

In this issue:
**SUBJECT TO
ENQUIRY**
—a Victorian commentary on a modern dilemma

**PRISON
SERVICE**

JOURNAL



***'Prisons are not
Reformatories but should be
a terror to criminals'***

MAJOR FULFORD Governor of Stafford Prison

CIRCA 1890

Subject to Enquiry — see page 7



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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.

Comment

Although this issue of the "Prison Service Journal" appears in October the facts of publishing life dictates that its material must be in the hands of the printers by late July. Regular readers will not need reminding that the May Inquiry is due to publish its report in the autumn and may well have done so by the time this issue of the magazine is in their hands. However, at the time of writing this momentous event still lies some weeks in the future and thoughts of escape from the humid, tourist ridden streets of London beguile the editorial office. This mood is one suited to gentle reflection rather than abrasive comment and so perhaps a review of the current situation in the Prison Service is not out of place during this late summer lull.

There are enormous pressures on the penal system which cannot be denied. The numbers held in custody are too high and there does not seem any likelihood that legislation will be introduced in the near future which will significantly reduce them. Staff are in short supply. Despite high unemployment the right kind of man and woman is not being attracted into the Prison Service in sufficient quantity. This is a problem shared by other sections of the public service such as the Post Office, the police and the armed forces although the recent pay awards may improve recruitment to the latter two services. The physical condition of many of our prison buildings gives cause for serious concern. Some critics point out that the prison building programme of the last 20 years has given us more than enough new buildings. What they fail to mention is that the acutest problems are experienced in the local prisons which have benefited least from the prison building programme whilst continuing to hold the most prisoners. Public opinion is beginning to expect more and more information concerning the manner in which the Prison Service conducts its business. This is quite proper but it will increase the strain and pressure on staff as they adjust to their changing circumstances.

All this is well known but there are other points to be considered. The Prison Service may be old fashioned but it still largely retains the virtue of treating its charges as people with problems rather than as numbers to be guarded, fed and exercised. The average prison officer is a humane, reasonable man who accepts the job he has to do with a cheerful resolve. He is still the best treatment agent in the business. The majority of prisoners are not psychopaths and thugs but quiet, patient people who only wish to complete their obligations to society and get out. It is true that there has been an increase in staff industrial action in recent years and that prisoners in some dispersal prisons have also created severe control problems. No one can deny this but these activities arise in part from the desperate problems facing us and should not be viewed as solely the result of modern bloodmindedness.

All in all we have much to build upon and much to be thankful for as we try to equip ourselves to face the next few difficult years.

Gloucestershire Prison Reforms in their National and International Setting

J R S Whiting

My aim in this article is to try and relate the reform work carried out in the Gloucestershire prison system of the late 18th and early 19th centuries to the national and international history of prison development in order to find what contributions the Gloucestershire reforms made. I intend to follow two lines of development, the architectural and the Separate System and in so doing trace the linkage between the architectural work of William Blackburn in Gloucestershire with Cherry Hill Penitentiary, Philadelphia [1829] and Pentonville [1840-2] on the one hand and Sir George Onesiphorus Paul's system with its adaptation in Cherry Hill and subsequent rediscovery at Pentonville.

When the wave of prison reforms came to England in the late eighteenth century, there were two basic kinds of prison. The lock up for criminals and debtors which was often to be found in gatehouses, like Gloucester's Northgate, and in castles, such as Gloucestershire's prison in Gloucester Castle involved communal living, often without any rules, with untrained staff, little or no care and virtually no work provided. The alternative was the bridewell or house of correction originally for vagrants, unemployed and minor criminals, such as was to be found at Winchcombe and Cirencester in Gloucestershire. The original bridewell had been Henry VIII's Palace of Bridewell built in 1522 for the king to entertain the Emperor Charles V and subsequently altered to house vagrants and unemployed. Twenty-six jobs were available ranging from making tennis balls and feather beds to nails and shoes. An act of 1609 had made the establishment of bridewells compulsory in all counties but by the late eighteenth century they differed little from the main prisons in that they supplied little or no work and catered almost exclusively for minor criminals.

The reform of these prisons which occurred between 1775 and 1795 led to the construction of no less than forty-five prisons and we must see what caused this outburst of activity before we can place Gloucestershire's role in the movement. Basically there were two causes for this activity. First, the effect of the American War of Independence putting a stop to the transportation of criminals across the Atlantic which produced a prison population crisis, and secondly the grave danger of the spread of Goal Fever or epidemic typhus throughout the country.

The Gloucestershire sheriff Sir George Onesiphorus Paul (1746-1820) wrote his *Thoughts on the Alarming Progress of Goal Fever* in 1784. He bluntly stated that a sheriff who changed the method of execution

would be guilty of a felony and that was what was happening so long as Goal Fever was active. No sentence condemned a man to die of hunger or disease. The distinction between "commission" and "omission" was a very small one so far as the victim was concerned, he argued. Moreover there was a crying need for fit men to be returned to the community for service with their country.

It was soon clear that the only real solution to the problem was to build airy prisons, but this presented the technical problem of ensuring security and seclusion in such prisons. Airy open-planned prisons must not be insecure ones. Any action depended on accurate factual knowledge of the extent of the problem and also on local leaders who not only appreciated the seriousness of the problem but also had the drive to tackle it and the originality of mind to come up with practical solutions. John Howard was to provide the necessary factual information and William Blackburn and Onesiphorus Paul the technical skill and initiative in Gloucestershire.

Howard's *State of the Prisons* (1777) brought the Gloucestershire situation to light only too clearly. For example, Cirencester house of



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correction consisted of two rooms, 16 ft by 11 ft, one for the men the other for women. The building was in bad disrepair and the exercise yard too insecure for use. The three to six prisoners there got no exercise, no work and often no food allowance. The county gaol in Gloucester Castle housed sixty-five in a day room measuring 12 ft by 11 ft it seems. The debtors' room had no window and the male felons' night room was close, dark and ruinous. Licentious intercourse was common and several babies had been born there. No work was available and the debtors received no food allowance.

Howard called for prisons not to have any rooms below ground level, to have airy workrooms where ten hours work a day could be done, "crib-beds" instead of straw, a bath house, an infirmary, the separation of men and women, a proper food allowance, heating, humane rules and a salaried staff. His call for action was answered haphazardly throughout the country and Gloucestershire must rank as one of the leading counties in which positive and far-reaching action was taken.

Sir George Onesiphorus Paul of Hill House, Rodborough, became county sheriff in 1780 and from then on threw himself into the cause of reform with tireless vigour. He cajoled the Grand Jury into action and pushed through Parliament a private bill known as the "Gloucestershire Act" in 1785. This empowered the magistrates to buy land, construct prisons, draw up rules, employ trained staff and administer the prisons. Working on the assumption of the basic needs of health, separation of sexes and of classes of prisoner, single cells and work for the inmates, he was to be responsible for the construction of a new county prison and houses of correction at Northleach, Horsley, Lawford's Gate (Bristol) and Littledean all of which were designed by William Blackburn (1750-90). The county prison was to be divided into two sections, the gaol for those awaiting trial and debtors, which was to be under the sheriff, and the penitentiary for those serving sentences, which was to be under the magistrates.

Writing in 1808 Richard Ingleman, who designed Southwell and Devizes prisons, criticised Blackburn's oak palisades as they rotted and also pointed out that prisoners could communicate with each other via the ventilation grates he had installed.

Lest one thinks that mistakes are not made to-day, however, you might like to know that a recently built borstal was designed with a flat roof so that the first governor found he could walk the length of the buildings on the roofs unseen until he reached the entrance! The sound-deadening pads in the ceilings were found to provide excellent hiding places for forbidden articles too!

With the movement to construct healthy prisons went the new effort to reform the inmates. The idea that prisoners could be reformed grew rapidly in the eighteenth century and resulted in interesting experiments not least in Gloucestershire. But what was the assumption that reform was possible based upon? Before we can understand the efforts of people like Paul we must have some appreciation of the psychology of the day. Human nature was seen to be neutral and susceptible to both good and bad influences from outside. It followed that it must be civilisation which had manufactured good and bad influences. The important point to grasp is that moral contagion spread like gaol fever, through the air in some invisible and ineffable form. One could "catch" badness from a bad person it was argued. Jonas Hanway said that prison "adds virulence to the disease" of vice. The Revd. J. Brewster said there was a need to give "right direction to the mind of man" by putting him in solitary confinement. A new system of reform could be devised based on reason.

Solitude was seen as the remedy for achieving this end. It seemed the perfect solution for just as the intrinsic goodness of man was corrupted by the social intercourse he had with base characters, so the removal of such intercourse was bound to lead to an improvement. It was appreciated by some that there was a danger that too much solitude would destroy a man's inner resources if he had nothing to reflect upon but his own inadequacies. The Revd. Robert Denne argued that the worst criminals would dread solitude as "they dare not think". Paul believed that solitude was the solution. In fact it was originally intended that the word "SOLITUDE" should be carved over the entrance to Littledean prison. However he insisted that prisoners must be made to work to prevent their mental collapse and religious instruction and education in general should build up their inner reserves. Unlimited solitude was out of the

question, the question was to what extent it should be applied. Clearly it was the right principle, it was the application which was debatable, and has remained so ever since.

Eighteenth century reformers had discovered that architecture could solve the gaol fever problem, and now we must see how it could also provide the setting for moral reform as well. As Howard said, Blackburn was "the only man capable of delineating my idea of what a prison ought to be", so Paul was the man who could develop a system capable of utilising the buildings Blackburn constructed for him. Paul's Separate System was to be copied at Cherry Hill under the name of the Pennsylvanian Solitary System and subsequently re introduced into England as the Pentonville System. Paul's work has been described as the most highly praised and widely known of its time.

He started from first principles and turning the reforming ideals of John Howard into practical achievements by setting up a system in which paternal magistrates supervised training officials, who, in turn, were guided by his famous Rule Book and aided by Blackburn's purpose-built, single-cell, prisons. Paul had the necessary intelligence and leisure to exert his forceful character in his new position as county sheriff. In short the right man had appeared in the right place at the right time. The difference between a prison in which all types and ages of offenders of both sexes were herded together in unhealthy conditions under the despotic rule of a keeper on the one hand, and a prison with classified divisions of prisoners who were clean, healthy and adequately fed and under a recognised system of rules on the other hand, was so great that it needed an outstanding man to bridge the gap. Paul's basic principles were security, health and separation. "This Safety should arise from the Nature of Construction, the Regulations of Police, and the Attention of its Officers, and not by unconstitutional Means".

Paul saw his Rule Book as essential to the regulation of the lives of each type of prisoner and for the control, direction and stimulation of the officials in charge and the authorities behind them. His Rule Book proved a model one, drawing the county magistrates (the responsible authorities), the prison officials and the prisoners into one interrelated body

geared to the discharge of healthy, and hopefully, reformed inmates. Success depended on everyone concerned playing his part to the full and hence the crucial importance of the Rule Book at a time when there was no reforming tradition, no training scheme for officials, and, in short, no standards to live up to. Paul's appreciation of the need to inspect, encourage and harry continuously underlines his claim to fame as a reformer. Speaking to Holford's House of Commons Committee on prisons in 1811, he said that he felt his scheme had succeeded beyond his "most sanguine expectations". The 1828 Select Committee on Criminal Commitments recommended his system, which later became the prototype for the Model Prison at Pentonville in 1842.

Paul's system began with the paternal supervision of two Visiting Magistrates for each prison. They had to check on everything that went on and make sure that the officials played their role as much as the prisoners did theirs. On the whole this paternalistic supervision worked very well. Praise was given to staff when it was deserved. The Revd. Jones of Gloucester gaol and Mrs Gunn, Littledean keeper's wife, for example, were praised for their efforts. Censure fell on those who fell short of what was required of them or exceeded their authority, as happened with one surgeon at Gloucester gaol. Sometimes it led to sensational events such as the wholesale sackings when scandals came to light at Littledean long after Paul's death, when keeper Haviland was found guilty of drunkenness, his wife of seducing the turnkey and the discovery of staff allowing liquor on the premises.

The staff were trained at Gloucester gaol and usually were ex-military men. Promotion to keeper was possible for conscientious men, although one of the earliest keepers was found unable to read! Chaplains attended daily and were usually very conscientious, although they were clearly on the side of the establishment. Admittedly the newly appointed chaplain to Littledean in 1844, the Revd. T Dixon, did run away to London when the bishop checked his credentials, but not before he had secured the appointment of two teachers for the prisoners.

The Visiting Magistrates and all the prison officials had to keep record

books. Paul was fully aware of the importance of record books for all to fill in for such records enabled the Visiting Magistrates to see if the staff had done their duty or not. In turn the Visiting Magistrates' journals could be checked by Paul or by the full bench. Paul would write stinging comments in the journals if he found the slightest deviation from duty or the rules.

By 1792 stories connected with Paul's Gloucestershire prisons stressing their harshness led to criminals moving elsewhere so that the houses of correction were almost empty. The ultimate demonstration of the effectiveness of reform is an empty prison. However the early parts of the nineteenth century was to witness a marked increase in the prison population in relation to the economic distress of the period. Paul insisted that his system was mild and had been distorted by the public. Only the first third of a person's sentence was in absolute solitary, then more contact was allowed by degrees. Fetters were entirely unnecessary and only two or three whippings had been essential in the first nineteen years of the prisons' life. In 1811 Paul said, "Long experience has proved beyond a possibility of doubt that a government by rule, mild, but strict adhered to, is sufficient to insure safe custody, and to preserve authority, without having recourse to fettering the limbs or inflicting punishments". The Holford Committee noted that labour at Gloucester is "considered as an occupation of the mind, without which, solitude, even in the limited degree imposed by the arrangements of that prison, would be injurious, and in which an individual separated from others will gladly seek relief from the pressure of reflection without an object".

The effectiveness of solitude for political purposes was appreciated by the Government which forced Paul to accept a number of political prisoners at Gloucester. Kid Wake got five years for shouting out "No George, no war!" as the king went by in London in 1796. John Bone, John Binns and Robert Keir of the London Correspondence Society were there from 1799 to 1801. Binns who had led the Society militants in their threats of revolution at mass demonstrations, meekly experimented with various crops and animals and read books from the dean's library to while away his time. He was to end up as a law-

abiding American citizen. In practice none of these political prisoners were kept in the strict isolation the Government had intended.

With Paul's death in 1820 the Gloucestershire magistrates began to abandon his system considering it to be too soft. The treadmill was introduced. A climb of 11,520 ft (3,513m) a day equivalent to climbing the cathedral tower forty-six times, was required of prisoners. Thus coercion succeeded inducement and trade work was exchanged for the treadmill. The Hard Labour System was born. Paul's system, said the chairman of the Gloucestershire bench in 1844, had given the criminal many advantages unobtainable to the industrious poor of the county. Separation, he claim, could only mean "petty trades" such as carpentry, shoe-making and tailoring, whereas the Gloucestershire Hard Labour System had a set routine of chapel, breakfast, treadmill, dinner, treadmill, supper and bed. Some prisoners, he claimed had a temperament requiring contact with others to stimulate them and maintain their health. This outburst was occasioned by the Government's instruction to local authorities and benches to model their prisons on the new Model Prison at Pentonville, under the New Gaol Act, 1839.

The Pentonville system marked the Government's "rediscovery" of Paul's system from its American version at Cherry Hill. Pentonville's system was the separate system taken to its logical conclusion with complete and continuous isolation of prisoners. Each prisoner would have one heated cell where he would sleep and work, for toilet facilities would be supplied in the cell. A few years earlier the new science of acoustics had led to experiments with twelve kinds of wall at Millbank prison to see which was best suited to prevent prisoners contacting each other.

As the Gloucestershire chairman put it, "The Penitentiary System thus rejected in this County, has, under the name of the Separate System . . . been assumed by the Government . . . It is based upon popular feelings" which influence MPs. "This System is not in accordance with the Laws of the Land, which award Penalties not as a punishment to the Criminals — but for the prevention of Crime — for the offender is punished not for stealing a sheep, but that the sheep may not be stolen". He claimed that the Government's

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THE EVIDENCE TO MR JUSTICE MAY

Rod Morgan

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The announcement of Mr. Justice May's Inquiry last November created almost panic among those concerned with prisons. Written evidence was requested before the end of the year: six weeks to prepare a statement for, potentially, the most important Inquiry since Mr. Gladstone's in 1895. In the event packets of typescript continued to be delivered to Commission House well into the Spring though much of it still bore the signs of hasty preparation. Not a few memoranda began with a complaint about the unreasonable lack of time allowed. Several persons who, given time, might have been expected to submit evidence, did not do so. Several groups who, whatever the circumstances, could scarcely have remained silent and retained credibility wrote very much less than would otherwise have been the case. If nothing else Mr. Merlyn Rees' unmet suggestion of a March report probably saved the committee the task of ploughing through several more inches of paper. Though the prose may have suffered it is doubtful whether the quality of the evidence received did.

Mr. Justice May let it be known that, as is so often the case with official inquiries, the written and oral evidence would not be published. Witnesses are said to speak more frankly if they can do so in confidence: by the same token they can also be said to do less responsibly and accountably. More significantly perhaps, the committee is given greater space in which to manoeuvre. The whole process operates like a mysterious black box. The evidence, only some of it known to some observers, is fed in on one side. The recommendations and conclusions emerge on the other. What happens in between is a dark labyrinth suited to endless speculation.

This process stimulates the formation of vigorous secondary and tertiary communication channels. Those contributors with evangelical purposes or organisational responsibilities distribute their evidence to the media. By this method they demonstrate zeal to their constituents and may increase the chance that weary members of the Inquiry, heads nodding, will pause a little longer over their particular contributions. Then there are the collectors of evidence. The creators of mini-inquiries up and down the country.

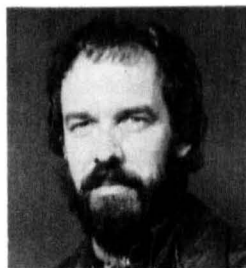
Those individuals who, groping on the sidelines, try to assemble the case in order that they may dissect it at the post mortem.

I have been an avid participator in all of these activities. Engaged in research and writing on aspects of the prison system for the past ten years I constructed, in collaboration with Roy King of the University of Southampton, a paper which was sent to the Inquiry in early January. For once crisis did not seem too flamboyant a description for the condition of the prison system: having urged a thorough debate on imprisonment for so long I felt that not to contribute would have been almost to fail in one's duty as a citizen. I think the Board of Visitors of which I am a member felt the same way. Normally preoccupied with the minutiae of kitchen hot-plates,

broken windows, and prison complaints about the supply of clean underwear, we hastily agreed a more general statement on aspects of policy and administration. As a group I think we were embarrassed at our woeful, perhaps inexcusable, ignorance of the chaotic system of which we are, in theory, an alert part. Other Boards of Visitors held unaccustomed press conferences and released their evidence to the press. This Inquiry has probably done more to stimulate much needed communication between Boards and public than years of tentative debate about how such a process might be initiated.

In May Roy King and I published our own evidence.¹ Individuals and groups began swopping their submissions and I amassed a sizeable collection. In the same month I went to the Wakefield Staff College there to explain my own views to a group of assistant governors, to face their wrath and to listen to counter-arguments. In several years of visiting Wakefield I have not taken part in so stimulating, well-informed and keenly contested a debate. Throughout the Spring scarcely a day has passed without me either receiving a letter, or reading of discussion, on the future of the prison system. A great burden lies on the shoulders of Mr. Justice May and his team: the expectations aroused by this Inquiry will not easily be satisfied.

As I write (early July) I am con-



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scious of the foolhardiness of attempts to anticipate the outcome of official inquiries. Following a few early leaks Mr. Justice May has enforced a tight ship. The most that I have been able to do is to compare notes with others who were called to give oral evidence. Everyone seems agreed that the report will probably be out in September, there can be no doubting the issues with which the committee must deal, but as yet their conclusions and recommendations remain a mystery. Nevertheless at this stage it is possible to consider one or two aspects of the framework within which the committee has operated. They may be worth bearing in mind when the report becomes available.

First, the function of an inquiry does not lie only in the quality of the report which emerges. The fact that there is an inquiry concentrates the minds of the Department wonderfully. The effect is probably more potent if the product of their thought is to be published for all to see but even so an inquiry means that long-term policy issues, so often neglected because of the dead weight of daily administrative exigency, become a matter of crisis resolution. Similar processes are at work in personnel and community groups. An inquiry demands more than vague expressions of criticism or hope: descriptions must be accurate, principles operational and proposals practicable. Of course it will be argued that if all concerned are galvanised into action then the product of that labour will be represented in the quality of the inquiry report. I do not think that this is necessarily the case. Responding to an inquiry may be only the first part of an educative process. I suspect for example that most persons reading Mr. Justice May's report will already be very much better informed than when they submitted evidence to his committee. It is sometimes said that most of the written and oral evidence submitted by the various interest groups to successive commissions, advisory committees and inquiries is of little value. That it consists of largely repetitive statements of platitudinous opinion seldom backed by evidence, at best the product of experience or idealism and at worst of prejudice or blind conservatism.

There can be little doubt that such descriptions have often been apt. One may sympathise with committees which, in order that consul-

tation may be seen to be done, must read, and listen to, statements which contribute little to either the analysis or solution of policy problems. But if there is a lamentable qualitative gulf between departmental and non-departmental submissions I think I detect the emergence of a mood bent on changing the fact. A principal reason why non-departmental commentators on penal affairs have so often *appeared* to be ignorant or impractical lies in the fact that the Home Office has failed to publish information which might aid thorough external analysis of their policies. Prison Department bears no small part of the blame for the rhetoric and vagueness which has often characterised the pronouncements of penal pressure groups. And if prison personnel groups have failed to provide the coherent critique of current policy that they would have wished, a major cause has been their substantial exclusion from responsibility for policy formation in the past.

My impression is that most contributors of evidence to Mr. Justice May have been fully conscious of the shortcomings in their respective documents. Several are taking steps to ensure that they are not similarly embarrassed in the future. Academics are exploring the possibility of greater collaboration: it is likely that a group focussing on penal policy will be formed within the Social Administration Association. Pressure groups such as NACRO are devoting more energy to the preparation of policy documents, organising seminars and working parties for the purpose. Some Boards of Visitors, having whetted their publicity appetite are likely to develop channels for debate outside the stage-managed ritual annually arranged for them by the Home Office. And it will be surprising if the British Association of Prison Governors does not follow up its wish, expressed to Mr. Justice May, to "provide a continuous review of the agreements, standards and practice of penology in European and United Nations circles . . . (and) . . . advise ministers on desirable changes in sentencing policies" in the light of "research into the effectiveness of prison sentences, parole and non-custodial penalties".² The non-departmental witnesses to the Inquiry may not have provided the most detailed policy analyses but they have begun to pose the questions which must be answered. If

Mr. Justice May has been unable to provide the answers he should at least have left the questions, clearly defined, prominently on the table.

Unsurprisingly most of the written submissions from prison personnel groups were largely taken up with those detailed matters of pay, staff conditions of service and prison administration which formed the major part of the Inquiry's brief. These vital issues will probably, and quite rightly, have absorbed most of the committee's attention. But in the long-term the most important issue comprises the first part of the Inquiry's terms of reference, "the size and the nature of the prison population, and the capacity of the prison service to accommodate it", and the related resources question, "the adequacy, availability, management and use of resources in the prison services". How did prison personnel groups deal with these matters?

The Association of First Division Civil Servants, in a slender four page submission, devoted two highly generalised paragraphs to the topic. Apparently so obvious a question did not merit detailed attention. "The problems of the prison system are most immediately the result of shortage of resources" AFDCS claimed before citing the open-ended commitment to admit prisoners; the absence of a "regular" building programme of new prisons; overcrowding; excessive reliance on 19th century buildings; and rising prisoner expectations; as causes and symptoms of the condition. No attempt was made to define the size of the alleged resources gap.³

Two of fourteen chapters in an exceedingly well-presented POA submission were devoted to the prison population and the resources provided for coping with it. Following obscure swipes at "influential pressure groups" and "experts" that have turned the prison system into a "political football" and done more "to mould the system than . . . those whose job it is to meet the pressures of day to day handling of inmates" the POA, with extended references to the consequences of the 1959 Mental Health Act; the abolition of capital punishment; and the increase in politically motivated violence; expressed the view that the prison population is becoming more difficult to contain and control.⁴ They also claimed that because of increased emphasis on legal rights of prisoners;

rising prisoner expectations; the withdrawal of certain sanctions; the introduction of the dispersal system; and the absence of adequate incentives for good behaviour; their capacity to control prisoners has been reduced. Most of the brief chapter on resources was devoted to manpower and the need to create working conditions and responsibilities attractive to good recruits.⁵ Though claiming that "the development of new buildings has come nowhere near matching the increase in prison population" and while deploring the overcrowding in local prisons and the operation of cash limits, the POA made no attempt to specify the extent of these resource deficiencies nor, unlike the AFDCS, did they condemn the continued use of Victorian premises. The latter departure from the current orthodoxy may well reflect POA criticism of the weight allegedly given to rehabilitation in current regimes and the ostensible translation of that doctrine in recent penal architecture. Whatever the case there was a substantial, perhaps quite proper, gap between the sophistication and detail of the POA evidence relating to staffing and their vague discussion of the prison population, system goals and resources. The POA pressed two recommendations: increase "bonus" remission, thereby reducing the population while increasing the incentive for good behaviour, and a new building programme.

The Governor's Branch of SCPS was more emphatic and aggressive on these questions. The first section of their submission was devoted to "Tasks and Resources", criticising the mismatch between the two and calling for a clear statement from the Department: "if the Inquiry is unable to recommend adequate resources, tasks should be reduced".⁶ Strangely, there was then no discussion of what the tasks ought to be and absolutely no reference to the size and nature of the prison population apart from the repeated assertion that it exceeds the resources to cope with it. This gap in their analysis did not however, prevent the SCPS from pressing a solution; "we expect the Inquiry to recommend substantial increases in prison accommodation".⁷ Having effectively berated Prison Department for failing to update and operationalise their statement of "aims and tasks", and having failed to indicate what these "aims and

tasks" ought to be, the submission goes on, restating evidence previously submitted to the 1978 Expenditure Committee, to give an inaccurate and misleading summary of the "facts" of overcrowding and antiquated buildings. Whatever shortcomings Prison Department may have in failing to specify objectives and standards the SCPS seemed content to compound them. A building programme to replace the 42 (in fact 46) pre-1900 establishments was advocated without any case being made out against their less intense usage and for their refurbishment and retention; to describe an establishment as "temporary" or "non-purpose built" was apparently sufficient to demonstrate that it is not suitable for its current purpose (whatever that might be); and though Mr. Bainton's 1971 statement of "Aims and Tasks" was said to be in need of redefinition there was no suggestion that "overcrowding" might be defined in terms other than the regime requirements of a century ago. It is true that SCPS reiterated their 1977 conclusion that if additional accommodation is not to be provided then the population must be reduced but there was no attempt to estimate the size of the population with which the system can humanely cope nor was there, no matter what may have been said on other occasions, any further suggestion that reduction of the population is an option which can or ought to be pursued. The recommendations that the courts should not be permitted to use imprisonment until they have first found a vacancy, or that agencies such as the Immigration Service, NHS or Local Authorities should be charged for their use of prison accommodation, were not linked to any analysis of misused or misplaced incarceration: they were simply presented as administrative devices for managing resources. There may be a case for such devices but one would have liked to see the document emanating from that group responsible for day to day management of the prison population either attempting a statement of goals or urging Prison Department, with detailed examples, of the need for the specification of standards.

The most ambitious but least polished of the submissions from prison personnel groups, at least as far as these topics are concerned, came from the British Association of Prison Governors. Because it at least

made an attempt to think about basic issues it was also the most vulnerable to attack. The causes of the confusions and contradictions in the BAPG document lie not simply in the fact that it was clearly prepared in haste by more than one author; they lie as much in the anodyne quality of the departmental publication *Prisons and the Prisoner* and the complacency, vacuity and cliché which characterises sections of the other submissions.

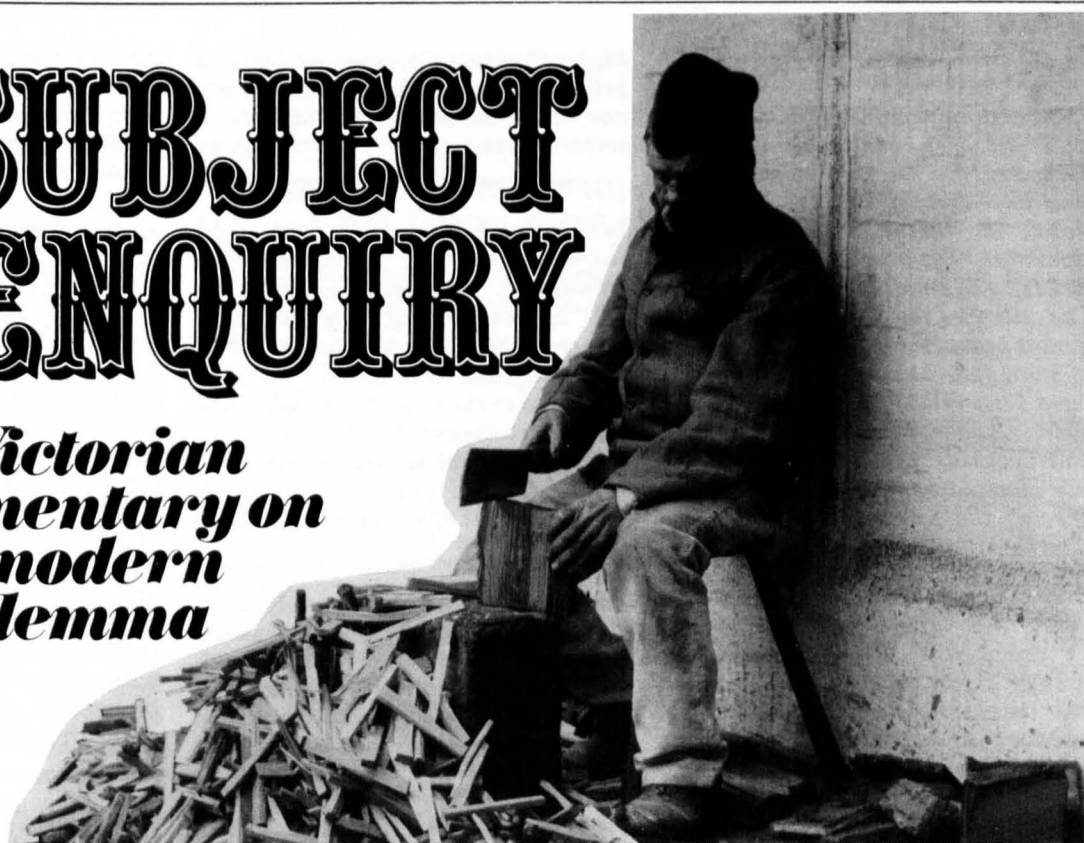
Though the BAPG evidence is littered with undefined references to the lack of resources — "half a century of resource starvation" — overcrowding and antiquated buildings, there is the beginning of a discussion on system goals. "How should we treat prisoners?" is at least identified as the fundamental question from which all other aspects of the debate on imprisonment and resources are necessarily derived.⁸ It is stressed that failure of Prison Department to define task priorities and regime standards has led to the adoption of different priorities in different institutions with stop-go disruption following a governor's departure and understandable bitterness over inequity and the maldistribution of resources. It is pointed out that the decline in the rehabilitation ideal has been accompanied by the introduction of "humane containment", a phrase which, at least as far as Prison Department use of it has been concerned, "is so vague as to be meaningless" and is "an impersonal morally neutral term which does nothing to motivate or inspire staff".⁹

So far so good. But it is at this point that the authors' (author's?) confusions are most evident. Rule 1, the statement claims, needs to be reaffirmed despite "the fact that it is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve".¹⁰ I suspect that most prison staff would strenuously resist the proposition that they were capable of being inspired by an organisational goal (the justification for reaffirmation) which was impossible to achieve.

But a more deep-seated confusion underpins the BAPG analysis. There is a failure to recognise that the welcome BAPG proposal for the creation of a Head Office Planning Group to lay down guiding principles and specify standards, in accordance with the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the treatment of prisoners, is precisely what "humane

SUBJECT TO ENQUIRY

A Victorian Commentary on a modern dilemma



M F G Selby *Governor, Brixton Prison*

The juxtaposition of inappropriate centenary celebrations with the unhappy events leading to the setting up of the May inquiry produced in me this nightmare — a consequence of ill-digested reading.

So here, to accompany the publication and discussion of the report of the May inquiry, are the dissatisfied unanswered voices of those concerned in prison life 100 years ago.

Officials and interested observers join with prisoners in conflicting commentary which is often curiously modern. For clarity, the comments of those other than prisoners are in italics.

It is to be hoped that we respond more effectively to their needs *this* time.

RECEPTION

The shaving was performed with a curious instrument which I had never seen before. I expected to be shaved, for I knew that beards were not permitted in convict prisons, though they are allowed in local prisons. For the hair-cropping I was not prepared, nor did I know to what extent it had taken place till I put my hand to my head when the process was half finished, and felt that my head was already almost as smooth as a billiard ball. What kind of spectacle I presented I know not. There was, happily, no looking-glass in the prison.

Non-perishable contents of pockets are usually noted and bundled together. Anything smokable is destroyed — or is supposed to be destroyed. But there is a cleaner who works in the Reception Ward, and he is sometimes cute enough to see that cigarettes and tobacco do not reach the fire.



TO SILENCE?

Once together in the same line, the "lads" are exceedingly clever in their methods of conversing. They never make the mistake, as novices do, of turning the head, whether the front or the rear man, and speak without moving the lips. They do not whisper, but talk, without giving the slightest sign, and are very difficult to detect.

Of course, camaraderie, or indeed, any undue familiarity between one prisoner and another is not allowed by the regulations, but since it has long ago been demonstrated that the rule enforcing "strict silence" is wholly impracticable, not to say inhuman, a certain latitude is necessarily allowed in cases where men are working in association.

Michael Selby read History at Queens' College Cambridge. His formative experiences were as Manager of a Boys' Club in Notting Dale and Housemaster under Sir Almeric Rich at Huntercombe. He has been involved in staff training in posts at Wakefield and Headquarters and has been Governor at North Sea Camp, Chelmsford and is now at Brixton.

Underclothing was only made of one size. What will fit a big man there is no difficulty in a little one getting into.

The building was full of men, and as silent as if it contained so many automata, for the only sound heard was like that of the rustling of a ticket, or, better, the ticking of a clockwork. The utter absence of noise struck us as being absolutely terrible. The silence seemed, after a time, almost intense enough to hear a flake of snow fall. Behold those whom we have seen full of life and emotion — some wonderful piece of breathing and speaking organism, reduced to the inanimateness of the statue is surely the most appalling and depressing sight we can look upon.

Mayhew

THE SYSTEM

No remission will be granted for conduct. It is only on condition of good conduct and strict obedience that convicts are allowed to earn by their industry a remission of a portion of their sentences.

Every prisoner on first entering the convict service has to undergo nine months of separate confinement in a cell by himself, working in that cell, and never leaving it except for exercise or to go to chapel. During that nine months no remission is given; but for the remainder of his time, if he obtains the full quantum of eight marks a day, which can only be earned by good conduct and the completion of his day's work, whatever that may be, he is allowed a remission of equal to three months in each year, or one-fourth of his sentence, except the nine months. It is very seldom a man goes through a whole term of service without losing some marks. Like all other human systems it is not perfection, though good in theory.

MARK SYSTEM — *We think that the mark system works well. We were given to understand that it is the practice to restore marks forfeited by inadvertence or some trivial offence subsequently compensated for by diligence and good conduct. We think that great care should be taken to observe this practice. We also are of the opinion that prisoners should not forfeit marks by reason of physical or mental weakness or illness.*

Gladstone Report

Major Fulford, Governor of Stafford prison, contended that prisons were not reformatories, but should be a terror to criminals.

In the course of our visits to the cells we have had the gratification of witnessing, to a great extent, their just appreciation of, and the deep interest which they take in, the moral and religious instruction which is imparted to them; and their gratitude for the treatment they have received under a discipline which combines instruction and reform.

Report of Visiting Magistrates

Prison life, as we have already seen, is a life of absolute and baneful monotony, a monotony which madens, and is only broken by occasional (very occasional) and meteoric surprises.

ACCOMMODATION

Serious charges of overcrowding in the London prisons have been made.

Gladstone Report

To the credit of the authorities at Belle Vue Gaol it should be stated that everything was kept scrupulously clean. In other gaols one has not only been at the mercy of the tiniest and most sanguinary of all insects, but one has had blackbeetles and other unsightly vermin served up in one's soup and porridge. I one day fished up from my tin of beef soup what I at first thought was a fragment of the genuine bos, but what, on critical examination, I found to be the hind-quarter of a mouse!

Newgate

After a while I examined my cell and its furniture. A stone or brick arched room some twelve feet by seven; white-washed walls spotlessly clean; a water-basin, burnished like gold, fastened to the wall, with a water-tap over it; a small flap-table fast to the wall; a wooden stool; three slate shelves in one corner, on which were a Bible, Prayer and Hymn-Book. An iron enamelled plate, a tin mug, wooden spoon and saltbox, and a piece of soap were arranged on the two lower shelves in so precise a manner that each separate article seemed to positively glare at me. On

the top shelf was a curious roll of what I knew must be bedding of some sort. The floor was black asphalt polished uncomfortably bright. The whole place and everything in it seemed horribly clean.

Parkhurst

You can paint and renovate a building, but you cannot keep it clean when its inmates are dirty, and some of the cells in C Hall, in spite of all that has been done for them, are once again little better than pigsties. The floorboards are begrimed with mud, the table and shelves are littered with breadcrumbs, the cell utensils are battered and befouled, the quilt, blankets, and towel are black with dirt, the books are overlaid with dust, the very writing slate is so besmeared with successive layers of grease as to be useless; a well-trained dog would shrink from such a kennel.

Parkhurst

All the appliances for securing and preserving cleanliness are supplied in a manner which is nothing less than niggardly. Soap, cleaning rags, whitening, scrubbing brushes, and all other necessary paraphernalia are served out so grudgingly, so inadequately, as to be incompatible with anything like thoroughness. Sometimes cleaning rags and whitening are not served out at all. "They are out of stock", "The steward won't supply them", are quite frequent and familiar excuses.

I have been asked what is the special feature, the predominant characteristic of the internal economy of Pentonville. Does it differ from other prisons which I have known, and in what respect? To all of which I answer unhesitatingly that it does differ, and that the main difference is in its dirt.

To get into bed is an easy matter, but to go to sleep is a different thing whilst an army of bugs, fleas, and other vile insects are attacking one; so throughout the whole of that first night I lay awake carrying on a futile struggle with the enemy.

Many of those who visit our prisons remark on the cells being so "clean and comfortable".

THE PRISONERS

The very worst of characters I have been brought into contact with have generally belonged to the class known as "roughs", and the worst of all are "London roughs". This class appear to me to be almost irreclaimable, and not at all amenable to any ordinary moral influence. As a rule, they are as cowardly as they are brutal — their animal instincts and propensities predominate to the almost total exclusion of any intellectual or human feeling, and with them, I fear, there is but one mode of effectually dealing. Brutes they are, and as brutes only can they be punished and coerced, and that is by the Lash.

My near neighbours were Irish Fenian prisoners, some of whom had been engaged in the attempts to blow up the House of Commons and the Mansion House, and in what were known in those days as the dynamite outrages.

Nor were these precautions on the part of the authorities unnecessary, for it is on record that Fenian prisoners have been released by the most desperate measures, and at that time it was believed that plans were on foot for the forcible rescue of these men.

That man has told me frequently that he worked far harder for his eleven shillings a week than ever he had at stone-quarrying or anything else in prison. When at home he seldom, if ever, had meat of any sort, and when he did it was only fat bacon, and his bed was only a poor affair compared to his prison couch. Here in prison, comparatively speaking, he "fared sumptuously every day", and I can assure the reader he considered the living luxurious compared to what he had at home; and as for his bed he said he never slept so comfortably in his life, and should sadly miss it when he returned home.

It must suffice here to say that the spirit of these instructions is that, while it is always to be remembered that the prisoners are sentenced to undergo punishment, the dictates of humanity are to be carefully kept in view, that all the officers are to bear in mind that their duty is to reform as well as to punish, and that the con-

ditions to ensure good health of body are to be attended to carefully.

WOMEN

It was impossible to have a no talking rule, even in a Victorian women's prison (except at meals). Talking, in fact was freely indulged in, contrary to the universal iron practice in men's prisons.

STAFF

Limiting our view to prison work as now carried on, we think the whole staff is somewhat under-manned.

Gladstone Report

"I am as much a prisoner as you are", said a warder to me one day. "I rise earlier than you, I work longer than you, and I go to bed later than you. The only difference between us is that I can walk out of the gate at certain hours and you can't. So far as money matters go, you are better off than I am, and, on the whole, I think your position is better than mine".

Dartmoor

At the end of the table, facing the door, sat the chief warder, an exceedingly good-looking soldierly man, whose military frock coat was decorated with Crimean and Turkish medals, showing he had seen service. I believe he had been sergeant-major of the 8th Hussars. With his back to the fireplace, behind the Chief, stood a gentleman in mufti, who I needed not a second glance to see was a soldier likewise. This was the Deputy-Governor, as gentlemanly a little fellow as ever stepped, and to whom I cannot but think the duties must have been very repugnant. Except when in his office, and prisoners were brought before him on report, I do not think Captain H. was ever known to speak before a prisoner. He never, however, let a thing escape him, and any remark he had to make he made to the principal warder on duty.

Chatham

The tone of the officers' voices, their curt, dictatorial and offensive manner, their sneering laughs and gibes struck me as being in consonance with the place itself.

Early on the following day the chaplain, an agreeable and courteous

man, came to visit me. "It's lucky for you", he said, in the course of some friendly conversation, "that you have come just at this time. The Governor who has recently left was a very severe man indeed. Things are bad enough at present, and even now I would warn you to be very careful of the warders. You are wholly in their power".

Millbank

The first warder I particularly noticed was a man in immediate charge of me, who, I imagine, was a retired seaman. He has long since left the prison service with his well-earned pension. I can truly say he was kindness itself. He made my work as easy as he could by instruction, he encouraged me in my hours of depression, and spontaneously spoke to the doctor, when he thought that my health was giving way, insisting that unless I had a change of bed, I should break down altogether.

I have before made the remark that I think old soldiers are the best warders, and I think the discipline of the prison would be much better conducted if the warders were all taken from the ranks of discharged soldiers.

Again, every working-party, besides being under the charge and direction of one or more officers, is visited at frequent intervals by a principal officer, also once in the morning and once in the afternoon by the chief warder, the Deputy Governor and, generally, the Governor also. Each of these three latter makes separate visits. The times of these visits is pretty well foreseen, and whatever may have been going on in a party and whatever may be the general conduct of a party, we may be quite sure that it is exemplary while these high functionaries pass by. The effect of all this worrying is inevitably to make the officers in charge of the party and the prisoners who compose the party in league to avoid being caught by surprise; it creates, in fact, a community of interest between the warder and his men. The warder has to trust to the good feeling of the men that they will not get him into trouble by their conduct during these visits, and the men, of course, require as a condition of such good feeling that the officer shall not be too strict with

SUBJECT TO ENQUIRY *continued*

them when the common enemy is out of the way.

Suddenly the officer in question jumped up from his chair on the small observation platform, and pointing to a man half-way down the line, shouted fiercely to him to "Stop that talking there". I knew that this stern manner was entirely foreign to that well disposed warder — but the "Chief" and the Governor were present, which explained all.

Both were administered by the most crusty, cantankerous, and peevish lot of screws I have ever seen in blue serge and brass buttons.

We are satisfied that the cases of gross ill-treatment by warders which have occurred are very few in number, and that the harshness which is frequently imputed to the warders ought to be attributed rather to the compulsory enforcement of minute regulations than to any want of humanity on the part of the men themselves.

Gladstone Report

The Head chief warder was very popular among the men as he never lost an opportunity of bullying the warders and assistant warders.

WORK

Sir E. Du Cane thus writes of it " . . . the punishment of hard, dull, useless, uninteresting, monotonous labour. It is necessary to resort to this for its penal effect.

The time men are actually at work is not more than seven hours, and in winter six, and they do not really work anything like so hard as free men.

There are three objects to be attained by the employment of prisoners at labour: First, to create a deterrent effect on the prisoner himself, and on the criminal class; secondly, to produce a reformatory effect on the prisoner himself; and, thirdly, to recoup as far as possible, the cost of maintaining the prison.

Another delightfully interesting occupation which I was destined to have in solitary confinement, but not in Leicester, was the powdering of bathbrick. It consisted of rubbing two

bathbrick stones together until there was nothing left of them but the powder which collected in a tin basin below.

The extensive works which have been undertaken of late years at Chatham and Portsmouth for the enlargement of these dockyards, have been largely done by convict labour.

At Portland the convicts were employed from six to eight hours daily in blasting rock, hewing stones, and building fortifications.

At Chatham the staple or principal work was that known as "navy work". Excavating basins for the Admiralty, dredging, and the making of bricks constituted the daily round during the whole time I was at that station; and when I say that such work was in the hands of contractors, who allowed the authorities so much per day for convict labour, and who were under engagements to complete the work within a given time, it can be easily understood that the labour imposed upon prisoners there was, literally, "hard" — very hard — indeed.

DISCIPLINE AND PUNISHMENT

Savage assaults of this kind are of frequent occurrence in all convict prisons, and I have often noticed that when the assailant is flogged or birched he howls vociferously, showing that the triangle — all prisoners are strapped to a triangle whenever corporal punishment is inflicted — is the only argument which carries weight with such offenders.

A mawkish sentimentalism lifts up its foolish head nowadays in protest against the use of that very necessary deterrent, the "cat", or, rather, the "birch". But why do penal "heathens" so furiously rage, and, in their ignorance of known facts, "imagine a vain thing"? No convict prison in the country could be governed for a week were flogging abolished.

When I first saw O'Brien he was loaded with chains and rigged out in a parti-coloured dress, the result, I believe, of an abortive attempt to escape from "the slaughter house", as Chatham Prison was then called.

WORK

The employments which have been introduced into county and borough prisons are: grinding corn by tread-wheel or crank; weaving cocoa-nut mats or carpets, or woollen and linen stuffs; matmaking, sawing firewood; tin work. Ship fender making is profitably followed in the neighbourhood of seaports.

The Treadmill

A prisoner under sentence of penal servitude was but rarely detained long in local prison. I was detained in Belle Vue only a month, but that was long enough to disgust me with the place, as this was the only time I was ever required to mount the "everlasting staircase", and I was such an awkward hand at it — there is an art in working the tread-mill — that I got into trouble more than once during that month.

Colonel T. Colvill (Coldbath Fields) said there were 600 prisoners a day on his treadmill, the largest ever made.

In Cold Bath Fields the intense cold, plus the meagre fare given to prisoners for the first month, caused more bodily suffering than any other item in the penal machinery, and much as I hated the tread-mill at any other place, I prized it highly at "The Fields" as the only possible way of keeping the blood in circulation!

The tinsmith's shop at Portland is a large, well-appointed modern workshop, turning out a great quantity of very useful work.

. . . and in 1850, when Dartmoor prison was opened, the work for the prisoners being that of reclaiming the moorland and converting it into a farm. It was a bold experiment to depart so far from previous practice as to employ 1,500 prisoners in the open country without any wall to keep them in, or any chains to hamper their movements, but it was completely justified by the result, and there has never, during the whole 22 years, been any difficulty in controlling the prisoners or ensuring their safe custody.

Dartmoor — In many respects, I don't consider the discipline or the work hard enough.

EXERCISE

In my first experience of prison, which was in Durham, I was surprised to be ordered out for exercise at ten minutes past six in the morning. I remember thinking at the time that this was an excellent way of commencing the day, the air being fresh and exhilarating as we walked round the exercise ground for 40 minutes before breakfast; but I was chagrined to discover later on that this 40 minutes was the only period during the day in which it was possible to breathe the fresh air. Solitary confinement was the order for the remainder of the 24 hours.

During periods of thick fog we were not allowed out to exercise, and prisoners in the London gaols particularly need no reminding of the dismal gloom which descends with the fog over the grey buildings. A dark fog enveloped Wormwood Scrubs Prison in the course of one winter evening which I can well remember, and, as the day had been fairly clear, our party of brush-makers was taken out to the workshop at the usual time — five o'clock. By eight o'clock, when we were due to return, the well-known London fog had come, and so thick was it that we were unable to make out the narrow path which we knew so well, or to see the man in front of us, in spite of lamps being lit. As we returned in single file, warders stood three or four yards apart all the way to the entrance door.

FOOD

Resuming my narrative of my first day of penal servitude, I will describe the first breakfast. It was my first of nearly 4000 identical breakfasts, and consisted of a pint of impossible tea and an eight-ounce brown loaf — but this eight-ounce loaf is not so ample as it may seem, for a substantial portion of every loaf consists of crust. The wise prisoner soaks his loaf in his tea.

Three days a week three ounces of beef or mutton, with potatoes or other vegetables. Two days one pint of soup, and one day, on Thursdays, neither meat nor soup, but one solid pound of suet-pudding, containing at least two and a half ounces of suet, and on Sundays nothing but bread and cheese. Of the quality of these articles I will descant as we come to

them. Sometimes, instead of either beef or mutton, salt pork was given.

It was first intimated to us from the pulpit of Wormwood Scrubs prison chapel after a mid-week morning service. The Chaplain blandly informed us that the bread allowance, the chief item in prison diet, would be reduced by half, but a substitute would be introduced in the form of a small pat of margarine to breakfast and supper, and one ounce of cheese per day. Further, we would lose half a pint of gruel per day, and receive in its place one pint of cocoa (so-called).

Christmas Day was like another Sunday in the week, excepting that the dinner was that of the day on which the 25th fell. "They might put us a bit of turkey in — or a bit of plum duff, at least", said one of the Trial men; but he would be disappointed, for the usual pint of soup, with bread and potatoes, had to suffice. We were all glad when the bedtime bell rang, for Christmas Day to us was merely another one knocked off, a day nearer to the end of the sentence.

HEALTH

We provided him with books, with medical attendance, with means of cleanliness, and, in fact, with every requirement of health and decency.

The formula is something like the following:-

"Smith, A 100, sir".

"Well, Smith, what's the matter with you?"

"Oh, if you please, sir, I've got a dreadful cold in my head".

"Show me your tongue. Let me feel your pulse. H'm! Dose of Number 4".

The dose is poured out into a little bowl or cup, known, I believe, as a "tot". The patient swallows it rather ruefully, wipes his lips with his sleeve, and passes out at a door opposite to the one by which he entered.

"Next man. Here, hurry up!"

"Jones, D 113."

"Well, Jones, what's up?"

"Please, sir, I've got pains all down my legs".

"How long have you had them?"

"Oh, off and on for about a week, sir".

"Dose of Number 4. Next man".

"Moses, F 900".

"Well, Moses, what is it?"

"Please, sir, I've pains in my inside that are quite cruel".

"Show me your tongue. Good. Dose of Number 4".

In this way the 50 to 80 sick men are knocked off in something less than a quarter of an hour or 20 minutes. There is no doubt occasionally a variation in the dose; but Number 4, if I remember the number rightly, is, like certain patent medicines, a panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to.

The daily exercise party of hospital men at Wormwood Scrubs Prison is a sight which cannot fail to impress the most casual observer. Trudging slowly and painfully round and round those double tracks are some of the most miserable wrecks of humanity in the last stages of degradation.

"I've sprained my wrist, sir", or my leg, whatever it may be.

Doctor looks at it.

"Give him some liniment".

"Hold out your hand", shouts apothecary.

The man holds it out, and it is filled with some stuff — hartshorn and oil, or opodeloc. The door is slammed to, and there stands the man, his dinner half finished, and his hand full of some filthy smelling stuff, to make the best use of he can.

The medical inspector of the prison board states in his annual reports that the practice of sending insane persons to prison has largely increased.

LETTERS & VISITS

I made a good study of the rules, and was glad to find that I should have the privilege of writing home within 14 days from my arrival. This I knew would be great comfort to those at home. I also saw that I should be entitled to receive a reply letter any time within one month. After that all communication would cease for six months. During the first two years letters are allowed to pass between prisoners and their families, and also visits to take place every six months, the second year every four months, and after that every three months,

provided always that a prisoner did not forfeit his privilege by misconduct, and that he earned his proper quota of marks.

The deputy could not endorse this view of things. "Imprisonment would be no punishment at all if those imprisoned were allowed to write letters to their friends whenever they chose to do so.

When I first went to Portland, prisoners' letters were not even put in envelopes, but were fastened up in the old fashion in which notes were folded before envelopes came into general use. The consequence was that they could be identified as coming from prisoners, and their contents could even be scanned by gossiping postmistresses and inquisitive postmen.

When a visitor arrives, the prisoner is taken from his cell to the Visiting House. In this "house" or shed are two rows of boxes, opposite each other, and in each of these compartments there is standing-room only. The prisoner is led in first, through the prisoners' doorway, and ushered into one of the boxes; then, from the other side, and into the opposite box, come the relatives or friends. Eagerly they look for a glimpse of each other, but the vision is screened, and also handicapped at times by bad light. Between the opposite boxes are two thicknesses of strong wire gauze of very close texture, whilst overhead stretches wire-netting. The warder stands immediately behind the prisoners' line of boxes, keeping an eye on his man, or men, and checking the time allowed for each visit.

I never saw either wife or child of mine till I met them a free man.

I had been 15 months shut up, never having seen a newspaper or heard one scrap of news of any sort.

RELIGION

Chaplains are often systematically belittled by the Governors and thwarted by the Chief Warders. He is required to provide a morning service and it is so cut down in length that it is little short of a mockery. It could really seem as if the main object of

the service was to show how quickly it could be performed.

A congregation of bawling men and an organ can cover a multitude of forbidden words, and the voices behind sang to the tune of the organ, first one man, then his neighbour, but instead of "And behold from henceforth" came the question, "What are you in for?" Then followed the reply, which should have been "All generations shall call me blessed", "I'm in for shop-breaking"; and, again during the singing of "For He that is Mighty hath magnified me", "How long have you got?" and the reply, "Six months hard labour" substituted for "And Holy is His Name".

I must have attended hundreds of Prison Services, and very often it seemed to me that certain hymns were selected for the benefit of transgressors, for some came over and over again. "Brief Life is Here our Portion", "Have Mercy on us, God Most High", "A Few More Years shall Roll", "I was a Wandering Sheep" these and others were sung regularly during the time I sojourned in His Majesty's prisons.

THE ADMINISTRATION

The decrease of transportation found us with very imperfect machinery for treating our criminals at home.

For a century or more we have been endeavouring to improve our prison buildings.

The Directors of convict prisons are supposed to make regular periodical visits, and they, too, can inflict special punishment for certain exceptional offences. So far as I have heard, the regularity of these visits leaves a good deal to be desired.

The greatest care is taken that the earnings should be correctly calculated and truly stated. A staff of men is employed, whose business it is to measure the prisoner's work.

The Revd. Thomas Carter defended the English system, remarking that the punishments inflicted in county and borough gaols were never of long

duration, and that magistrates would be jealous of yielding the control to the Government into whose hands it would put a large amount of patronage. Prisons generally were now well managed, and he anticipated no advantage from a change of system.

DISCHARGE

Discharge takes place in various ways. As already stated, when a man is first of all convicted his clothing is confiscated, and on his discharge the prison authorities give him others in their place. There is no item in the whole system that requires more through revision than this. Two courses are adopted. If a man joins the Prisoners' Aid Society, he has a small sum allowed to him, which is handed over to the society to purchase clothing; but if he does not an outfit is given to him, every article of which, except the boots, bears upon it the unmistakable mark of the convict prison. A man may just as well wear his ticket-of-leave in the front of his hat as the clothes given to him on leaving prison.

All these details were gone through by the authorities with a kindness and a tact for which I shall ever be grateful; and yet not one word was said to me as to the exact date of my release — I was left to guess that, and I guessed very often and very hard. I only found it out for certain by a curious chance two days before the actual time.

Then I appeared before the Governor. He was very kind, as he had always been to me. He told me that my son was waiting for me at the gate. He sent for him. We met and shook hands together for the first time for over 13 years. There was quite a crowd of warders outside returning from breakfast and waiting to enter on the duties of the day. When they saw me with my son, there was a sudden hum of surprise. They fell back to let us pass. An open fly was waiting for us; my daughter-in-law was seated in it. We jumped into the fly. I hardly realised what had happened, or where I was, or what I said.

AFTER-CARE

In Great Britain there are two influences brought to bear on a

discharged prisoner. First, he is placed for a limited time under the supervision of the Police to such an extent as to satisfy them that he is not falling again into a career of crime, or, in the case he should do so, to ensure his being speedily remitted to undergo further discipline in prison. Secondly, he is offered the assistance of private societies established expressly for the purpose of aiding discharged prisoners in their efforts to maintain themselves by honest labour.

There was a young fellow told me once that he left prison with a year's licence from a former lagging, and he tried all he could to work "square". His wish was to be honest, but the coppers or police would not give him half a chance. At every place he got into work they were down on him. A policeman would call on the employer, "Do you know you are employing a discharged convict, Sir? So-and-so in your service is a ticket-of-leave man. In 19 cases out of 20 the servant either gets immediately discharged, or quietly receives notice the next day that his services will not be wanted.

It is noteworthy that prisoners after discharge do not as a rule follow a trade which they have learnt in prison. The main reason for this, over and above ordinary falling back into bad habits, are no doubt the fact that prison taught labour is of a lower standard than outside labour, and the feeling that the employment is associated with prison life and that if they pursued it their fellow workmen would probably ascertain where they had learnt it. But we think that the training in orderly and industrial habits is of higher value than the teaching of a special trade.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In proportion to the spread of education, the increase of wealth, and the extension of social advantages, the retention of a compact mass of habitual criminals in our midst is a growing stain on our civilisation.

I do not think that either an increase or a decrease in crime is affected by prison systems.

Sir Edmund DuCane

In a multitude of councils wisdom may be found, or, to use a homely phrase, "Two heads are better than one". I have a clear conviction that the first step towards an effective penal system is decentralisation. Give to each county in the country the power of solving the problem of crime in its own way, and a satisfactory result would, sooner or later, follow.

The central system was apt to become stereotyped, our system moreover had the advantage of interesting country gentlemen in the lower classes.

I think myself that long sentences, as at present carried out, are a mistake, and particularly for the first offences. Shorter periods of imprisonment, and that of a much severer nature as regards discipline, food, and treatment altogether, I believe would be found to be more effective, and it would not lead to so much evil in its effects on the families of men convicted.

They have passed through the extremes of undue harshness and undue leniency: and they are approaching, though they have only in individual instances reached, that middle and wholesome condition where health and life are cared for, where all facilities for moral and religious improvement are given but where labour is extracted from all, and where a disagreeable sense of personal restraint and real punishment is brought home to each offender.

Viscount Palmerston

Sir Godfrey Lushington thus impressively summed up the influences under the present system unfavourable to reformation: "I regard as unfavourable to reformation the status of a prisoner throughout his whole career: the crushing of self-respect, the starving of all moral instinct he may possess, the absence of all opportunity to do or receive a kindness, the continual association with none but criminals, and that only as a separate item amongst other items also separate: the forced labour, and the denial of all liberty. I believe the true mode of reforming a man or restoring him to society is exactly in the opposite direction of all these.

Habitual Drunkards — under this head should be included most prisoners sentenced primarily for drunkenness. They are not criminals in the ordinary sense and should stand by themselves in a special category.

The physical craving for drink is a disease which requires medical treatment not provided by the present prison system.

Special medical treatment should be applied to them and they should be dealt with as patients rather than criminals.

Gladstone Report

I should like to see a Royal Commission appointed to thoroughly investigate the whole convict system with a view to its reformation.

The contents of this article were derived from many sources too numerous to mention. Several of them were the published memoirs of ex-offenders which enjoyed a vogue in the second half of the nineteenth century. The following are a selection of the main sources:-

Chesterton George Lavel — *Revelations of prison life* (1858)

Du Cane Edmund — *The punishment and prevention of crime* London (1885)

Jebb, Sir Joshua — *Reports and observations on the discipline and management of convict prisons* London (1863)

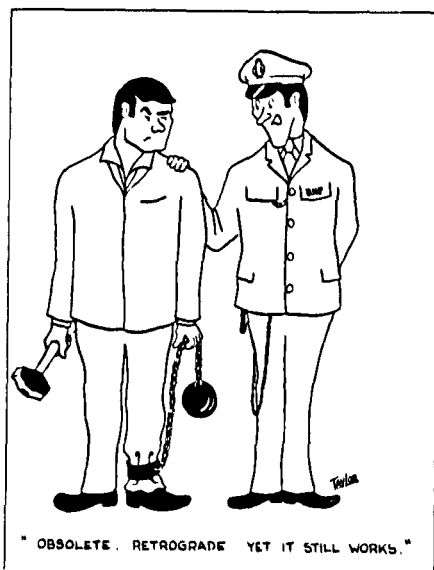
Jervis, Eustace — *Twenty-five years in 6 prisons* Unwin (1925)

Report from the House of Commons Departmental Committee on Prisons (The Gladstone Report) (1895)

One who has endured it — *Five years penal servitude* London (?1890)

N.B.

All these books and many others in a similar vein may be consulted in the Prison Service College Library.



On speaking with a forked tongue

J R S Shergold

Deputy Governor, Shepton Mallet

"Language most shews a man; speak that I may see thee"

Ben Jonson

Whilst listening to the radio recently, I heard a certain peanut farmer talking about an "international military conflict situation" by which I suppose he meant war. Of course, the fun to be had playing with "buzz words" or jargon is well known to those who have dipped into the language of social science and come up with such priceless treasures as "negative profitability" (loss) or a "maximised social interaction factor" (he's a nice chap). But I wonder, is it not now going further than just a pompous way of speaking and beginning to affect our lives and our profession?

That word "situation" for instance, is really an evasion. It is as though by tagging it onto the end of a phrase we have assumed a kind of scientific and distanced stance, indicating that we are not really involved in what is happening, and that the discussion is on an altogether higher and disinterested level than mere human feelings. Thus we are removed from real and imaginative contemplation of the carnage of war in a "war situation", or the sufferings of old people in a power strike, when we discuss an "industrial action situation". Moreover, when it is we who have engineered the "situation" it appears that we have nothing to do with it, and that we are discussing some other person or group over whom we have no control. The perpetrators of any given action do not say "we have done x" but "we find ourselves in an x situation" and absolve themselves from any consequence or control over their actions.

The evasion of issues and responsibility may be thought a sign of our times and linguistic evasion a reflection of it. Certainly there is a case to be made for seeing the decline of

language as having political, moral and economic causes. Consider for instance, the title: "National Enterprise Board". Enterprise is something which is carried out by entrepreneurs in competition with others. Now whether or not we subscribe to competition, it is an essential aspect of enterprise in the economic sense. Whereas the whole purpose of a national or state concern is the elimination of competition in that particular activity within the state. One suspects that the two words "national" and "enterprise" which in fact are an ideological contradiction of each other, are deliberately juxtaposed so as to give the impression that the best of both will be manifested. But it seems highly unlikely that ICI, for example, could take a controlling share in the NEB; whereas it is possible and even probable that, in certain circumstances, the reverse could happen. The significance here is not that the NEB's activities are desirable or undesirable, but that its title should be an evasion of the implicit clash between opposed political and economic ideologies contained within itself. It is a kind of political euphemism.

Penology is no stranger to this kind of "Newspeak". Throughout the 60's

the Prison Service, like other parts of national life, was seduced by the notion of scientific-objective distancing of the subject. Prison staff were required to organise a "treatment model" as though criminality were an illness which could be studied, diagnosed and cured. Our language became full of pseudo-medical euphemisms, "inmates" for prisoners, "therapeutic communities" and "Group therapy" for talking shops.

Fortunately, some saw the flaw in the system, among them RD Laing who wrote:

"It is impossible to derive the basic logic of a science of persons from the logic of non-personal sciences. No branch of natural science requires us to make the peculiar type of inferences that are required in a science of persons. One person investigating the experiences of another can be directly aware only of his experience of the other. He cannot have direct awareness of the other's experience of the "same" world. He cannot see through the other's eyes and cannot hear through the other's ears".

I do not need to argue for the demise of the treatment model: for most people it is already dead. What is significant is its distorted



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His spare time is taken up with vegetable gardening, commanding a reserve artillery unit and reading for a research degree in Criminology.

language. We meet that same evasion and distancing in all its euphemisms which carry us away from the analysis of the real problems.

Lately we are confronted with a new kind of distortion in our national life which also affects the work of prisons. I speak of the "human rights" issue. People utter this phrase as though it were sacrosanct, and yet I can think of no "right" which I or any other human being obtains or inherits or receives as a result of being born. "We give birth astride the grave" wrote Becket; and surely death and whatever comes after it is our only birthright. What we really mean is human *privilege* which can be inherited, won, given or taken away. Society, either willingly or unwillingly is our source of privilege and they are both ephemeral, complex and unpredictable. Yet the pious rhetoric flows and in our prisons we speak of "prisoners rights" and "humane containment".

The true distinction is between prison staff behaving humanely and the inhumanity of incarceration. Now whether society's actions in imprisoning people are necessary or justified is a quite separate issue which has no place in this essay. What I am concerned about is the way the euphemistic distortions like "humane containment" evade the real questions which are: is there an alternative to imprisonment which will serve the same purpose and which will be humane, and do prison staff behave humanely? We do not answer and conveniently evade those

questions by saying that a man is in "humane containment". It is a penological euphemism.

Of far more moment to us is the question of "prisoners' rights". Like "human rights" they do not really exist. What do exist are privileges granted formally and legally by society through Parliament. But the fact that no one will deny that they exist for prisoners places those who defend prison staff in an almost untenable position. The very utterance of the phrase assumes that they do exist, and that those who legally withhold them are, by definition, inhumane. The invalid equation is then complete and closed to argument:

denial of human rights = inhumane prison staff whereas what is really the case is never made clear:

legal withdrawal of privileges = humane prison staff or:

illegal withdrawal of privileges = inhumane prison staff.

There are other evasions which, though not the product of the more recent linguistic gymnastics, nevertheless lay a smoke screen over what is really happening. We speak of an "award" when we mean a punishment, of "difficult inmates" when we mean violent prisoners, of "anti-social" when we mean rebellious. We say these things because we are unwilling to evoke the images which the English language is so richly capable of doing, and thus we escape reality. Instead of saying "he is a violent and rebellious prisoner who was justly punished" we say "he tends to be somewhat difficult and

anti-social and was given a suitable award". The real enemy of clear language is insincerity; the gap between real and declared aims which is filled with inflated and evasive jargon.

Remarkably, the language of prisoners and prison officers is not like that at all. "Banged-up" means precisely that and so does "slop-out". There is no equivocation here; presumably there can be no evasion of a shared experience.

The distortion of language in this way has enormous implications in the day to day running of our prisons. It means that for a good deal of the time we do not speak the whole truth to staff, to prisoners or to the public, and that the real issues of imprisonment and staff relations are, at the most, only partially discussed. Language is meant to express, not to conceal.

The distortion of language, though it might well be the product of a politically and morally evasive way of life, is not irreversible. An effect can eventually become a cause, thus our language becomes evasive and insincere because our thoughts are evasive and insincere, but our distorted language then makes it easy for us to think in this way. Whereas if we consciously rid ourselves of euphemism and distortion we are forced to confront reality and to think clearly. Perhaps this is a step we ought to make towards penological regeneration. We could then step out of our "situations" and find out where we really are — in prisons. ■

GLoucestershire PRISON REFORMS *continued from page 3*

Separate System might "not be in vogue some 25 years hence". It is an experiment, he argued, which in nearly all its aspects had been tried and failed in Gloucestershire, "exactly why I cannot explain — possibly a lack of 'salutary terror' ". There followed a stiff fight with the Home Office, which the county won for the treadmill continued to be used. However toilets were installed in the cells, but later removed so leaving prisoners with chamber pots to this day. A new Rule Book and a spate of new record books followed as well. It is not the purpose of this article to follow what subsequently happened.

From what has been said already it is clear that Blackburn's architecture and Paul's Separate System were a

mixture of idealism and realism. Clear principles, firm rules for both staff and inmates, sympathetic magistrates and healthy, well-planned prisons were all vital ingredients of Gloucestershire reform. If society was barely prepared to provide education, religious instruction and medical care of its poor in the normal course of life, it was prepared to do so for those who had fallen foul of it in Gloucestershire. However the idea of reform through regular work proved impractical due to the short sentences which many prisoners received and the difficulty of finding suitable work for a mixture of ages and characters. As to whether the right reform methods were used, all one can say is that each generation believes it has the solution to the

problem of handling its criminal element and Gloucestershire's efforts were those of their day. Basic to all the theories and efforts made was the belief that the criminal could be reformed given the correct conditions. ■

This article is condensed from a lecture originally given for Bristol University Extra Mural Dept., in November, 1978.

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The Pennine Way

Alan Farrer *PEI, Hindley Borstal*

After successfully completing the Centurion Walk [100 miles in the Yorkshire Dales] with a group of eight borstal trainees in 1977, it was considered a worthwhile and viable proposition to involve another group of lads in a greater challenge. Permission was granted, and two PE staff and six trainees walked 252 miles on a 16 day expedition on the Pennine Way in June, 1978.

The Training

A comprehensive programme over 12 weeks was undertaken by volunteer trainees. This was done in their free time and took the form of fitness preparation — circuit training, weight training, cross-country running, swimming — and included various aspects of first-aid, camping, map and compass work, country code, and instruction about Youth Hostels. A variety of overnight stopping places was planned — camp sites (established ones and our own) and occasional Youth Hostels. Each would be a differing experience for the trainees. In addition to these preparations, we had local day hikes, culminating in a final selection of trainees walking the "Three Peaks Walk" in the Yorkshire Dales and a hike of the Snowdonia "Horseshoe" as an introduction to hilly conditions. After the final training stint, we had six trainees all fit and keenly looking forward to packing their rucksacks for the Pennine Way.

The Walk

On 21st May, the six trainees, PEI Pearson and I took our first step on the start of our 252 mile journey which took us from Edale in Derbyshire, through the Peak District, Yorkshire Dales, Border District, Hadrian's Wall, Cheviots, and — finally — Kirk Yethon in Scotland. For the whole of the journey, the weather was ideal: in fact, at times, it was too hot. One trainee (the youngest of the group) had to drop out after covering over 110 miles, and this was entirely due to the effects of the sun. We all, at one time or

another, suffered from blisters on our feet, a little sunburn and dehydration, but all to no lasting effect.

The Outcome

During the walk, close relationships were made between us, and one and all gained something from each other. Although the trainees had differing reasons for starting the training programme and were all attempting to get away from borstal life for a fortnight, the longer they persevered with the training so it became more and more of a challenge. Probably, as most of them have stated, they will never do it again, but they are all pleased they accepted the challenge, were successful, and can say, "The Pennine Way — I did it! It was part of my borstal training I will always be able to recall".



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.

THE EVIDENCE TO MR. JUSTICE MAY *continued from page 6*

containment" ought to have meant in practice.¹¹ It is precisely the retention of Rule 1 which, despite its abandonment in official rhetoric, continues to dictate the organisation of prison establishments and the distribution of the prison population and of resources between them. "Humane containment" is only "so vague as to be almost meaningless" because Prison Department, clinging to the organisational structure of treatment and training, has failed to take it seriously.

Despite these points of dispute the BAPG has, alone of all the prison personnel groups, identified the ground which Mr. Justice May must cover. It can scarcely be expected

that his committee will provide all the answers. But at the very least the Inquiry's report must unequivocally tell Prison Department that if it is to have more resources then it must first specify, in great detail, the goals it considers realisable, the standards to which it aspires and the gap between what is and what ought to be. It should also estimate the proportion of the prison population which, in the light of such assessment, should not be in prison. It may be that the undisclosed evidence submitted by the Home Office has undertaken just such a task. If so, the Department has totally failed to divulge such thinking to its personnel.

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BOOK REVIEWS

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IDEALISM TO REALISM

Assessing the Criminal— Restitution, Retribution, and the Legal Process

Edited by R: E: BARNETT &
J. HAGEL

Ballinger/Wiley, 1978, £10.40

Those of us who joined the Prison Service in the late 1960's were often amused by extraordinary anecdotes relating to the antics of a number of celebrated "penal practitioners", usually in the young offender field, who made their mark in the previous three decades. Stories of a scoutmaster approach coupled with public school ethics seemed ludicrously inappropriate to the problem of offending.

Nevertheless, we were acutely aware that the confidence and dedication of that generation, however misplaced we thought it might have been, had given way to a deep uncertainty about what the right approach should be. The idea that offenders were motivated towards a law-abiding life was the central belief and the system was principally geared to that end. Resources were improved and a great deal of idealism employed but results, in terms of low reconvictions, were depressingly disappointing.

This inevitably led to a great deal of cynicism and, because the Service needs a philosophy, the current age of realism began. Increasingly, we accepted that people are not sent to a prison because they come from broken homes, were beaten up as kids, lacked job skills, had drug dependency problems, etc., but because they had committed crime. The development of the dispersal system with its overwhelming emphasis on security, the increasing sophistication of gangster-type crime and the growing presence of terrorists within the system, accelerated the trend to a simpler, less ambitious philosophy. The concept of "humane containment" is not new,

but is generally regarded today as the most that the Prison Service can hope to achieve, and only then with great difficulty.

The vastly increased cost of Western law and order systems, coupled with a steady growth in criminal activity, has brought about a crisis of public confidence in those systems which hover continuously on the verge of breakdown. The age of realism is giving way to an age of survival, the aim of which is to somehow keep the system going in the face of rising crime rates, longer sentences, lack of sufficient funds and growing industrial action.

The situation in the United States is very similar to our own; indeed the crisis there is more acute. This collection of papers by academics graphically illustrates the need for a complete re-appraisal of penal policy. The views put forward are by no means consistent and chapters express conflicting views, as if one is listening to a debate. Nevertheless, the reader is left with the impression of a strongly argued polemic against many traditionally held beliefs, and the need for a greatly slimmed system with clear, practical objectives which stand some chance of being achieved.

Many currently argued themes are given a thorough airing, particularly the retributive (as opposed to rehabilitative) nature of punishment, the decriminalisation of certain "victimless crimes" (drug possession, prostitution, etc.), restitution to the victim, the responsibility of the individual offender, and the social or economic factors that may promote crime.

The most interesting chapter is "Psychiatric Diversion in the Criminal Justice System: A Critique", by Thomas S. Szasz. This is a startling exposé of the role of psychiatric evidence in the criminal justice system, obviously more exaggerated in the States, since there it would seem that lay juries and judges must make judgements about the psychiatric condition of the accused.

Professor Szasz is sceptical about the scien-

tific basis for conditions such as "kleptomania," "pyromania" or "dipsomania" existing as "mental illness", revealing that, in 19th Century America, it was felt that a slave who showed a constant inclination to escape from a plantation was mentally ill, and the term "drapetomania" for this aberration was applied.

He argues that psychiatric coercion is neither a legitimate nor necessary societal option and goes on to state that "If so-called insane persons refuse the protection that is offered to them, a right that no society can deny them, and remain free, then I believe we should adopt a moral perspective and a social policy towards such persons that is more consistent with the principles of the rule of law than is recourse to psychiatric coercion. I propose that we regard insane individuals as deviant or defiant persons rather than as diseased or demented patients; and that we treat them the same way we treat the so-called normal members of society—that is, by leaving them alone so long as they obey the law, and by prosecuting and punishing them if they break it".

Unfortunately, much of this book is neither as readable nor as stimulating as Szasz's contribution. Much of it is long-winded and basic themes are reiterated with monotonous regularity. Nevertheless, there is sufficient fresh argument and original research to make *Assessing the Criminal* a valuable work of reference in the course of the wide-ranging debate on the United Kingdom criminal justice system which, presumably, will continue *ad infinitum*.

ALAN COLVILLE
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Crime and Justice

Published by Crime and Justice,
31/33 Clapham Road, London
SW9 0JE, 1979

The "law and order" debate has too long been dominated by the extremes and, in consequence, opinion has been polarised. The "Crime and Justice" group has been established to bridge the gap between the extremes by laying emphasis on the rational consideration of crime and justice and presenting a moderate view based on the principles of our criminal justice system. The sponsors stress

the importance of the progress made in penal policy in the last two decades, the need for our laws to be enforced rigorously and effectively, and our obligation to treat offenders justly and decently.

Crime and Justice, the first information paper published by this new organisation, makes a rational criticism of the two popular responses to the relentless growth in the volume of crime in post-war Britain. The group which they call "the progressives" wish to punish fewer offenders, improve prison conditions, and extend alternatives to custody. The other side in the argument, "the traditionalists", view alternatives to imprisonment with

unease and maintain that imprisonment, uncluttered by the paraphernalia of any rehabilitative programme, is the best way to protect society and deter offenders. The "Crime and Justice" group recognises that statistics can be used to support either argument and that the debate usually takes on the tone of an adversarial contest which can easily degenerate into a slanging match.

If we focus on two of the aims of penal treatment, deterrence and rehabilitation, it becomes difficult to sustain the belief that either are being achieved by current penal measures—custodial or non-custodial. Deterrence, the authors suggest, is only effective if the risk of

being caught is sufficiently high and they point to the wave of robberies and lootings which took place during the strike of Liverpool policemen in 1919 as an example. Their argument here may be weak because other work stoppages by policemen (for example, the London strikes of 1918-19, the Detroit strike of 1967, and the Vallejo, California, strike of 1969) seem to have passed off with no apparent harm. Common sense, however, tells us that their basic premise is sound enough, and it is difficult to argue with their conclusion that the experiments in "community policing" and the creation of special units to deal with specific types of crime appear to have reduced the crime rate by concentrating on crime prevention. The authors also wish to direct the argument away from the belief that somewhere in the judicial armoury there is a measure or range of measures which will reduce crime or that will deter or reform the offender effectively. They point out that studies of the reconviction rates for offenders subject to both imprisonment and non-custodial sentences produce similarly disappointing results.

I find this as difficult a pill to swallow as if someone had cast doubts on the therapeutic effects of rugby football — it is never easy to endure an attack on one's faith. I must accept, however, that their conclusions hold good in the present state of our knowledge of the treatment of crime. But I would certainly argue against their suggestion that the best response is to produce a prison system which is simply humane and which can be operated efficiently and economically. My feeling is that the absence of a reformative aim would depersonalise the system and lead to an increasingly punitive regime. I would certainly not wish to work in a prison system which abandoned its responsibilities for, at least, encouraging inmates to lead a law-abiding life on discharge.

Despite these reservations, I welcome the introduction of a moderate voice in the criminological argument and wish "Crime and Justice" every success.

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The Politics of Legitimacy: Struggles in a Belfast Community

FRANK BURTON
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978, £6.95

In *The Politics of Legitimacy*, Mr Burton sets out to discover the extent to which the Provisional Irish Republican Army accurately epitomises the thinking of Northern Irish Catholics. To achieve this, he studied a working-class Catholic community in Belfast, which he calls "Anro". To collect the information he needed for the book, he lived in Anro between September 1972 and April 1973.

Anro is a small, densely populated area surrounded on three sides by Protestant districts. Since the current troubles began in 1969, it has taken and inflicted a heavy toll of death and destruction. Mr Burton identifies three dominant themes in the consciousness of the inhabitants of Anro which explain that community's attitude towards the Provisionals, and so provide a partial explanation of the troubles in Northern Ireland. The three elements identified are communalism, sectarianism and republicanism.

It is argued that the beliefs which the members of a community share reflect the material situation in which they find themselves. For example, Catholics believe there is discrimination against them in employment because it is evident that if a Catholic and a Protestant apply together for most jobs it will usually be the Protestant who is successful. It follows that, if people's beliefs are to be changed, it is necessary first to change the material situation on which the beliefs are founded.

Examining communalism in Anro, Mr Burton concludes that without it there could be no campaign by the Provisionals, because only the stoniest of communities can withstand the deleterious consequences of urban guerrilla activity. Even so, there is undoubtedly misery, fear and depression, and an inevitable crisis in predictability and trust. The forces keeping Anro from disintegration are essentially a communality of residence and religion combined with the fact that many people are related to each other. To cope with the difficult conditions, a number of organisations have sprung up or been rejuvenated, amongst them the Provisional IRA.

The feature of sectarianism between Catholics and Protestants which stands out most starkly is the fact that the individuals of each persuasion regard it as of such fundamental importance to be able to "tell" which religion is held by the people they meet in everyday life. The criteria on which telling is based are name, face and dress, area of residence, school attended, linguistic and possibly phonetic use, colour and symbolism. Telling is demonstrably imprecise, but each individual seems to believe very strongly in his way of doing it. Sectarianism is the result of the ongoing process of interpretation by living individuals of the history of the six counties. Its consequences are discrimination in jobs, voting and housing. What it means in practice is that Catholics and Protestants are almost totally unable to communicate with each other or to live together.

Communalism and sectarianism provide the medium in which republicanism can flourish, argues Mr Burton. Republicanism is deeply rooted in Northern Irish Catholic thought and, since 1916, the IRA has been in the vanguard of the militant movement. The strength of republicanism is its diversity: sometimes it shows itself as religious or mystical in character while, at other times, its reasoning is very close to that of Lenin and Mao. In Anro, the author found, the adherents of the Official and Provisional IRA were distinguished from each other more by social status, family and community allegiance than by ideology.

The rejuvenation of the Provisionals in Anro was brought about by the need to protect the Catholic community from the B Specials and the Orangemen. To that has been added the perceived threat from the British Army. Inside Anro, Mr Burton discovered a high level of dispute between the adherents of the Provisionals and the population in general. The major source of the tension was the Provisionals' transition from a defensive role against the Protestants to an offensive one to the Army. The offensive role was curbed by the dependence of the Provisionals on the community for food and shelter. They cannot afford to alienate the population which protects them. Much of the support for the Provisionals comes from the fact that most of them have been born and brought up in the community in which they operate.

Having developed his main theme, Mr Burton devotes a chapter to exploring two wider aspects of the Northern Irish scene: press reportage and political analysis. He concludes that press reportage is crippled by the fact that those most closely involved in the troubles will not speak to the press, and that political analysis suffers from a failure to grasp the details of the problem faced by the different groups within the community.

The difficulty I experienced with *The Politics of Legitimacy* is that it is written not for the general reader but for the academic sociologist. This makes it heavy going and, for the general reader, it is made tedious by the devotion of much space to sociological theory and methodology. These factors apart, as a perspective on the situation in Northern Ireland, it is fascinating and thought-provoking.

R. P. HALWARD
Assistant Governor, Gartree Prison

Offender Restitution in Theory and Action

BURT GALAWAY & JOE HUDSON

Lexington, 1979, £11.50

This book, arguably, heralds a significant shift in the balance of the criminal justice system as it inexorably moves away from a long flirtation with the rehabilitation model to the justice model of sentencing. It consists of a collection of papers presented at the Second National Symposium on Restitution held in Minnesota at the end of 1977. An earlier symposium, in 1975, focused on issues associated with implementing restitution and, since that time, interest in the idea of offender restitution to crime victims has continued to grow with a variety of formal programmes implemented at different points in the justice system.

Since the first gathering, some 40 programmes have begun in the U.S.A. and Federal funds have now been made available to seven States to introduce a range of projects. In legislative terms, restitution generally falls under three main headings: restitution as a component of the routine sentencing of adults; restitution as a specific condition of the disposition of juveniles; and restitution as a purpose or objective to be achieved through special correctional programmes.

As part of the general sentencing power of the courts, restitution is incorporated in statutes that emphasise the use of this sanction as a condition of probation, suspended sentence, or parole. In such contexts, restitution is often pointed to as a factor to be considered in mitigating the sentence. The practice is far more common in juvenile courts where a random sample recently found 86 per cent use. Many State programmes adopt work release for convicted inmates by which a contract is established between victim and offender so that the latter makes a weekly repayment through a State-administered scheme.

Despite the superficial merits of these programmes, the subject of restitution is surrounded with confusions of purpose and intent. For the sake of argument, the symposium editors define restitution as a sanction imposed by an official of the criminal justice system requiring the offender to make a payment of money or service to either the direct or substitute crime victim. The definition is broad enough to include restitution programmes involving community service as well as financial restitution. A clear distinction, however, is made between restitution and victim compensation, which involves a State agency using tax monies to make a payment to the victim so as to cover losses resulting from the offence.

The book is divided helpfully into six sections covering the following perspectives on restitution: the alternative purposes of the justice system, the psychological effects, the impact on the crime victim, research, community service, and financial restitution. The earlier sections by McAneny on the retributive process and Utne and Hatfield on equity theory are clear and thoughtful in their discussions. Practical developments offer only a patchy guide to those wishing to experiment with the twin alternatives of restitution—service and financial payment.

A useful summary at the end of this stimulating volume discusses many of the pitfalls and looks at the way ahead. Restitution as currently practised is only directed at a narrow spectrum of the offender population and an even narrower band of the known victim categories. It is largely confined to the small-time, blue collar offender who has committed property crimes where only small amounts of victim losses are involved. A number of question remains unsolved. Are poor, working-class offenders being placed in a position of social inequity in being asked to make financial repayments beyond their means? Can

service restitution programmes be made to seem rational to the offender? Does the practice of adding restitution to existing sanctions widen the net of criminal jurisdiction under the guise of benefitting offenders? If restitution programmes are to deal with more serious offenders, can provision be made for some realistic earnings possibilities within the prison setting? Should victims play a greater part in the procedures leading to conviction?

Clearly, whatever direction restitution does take, it is likely that its new-found impetus in the United States will make its impact on the criminal justice system in the British Isles. Its purpose can be supported by a number of conflicting interest groups in this country.

JOHN HARDING
ACPO Community Development, Devon

Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving

PHILIP PRIESTLEY, JAMES
MCGUIRE, DAVID FLEGG, VALERIE
HEMSLEY & DAVID WELHAM
Tavistock, 1979, Hardback £9.50,
Paperback £4.95

Social skills and personal problem solving courses have been used by the Prison Service in the training of staff for some time. Since the introduction of such courses for inmates at Ranby and Ashwell, where they are staffed and planned by discipline officers, interest has been shown by many establishments in social skills training.

The note on the cover of the book states that it is intended as, "a practical handbook of the methods for working with people and helping them to solve their problems". In this respect, the book is more successful than one might at first imagine. The underlying philosophy and indications of its practical applications are clearly illustrated in Part I. It begins by describing the origins and aims of the method and incorporates evidence of research findings.

The chapter which deals with assessment is long and detailed, giving examples of methods and their application. Stress is placed on the importance of the process of assessment being voluntary.

The setting of objectives based on needs covers only a few pages in the handbook, but they are very important ones. Failure to set realistic objectives is often a root problem with offenders, and having others set objectives for them is often seen as a cause of institutionalisation. The authors make the reader aware of the dangers.

Much of the remainder of the book is concerned with learning, how it occurs and how it can be built upon. Learning is a complex subject and one can easily become overwhelmed by theories. Thankfully, the authors avoid this difficulty, even though they need to convey complicated concepts.

Social Skills and Personal Problem Solving will not, by itself, provide the reader with all of the answers. What it can do is provide a platform from which one can learn by doing. It can also, with the excellent notes and references at the end of the sections, indicate new sources of material for those already involved in social skills work.

LES LAVENDER
Assistant Governor, Ranby Prison

Offenders in the Community

E. M. LEMERT & F. DILL
Lexington, 1979, £12.50

This book provides a sociological perspective on the California Probation Subsidy scheme. Introduced in 1965, the scheme enabled State authorities to reward, with financial subsidies, those County Probation Departments which managed to bring about a reduction in the

numbers of commitments to State-run penal institutions. The intention was that commitments should be reduced by offering the Courts the alternative of more intensive supervision in the community by Probation Officers, which would be paid for out of the subsidies on condition that the efforts achieved the desired results.

The scheme has achieved international recognition and is often quoted as a model for penal reforms in this country. Bold and imaginative in conception, it has apparently achieved dramatic results. In some counties, at least, it seems whereas in 1965 the rate of commitments of convicted defendants was running at 23 per cent, by 1969 it had dropped to 10 per cent. But there are two sides to every story, and the main themes of this book are that the claims are not entirely valid, that the desired goals were not achieved by the means intended by the instigators of the scheme and, finally, that other undesirable consequences were brought about by the scheme.

The authors build up their argument, first, by scrutinising the statistical claims made for the programme. They suggest that extraneous factors played a significant part in reducing commitments. The great majority of gains were made in respect of juveniles: much smaller gains were achieved with adults. Using a series of case-studies, they then examine the processes by which these outcomes were achieved. In some counties, at least, it seems that reductions were achieved not so much by a more intensive use of probation, but by a variety of administrative devices. These ranged from managerial scrutiny of report recommendations, through attempts to "educate" judges into more liberal sentencing practices, to changed policies in managing their own local institutions. This last feature is particularly interesting. Local institutions were required to accept more serious offenders, to contain more recalcitrant behaviour, and to receive back more absconders. The rewards for doing these things (to keep down the rates of juvenile commitments to State institutions) went not to the local establishments, but to community-based intensive probation units—an outcome which, not surprisingly, led to some resentment.

The failure of the scheme to reduce adult commitments by the same amount is attributed in the book to the inability of probation administrators to achieve the same degree of control over court decisions in respect of adults and to the inadequacy of alternative non-custodial facilities. This leads the authors to examine the effects of the scheme upon the various Probation Departments which participated. To enter the scheme, a Probation Department had to set up special "subsidy units" with favourable staffing ratios and other minimum standards laid down by the State. Conflicts and strains which emerged between the subsidy units and the regular staff are analysed with particular attention to the means by which cases were allocated to the special units. Regular officers felt that subsidy units should supervise the most difficult cases; subsidy units only wanted those cases where there was a good chance of avoiding commitments. Training and staffing policies are also examined to assess how far the scheme achieved its subsidiary objective of raising the standards of probation practice throughout the State. Progress was restricted partly because unions demanded that seniority rather than talent be the main criterion for transfer to the subsidy units, and also because of a growing recognition that there were easier (and more effective) means of reducing commitments than by "intensive supervision"—so that personnel policies became routinised.

In their final chapter, the authors study the evolution of the scheme in Los Angeles county: this area, the most populous in California, provided about a third of all commitments to State institutions. The innovations in Los Angeles were more positive and imaginative than in any of the other counties described. Here substantial progress seems to have been

made towards the objective of keeping offenders in the community, until the authorities were confronted by hostile reactions of local residents. These people, living in the poor "ghetto" areas, were those placed most at risk by the policy, and failed to see why, in addition to their other disadvantages, they should take responsibility for the offenders in their midst.

The book does have certain defects: first, the paucity of information (one paragraph) about the sources of data and the method adopted in making the enquiries leaves one uncertain how far this account can be taken as a dispassionate and impartial report. A reader more familiar with California may be better able to judge how typical are the eight authorities subjected to detailed case-studies. Were they examples of the "normal" practices or did they highlight the worst features of particular problems? To this reviewer, the book resembled more a deliberate attempt to strip away the "myth" of success claimed by the scheme. At that level, it offers a healthy counter-balance to the less critical accounts provided elsewhere. A second defect, particularly for readers of this journal, is the absence of any account as to how State institutions were affected by the scheme.

Allowing for these criticisms, the book makes a valuable and provocative contribution to the debate about possible measures of penal reform. It contains a number of messages at different levels. It is clear, first, that attempts to change the direction of penal policy by a system of financial rewards (which may ultimately affect the job security of those affected) are fraught with hazards. Administrative ingenuity will find other means than those specified to achieve the financial benefits without incurring the risks. Secondly, one is struck by the difficulties facing the penal reformer—there are so many uncontrollable variables that any scheme will have unforeseeable consequences which may, in some instances, run counter to its original intentions. Third is the danger of claiming credit for changes in output (in this case, reductions in commitment rates) without showing evidence of the processes which brought this about (allegedly, intensive supervision by probation officers). Finally, there is the discouraging conclusion that measures imposed from above—as in this example—without the "full-hearted consent" of either the professionals expected to implement them or the community which is required to tolerate them, will be resisted and obstructed in their execution. However, there is little evidence of pressure for penal reforms coming from the grass-roots which might be more easily accepted.

JOHN CORDEN
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(1) The Police and the Prevention of Crime

Council of Europe, 1978

(2) Freedom of Information

Justice, 1978, 75p

(3) Youth Custody and Supervision—a New Sentence

HMSO, 1978, £1.50

The Police and the Prevention of Crime is a detailed memorandum published as a result of the Third Criminological Colloquium held by the Council of Europe in November 1977. It is a welcome reminder that the Council of Europe has a wider perception of criminological matters than of the determination of individual rights which appears to have dominated the administration of our prison system in recent years. Indeed, the memorandum comments upon the imbalance of less work done on policing as against a preoccupation with human rights.

The colloquy set out to redress the balance by a consideration of the role of the police in

the prevention of crime. The discussions concentrated upon the social role of the police, public attitudes towards them, the vexed question of the use of violence against the police, and tactics in planning and equipping to meet violence.

In tackling these questions, the document ranges through theories of policing, research analysis, national differences of method, and then recommends that preventative policing can play a key role in society.

"Freedom of Information" is a misnomer". The opening statement of the Justice report, *Freedom of Information*, provides the foundation upon which this interesting document sets out to redress the alleged unfair advantage that government agencies enjoy over other groups or individuals. It concludes that information should be generally available to the public as a right although it does recognise certain exempted areas such as defence and law enforcement. It recommends that disclosure should be controlled by a code of practice overseen by the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration (Ombudsman) to whom alleged breaches of the code would be referred. Access should also extend to information being disclosed prior to decisions being made or policy formulated. I found the document concise, well researched and very convincing.

The Green Paper, *Youth Custody and Supervision — A New Sentence*, has now been circulated for discussion. People involved with young offenders, within or outside the Prison Department, do not need to have its publication brought to their attention. Some of us who have not been involved in that field for years, however, could do well to acquaint ourselves with its recommendations. Whilst the notion of a "generic sentence" is new, some of the proposals for the sentence have a familiar ring about them. Statutory maximum penalties, remission of sentence, suspended sentences and a system of early release are all actively considered. Experience and knowledge of the operation of such schemes within the adult system should bear upon their potential introduction into the young offender sphere.

P. ATHERTON
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The Bar on Trial

Edited by Robert Hazell and written by eight young Barristers, who have broken a tradition of silence for the first time "to speak out against the shortcomings of their profession"

Quartet Books, 1979, Hardback £4.95, Paperback £1.95

This book is of enormous help to those who contemplate studying for the bar, and to solicitors and barristers, whose professional bodies rarely illuminate the hidden, and not so hidden, corners of professional practice, tradition and organisation.

Details are given of the education and training of a barrister, the expense of which has been a traditional deterrent to many talented but impecunious potential entrants. The tradition of eating dinners receives analytical criticism, shared by the authors of the Ormrod Report, who commented upon the "doubtful value" of this tradition.

This, however, is not the only aspect of the barrister's training which receives critical appraisal. The nature of the examinations, the difficulties of obtaining not only "pupillage" (a barrister willing to apprentice the would-be student), and a "tenancy" (a desk in a set of Chambers from where he can practise) but the way he must work on an unpaid basis for a lengthy period of time, are put under the microscope.

When the student is "called" or qualifies,

his difficulties do not end; the extent to which his work is dependent upon his Clerk is examined in detail. He may also be unlucky enough to gain a tenancy in Chambers which are woefully inefficient. The book canvasses the more progressive possibilities of partnership and fee-sharing arrangements; it comments ruefully upon the superior earning power of the Clerk and it reviews the hierarchical relationship with solicitors.

It must not, however, be thought that this book is designed to be entirely critical in a destructive way. The purpose of the book is clearly designed to improve the working of the barrister's profession. "The integrity of English barristers", their "dedication to their clients", and the "generally high level of professional competence" are all matters reflected in this thoughtful, competent and, above all, constructive book.

BARRINGTON BLACK LL. B.
Solicitor

Court Teasers—Practical Situations arising in Magistrates' Courts

MILES MCCOLL

Barry Rose, 1979, £3

In this booklet, Miles McColl, a solicitor and a Clerk to the Justices, has set out in question and answer form 40 examples of problems that give rise to concern in magistrates' courts. It is designed as a handbook for Magistrates and Magistrates' Clerks to assist with the interpretation of relevant statutes and appeal court decisions which affect the judgements they are asked to make.

The 40 examples are given in three sections: criminal proceedings; domestic proceedings; and juveniles. Each section is followed by the respective answers. In the section dealing with criminal proceedings, some of the problems posed, while at first sight appearing to have a simple answer, lead to considerable and complex reference to case law.

As a handbook for Magistrates, their Clerks, and some solicitors, this publication will be of assistance, especially as a training aid. To those of us not directly involved in the decision making process, it makes interesting reading and warrants a place in staff training libraries.

R. J. PERRY
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Offenders and Corrections

Edited by DENIS SZABO & SUSAN KATZENELSON

Praeger, 1979, £13.50

Criminology is a wide and expanding discipline. This volume of papers, presented at the 1975 annual meeting of the American Society of Criminology, focuses on the imprisoned offender, prison attitudes and behaviour, and some general issues concerning imprisonment. Most of the papers are based on North American studies and some are of no immediate relevance to the British system. Others, however, are of interest to anyone who wishes to know more about the effects of imprisonment and, in the absence of similar research on this side of the Atlantic, are well worth reading.

Gruniger, Hayner, and Akers in their study of "Criminal Maturity, Prison Roles, and Normative Alienation" tested out Sykes' "pains of imprisonment" theory and produced some interesting results. Whilst their findings are not conclusive, they suggest that role adaptation and normative alienation are determined more by the prior life experiences of the prisoner than by the level of deprivation suffered in prison. That should provide food for thought for those who suggest that alienation can be reduced by making prisons

physically more comfortable. A popular myth they also debunk is that of the loyal old lag. They found, in fact, that anti-staff attitudes increased with the number of sentences served. The same researchers also looked at "Prisonisation in Five Countries", including England. Their concept of prisonisation is broadly based on Clemmer's definition which referred to the inmate's initiation into and adoption of the prisoner society. They found that although United States prisoners are more prisonised than those in other countries, prisonisation does occur to a significant degree in institutions located in all the countries involved except Mexico. Their findings also clearly indicate that prisonisation is greater in the more custodial prisons.

Don M. Gottfredson's paper, "Some Positive Changes in the Parole Process", outlines the moves towards increased rationality and fairness in the United States parole system described in greater detail in his book *Guidelines for Parole and Sentencing* (see *Prison Service Journal* No. 35, July 1979).

Anyone looking for answers to the problems of our penal system will not find them in this book. What he will find is some interesting research which may well stimulate thinking on issues which, under the weight of the "humane containment" philosophy, have recently been neglected.

RAY MITCHELL
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1. Deviant Interpretations

D. DOWNES & P. ROCK (eds)

Martin Robertson, 1979, Hardback £7.95, Paperback £2.95

2. Corporate and Governmental Deviance

M. D. ERMANN & R. J. LUNDMAN (eds)

Oxford University Press, 1978, £2.75

One leaves the Downes and Rock collection of essays with the distinct impression that interactionism and associated "radical" deviancy theories of the 1960's failed to gain support not because of any logical or evidential deficiency, but because, despite their explicit championing of the "underdog", the theories could equally be applied to those whom liberals despised. Did interactionists really want to "appreciate" rape from the perspective of the rapist, or accept that racism and sexism were merely arbitrary labels? Of course not, but the fact that there was no logical barrier to such an application put the followers of these theories in an uncomfortable position.

Marxist criminology offered a ready escape from this dilemma into a total theoretical system which not only transferred blame from the working class criminal to the capitalist system, whilst continuing to denounce the "crimes of the powerful", but also held out the utopian prospect of a crime-free society under socialism.

As the contributors to this volume repeatedly point out, however, the whole theoretical edifice of Marxism is riven with ambiguities and untested assumptions. Consider, for example, the notion of a crime-free society: how will it differ from capitalism and state socialism in such a way as to extinguish crime? What, if any, limits will there be to "socialist diversity"? How can we guarantee that this new dawn will not encumber us with a *Gulag Archipelago* and similar products of all previous attempts at socialist revolution? In their contributions, these and other unanswered questions are raised by Downes and Rock, who point out that these ambiguities are merely symptomatic of a theory which confers access to the truth on initiates alone.

Other contributions concentrate on the criticisms that Marxists have made of interactionism. Ken Plummer gives a detailed re-

buttal to the attack on labelling theory which, he argues, misunderstands the claims of the theory. Stan Cohen acknowledges that interactionism failed to deal satisfactorily with the moral issues that it raised and explores the implications for the theory of the concept of justice.

The collection ends with two contributions that seem misplaced: the first, a discourse on free will and determinism, is tangential to the debate between Marxism and interactionism which is the thrust of the book as a whole; and, the second, a critical review of the sociology of motivation, is much too specific.

Yet, despite the overall clarity and force of the arguments advanced by the contributors, one is, nevertheless, left wondering to whom the book is addressed. Marxists themselves are unlikely to take notice of arguments which challenge their theories, since theirs is not a science, open to refutation and amendment, but a faith calling for commitment. On the other hand, non-Marxists are aware, presumably, of most of the deficiencies to which this book points, although it is useful to have them systematically exposed.

Moreover, one feels that this volume attempts to do battle on ground chosen by its adversaries. Interactionism's strength has always been its emphasis on empirical research, revealing the subtleties of social life. Here, however, the contributors abandon this, their strength, and engage in philosophical and abstract theoretical debate. Not that this debate is unimportant, but it should have been supplemented by analyses of empirical problems where the poverty of Marxist analysis would be exemplified and interactionism's strengths confirmed. This is what is unintentionally provided by Ermann and Lundman's collection of readings.

Marxists have made much of the "crimes of the powerful" and accused interactionism of disregarding this issue. If the Ermann and Lundman collection is any guide, there is truth in this claim, but it is equally apparent that Marxism provides little alternative and the best prospect still lies with interactionism.

Those articles which adopt a Marxist approach display little more than superficial moral outrage. They show that compared to ideal normative standards, private firms and government agencies have been guilty of frequent and harmful actions. The approach takes two forms: standards are defined either as legal or moral absolutes. Representative of the first form is Kobler's account of how American policemen frequently use firearms in contravention of legal rules, but are rarely punished for so doing. The second form is adopted by Swartz, and Clinard and Quinney, who in true Marxist fashion claim that legal criteria are insufficient, since criminality is defined by the powerful in ways which exclude their own harmful actions. Consequently, although private firms have been within the law in continuing to allow preventable deaths from industrial disease, Swartz claims that they are guilty of "murder".

It certainly is disturbing to read of the extent of deaths due to industrial disease, the frequent violations of firearms regulations and other corporate and governmental illegalities revealed here. However, whilst this exposé may prove disturbing, it does not advance our understanding, for interactionism has long made us aware of the prevalence of crime. If we are disturbed at these illegalities, we are no less disturbed at the millions of pounds loss through pilferage each year or the routine slaughter on the roads. If we are to define crime according to the harm done to others, then what of the violence done to countless unborn children by mothers who smoke? If we are to feel moral outrage at a soft-drink manufacturer who illegally advertises as "pure orange juice" a drink with artificial additives, thereby making an extra million dollars profit, what should be our response to the restrictive practices of trade unions which cost consumers millions of pounds annually? All such an

approach does is to stimulate this kind of sterile exchange of competing damage done by one sector of society to others, when what is required is some explanation of how and why such wrong doing is perpetrated and why some is defined as criminal and some is not.

It is precisely at this point that the Marxist approach collapses, for it does more than leave us with a picture of cynical capitalists callously disregarding workers and consumers in pursuit of profit, their misdeeds protected by a capitalist conspiracy.

That this crude model of social processes fails miserably to do justice to the complexities of such events is made clear by other contributors who represent no ideological faction. For example, Vandivier's inside account of how a manufacturer of aircraft landing gear knowingly threatened the lives of test-pilots, by illegally falsifying test reports, shows how executives at various levels perceived themselves caught in a complex web of their own making which became tighter the more they sought to extricate themselves without loss. As Stone points out, from an executive's perspective there are very many possible consequences of his actions, besides legal sanctions, some of which, like a marketing flop, are more salient since they directly question his competence as a manager. Since executives claim no competence in legal matters, failure in this area "could happen to anybody". It is equally misleading to suppose that pursuit of corporate profits is a common interest amongst executives. Many firms are sub-divided into units with limited objectives, the pursuit of which may have unintended and illegal consequences for the organisation as a whole. Nor does freedom from the profit motive ensure that similar processes will not operate, for as Wilson and Rachel observe, even government agencies ideologically committed to high-minded, non-profit making statutory goals still find themselves unwittingly contravening other, mutually exclusive legal requirements.

Though these contributions are not written from an interactionist perspective, it is clear from several of them that when businessmen refuse to accept the criminal label, they employ exactly the same "techniques of neutralisation" that Matza and Sykes called attention to long ago. Equally, when businessmen avoid prosecution or severe penalties, it is because they are able to negotiate the definition of their actions in ways not available to, say, members of delinquent gangs. In other words, there is evidence that the conceptual tools of interactionism are well suited to the analysis of this area. Moreover, interactionist concepts like that of "negotiated order", developed outside the criminological sphere, are particularly applicable to the kinds of processes described by Vandivier.

In short, although interactionists may have moral qualms about adopting an "appreciative" approach to the "crimes of the powerful", it would seem that only by such an approach will this important aspect of deviant behaviour receive the penetrating analysis it merits.

P. A. J. WADDINGTON,
University of Reading

The Blue-Coated Worker

ROBERT REINER

Cambridge University Press 1978 £4.50

The Blue-Coated Worker is about trade unionism and it may or may not be indicative of the recent state of the labour movement that the original copy of this book was lost in the post during the London post office workers' industrial action. The result is that it is being reviewed from a library copy by a member of management rather than by a union official who was originally approached.

The economic and social tensions of recent years have made policemen increasingly militant and militancy has been aimed at changing not only pay but also social policies

affecting their work. The police, however, are in a peculiar position because, when governments attempt to implement policies against union opposition, the police have to adopt a role which is perceived as anti-union in situations of industrial conflict. Moreover, their experience in confrontations with trade unionists on picket lines inclines them towards a sense of alienation from the labour movement. A further complication is that the social origins of policemen are mainly working-class, which might be expected to incline them to sympathise with the labour movement. The central contention of the book, therefore, is that the police occupy a contradictory position in the class structure. Economically, they are employees who form unions to advance their interests like other workers, but their political role of preserving the social order imposes special inhibitions on the character of their unionism, and can alienate them from other trade unionists. (A close analogy can be drawn to the stance adopted by Governors during the Civil Service industrial action at the beginning of this year.) The book is not only about how policemen resolve these conflicts and their feelings about trade union representation but also about how they view their job in general.

Robert Reiner carried out an extensive survey of police attitudes to work and unionism. He recognised however, that "attitudes" are not a fixed entity to be discovered by research and that consciousness relates to specific historical situations and must be understood in relation to these. He, therefore, precedes his findings with an account of the historical development of police unionisation in Britain in order to place the research in its proper context.

The findings are eminently readable and liberally sprinkled with revealing quotes from interviews with policemen up to the rank of inspector. The author's typology of policemen could, with little difficulty, be applied to the Prison Service. I make no attempt to summarise the conclusions drawn from the study because in a short review it would be impossible to do justice to them. The similarities between the Police Service and the Prison Service, however, are apparent. I recommend the book as an important contribution to an understanding of the police, and of trade unionism in a disciplined and bureaucratic organisation.

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Social Sources of Delinquency

RUTH KORNHAUSER

University of Chicago Press 1978, £11.20

According to the sleeve notes, this book is a "comprehensive examination of theories about the cause of juvenile delinquency". Professor Kornhauser examines the work of seven theorists divided into three schools: social disorganisation, strain, and cultural deviance. Her aim is to defend social disorganisation theory, as characterised by the Chicago school of ecologists before the war, and to criticise the early alternative theories represented by Merton, Cohen and Sutherland.

The early chapters are mainly about the concept of culture: indeed, much of the book is taken up with an attempt to define the "essence" of culture. This definition is used to criticise strain and subcultural theories, mainly by calling working-class value systems incomplete or pseudo-cultures, where the values are of a different order or are not in opposition to dominant (middle-class) values. Unfortunately, Kornhauser never gives details of the content of dominant culture, apart from references to the success goal, deferred gratification, participation in voluntary associations, interpersonal skills and more female orgasms.

Kornhauser then examines the three theories of delinquency. Social disorganisation or control models see low socio-economic

status, high mobility and heterogeneity of the population of slum areas as reducing the ability of the neighbourhood to control delinquency (a product of human nature). In such areas, there is a lack of both internal and external controls. The former are a product of socialisation and attachment to conformity; the latter of supervision, the relevance of rewards and the power to enforce conformity. The result is social disorganisation: an inability to control delinquents, but the circularity of the original model remains in Kornhauser's analysis, as does the failure to appreciate the content of working-class behaviour or to consider that delinquency can be learned like any other behaviour. She does examine briefly the factors which may weaken control but, in the end, they seem to me to boil down to powerlessness, structural disadvantages and reduced cultural adeptness (judged by middle-class standards). These are regarded, because of her neglect of social structure, as pathological traits of the slum neighbourhood and not of society as a whole, and the slum-dweller is too easily defined as disorganised, under-socialised and in need of "treatment". However, it must be stressed that Kornhauser's presentation of social disorganisation theory is superior to earlier formulations.

Kornhauser then develops her critique of strain theory based largely on her definition of culture and a lack of appreciation of structurally-induced adaptations to the conflicts of the poor in an unequal society where success is narrowly defined in terms of money. She prefers to blame a weak culture and to provide rather dubious evidence about the degree of strain felt by the poor.

Her main critique is, however, reserved for cultural deviancy theorists. Her determination to keep structure and culture analytically separate emerges both as a principal strength and as a weakness. She asks crucial questions about the relationship between class differentiated values and subculture, and about both and delinquency, but fails to explore the influence the two may have on each other. Her definition of culture prevents her from so doing: structure is relegated to a position of triviality. Whilst this may be a valuable corrective to the more strident versions of sub-cultural theory, it prevents working-class values from being regarded as anything else but pseudo-cultural and not as matter for empirical investigation. The chapter, however, includes an interesting comparison of Sutherland and Marx, (flawed only by Kornhauser's attributing her own definition of culture to Marx), and evidence regarding the causal ordering of variables in the control and sub-cultural models of delinquency.

In conclusion, this difficult book presents challenging arguments within a limited area of delinquency theory: it certainly forced me to re-examine and crystallise my own perspective. Control theories emerged as less idiotic than British criminologists would have us believe. Kornhauser makes crucial points regarding the analytical distinction between culture and structure, but ultimately her project founders on her essentialist notion of culture, which leads to a theory unable to explain non-slum crime or to deal with the sub-cultural learning of criminal behaviour.

CLIVE WELSH

Assistant Governor, Feltham Borstal

Diversity in a Youth Correctional System

R. B. COATES, A. D. MILLER, &
L. E. OHLIN

Wiley, 1978, £10

Between 1969 and 1976, a study was conducted by a group of scholars from Harvard Law School into reforms which were taking place in the field of youth correction. The reforms took the shape of a move away from the more traditional training schools to a series of com-

munity-based alternatives in the State of Massachusetts.

This book is one in a series of five and uses a copious supply of facts and figures to reflect the "success" of the changes of policy on the quality of life under the new systems. The study is offered as an analytic record of the experience of change which other States might use as a guide.

Those who are familiar with the discourse which took place when the *Children and Young Persons' Act* gave us community homes instead of approved schools, will quickly recognise that the basis of this work rests on the "quality of life" notion. Traditional training establishments fall under "schools for crime". Counselling and therapy are recommended as alternatives.

Without doubt, the steps which were taken to achieve this more "humanised and therapeutic climate" are well documented. The closing of the old training schools and the establishment of a new residential and non-residential structure closer to the community show courage and ambition. This document does not, however, reflect on outcome on which practitioners could assess the value of the change.

The bulk of the analysis uses "multiple stepwise regression" and equations are produced by which predictions can be made from a small number of variables. The very nature of research in the social arena, however, must raise doubts about the validity of using sophisticated statistical techniques based on such unconvincing data.

Many of the generalisations and the sometimes rather self-evident points do little to encourage the reader to believe either that the community-based system is a viable alternative to a training school system, or that the authors are arguing the case from anything like a position of strength. The following excerpts serve to elaborate this: "Regression analysis strongly supports the notion that for youths who recidivated the department was unable to penetrate the networks to which the youngsters would return." . . . "Short run gains are lost within the first six months after the youth's return to the community". . . . "we believe it is important to remind the reader that simply making youngsters feel good about themselves is not enough". . . . "to focus only on the youths who can be easily handled in the open community and to ignore the needs of the more difficult individual is irresponsible . . .". Surprise, surprise! But there is a final gem which cannot be excluded. This is the discovery of the three most desirable characteristics which could be found in a member of staff: caring, resolve, and high energy. Is it possible that academics in this field have not heard of Alexander Paterson?

It is of course always easy to shoot holes in the work of those who search for the *elixia vitae* or just the key to criminality; but even for those of us who just hope for marginal gains in our understanding of delinquency there is little here. The presentation, quality of publication, and list of credits raise expectations to at least the level of *One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest*. The reality is more like *Coronation Street*.

D. F. YATES

Assistant Governor II, Wakefield Prison

Trouble with the Law: THE RELEASE BUST BOOK

Pluto Press, 1979, £1.25

Release was set up in 1967 to help youngsters being "harassed" by the drug laws. Since then it has branched out into all aspects of civil and criminal law that affect the anti-establishment people for whom *Release* seems to operate. The organisation is recognised, possibly to its chagrin, by the Home Office, as a suitable body for prisoners to consult for legal advice.

Trouble with the Law is not a text book. It is a layman's guide to coping with a system which the authors believe is designed to grind

down the underdog. If "you are well off, went to the right school, and talk nicely", you should not have much trouble with the police. Those readers unreasonable enough to be well off, well-schooled, and well-spoken, should pass to the next review.

The book is written by the full-time staff of *Release*, with contributions from a variety of people including P.R.O.P. members and Martin Wright of the Howard League. The style is informal and liberally peppered with somewhat old-fashioned terms of disrespect to which it is hard to take offence. Police are called "cops" throughout, and the prison staff "screws", although the text does inadvertently slip into "uniformed staff" in places. The aim of the book is nicely summed up by the cover picture. A girl nonchalantly holds up the book whilst a policeman (truncheon drawn) and a judge glare at her in frustration. It seems a little reminiscent of a Dracula movie when the victim suddenly flourishes his crucifix at the Count.

In 140 pages, the book deals with being stopped in the street, "raided" at home, taking part in political activities (left wing only), and the mechanics of being arrested, tried, and imprisoned. A section on "fighting back" deals with appeals and other less orthodox ways of fighting a sentence. There is also a comprehensive bibliography, annotated to the text, and a final chapter on *Release's* ideas on law and order. These appear to be largely an indictment of the capitalist system, and assertions such as that most women shoplift and fiddle social security because they cannot live on the pittance they receive.

The first section gives a detailed account of police powers of stop and arrest "in the streets". It is comprehensive and correct, and also gives the dodges used by the police to circumvent their limited powers, such as the use of the *Vagrancy Act* (behaviour in a suspicious manner) when arrest powers are insufficient. Although the authors are indignant about these loopholes, this chapter seems to highlight the handicaps that the police labour under rather than those that the public suffer. The section gives comprehensive advice on how to organise political rallies, marches, and pickets which, although highly anti-establishment, is still sound and designed to reduce conflict. It was a little disappointing to find advice on how to break the law, even if it did only relate to getting away with fly-posting.

The section on the police in your home (or your squat) assumes that the reader will not want the police to come in but gives sensible advice on not being obstructive for the sake of it. After all, the police may only want you to move your car. For those determined not to have the police over their threshold, various prevention and delay tactics are explored. After advice on squatting, which is best not read by nervous house-owners, there are useful hints on how to occupy a factory or college.

Commencing the chapter on arrest is a jolly cartoon depicting the old way and the new, improved way of beating up a suspect. Members of *Release* are not questioned, they are interrogated, sometimes in "bugged" cells. In spite of the large chip on the authors' shoulders, this chapter does go some way to unravelling the complex non-law which governs police procedure in this field. Much of the procedure is subject to codes and rules which have little basis in law. It was pleasing to see that the old myth that suspects are entitled to have a solicitor present during questioning is dispelled. The reader is taken step by step through arrest, charge, remand, and trial. A jaundiced view is taken of magistrates and the judiciary, who are deemed to have a nil appreciation of everyday problems, and tips are offered on how to cope with the "arrogant people in fancy dress" who comprise the court. The defendant who is intimidated by court officials is advised to try to "imagine them on the bog".

The best written chapter is that on prisons (perhaps the influence of Martin Wright?).

Factually correct, it contains much inside information and the authors appear to have excellent inside contacts. The only sour note in an otherwise quite reasonable resumé of prison administration is the advice on how to smuggle money on reception. Definitely not recommended for the novice, on both legal and medical grounds.

The tone of the book will clearly offend some readers, but even for those who abhor the police and other authorities the book leaves something to be desired. As a handbook for people in trouble with the law, it runs the risk of causing more difficulties through insufficient information. With only a few pages on each topic the legal position is not explored in full, and readers following the advice may simply antagonise the authorities without achieving anything positive.

For those interested in civil liberties, it may be advisable to wait for forthcoming publications from Sweet and Maxwell, and from Butterworths. They are almost certainly a safer buy.

ROGER S. BRANDON
Assistant Governor, Nottingham Prison

The Residential Community: A Setting for Social Work

HOWARD JONES
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979,
Hardback £6.50, Paperback £3.50

To a great many people, residential care has ominous overtones. It conjures up visions of huge mental hospitals, "homes", institutions of all kinds including prisons with impregnable walls and dire goings on behind them. There seems to be a natural fear of becoming a resident of any such place. Children taken into residential care, for whatever reason, are said to be "sent away" or even "put away", prisoners talk about going "inside", and most old people dread having "to go into a home"—seeing it literally as the end.

Perhaps partly because of such associations, residential work has always been the Cinderella of the Social Services. There is difficulty in

attracting staff of high calibre, there are problems of the continuity of relationships due to high labour turnover and an ignorance generally about both the objectives of such institutions and the enormous problems so many of them face with inadequate resources. Howard Jones' book should do much to dispel some of the ignorance and to provide practical help for workers in this difficult field.

At the heart of the matter is the change in the philosophy of social work. Institutions for the disposal of unwanted citizens, whether mental patients, orphans or convicted offenders, are no longer seen as social dustbins to be run as cheaply as possible and in which the inmates can be conveniently forgotten. Today, the aim is to provide both treatment and care for those for whom residential provision is thought still to be necessary.

In other words, objectives have changed but many of the requisite resources, both material and human, have not been made available and here is the rub. *The Residential Community* can certainly be recommended. It is written with the conciseness and clarity characteristic of its author but also with compassion. It tackles the delicate subjects of relationships, staff motivation and the need of the deprived of all ages for love which cannot be bought. Throughout, the emphasis is on the modern view of social work as a contract between worker and client. Social workers no longer do things to or for their "cases" but work with them in an endeavour to help solve personal problems or to come to terms with an inevitable. Such an approach calls for skill, patience and wisdom from the worker and does much to preserve the dignity of the client by maintaining his need to make his own decisions as far as possible.

The book makes frequent references to the special problems of the Prison Service but it is not written specifically with it in mind. Prison staff, especially those who welcome the increasing social work content of their role, will find it a useful guide. The point is made, for example, that residents see far more of non-social work staff than they do of social workers and that probably more real caring is shown by the quality of contact (often physical contact) and the attitudes of domestic or other staff

than by the infrequent encounters with professional social workers.

My criticisms are few. In a sense, this book falls between two stools. The serious social work student will find it somewhat superficial although the excellent book list counters this to some extent. On the other hand, the general reader is sometimes assumed to have knowledge of theories or literature which he is unlikely to possess. There is an admirable absence of jargon but why, oh! why, must old people so frequently be labelled as "folk"? Even Professor Jones falls into that one.

MARY F. ROBERTSON
Chairman, Board of Visitors,
Nottingham Prison

The Rastafarians

LEONARDE E. BARRETT
Heinemann, 1978, £2.90

It is easy in the case of Rastafarianism to note its more obvious manifestations but to be unaware of the nature and complexity of the movement. Thus, attention may be focused on Rastafarians' long plaited hair ("dreadlocks"), their smoking of cannabis ("ganja") or the music of Bob Marley and others. The author analyses the development of Rastafarianism, as a Jamaican socio-religious cult founded in 1930. As he makes clear, its defining characteristic is belief in the divinity of Emperor Haile Selassie, formerly Ras Tafari, and in eventual repatriation to Ethiopia. More generally, it exemplifies a millenarian movement rooted in oppression. For practical purposes, many present day Rastafarians are preoccupied with efforts to achieve a more equitable society and with assertion of black culture. Moreover, numerous young middle-class Jamaicans are attracted by the movement.

Barrett is himself a Jamaican and is currently a professor at an American university. He describes the aims of the book as fourfold: to make an original contribution to Caribbean studies, to show that the Rastafarian movement has rejected most of what is considered typically Jamaican, to show what may result from cultural deprivation, and to study the

Mr. C. H. Day — "Printer Extraordinary"

Current problems in Fleet Street have reminded us sharply that newspapers depend for their existence on technicians as well as journalists, and that neither is much use without the other.

The *Prison Service Journal* has had three editors since its birth in 1962, and many more changes in membership of its Editorial Board. It has, however, been produced throughout all that period by one man, Charlie Day, who in August retired from the printshop at Leyhill, and from the Prison Department, after 27 years continuous service.

Mr. Day saw "his" workshop grow from a simple typesetting and hot-metal jobbing printer's enterprise to a sophisticated organisation employing three Instructors and upwards of 20 prisoner operators, equipped with the latest multi-lithographic presses, photographic plate-making facilities and computerised machinery. He also suffered with it, and survived inevitable calamities — like the storm which deposited a large elm tree on and through the roof (the *Journal* was late that quarter!)

The *Journal* was his especial pride, and his contribution to it was never confined to slavishly reproducing other peoples' ideas. The present format owes much to his natural talent for design, colour and layout. Over the years he has laboured long hours, cutting, pasting up, reading and correcting. A shrewd critic, his services to the Editorial Board have always transcended the merely technical. He is a printer par excellence, a member of a proud profession, deeply aware at all times of the historical and moral responsibility which rests on those whose task is to record truth for posterity.

Married with a grown up family, Charlie has many interests including camping, cycling and photography. He is an active man, young still in body and spirit, and will probably lead a livelier retirement than most. It is the sincere wish of the Editorial Board and of all his friends in the service that it will be a long and happy one.

nature of a millenarian-messianic movement. I am not qualified to say whether he has fully achieved these aims, but my impression is that he has gone a large part of the way.

As might be expected, the subject matter is treated in a scholarly way, but the book is by no means heavy-going. It is based on research by the author in Jamaica and Barrett shows considerable sympathy for the Rastafarian point of view. He admires the Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, and contends that "The Rastafarians were the forerunners of the ideology of democratic socialism, the present political philosophy of the Jamaican government". Evidence that Rastafarians need not be totally alienated from the Caribbean government is provided by the support they are giving to the party that seized power in Grenada in March this year.

For students of crime, the book contains some interesting comments. Barrett recognises that the movement includes adherents to the drug culture, who have little religious conviction, and goes on: "A large segment of these will be escapees from the law using the anonymity of the Rastafarian as a disguise". However, he further states: "The excitement they bring to life, their uninhibited way of expressing themselves, their capacity to absorb deviant behaviour, and their love for their kind make them one of the most therapeutic communities to be found in Jamaica. . . movement dynamics of this type should be channelled and not blocked".

Barrett does not attempt to cover properly the spread of Rastafarianism outside Jamaica. Those seeking to understand more fully the increasing number of young Rastafarians in our penal institutions would therefore need to be careful in drawing conclusions from this book and would need to find supplementary sources of information. However, I am sure that the book would prove valuable to anyone with an interest in Rastafarianism.

DAVID WILSON
Assistant Governor,
Prison Service College,
Wakefield.

Psychiatric Aspects of Imprisonment

JOHN GUNN, GRAHAM ROBERTSON,
SUSANNE DELL & CYNTHIA WAY

Academic Press, 1978, £12.80

This important monograph opens with a brief survey from the beginnings of prison medicine in England in 1774 to the opening of Grendon Prison in 1962. The main body of the book deals with a detailed review of research on 107 men admitted to Grendon between June 1971 and June 1972, and a sample of 42 men from Wormwood Scrubs based on all admissions between August 1971 and August 1972, who had been taken on by psychiatrists for treatment during that period. The samples were investigated by identical methods which are set out in the text and described in detail in an appendix. All findings are subjected to detailed statistical analysis and the meaning of the results is discussed in psychological, behavioural and psychiatric terms.

In the Grendon group there was, between the first and final assessment, significant improvement of psychiatric disturbances, in particular a lessening of anxiety, depression, and tension. Social self-confidence improved and this was accompanied by a decrease of antagonistic feelings towards others. Many of these changes occurred within the first three months. The importance of consolidating these changes in subsequent months is emphasised.

The results obtained in Wormwood Scrubs showed that statistically there was no change in the mean level of self-esteem. However, in group-treated men, this level increased whilst it decreased in the individually treated. Other therapeutic changes (for example the decrease of anxiety and depression) were similar in the two groups and not significantly different from the changes observed in Grendon.

The results of a reconviction study and its methodology are explained and critically evaluated on the basis of the preceding investigations. The conclusion is that reconviction data are a very incomplete measure of reoffending although they have been very widely

used. In a postal survey of 112 reconvicted and 46 non-reconvicted men, none of the psychiatric, psychological and attitudinal variables distinguished the two groups. They differed only in variables relating to their criminal history. Technical difficulties, however, limit the value of these results.

An attempt to estimate the prevalence of psychiatric disorder within another sentenced population was made on the basis of a census carried out by the Home Office Research Unit in the South East Region in February 1972. The results suggest that about one in three men was willing to have psychiatric help in prison. These results are, as explained in the text, probably biased by the emotional disturbance caused by imprisonment as such. Of greater interest is the observation that one man in five of that sample had had previous psychiatric treatment under the NHS.

In the concluding chapters, the authors emphasise their belief that "most of the keys to offending behaviour lie in the community". They conclude that it will be up to us as members of a community to concern ourselves with crime prevention. It will be left to the Prison Service to deal with punishment, with the protection of the public from the dangerous, and perhaps with some of the mentally abnormal criminals at certain stages of their career.

The monograph contains a wealth of information on facts and methods, reasoned argument, and critical evaluation of the findings and other published work. It is impossible to do justice to the contents of the book in a short review: it must be read and studied in detail by all interested in the psychiatric aspects of imprisonment.

W. FABISCH
Visiting Psychotherapist, Nottingham Prison



READERS Write

The Editor,
The Prison Service Journal.

Dear Sir,

I would like to reply to one of the points made by Dr J.E Thomas in his constructive review of my book *The Acceptable Pressure Group* (Prison Service Journal July 1979), namely, his criticism that I devote too little time to PROP.

My first reaction is to refer him to the subtitle of the book, it is a "case-study of the Howard League and RAP", and as such, PROP and its activities are marginal to the main story. Of course it is equally true, and Dr Thomas is generous enough to suggest this, that when I first put pen to paper PROP was going through a

lean time and its continued existence as a national pressure group was very much in doubt.

I would not, of course, wish to argue that this is any longer the case. PROP's contribution to a thorough investigation into the Hull prison riots is just one example of how effectively it has picked up, and it is perhaps arguable that under its present co-ordinator it has moved into its most stable phase.

It would be quite wrong for anyone to believe that PROP no longer has a presence in the penal lobby, and it was never my intention to convey this impression.

Yours Sincerely,
Mick Ryan
(*Thames Polytechnic*).

The Editor
Prison Service Journal

Dear Sir,

As a regular reader of the *Prison Service Journal* for about the last five years I wish to thank you for the steady flow of information and thought-provoking articles provided in the Journal. The last issue was no exception in this respect.

I have been especially interested in the many articles which have indicated progress towards making prison officers not solely "turnkeys" but also "rehabilitation officers" — though as yet I have not seen any suggestion that they be referred to as ROs rather than POs.

I found the article "Violence and

Professionalism: an explosive mixture" by Steve Twinn, in the last issue, very interesting because it brought to the fore an aspect of PO work which is so often left in the background. Through my contacts with prisons I am aware of the violence problem but Steve Twinn's authoritative analysis has stimulated me to further thought. I realise that in the space of one article the author could scarcely be expected to deal with all the ramifications of the subject, but nevertheless I think he should have included, however briefly, an examination of the causes of violence in prisons and how some of these causes might be removed. Increasing the rehabilitative role of the PO would, in my opinion, lead to a marked reduction in violence. Leaving aside the theoretical basis of this statement, I wish to point to the

practical evidence offered by the Special Unit at Barlinnie Prison. I hope the author has read Jimmy Boyle's book "A Sense of Freedom", and if so I should be grateful for his comments on it.

Yours sincerely,
Charles W.J. Crawford.
(a Voluntary Associate with the
Probation and After-care Service)
Harrow, Middlesex

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especially from serving members of the Prison Service.
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