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Reviews

Book Review

Inside Immigration Detention

By Mary Bosworth

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Immigration detention has expanded rapidly over the last two decades. From a couple of hundred places in the early 1990s, today there are around 3000 people detained in immigration removal centres. This is an expanded and seemingly permanent feature of the carceral landscape in the UK. It has arisen during a period which has seen greater movement of people in an increasingly interconnected, globalised world, where developments in communications, transportation, commerce and international law have facilitated migration. Whilst this has brought many economic and cultural benefits, it has also been accompanied by fear and anxiety. Consequently, debates about migration have become heated and polarised. Academics have engaged with the control of migration, often critically. Discussions have explored the relationship to power and inequality; economic, racial and gendered. They have also revealed how this is situated within the political economy, particularly the dominant neo-liberal paradigm. However, what has been absent from previous studies is ethnographic material examining the everyday experience of immigration detention. It is this gap that is filled by Professor Mary Bosworth's impressive work.

This book is based on extensive fieldwork conducted over nearly two years and encompassing 250

detainee surveys, 500 interviews with detainees, 130 with staff, and 2400 hours of observation. These are indeed big numbers. What Professor Bosworth does with this material is to craft a challenging, sensitive and profound account of a largely hidden institution.

Immigration detention is itself saturated in uncertainty. The detention population includes both those convicted of criminal offences and those who have not been convicted, the detention is indeterminate, and the operating processes draw upon those of the prison, whilst also having clear differences (such as access to IT and mobile telephony). The institution exists in the shadow of the prison and has not fully developed its own distinct objective and purpose. For those being detained and those imposing the detention, Professor Bosworth reveals how uncertainty pervades their lives. The notions of nationality and identity, which are fundamental to constructions of citizenship, belonging and migration, are shown to be unstable and complex. Many detainees have long-standing connections and have spent many years in the UK, so for both staff and prisoners, the legitimacy of detention and removal is not self-evident. Detainees also experience particular distress from the indeterminacy of their confinement and the difficulty in seeking support. For many in removal centres, they do not have the light that comes at the end of the tunnel in prison sentences, instead: 'in contrast to prisons, where most prisoners look forward to their release date, most of those interviewed were afraid of the endpoint of their detention' (p.127). In addition, they suffer from the pains of institutional

control, including reduced autonomy and trust in everyday issues such as food and healthcare. Staff also feel uncertain about their role, often seeing it as less rewarding and having diminished status in comparison to that of prison staff.

The most profound and moving aspects of Professor Bosworth's work is where she explores the humanisation and de-humanisation of personal interactions, relationships and connections. She describes how the bureaucratic processes enable distance and denial. In particular, decisions about individual detainees are often taken by case workers who are remote from the centres and rarely have direct interactions with those they are making decisions about. In addition, those working directly with detainees, as they do not have control over key aspects of their case, are powerless and can evade responsibility. Nevertheless, there are moments and spaces where those barriers are broken down and human connection is established. That is sometimes in recreational and cultural activities, but can also arise where particular circumstances elicit empathy. These moments can be uncomfortable as it erodes the structures that enable the act of detention. Professor Bosworth describes the emotional texture of detention as being characterised by 'estrangement' where those enacting confinement are estranged from those they confine, viewing them as 'the other', whilst they also have to become estranged from their own feelings, hardening themselves to the pains of detention.

This book asks some challenging questions. For immigration detention specifically, it

asserts that we 'must uncouple detention from the criminal justice imagination and generate new ideas and language to understand them' (p19), in other words it must step out from the shadow of the prison. This raises questions for practitioners, policy makers and researchers about what kind of institution it could or should be. It also confronts migration policy more broadly and how it reflects the processes of social control; 'Under conditions of mass mobility, we must be wary of letting fears about economic resources or concerns about social cohesion overcome our commitment to humane ideals' (p.223). Migration policy cannot be seen in isolation, it is a reflection of the society in which we live and has implications for citizens as well as those denied citizenship.

Professor Bosworth has produced the most extensive account yet of the inner life of removal centres. It is an important work that reveals a previously hidden world and opens up new ways of thinking about this. It is uncomfortable and challenging, enlightening and moving. It is an essential book for all of those with an interest in migration and detention.

Dr Jamie Bennett is Governor of HMP Grendon & Springhill.

Book Review

A Good Man Inside — Diary of a White Collar Prisoner

By Will Phillips

Publisher: Waterside Press (2014)

ISBN 978-1-909976-03-0

Price: £9.95

In 2010 songwriter and performer Will Phillips was sentenced to prison for what he rather evasively describes as 'white collar crimes' (p. 95). Seeing himself

as a family man with a respectable life, Phillips was shocked by the severity of his sentence and the conditions he found in prison. In order to 'remain positive . . . to avoid drowning in . . . negativity' (p. 17) he committed to write a diary of his time in custody. Phillips intended a no-frills, contemporaneous description of the world around him. The result is a series of diary entries which are vivid and honest.

Descriptions of 'cigarette burnt . . . blood stained sheets', 'a mattress thinner than a water biscuit' (p. 18) and the graphic descriptions of food and noise starkly reflect his initial shock of imprisonment. As he becomes more familiar with prison, Phillips' descriptions become more reflective and humorous; referencing cell to cell conversations via toilet pipes, toasting bread over a flaming toilet roll and a utilities company trying to sell gas to remand prisoners in their 'new residence'.

Phillips' finds writing cathartic, relaying humorous stories to escape growing anxieties and depression. He candidly describes the tension caused by his inactivity and absence of family contact. He struggles to suppress fears about his partner's fidelity and the stability of his family ties and becomes increasingly tense as visits go badly, his appeal fails and Christmas looms. He admits, 'Incarceration has taken away . . . my pride and confidence. Time and again I've . . . doubted her commitment . . . every time . . . she was having some fun I . . . tried to steal her happiness' (p. 88).

Unfortunately although his circumstances draw sympathy, Phillips frustrates by offering no indication of remorse. He is quick to highlight the rehabilitative responsibility of prison staff and is critical of the effect incarceration has had upon him. However he accepts no personal responsibility, portraying himself as a passive agent in this process — the product

of a failing prison system and a solicitor's apathetic approach to his defence. Phillips fails to offer mitigation or explanation for his offending. There is a respectable argument that prison should be reserved for the most serious offenders but Phillips' romanticised portrayal of being 'the good man inside' and attempts to distance himself from 'dangerous proper criminals' (p. 20) alienate the reader and damage his credibility.

Phillips' diary offers an insight into his experience of being imprisoned but the insight he provides is limited. The absence of background narrative to link entries means the book is too shallow to expand understanding. While it may be unfair to criticise a diary for being a set of personal reflections, it is not unreasonable to expect a diarist who chooses to publish those reflections to provide a connection with the reader. While Phillips' account is therefore valuable as a personal reflection it feels like an opportunity missed, a failure to deliver on a promising idea.

Chris Gundersen is Operations Manager and Head of Casework to the Deputy Director of Public Sector Prisons.

Book Review

Doing Probation Work

By Rob. C Mawby and Anne Worrall

Publisher: Routledge (2013)

ISBN-13 978-0415540285

Price: £88.99 (hardback)

This is one of nine books Routledge has published in its series 'frontiers of criminal justice' (others include books on sex offenders, youth justice, women and punishment, policing and a study contrasting 'Anglophone excess and Nordic

exceptionalism'). The authors of this book have backgrounds in the studies of policing and women offenders as well as probation, with Mawby now working in the Department of Criminology at Leicester University and Worrall as a Professor of Criminology at Keele. This study is a timely consideration of the role of the probation work as the world of probation undergoes its most radical reformation since its inception just over 100 years ago.

The authors describe the book as being 'about probation workers and their occupational cultures' (p. 1). It is based on interviews with 60 probation workers, ranging from some who trained in the 1960s to others who were recruited by Probation Trusts. Using this qualitative approach the authors seek to challenge the view that probation work is in decline. They cite Mair and Burke who see probation has having 'lost its roots, its traditions, its culture, its professionalism.'¹ Mawby and Worrall counter this by arguing that notwithstanding the 'predominant penal discourse of 'offender management' (p. 1) the concept of probation endures and has real professional meaning.

Central to their argument is that there are three types of probation worker whom they describe as 'lifers', 'second careerists' and 'offender managers'. 'Lifers' are probation workers who are often, first generation university-educated, idealistic people who joined probation at a young age. 'Second careerists' are those who come to probation after a career elsewhere; and 'offender managers' are mainly those who joined after 1997 and who see probation work as one of a number of jobs they will do in the course of their lives. Common to

all three types, the authors identify a shared belief in the value of working with offenders in the community, fundamentally a belief that offenders can change. The authors also identify in all three types, which they recognise cannot definitively describe every probation worker, a common recognition of the importance of public protection and the rights of victims.

The book looks in some detail about the practical aspects of doing probation work — including the 'tyranny of the computer' (p. 43) and the places in which it is done (from offices of various sorts to offenders' and victims' homes). They identify the difficulty probation workers have in finding time to reflect on their work as well as the diverse nature of the work. Perhaps most interestingly though is the consideration given to the partnership role of probation. This will be of particular relevance as the implications become apparent of the transfer of the 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (the CRCs, the former parts of Probation Trusts which managed medium and lower risk offenders and delivered programme and community payback) to private and voluntary sector bodies. In a chapter which looks at the changing relationship with the courts, police and prisons, the book provides a helpful analysis of core partnerships which it will be important to hold in mind as the consequences of the reorganisation of probation into the National Probation Service and the 21 CRCs becomes apparent.

In this chapter, the authors use the five-stage typology of partnership which Davidson² devised. This approach sees the first and least well developed stage of partnership as being

characterised as 'communication'; the second and third stages ('cooperation' and 'coordination', that is of work and activities); and the fourth and fifth ('federation' and 'merger') as different levels of organisational integration. The authors conclude that probation's relationship with the courts, which was characterised as 'federation', is now at just 'cooperation'. In contrast probation's relationships with police and prisons are seen to be stronger. Probation's relationship with the police, which the authors discern was at the 'communication' stage (characterised at times by 'mutually suspicion'), is now at the fourth stage of 'federation', due largely to initiatives such as Integrated Offender Management and Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements, Probation's relationship with prisons, which traditionally was patchy and characterised as being at the stage of 'cooperation' is also seen as being close to 'federation' — and one wonders with the incorporation of the National Probation Service into the National Offender Management Service whether merger is far away.

The book provides a revealing reflection on a very important aspect of work with offenders and victims which the changes to the organisation and the function of probation could obscure. It is important that practitioners as much as policy makers continue such reflection during the changes which the 'Transforming Rehabilitation' programme is bringing about. The book also provides an insight for probation's partners — not just colleagues who work in the courts, in police and prison but the variety of bodies which will take over the CRCs too. Although this is a short

1. Mair, G. & Burke, L. (2012), *'Redemption, Rehabilitation and Risk Management: A History of Probation,'* Abingdon: Routledge p. 192.
2. Davidson, S. (1976) *'Planning and coordination of social services in multi-organisational contexts,'* Social Services Review, 50: 117-37

book, at around 150 pages, it offers insightful reflections into probation's occupational culture over the years and would provide thought-provoking observations for academics, probation workers and wider criminal justice professionals.

Kelly Richards joined what was *South Wales Probation in 2002* and is currently managing a *High Risk of Harm Project in an Integrated Offender Management (IOM) Development Team in Wales*.

Book Review

Shades of Deviance. A primer on crime, deviance and social harm

Edited by Rowland Atkinson

Publisher: Routledge (2014)

ISBN: 978-0-415-73323-6

(Hardback) 978-0-415-73323-6
(Paperback)

Price: £86.00 (Hardback) £16.99
(Paperback)

Shades of Deviance is a collection of 56 short reports which all relate to the notion of crime and deviance. It is a unique and interesting book which introduces the reader to the concept of what is deviant behaviour and tests their boundary of knowledge in the subject. Covering acts of deviance from paedophilia to cyber-crime, terrorism to sadomasochism and joy riding to tattoos, the accounts are short, sharp and thought provoking and are intended to act as an introduction to the world of criminology, criminal behaviour and social science as a whole.

This book is an absorbing read. It is presented in a manner which grips its audience and does not let go until the last page. Each chapter is presented by a well informed and often prominent expert from around the world, allowing their

knowledge to entice and captivate those who read it. This is where the unique style of the book comes to the fore; it is a short book, it covers a wide and varying range of deviant behaviours, but it is the way in which the authors have captured their chosen area so precisely and concisely which makes it a must have title.

The format of the book is broken into seven themes of deviance: Acts of Transgression; Subcultures and deviating Social Codes; Technological Change and New Opportunities for Harm; Changing Social Attitudes and Perceptions of Social Problems; Invisible and Contested Harms; Attacks on Social Difference: Hate and Culture; Global Problems of Violence and Human Harm. Each theme incorporates a particular act of deviance relating to it, allowing a flow of narrative and thought. Acts of deviancy such as fire setting or white collar crime are obvious behaviours which attract the deviant label and their inclusion warranted within. It is only when these crimes are situated amongst chapters which include smoking and fashion, does the reader start to understand that deviant behaviour is a multi-faceted and fascinating topic.

The aim of the book is therefore based upon a simple premise: to introduce deviance and deviant behaviour in a contemporary and thought provoking manner. For example, the aforementioned chapter on smoking (chapter 29) shows how *Shades of Deviance* is not afraid to tackle modern day transgressions, even when they are still legal:

'Trapped in a web of exploitation by the tobacco industry and vilification due to contemporary health sensibilities, smokers rapidly sink to the bottom...of twenty-first-century 'hierarchies of credibility'. It thus seems rather unlikely that smokers huddled outside offices

and bars globally will shake their positions as modern-day deviants.' (p.126)

The labelling of disabled people as deviant (chapter 39) takes the realms of dealing with taboo subjects further and provokes debate, assumptions and a stirring of mixed feelings, like no other passage in the entire book. Here deviancy is not pointed towards those who are afflicted; rather it suggests that disabled people are seen as deviants by others. It is the reaction of others towards disabled people (such as hate crimes or discrimination) which is of interest to the criminological fraternity whilst highlighting how others who are *deemed* less fortunate, are singled out because they are different. Deviancy is not always as straight forward as it may seem.

Shades of Deviance never loses its focus, it never shies away from a gritty or contested argument and it never allows the reader to lose interest. It is fast paced, moving and emotional. It is based in the here and now of the social world, without forgetting how we got here.

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Book Review

Juvenile Offending

Edited by Thom Brooks

Publisher: Ashgate

ISBN: 978-1-4094-5123-5

Price: £105.00 (Hardback)

This collection of essays is one of five forming a series entitled *Crime and Punishment: Critical Essays in Legal Philosophy*. All have been edited by Thom Brooks from the University of Durham and previous collections have covered *Retribution, Deterrence, Shame Punishment and Sentencing*. The

aim of the series is to bring together some of the most influential articles from eminent international authors around the given theme. *Juvenile Offending* comprises of eleven such essays, drawn from the previous decade of research, and organised into further subdivided themes. The broad aims of this book are to examine why we should, and how we practically can, treat Juvenile Offenders differently to adults.

The book is split into four broad themes; Youth Offending and Risk Factors, Punishment and Juvenile Offenders, Juvenile Offending and Sentencing, and Youth Offenders and Restorative Justice. Juvenile Offending and Sentencing is the largest section in terms of number of essays, and the focus on sentencing is something that is central to most of these 'influential' texts.

Interestingly, Brooks is not attempting to pull together a strong argument for a single ideological approach to Juvenile Offending. This is made abundantly clear in his choice of essays that form the first three chapters and two parts of the book. In a well argued article Stephen Case and Kevin Haines deconstruct some well established and highly respected studies that attempt to identify universal risk

factors for youth offending including, amongst many others, the Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime review¹ by David P. Farrington. They conclude that due to the extent of the weak methodological and analytical quality of these studies it is impossible to conclude whether universal risk factors exist.

This is immediately juxtaposed with an article from Monica Barry that argues that Youth should be a recognised developmental stage between adults (who have full legal responsibilities) and children (who have no legal responsibilities). Barry argues that Young People are caught between these two extremes and should be appropriately recognised as such if interventions are to work. Brooks includes a third article, authored by himself, which extends some of Barry's assertions by arguing for a universal risk factor that is not limited to juveniles, but extends to adults as well. Brooks' key risk factor for offending is not unemployment, finance or accommodation but actually centres on whether the individual feels that they have a stake in society.

The main section on sentencing explores issues such as

age-related sentencing, the impact of deterrence sentencing on juveniles, how the US juvenile system should be reformed and issues of juveniles subjected to adult trials and punishments. Finally, the book includes a group of essays that explore Restorative Justice in a juvenile setting. These include examining Restorative Justice in Northern Ireland, tackling the problem of juveniles' apparent preference of court as opposed to restorative justice conferences, and the potential for restorative justice to build on the inroads it has made in low level offending.

The book, and indeed the series, aims to be a thematic easy reference guide of the most influential essays for use by the general public, students, practitioners and academics. The essays selected are incredibly interesting and relevant, as well as providing a well rounded view of approaches to addressing juvenile offending. I believe that it does achieve its aims and would recommend it as a valuable read to anyone studying, working or simply interested in juvenile offending.

Paul Crossey is Head of Young People at HMYOI Feltham.

1. Farrington, D.P. (1996) *Understanding and Preventing Youth Crime*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.