson describes so graphically, but the rites and secrecy of the Triad society provide a useful backcloth for crime.

Heroin addiction in the West is increasing and the Chinese Triad societies are exploiting this. The heroin comes from the opium poppies grown in the "golden triangle" of Burma, Laos and Thailand. Although the governments of these countries deplore the trade, it is not easy to persuade farmers to give up the crop which is comparatively profitable and provides the local people with some relaxation in an otherwise hard life.

The enormous wealth that the Triads acquire produces a problem of corruption in the police and this has been underlined recently in Hong Kong. But it is not only the police who need to fear: "The Triads have always been strong within the walls of Hong Kong's prisons and penal establishments. This arose from a custom, since discontinued, of allowing imprisoned members of the same society to live and work together—a dubious arrangement which eased the work of the junior prison staff, since Triad leaders exercise full control over the members of their own group. Since 1976 it was estimated that 80% of its inmates (Stanley Prison) had Triad connections... the ready supply to Stanley prisoners—including those in the top security wing—of heroin... with the profitable co-operation of prison officers."

If the number of Triads becomes significant in our prisons it is clear that we shall experience all the problems associated with professional gangs with the added disadvantage of our ignorance about the organization and cultures of these arcane societies.

Should you hear your reception officer when interviewing a Chinese prisoner say, "Where were you born?", and the reply comes "Beneath the Peach Tree", quick reference to Chapter 9 of the book will give you an explanation of the initiation rites of the Triads. *Triangle of Death* will have become essential reading.

JOHN STAPLES

1. CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

CELIA HAMPTON

Sweet and Maxwell, 1977.
(Second Edition)
Hardback £9.00. Paperback £6.50.

2. BAIL IN MAGISTRATES' COURTS

E. L. BRADLEY
AND J. J. SENIOR

Barry Rose, 1977. £1.65.

The stated aim of *Criminal Procedure* is to provide a straightforward account of the process of criminal cases. The author has taken the sequence of events from

detention to final appeal. The book is most readable; couched in ordinary terms which laymen will understand.

While this book was intended for students, lawyers and the police, the bail and appeal sections relate directly to the Prison Service. The reader will gain a good background knowledge of what happens to those who are given some form of custody.

There are five sections: pre-trial, trial on indictment, summary trial, special cases, and legal aid. The two areas of interest for the Prison Service in the first section are remand and bail. The second section outlines the processes of trial on indictment in Magistrates' Courts, Crown Courts, High Courts and Courts Martial. There is an explanation of the roles of magistrates, judges and juries. Punishments and the available disposals are also well documented.

The section on summary trial has little to offer the Prison Service. The relevant parts of the Appeal procedure can be gleaned from page 344. The fourth section, on special cases, covers juveniles (under the age of 17) and young adults. The powers and limitations placed on the courts are simply explained as are the powers of the judges in contempt of court and perjury cases. The final section covers legal aid. This well-written book should enable one to deal confidently with the questions and comments of inmates.

Bail in Magistrates' Courts should prove a useful guide to the 1976 Act, setting out what a court ought to consider in arriving at a decision and the changes in emphasis which the Act brings. It identifies those for whom bail is considered suitable, and those who should be denied it.

D. C. OZANNE, AMBIM
Assistant Governor I
Risley Remand Centre

PRISON REFORM AND STATE ELITES

RICHARD A. BERK
AND PETER H. ROSSI

Ballinger/Wiley, 1977. £10.00.

To bring about reform you have to convince those with the power to change things; so it was an interesting idea to ask them what they thought. This Berk and Rossi did by administering a questionnaire to the "elite" of three American states. They also asked what the "elite" thought other people thought. They tended to believe that their colleagues were less liberal than themselves; a misapprehension which may lead them to be unduly cautious in introducing reform. They are also held back by their belief that public opinion is hostile to progressive policies. They thought, however, that reforms are likely to come, despite public opinion; but that the reforms would be rehabilitative rather than non-custodial.

This "elite" was composed of "decision-makers" (state governors, influential state politicians, and heads of corrections agencies) and "partisans" (prison governors, lawyers and judges, police, and officials of the American Civil Liberties Union and citizens'

crime commissions). Over 85 per cent of both groups said they had visited prisons and talked to corrections officials; rather fewer had talked to prisoners or ex-prisoners. Eighty-four per cent saw rehabilitation as a primary goal, only six per cent so regarded deterrence; the latter were less likely to have met prisoners, and more likely to be police, prosecutors, judges or local politicians.

Those opposed to reform were asked if they would change their minds if reform were shown to be less expensive, or to reduce recidivism. Reformers, on the other hand, were asked about the possibility that reform would increase costs and recidivism. In both cases, recidivism was given more weight. Support for rehabilitative policies included an element of rational self-interest (respondents saw it as making their job easier and improving their prospects). Asked about specific reforms, a majority favoured home leaves, conjugal visits, legal representation at prison offence hearings, prisoner participation in management, and strengthening the powers of prison guards in disciplining prisoners; they opposed greater use of solitary confinement for prison offenders. Three quarters or more favoured legal representation at parole and parole revocation hearings, better vocational training, group therapy, and pre-release "community corrections centres". A smaller majority favoured abolition of censorship of prisoners' mail and, surprisingly, the death penalty for "habitual felons who commit serious crimes".

The last major section consists of over a thousand case histories. Each of the 266 respondents to the questionnaire was given forty of these, and asked to choose from nine disposals in each case. There seems to have been a descending scale of liberalism: the "elite" respondent's views of himself, the measures he would impose in specific cases, those he thought usually were imposed in his state, and those he thought the public wanted. Some intriguing details emerge; for example, only two per cent of decision-makers were critical of the system, as opposed to 17 per cent of corrections personnel.

I hope the book will prompt further research of this kind. I am not qualified to evaluate the statistical technicalities of the authors' research. They themselves pre-empt some criticism by pointing to sampling difficulties; indeed it is surprising how many senior officials were willing to answer a questionnaire with 58 questions, some of which contained up to 40 parts. The elaborate comparisons between the three states are of little interest to a foreign reader and, in any case, reveal few significant differences. One of these, though, reflects "the volatility of such opinions", nearly twice as many people in Washington opposed weekend home leaves since some prisoners in that state had committed a serious crime while on parole the year before.

It is good to know that twice in recent years the head of Florida's
continued opposite, column 1

Annual Supplement to PSJ Index

This supplement, prepared by Richard Turbet, Prison Service College Librarian, brings up-to-date the chronological and subject index of the *Prison Service Journal*. The first part lists the authors and titles of articles appearing during 1977 and the second part lists contents by topic.

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Corrections Department had refused to accept any more prisoners on the grounds that adult prisons were overloaded to the point where additional inmates would create hazardous conditions. Will the new Director-General take note?

MARTIN WRIGHT
Director

Howard League for Penal Reform

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