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CONTENTS

2	ALBANY PRISON	e e
12		vsbury, Willie Kahle and James Thomson
20	"Old" England to "New"	J. F. W. Bright
23	Contributors	
24	CARTOON	Taylor
25	Security and Treatment	D. J. Thompson
32	Staff Training	W.J. Booth
26	WAYS TO ACHIEVE GREATER STAFF PARTICIPATIO	N Norman Low
	Police Reorganisation and Penal Reform	J. M. Atkinson

Views expressed by contributors are their own personal opinions and are not necessarily those of their official departments

Albany Prison Communication, Co-ordination and Co-operation

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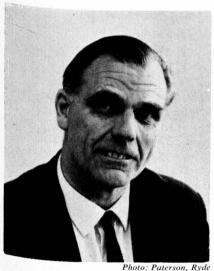
THE THREE abstract nouns incorporated in our headline aptly sum up the practical policy pursued by Mr. A. Gould, the governor, in running Albany Prison.

Central management meetings are held weekly, on a Wednesday or additionally, to consider any particular problem which might arise. Although the meetings are vital, and have proved valuable to the smooth and efficient running of the prison, they are conducted informally, in "round table" fashion, under the chairmanship of the governor. In addition, subsections of the main committee meet, under another official's chairmanship, to discuss and draw up plans for special aspects.

Basically, this meeting has a threefold function. The first is to develop the prison. Albany has been in existence since January 1967, when the first few officials arrived on the site; and consequently the prison is not yet half full, and there is not yet a full complement of staff, nor provision of all the security measures needed. (November 1967.)

The second task is to deal with all sorts of matters which come up during the running of the prison, under examination by heads of department and other influential people in the prison-so that ways of working can be improved. The third and main function is making sure how the management of the prison "travels" from the central management committee to all parts of the prison-so that every part is seen to be a part of the whole, and is able to work clearly in the light of communications from central management. It follows that everyone on the central management committee is responsible for some aspect of the work of the meeting.

Subsections of the main committee meet separately from time to time to draw up plans for special aspects. For example, there are currently two sub-committees. One,



MR. A. GOULD Governor

under Mr. D. W. Farrow (deputy governor), is dealing with perimeter defence and security; the other, under Mr. A. J. Pearson (one of the two assistant governors), is concerned with organisation of the prison and role specification taking a look at the management structure of the prison. There are a number of other sub-committees, including management of the industries, which convenes a progress meeting which a member of the head office industries and stores department attends.

"ROUND TABLERS"

Including the governor, the central management meeting consists of 13 main members—unlucky, in superstitious terms, but extremely fortunate in the sum total of counsel and wisdom! Mr. Farrow deputises in Mr. Gould's absence and is chairman of all central management meetings which the governor cannot hold. The deputy governor also has special responsibilities for the design of security; and one of his major jobs is "trouble shooting"—in the sense that he makes himself available to deal with friction of any sort which might occur naturally at any time.

Mr. Pearson's job is the development of staff resources and communication inside the prison. This includes the design of staff training. Mr. B. Coward (the other assistant governor) has the responsibility of seeing that the inmate training plans are implemented as far as is possible when they move from the induction centre. In pursuit of this, it is Mr. Coward's job to supervise and help in the organisation of the halls and the way in which the prisoners work, and he calls various meetings to see that these functions are properly carried out.

Mr. D. M. Lewis (chief officer, Class I) is a member of the central management meeting as head of the uniform staff. He has overall responsibility for security and custody in the daily running of the prison and for inspection of the prison. His staff management duties include posting men to individual posts and duties, discussing progress and looking after the career development of his staff, negotiating with head office concerning staff, writing reports and arranging leave and reliefs. He also maintains liaison with the administration officer, foreman of works

and industrial manager concerning their staff and matters of common interest.

The Rev. D. L. Phillips, who was formerly at Camp Hill, is a full-time chaplain responsible for the C.E. chapel and for liaising with parttime chaplains of other denominations, and seeing that the religious needs of the prisoners are taken care of. He extends his work as far as possible and co-operates with many outside people and organisations. Summed up in a phrase, the chaplain is a constant reminder of the innate dignity of an individual man.

Mr. E. S. Darling (principal psychologist), assisted by Mr. S. J. Middleton (psychologist), supervises the running of the induction scheme -a process whereby the authorities try to obtain some idea of the sort of prisoners who are sent to them. and to formulate a plan to cope with the problem as they are able to be uncovered. The psychologists are also concerned to see what work the prisoner is capable of doing. The most important aspect-the crux of the matter-is trying to find out why individuals commit the offences which they do, and to see whether there are any means to enable them to alter their way of behaviour.

Mr. F. C. Wilkinson (administration officer) is head of the office, clerical department and stores department and industries; and is responsible for the financial affairs of the prison. Supported by two executive officers (Mr. C. J. J. Samuel and Mr. R. Hurt), he has a large section of staff working for him.

Mr. W. J. Moore (senior works officer) is responsible for the buildings, their amenities and development and all their services. He has a particularly onerous job taking over a big new prison and adapting to post-Mountbatten Report purposes. It includes, among other things, the development of the perimeter wall defences which will carry the prison from Class C to Class B; and work on electronic locking devices which will enable the cells to be opened for, among other things, night sanitation. In common with other heads of departments, he has liaison duties with his opposite number at the Home Office and has the duty of making sure that the central management meeting knows what it needs to know for the development of the prison.

Mr. E. G. Rashley (tutor-organiser) is employed at Albany by the local education authority, as a full-time officer, to provide an educational service for the prison. This means recruiting part-time teachers, being involved in all educational activities, and having a personal knowledge of every prisoner and trying to provide educational opportunities relevant to the prisoner's needs while in custody.

Two chief officers, Class II, Mr. T. Hancill and Mr. H. Collins,^{*} attend the central management meeting. Mr. Collins has been seriously ill for some weeks and is

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

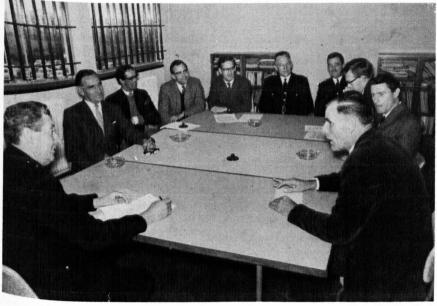


Photo: Paterson, Ryde

An Informal Conference Conducted by the Central Management Committee

sadly missed, because he was of immense help when the prison was opened. His place in the management of the prison has been taken by P.O. W. H. Foster, who takes the minutes. Among other duties, Chief Officer Collins is responsible to the assistant governor, Mr. Pearson, for the development of staff resources and the training programme of staff. Mr. Hancill is in charge of "A" Hall, which has a multi-purpose function; it holds the men in the induction period, and the men responsible for the domestic servicing of the prison, and some other prisoners. He has the responsibility for seeing that work allocations of the prisoners are correctly made, that prisoners are properly supervised, and that an

efficient appointment system is operated—so that specialist staff, and prisoners who are down to see them, are not kept waiting unnecessarily. He works in close liaison with the principal psychologist, and also acts for the Class I chief officer in his absence.

Because the governor is (modestly) the first to suggest that the management of Albany Prison is substantially a team effort, the *County Press* were courteously invited to interview officers at all levels. This we were gratified to do—although space will not permit more than a broad outline of a complex, but neatly interwoven, structure of human relationships and planned guidance.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TOUCH

When a new prisoner arrives he is placed in "A" Hall during the induction period of two to three weeks, and several of the officers conduct a series of interviews. They include assistant governor, tutororganiser, welfare officers, chaplain and prison officers; and a vital role is played by the psychologists, who are responsible for co-ordinating the induction scheme.

Mr. Darling said the principal contribution of the psychologist was perhaps to try to bring as much objectivity into the proceedings as he could. In the sense that psychology was an attempt to make a scientific study of human behaviour, they tried to bring those principles to bear in dealing with people in custody. They assessed the new arrivals, with a view to seeing what their particular problems were, and to see whether there was some way of trying to deal with these within the prison set-up-always bearing in mind that people were going to be discharged eventually. "Really, we need to try to make sure that what happens in prison is relevant to what a man may do on discharge", he said.

Very often, in the past, one way of tackling the problem of the training of prisoners was to look round and see what was available in the prison and occupy the man accordingly. "What we are trying to do here—and it is only in the early stages", Mr. Darling said, "is to turn the problem the other way round; to try and discover what the

man's particular problems and difficulties are, and then to devise ways of dealing with them. It is relatively less difficult to assess what a prisoner's needs are-but we obviously have a long way to go before we can be confident that the training we can provide will, in fact, meet these needs". After explaining many other fascinating facets-all designed to combine the practical issue with the human motif of rehabilitation-the principal psychologist emphasised that the aim at Albany was to use all the specialist staff as that they advisers-rather than should work in watertight compartments.

WOMAN WELFARE OFFICER

At Albany is the first woman welfare officer to be appointed to an island prison, Miss Iris Anderson. Welfare facilities at the prisons have been taken over by the Probation Service and Miss Anderson and her colleague, Mr. John Pearce. under Mr. A. Scott (senior welfare officer) are volunteers seconded to the Prison Service, but still remain members of the Probation Service. In this way, a continuity of social work is maintained, and the welfare officers can work in closer cooperation with the Probation Service outside, particularly in looking after the interests of prisoners' wives and families. This link is far stronger than that which existed in the days when prison welfare officers were a separate body.

Miss Anderson told the *County Press*—"In Albany Prison we have a governor who is very interested in the social case-work side of the prisoners' lives—so it gives a great deal of encouragement to welfare officers. We also have a programme for training prison officers, who join with us in their efforts on behalf of the prisoners. This enables the prison officer to get to know the prisoner as a man—and the prisoner to get to know the prison officer. It makes for a happier relationship in the prison and makes a more interesting career for the prison officers".

The two welfare officers deal with all types of problems, such as elderly parents worried about their sons, or bewildered about the prison regulations, and wives and fiancees writing in with various problems. Prisoners, in fact, are able to approach the welfare officers on virtually any type of problem, including those which are a "hangover" from pre-prison days, such as a legacy of debt, eviction notices, income tax problems and so on. Often these officers tackle problems of a marriage breaking up, or threatened with break-up, and where possible, they try to effect a reconciliation. If that is not possible, they see that the persons concerned get the right sort of advice.

One of the questions which Miss Anderson is frequently asked is: "How do the prisoners react to a female in prison?" The answer is: on the whole the prisoners welcome it, because they are cut away from womenfolk to a large extent. Apart from that, it is very helpful because often some of the men talk about their problems more readily than they would to a man. A woman, too, has probably more intuition. She can also be of help in writing to wives and mothers. "As far as I am concerned", Miss Anderson said, "I find that prisoners and prison staff go out of their way to be courteous, and I think it is a good thing for prisoners".

To ensure the successful operation of this commendable system, prison officers must obviously be endowed with a sympathetic approach-and this characteristic was demonstrated with all the officers to whom we spoke. Principal Officer F. A. Wheeler is in charge of "A" Hall, which contains the men in "induction". This hall also accommodates a "static" population of prisonerdomestics and some others. The main stream of post-induction prisoners move to the industrial halls. each of which accommodate 96 men on landings of groups of eight. Principal Officer C. G. Golding is in charge of "B" Hall and P.O. W. Power is responsible for "C" (the other halls are as yet unoccupied).

CARE OF THE CASE OFFICER

A fundamental factor in the continuity of care, surrounding a prisoner throughout his sentence, is the case work carried out by prison officers. In the office of the principal officer responsible for the administration of each hall is a case file detailing the prisoner's history, problems and progress—and demonstrating that he is an individual in his own right. P.O. Golding



Photo: Paterson, Ryde

A SYMPATHETIC HEARING IN THE INTERVIEW ROOM

said: "We encourage a close relationship all the time. There is no barrier here. At times there is a procession of prisoners all day long", he added—"and the men themselves feel much more settled in being able to approach the staff so freely".

Another instance of the closeness of contact is admirable personal ratio of case officer to prisoner. Each prison officer has only eight men under this specialised control.

The industries carried out at Albany are light textiles and tailoring. Some of the workshops are in buildings left by the Army (some of the administration offices have also been sited here, but it is hoped

to build a new block for these). In the interests of an economical use of fairly expensive machinery (and as a parallel to outside industry) a shift system is worked at the prison; 7.30 a.m. to 1.45 p.m., and 2 p.m. to 8 p.m.—alternating for each prisoner from week to week. Their earnings are recorded in a ledger kept at the canteen, in the charge of officer R. R. Curtis, and a weekly after maintained credit balance purchases-and after a penny a week contribution to the "common fund", which caters for the television licence and extra goods.

EDUCATION IN DEPTH

In pursuance of a well-rounded life, within the bounds of perimeter

security, education plays an important part. Currently, this is the running-in period, with 25 classes a week and 141 student places; but the tutor-organiser has some imaginative and exciting schemes-bearing in mind also that, with the advent of Class B classification, Albany will cater for a different type of prisoner. Problems which he is overcoming include the complication of a shift system; and the need to break down the inertia factor inherent in all the counter attractions available during free association periods. In respect of the shift system, it is most unusual, if not unique, for a prison to provide three separate educational sessions a day!

The present team of 16 teachers will extend to 20 by January. Basic subjects are the "three Rs", plus diversions such as music appreciation, using the chapel organ, tape recorder and gramophone. Art is another of the subjects showing promise; there is one day-time teacher and a part-time teacher two evenings a week-each exceptional in terms of human relationships and the quality of their instruction. In the tutor-organiser's office we saw a superb pen and ink portrait, and a sunset in oils with clouds remini-Scent of Turner.

Future plans include groups of teachers working as a team on related subjects in depth; and perhaps the most exciting new development will be the introduction of vocation schools. Mr. Rashley has already made exploratory contact with a college of education, and a team of lecturers may visit the prison at Easter. A proposed building extension scheme will assist the various visionary ventures to come to fruition. "The object of education as I see it", Mr. Rashley said, "is that it will help to rehabilitate the man, to extend his horizons, and to keep him in contact with the other world".

Epitomising, as much as any other facet, a civilised approach to the dignity of the individual is the handsome, well laid-out library. This is run by Prison Officer T. Jones, assisted by prisoner record clerks. The reception counter, designed by the librarian (including a storage space for books) was built at other island prisons: the excellent bookshelf units were made at Parkhurst to standard prison design. The library started in a humble way with books loaned by Camp Hill and Parkhurst; now, by agreement with the county council, there is a regular supply. There is shelf space for 4,300 books, and the present total is about 3,000-a really representative selection, fiction and nonfiction. The total on loan at the time of our visit was 525. Seely Library co-operate very well, and Officer Jones visits Newport every week with special requests (which are encouraged at Albany). The prisoners are also provided with a regular newspaper and magazine supply service.

Amenities include a superb central gymnasium and cinema theatre. Weight-lifting was in progress during the morning of our visit, and there is always a full programme at the week-ends, under the direction of officers (P.E.I.) B. A. O'Neill and J. A. Hill. Outdoors, there are facilities for football and cricket (and weight-lifting in the summer). FIFTH NEW PRISON

The prison buildings are in capable hands, because for Mr. Moore, the senior works officer, this is his fifth new prison! He is responsible for all the buildings, contracts, services, workshops (and installation of machinery), boilerhouse, kitchen and 130 married guarters (with about 40 more to be built)-in fact, "everything that is Albany". The original Army officers' mess has been converted to private accommodation for bachelor prison officers, a mess and also an officers' club. It is called Albany House. Implementing the security recommendations of the Mountbatten Report is an added complex task. Mr. Moore is assisted in his gigantic task by two engineers, Mr. E. Wright and Mr. J. Bull and a staff of 21 tradesmen of all categories. He also aims to employ prisonercraftsmen wherever possible-to enable them to "keep their hand in".

The main corridor of the prison block, from which all five halls lead, contains offices which might be termed the G.H.Q. for on-the-spot management—as distinct from the central administration block at the front of the prison. In the regulating office, the duties of principal officers —Price and Mallard—include working out details for the daily employment of prison officers. It is a well-calculated graph, affording an interesting variety for the officers and constant contact with the prisoners. Cleaning and garden parties are among other dispositions for which the principal officers are responsible.

The medical officer is Dr. P. D. Smitherman, who is part of the island prison medical services. Mr. J. Hickmott takes care of the Albany estates. The kitchen, a very important centre of the prison, is presided over by Principal Officer F. G. Honey and his two assistants Cook and Baker Officers D. E. Bush and R. Buchanan. Because of the shift system, they have a difficult task preparing meals at the required times.

Captain-of-commerce-cum-industry might well be the added title of Mr. Wilkinson, the administration officer. His immediate responsibility is the office set-up, but this is linked with every department at some point. His staff section deals with officers' records and conditions of service; a pay section deals with weekly pay and appropriate allowances, and a cashier pays all the accounts for the establishment. A discipline office deals with prisoners' records, appeals, petitions, correspondence from relatives and similar documents. The stores section covers the various shops and stores, equipment, furniture and clothing for prison officers and prisoners.

The victualling section sees to the supplies of foodstuffs for the kitchen and the garden section controls the supply of plants and seeds. The manufacturing section is concerned with the supply of materials for the workshops and the dispatch of the finished articles; stores are staffed at the prison by three storemen. Then there is the industries side; Mr. R. E. Luke, the industrial manager, is responsible for the technical side (a duty he shares with Parkhurst and Camp Hill); but the workshops are under the administration officer's overall control.

Mr. Samuel, deputy administration officer, is well known in the island. He was at Camp Hill for 24 years, and was first on the scene at Albany—unlocking the door on January 16th.

The chairman of the Board of Visitors is Mr. J. Colley, J.P. He

and his colleagues, including independent members, are currently concerned with probation officers, Mr. J. B. Coker (assistant principal probation officer, Hampshire), Mr. C. S. Bagshaw (senior probation officer, Southampton) and Miss A. E. Wood, in the implementation of the Criminal Justice Act 1967, concerning licensing on "parole". This involves close collaboration with the staff of the prison.

An influential factor in the management of the prison is the local committee of the Prison Officers' Association, under its chairman, Mr. F. Sly, and secretary Mr. C. H. Kirk, who are consulted about many aspects of the management and staff problems.

We regret to report the death of Chief Officer Collins since the publication of this article—*Editor*.

Homes for the Homeless

MICHAEL SHREWSBURY, WILLIE KAHLE AND JAMES THOMSON

WE HAVE COME to the conclusion that the present methods used for dealing with social inadequates or misfits, drunks or social nuisances--call them what you will-are futile. We have also come to the conclusion that when all our medical, religious and social aids have been brought to bear on such men, no permanent change of outlook or behaviour can be expected. We are therefore more than ever convinced that there is only one possible answer to their needs-accept them as they are. provide a permanent home and care for them.

Our priest, Willie Kahle told us that such homes existed in Westphalia and the Rhineland, and suggested we should visit the country to see these. We, Michael Shrewsbury and James Thomson, took Willie Kahle up on his suggestion, agreeing that it would be useful to try to collect additional evidence for a change in sentencing policy and leading to the provision of suitable homes for the social nuisances. Hearing of our plan, our respective authorities agreed to grant us special leave, the cost, however, to be borne by us. We arrived at Dusseldorf on 21st July 1966, where we were entertained hospitably by the British Consul-General in Dusseldorf.

During our briefing by Ministerialdirigent Simon, who had invited representatives of prison, clergy and welfare to meet us, we were told that some 18,000 out of a population of roughly 38 million were held in prison in this area. measuring approximately 300 by 250 milesmuch larger than England and Wales. There are local and training prisons and institutions of an inbetween range. We were told that after-care for the homeless and social nuisances could be divided into three categories: (1) voluntary rehabilitation centres such as Bodelshwing House in Wuppertal and Kurklink am Hellweg; (2) workhouses (not to be confused with our conception of "workhouse") like Brauweiler; and (3) the farms Arbeiter Kolonien, like Wilhemsdorf and Petrusheim, where those who cannot be rehabilitated in the ordinary sense are cared for. The Church (the two main churches,

This report is compiled by the Rev. Michael Shrewsbury, Chaplain of Pentonville Prison, the Rev. Willie Kahle, R.C. Priest, Pentonville and Holloway Prisons and Mr. James Thomson, Senior Social Worker, Pentonville Prison.

Catholic and Protestant) and the State have an equal share in their control. In Germany there is a church tax collected by the State and therefore the State usually leaves it to the churches to provide after-care and other amenities for the social inadequates. It took the churches many years and much effort before their work in the after-care field was finally recognised by the State and it is only since the second world war that a firm partnership has grown up and been consolidated. In 1958 a law was passed by which the State made itself responsible for providing living accommodation worthy of human beings for the homeless. While we were primarily interested in after-care projects we started our tour by spending the afternoon in the local prison in Dusseldorf. Another day we visited the prison and staff training college at Leth-^{ringhausen.}

The problems with which they are faced are similar to our own in preparing men for freedom. It was also apparent that their methods of treatment were, with one or two differences in policy, much the same as ours. We recognised that in both prisons there was an awareness of the part played by the after-care units. Social workers in the prisons have a close liaison with after-care units and the socially isolated, friendless men who have no home are frequently taken to these units. The nearest one to the Luthringhausen prison is 10 miles away at Wuppertal and staff members under

tuition visit the unit as part of their training.

THE FARMS (ARBEITER KOLONIEN)

In 1872 Pastor Bodelschwing founded Bethel as a community to care for the neurotics, mildly insane, epileptic and incurably sick. He was concerned for those for whom nobody cared. Bethel is now a community of about 10,000 people and forms part of the town of Bielefeld. It consists of hospitals, homes and hostels and is known as the city of the sick. Pastor Bodelschwing also saw the problem of the homeless (the wayfarers). Industrialisation, with its disruptive effects upon mainly agricultural communities, meant that many individuals were unable to find their way back to a secure way of life. He realised they had to be cared for and with his vision, conceived the idea of putting them to work on farms which he called Arbeiter Kolonien-a colony for workers. Due to his determination, about 20 farms were started within a few years. It would have taken days to see the whole of Bethel but as we were primarily interested in these farms we made our way to see the Rev. Mr. Frank who is both the chairman of the committee of all farms that exist in Germany and the general manager of those that are supervised by the Protestant Church. He told us that the set-up of the farms had remained the same up to the present time. They were run by a group of religious (brothers), administrators, farm manager

and other employees together numbering about 12. The brothers are needed to keep the spirit of "care", lead the men to work and look after them spiritually. Pastor Bodelschwing insisted that the administrator and other employees needed to be adequate, normal (whatever normal may mean) and efficient. It was obvious to us that this policy had been maintained.

For many years the income for these farms was derived solely from Church funds and voluntary contributions from local societies which were founded to support them. The project was not a local one and throughout the years it expanded. In a number of areas, homes, some with farms attached, were opened to house many of the social inadequates. At the present time 32 such units are in operation in West Germany, run by the two churches for the care of forgotten men. This number gives an idea of the determined efforts to provide care for the inadequates: the smallest unit contains 80 men while the majority house 200 or more; altogether about 6.500 such men are accommodated. Many of the projects have sheltered workshops.

Petrusheim

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The 600-acre farm called Petrusheim is in the heart of the country. It has residential accommodation for 200 men of the wayfarer type. The chapel attached had been built by the inhabitants as had many of the farm buildings. The whole is administered by a staff of seven, plus five Franciscan lay brothers who live there and work with the men. The unit has a herd of 80 beef cattle, 2,000 chickens—deep litter and free range, 400 pigs and 40 breeding sows; its own abattoir —a bullock is killed once a month and a pig once a fortnight, and the eggs and other food produced on the farm go a long way to making it self supporting.

The residents are 80 old-age pensioners who have been habitual wayfarers and 120 inadequates of various ages, most of whom have The seen the inside of prison. accommodation consists of one large block, part of which houses the pensioners and the remainder the others. Each group has its own dining hall. According to their wishes and to suitability, some live in single, some in double and others in treble bedrooms. The whole is heated by an oil-fired boiler which is maintained by one of the inhabitants who has made his permanent home there. Cooking is done in one large kitchen supervised by a staff member and most of the chores are done by the inhabitants. There are two full-time paid farm workers and many of the inhabitants work on the farm. In theory they work an eight-hour day but some of the less able just potter about. Wages for the inhabitants are roughly 2 marks, or 4s., a day plus keep and clothing.

The farm buildings are a model of perfection in structure, tidiness and cleanliness. The unit has its own shoemaker and, most important, laundry. The standard of accommodation is first class. This high standard surprised us as we were assured that nearly all the inhabitants were homeless and many were classed as social nuisances; a number were alcoholics, some chronic. Men wandered in during our visit, they were dirty and dishevelled.

For the first 48 hours, new arrivals spend their time in the reception unit where they are bathed, deloused if necessary, and generally cleaned up and medically examined by a visiting doctor. Only when this procedure is completed are they allowed into the main block. The food served to us at lunch was of very good quality and was of the kind served to the men. A staff member with whom we discussed the inhabitants told us that their aim was not to rehabilitate; all knew this to be an impossible task, although occasionally they did have one who made the grade. They had discovered that it is not possible to rehabilitate all men but it is possible to look after them and this is what they are doing. Perhaps this is rehabilitation in a different sense.

As said before, alcoholics are allowed to buy wine and beer from the shop in the unit, and while there we saw no less than four men who were drunk and apparently oblivious to all around. We were told they only get drunk when they have money and that as their income amounted to only about 4s. a day their bouts of alcoholism could be overlooked; after all, they said, as they saw it there was no harm in a man getting drunk in his own home.

WILHEMSDORF

It is situated in beautiful country and we saw it at its best. Here again we were impressed by the high standards. There are three units each housing 80 men, supervised by a deacon, making a total of 240 inhabitants. This number includes about 100 old-age pensioners of the type mentioned before. Many of the residents work on the large farm and market garden attached, some on outlying farms and some, including the pensioners, are employed in the light assembly workshops assembling locks for doors, to mention but one example. We were told that the light workshops were a great asset in inclement weather. The staff consisted of nine full-time employees and three deacons (deacons are akin to lay brothers) together numbering 12, live in the grounds. Their homes reminded us of the type seen in our own select residential areas.

The unit itself has a reading room, television room, tea and coffee bars. The two latter had obviously been designed by an interior decorator with a taste for culture and comfort.

The procedure on entry is similar to that at Petrusheim.

Many of the men look on the farm as their home, but in one way they are perhaps more fortunate than ourselves because if they get the wanderlust they can move on to the next one as their fancy takes them.

In this, as in most "Protestant" farms, alcohol is not permitted.

Our week's tour of the units left us with a lot to think about. Naturally we discussed the merits and demerits of the different systems and felt we should record our views briefly. It was made abundantly clear to us from what we had seen that there is complete recognition of the fact that social inadequates, petty pilferers and social nuisances need to be looked after. While one home may favour the view that an alcoholic be allowed licence to drink and another may not. all we encountered were insistent that such homes must be provided and must be of the highest possible standard.

Since our return we have been more acutely aware of our "headin-the-sand" attitude when it comes to looking after social nuisances or misfits in our society. Whilst acknowledging that over the years shelter has been provided for these people, we find it regrettable that when shelter is provided, quality is often forgotten. At one time we had a chain of reception centres. State sponsored, throughout the country; most were the lowest form of dosshouse, but most of these have now been closed. The handful left are staffed by people who are interested in the psychology of man. Unfortunately the physical structure of the buildings does not permit a homely atmosphere. For many years the Salvation Army and the Church Army have provided shelter for a number of the homeless and whilst not wishing to decry the valuable work which has been done and is being done by these and other organisations, the accent has been on the provision of shelter only. Many of the hostels were built during the age of the workhouse and are gaunt, dark and dingy; the few modern innovations have made little change. Lack of financial resources has prevented any major extension of modernisation: nevertheless, some effort has been made -the Church Army in Bristol is an example. At the present rate of progress these organisations will never be able to modernise fully or provide shelter for all the homeless. It is estimated that each night in London alone at least 1,500 sleep rough.

The most recent efforts to provide for the homeless ex-prisoner have taken the form of halfway houses. The title "halfway" speaks for itself and indicates that these houses serve as props for men who are "helpable". In theory the men selected in prisons for such places are thought to have a good chance of rehabilitation and will, with the amount of help given in such homes, take the step which will lead to standing on their own feet in outside society. In other words-these homes provide a buffer for the men who have spent a long time in prison and are thought to be in need of support.

Norman Houses were the first in the field and these have been followed by the Langley Houses. It was thought that the creation of a family atmosphere was necessary. The total number of occupants in any house rarely exceeds 15. In

England, in all, they provide 218 places. The provision of such homes depends on charity. We know from experience that these homes do play a valuable part in the rehabilitation of men from prison, but they could play an even larger part if given State aid on a generous basis. Cheese-paring State assistance would not be sufficient in our view. Halfway houses, according to their policies, are excluded from the problems of housing the chronic alcoholics and social nuisances who, in the main, are left to find solace in the dosshouse or common lodging-house, some of which are unfit for human habitation.

We believe that farm units of the type we saw in West Germany should be set up throughout the country. For example, two or three such places could be opened within a radius of 100 miles of London. Large estates could be purchased by the State and the mansions attached altered, modernised and equipped to house 200 men, that in theory there be a full working day and the inhabitants paid a wage for work done. In addition to farming and gardening, workshops should be established for the provision of work in inclement weather, and such units should be staffed by individuals who are competent to run them to the best possible advantage. The initial outlay for these homes would be costly but from a long term point of view, the saving to the taxpayer would be considerable; and psychologically

we would have the satisfaction of knowing we were caring for the misfits and not branding them as ex-prisoners and second-class citizens.

We know that a home for 200 men can be efficiently run by less than a dozen well-paid staff. At least 70 staff are required to run a prison for 200. In this country, if there were places, such as described, to house the social nuisances instead of sending them to prison, the present prison staff would be given a chance to carry out reformative work amongst those for whom therapeutic treatment might be considered beneficial. In the event of such units being established we would advocate that the law be changed and the courts be allowed to recommend that men be sent to the appropriate home or farm. Some would need to be sent for a compulsory stay to a place like Brauweiler. We know that many will say "but we must not interfere with individual liberty"-the truth is that many of the men who would be affected do not know what "liberty" means and we know from our experience they would appreciate a home in which they could be looked after, even if it meant a compulsory stay of two or even four years.

During the past six months we have questioned many hundreds of men in Pentonville who, in our view, will never be able to live an orderly life in outside society, and nearly all have said: "I wish I could be put in a home of the type you describe, a place where I could be looked after, because I cannot look after myself and I do not want to come to prison where I am looked on as dirt. The staff here are not bad to me but I know I am not wanted anywhere, but I cannot help it".

To hear this every day confirms our belief that prison provides no solution.

As an appendage to this report we have thought it necessary to record our brief observations on the following measures which are being introduced to help to deal with the problems in our midst.

APPENDIX

SHORT SENTENCE

The White Paper on how to deal with short term offenders indicates that men who are now sentenced to short terms of imprisonment will, in future, be fined and that this will help to reduce the numbers in our over-crowded prisons. This is a progressive move-many of the men affected are of the type with whom we are concerned in our scheme. Most of them will not have the money to pay their fines as they depend on State aid when outside and are not capable of holding down a job. We feel they need the support of a community similar to Petrusheim.

PAROLE

Parole has been introduced. This, too, is a forward move. After a set period of time men will be released to the care of a parole officer for the remainder of sentence and if a man does not meet or comply with the terms of the parole order he can be returned to prison.

Parole or licence is not new to us; for over 50 years certain categories of sentenced men have been released on licence or parole. Until the Criminal Justice Act 1948, such men had to report to the police; from then until the end of 1965, men subject to supervision after release had to report to the Central After-care Association through the Probation Service. Since the beginning of 1966 the Probation and After-care Service has been solely responsible for supervision.

The numbers subject to supervision have never been more than a few hundred adults each year and over the years there has been a constant 33 per cent to 38 per cent failure rate under supervision during the first 12 months after release.

outworkers In mid-1966 an scheme was commenced in Pentonville. Men who are selected for this may be serving sentences of four years and over and are not subject to supervision after release. On entering the scheme six months before the end of sentence, they are expected to work in outside employment and return to the shelter of the prison each night. During this period they are encouraged to make a continued effort. The ratio of failures equates with the percentage above.

Both the percentage rates quoted lead us to believe that unless an effective service of parole officers is

established, the failure rate will rise because whereas at present only a few hundred are subject to supervision or parole, in a short time, after the implementation of the extended or new systems, the numbers qualifying for parole may be between 5,000 and 8,000 men. We understand that the Probation and After-care Service will be responsible for the supervision of parolees. With its present responsibilities it is overtaxed and unless it is relieved of some of these or, alternatively, greatly increased in manpower, the success of the new parole system may be in jeopardy.

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Without the provision of an alternative to prison the difficulty will be what to do with the kind of person we have described in our report. We are pleased to know that the Home Secretary has accepted the recommendations of the Lady Reading Report for the provision of small homes or hostels; such places will require two full-time paid staff members to look after eight to 15 men. By comparison, Our scheme would need only 12 full-time employees to look after 200; a ratio of 33 to 1. This would be financially advantageous. But in our opinion, there is another more important aspect. In any small unit of the size envisaged in the Lady Reading Report, the involvement and interaction between staff and residents is usually found to be quite intense. From our varied

observations and experience we believe the kind of pressures which must inevitably be exerted upon staff by the extremely helpless kind of individual with whom this report is concerned may be well-nigh overpowering. This is not a job which can be left behind at the end of the day. Here staff are involved in a full-time living process wherein they will, indeed, sometimes find themselves inordinately bound up. We believe that a larger unit, with its consequent increased staff size will not only allow for the development on a wider scale of a staffstructured supportive programme but, and every bit as important, give staff themselves the kind of support from each other that they will undoubtedly need.

We believe all schemes are essential but we do know that the small schemes which are envisaged will never cope with the problem by themselves. The large unit would, without doubt, have an immediate effect on reducing the prison population and there may then be less need to build more prisons.

If a report of the visit in full is required please write to the Hon. Secretary, Quo Vadis, c/o Welfare Officer, H.M. Prison, Pentonville, London, N.7.

N.B.—Since this report was completed a weekly per capita payment of £1 has been authorised by the Government to accredited hostels.

'Old' England to 'New'

J. F. W. BRIGHT

DURING AUGUST of last year my wife and I were fortunate to be spending a holiday with relatives in New Jersey, U.S.A. Although limited to a three-week stay, we covered many miles and visited several places of interest.

With the help of the Governor of Exeter Prison and the Prison Department, I was able to obtain permission from the Director of Prisons, Washington, D.C., to visit the Federal correctional institution at Danbury, Connecticut, an experience that proved interesting and instructive, particularly to one who is serving in our own discipline ranks.

We commenced our journey on a fine August morning, with approximately 200 miles ahead of us, charging our way along the New Jersey turnpike, towards New York, where, upon arrival, we were confronted with the well-known maze of motorways and fly-over networks, and after much confusion and frustration, we managed to navigate ourselves on to the route for Connecticut, a sigh of relief from me, at least, as we left the hazard of the organised, but very heavy New York traffic.

As we approached the town of Danbury, the countryside became much more "English", the hedges on the roadside, and the surroundings generally, reminded me of home. With a feeling of some expectancy we were travelling on the last four miles from Danbury itself to the correctional institution, and it was now that we saw on the right-hand side the tall watchtowers, this being the only indication that it was a prison.

We entered the main drive and when about halfway towards the establishment, motorists and pedestrians were requested to stop by a prominent road sign, where we were challenged by means of an intercommunication unit erected at the roadside, this being operated by the officers in the tower keeping observation.

After proving our identity, we were given permission to proceed to the parking area. The establishment was located on reasonably high ground and open country, giving panoramic views surrounding it.

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Built in 1946, at first sight, this prison gave one the impression that it was a modern factory, with its well-kept lawns and flower beds, making an excellent setting.

A feeling of optimism became apparent now as I made my way to the main entrance, with the old "trusty" working on the lawn nearby casting an inquisitive eye. I had now forgotten the first thoughts of the "Yankee jails" as they are often quoted, to find something quite different and unexpected.

After meeting the associate warden at the main entrance, who very kindly invited my wife and my relatives to accompany us, we were given an interesting tour of the prison.

The building was constructed in such a manner that the administration block, workshops and inmate accommodation, formed an oblong perimeter, the centre area being used for exercise and outdoor games, thereby giving no need for a prison boundary wall.

All windows faced inwards towards the compound and the construction of the buildings were such as to make escape difficult.

Two entrances gave access to the building, one main entrance and a

contractors' entrance, the security of the building being integral, except for an outer perimeter wire fence and the observation towers manned by armed officers.

The main entrance being double swinging glass doors leading to a small foyer which contained seating accommodation for visitors and kept under full observation by two gate officers enclosed in an armourplated glass protected office.

Persons permitted to enter were required to state the reason for visiting on an occurrence sheet which was duly signed and passed to the gate officer through a small aperture, and at this point access was made through an inner and outer gate, both controlled by electronics. The contractors' entrance was under the control of a separate gate officer at the far end of the building.

Communications and security, the issuing of keys, was supervised in a locked control room which was equipped with a telephone switchboard and indicators, also a V.H.F. radio for internal use, patrolling officers having walkie-talkie radios during evening and night duty. The alarm indicator board was installed in this room, and any communications with the police department was made by telephone.

Two resident medical officers supervised a comprehensive hospital unit, part of which included an operating theatre and a dental surgery.

Other facilities included a gymnasium, cinema, library and classrooms for evening educational activities, civilian teachers being employed for this purpose.

Religious services were taken in the prison chapel by a resident chaplain, attendance at any religious service was voluntary.

The population of inmates was approximately 600 and consisted of men serving sentences from three months to five years, and were classified as trainable persons.

Inmate accommodation consisted of a reasonably large, but secure, dormitory and two cell blocks, one of which included more elaborate cell rooms, these being occupied by men employed on the "work release programme".

Inmate labour was under the supervision of a superintendent of industries, and the workshops were run by similar methods as our own, background music being played while work was in progress, the average earnings for a 40-hour week inside the prison was approximately 40 dollars, but subject to variation according to industry. Inmates were encouraged to earn and so assist dependents at home. Canteen facilities were available for those who wished to make use of it, and of course not forgetting the popular "snout box" for those who were short of a smoke.

Each inmate had his own personal locker, this being operated by a

combination lock, a master key being held by the authorities for the purpose of searching.

Open visits were allowed under supervision, inmates being subject to a search at the termination of the visit.

A large dining hall provided accommodation for all inmates to eat at tables for four, a self-service counter being situated at one end of the room, the rear of which included the kitchen area which was completely sealed off from the dining hall, and a notice displayed the choice of two menus for the day.

During leisure time inmates could exercise freely in the compound or relax in their cells or dormitory, these being unlocked during the day, except those rooms of men working out, there was no regulated exercise period. Television was available for those permitted to use it, this was installed in a room set aside for this purpose.

A number of suitable inmates were employed in civilian industry, working day and night shifts; transport was provided to convey them to their place of work and they were located in the betterequipped rooms as I previously mentioned, but were kept segregated. This working programme was under the control of an "employment placement specialist".

The reception and discharge office did not retain any property of inmates, all sundries and valuables being held by relatives or persons held responsible by the inmate. A selection of new clothing was available on release subject to the inmates' needs.

Men being released by the parole board were assisted by the employment specialist in obtaining a suitable job of work, this being in conjunction with a release board consisting of management and union representatives.

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As a matter of interest, during the tour I noticed the uniform worn by the correctional officers was very much the same colour grey as that of the inmates, you may think perhaps this is demure and in keeping with the training system advocated at this type of institution, but it was the endeavour of the warden and his staff to run a secure but relaxed establishment, evidence of this was illustrated in a film produced and compered by the warden, Mr. Frank Kenton, which was shown to us at the end of the tour, this depicted his conscientious effort to rehabilitate those in his charge.

CONTRIBUTORS

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NORMAN Low joined the Prison Service in 1948 and until 1957 worked in the clerical office at Feltham, being then promoted to assistant governor and serving at Rochester, Wormwood Scrubs and Blundeston. Since 1967 he has been principal of the Officers' Training School at Wakefield.

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OFFICER TAYLOR, whose cartoons often appear in this journal and elscwhere, serves at Camp Hill.

THE REVEREND MICHAEL SHREWSBURY, B.A. was chaplain in the Royal Navy from 1960 to 1964. He then became chaplain to Pentonville. In January 1967, he left to take over a chaplaincy in Bermuda.

FATHER WILLIAM KAHLE has been priest to Holloway and Pentonville since 1965. He is also director of Opmar House, a home in Ealing for unmarried mothers and babies.

JAMES THOMSON joined the Prison Service in 1947. In 1949 he joined N.A.D.P.A.S. as the first welfare officer to be appointed to an open prison. In 1959 he became welfare organiser of N.A.D.P.A.S. and since January 1966 has been senior welfare officer at Pentonville.



OF COURSE IT'S MUCH BETTER HERE BUT WITHOUT THE WALL I FEEL RATHER INSECURE

Security and Treatment The Constant Dilemma

D. J. THOMPSON

THE TRADITIONAL VIEW of prison as a place of punishment and safe custody demanded no initiative from a staff whose task was simple and uncomplicated. The first ideas of reform and training introduced an element of confusion, and over the years many penal philosophies have been developed and discarded, some having proved effective, but most never having been allowed to approach a positive conclusion.

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The dual role of our present system, with all its internal and external pressures, has multiplied that confusion, and yet security has always been the first requirement. No one has ever issued an instruction to relax security. The old rule 6 and the present rule 1, however vague and unsatisfactory, have not told us to abandon part of our security in order to train or reform our charges.

Inevitably, however, the concept of treatment, in its specific and wider senses, has cut across the idea that security is the only consideration. And of course security is not the only consideration; treatment is of equal if not of more importance in the final analysis, but it should not be forgotten that our task is to train within conditions of security.

We are presented with an apparently insoluble dichotomy which promotes conflict for staff and prisoners alike. Can we reconcile the two? Should we not attempt to make both more compatible—by clear definitions of our task—a more accurate assessment of prisoners' characters, potential and needs—and a constant re-examination of what we are doing and of the results we achieve?

OUR RECENT CRISIS

We can blame a multiplicity of events for the greater confusion we have seen in the last 18 months, following a series of notorious escapes. We can blame the very idea that we should train prisoners —or the development of a complex staff structure, which has brought in many specialists who have not received adequate security training —or lack of communications at all levels—or overcrowding and antiquated buildings; we can blame

fluctuating political issues which pay little or no attention to basic problems and to the people who are directly concerned with prisoners-the inconsistency and ambivalence of a society which expresses totally different demands in the light of our publicity; we can blame our own short-sightedness, our poor planning and our weakness in the face of political storm, our failure to evaluate our situation and to examine the real problems of running complex organisations which have developed their own local traditions.

Breaches of security were treated relatively calmly at one time. Bland assumptions were made that—

- (1) the escaped prisoner would soon be picked up;
- (2) having discovered his escape route, it could not happen again; and
- (3) the hue and cry from Press and public would soon die down and we could then relax again—instead of realising that escapes will be a potential event for as long as we have prisons.

The beginning of the present era of conflict came with a new feature in sentencing policy—the award of very long sentences for several of the great train robbery gang. (Hitherto only one man had received a relatively long sentence—for spying.) Such sentences caused the gravest problems regarding security and treatment, and we had grasped few of the implications before the first man escaped. The criminal world had proved to be well organised and extremely resourceful.

A security adviser with the rank of assistant director was appointed. whose arrival was greeted with some fear and suspicion by many levels of staff. Should not his appointment have been sufficient to solve our dilemma-not only by whatever recommendations were made by the security adviser, but by the reminder presented to us by his appointment that we had serious security responsibilities? One may argue that it should have been sufficient had the logical process of examination, recommendation, decision and action been carried out with the minimum of delay.

And yet, further crises were to arise. Another escape took place, by which time the "public" becane uneasy and more vociferous in its demand for "security and never mind the treatment". The storm finally broke with two more escapes of long-term prisoners. The Press enjoyed a field-day, having fanned the flames of our hitherto smouldering fires into a national blaze; the stories of blundering, inefficiency and indecision greatly promoted newspaper sales. The resulting political action gave us an unprecedented number of patrols, police with dogs, and mobile radio communications, and allowed at considerable cost, for the immediate installation of alarm systems, flood lighting and closed circuit television for several prisons. An enquiry was held under Eart Mountbatten and its recommendations have been well debated in many quarters ever since.

THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEM

An examination of statistics of recent years, including an analysis of offences and sentences, would lead to the conclusion that the size of the problem (that is, the number of escapes as a percentage of the total prison population) was relatively small. In numerical terms the escape figures for 1966 were not much higher than those of 1965, and in fact were lower, pro-rata, than those of 1964.

It is not sufficient of course to study the problem only in numerical terms. One has to take into account the crime, notoriety and sentence of escapers, especially of those whose departure caused so much disquiet. We may further conclude that the initial diagnosis of these special cases was at fault and that we had not utilised our existing resources to the best advantage.

MOUNTBATTEN AND AFTER

The Mountbatten Enquiry resulted mainly in the re-emphasis of security. It has been unfortunate that the majority of readers have seen the word "security" only, and for the most part have ignored comments on the importance of training. Paragraphs 47, 48 and 49 do, in fact, stress the training aspect, although one may question the theory that a liberal regime and reasonable living conditions can reduce the pressures to attempt escape. One may also argue against a proposal to concentrate a nucleus of difficult prisoners in one place; this kind of situation would hardly be conducive to good security or effective treatment.

The report itself, while making certain recommendations for change and innovation, highlights our various problems and endorses some of the solutions which had previously been offered up by many grades of the service. It tends to ignore the economic considerations which have played a great part in the neglect of our interests for so many years, and which, at the time of writing, look as if they will again force us to make the best of a bad job for some time to come.

THE EFFECTS ON PRISONERS

The restrictions imposed on inmates, especially those in security establishments, were obviously unpleasant. Withdrawal from outside labour, curtailment of association and recreation periods and the postponement of educational programmes, seemed to indicate that training was an entirely secondary matter. Tension mounted, but fortunately the prisoner population on the whole accepted its new situation better than might have been expected-possibly because it knew that as many privileges as possible would eventually be restored-and the prospect of parole was a further incentive for conformity.

Perimeter security affected staff resources at many establishments; subsequently the continuity of care and internal supervision suffered, interrupting our treatment task. This situation still prevails and recent staff working schemes have not brought about any improvement in this vital and now somewhat neglected area.

THE EFFECTS ON STAFF

Many who had seen only conflict and confusion in modern penal practice welcomed "Mountbatten" as the beginning of a return to the comforting world of security-a world which they knew and which perhaps represented the only stable factor in their job. Increased tensions and the enforced abandonment in many prisons of in-service training, enhanced this view. The word "security" was given a more urgent emphasis, especially in our principal training establishment. The modern approach to prisoners and their treatment was in danger of collapse, even despite many years of training programmes, group-work, special courses and exchange schemes with outside agencies.

Some Advantages

Apart from the advantage of having some of our age-old problems aired at national level, we now enjoy a better system of consultation in some areas. In "Mountbatten" we have a hopeful list of suggestions for general improvements in the service, in order that we may be able to perform our task more efficiently. For the first time ever our views have been considered and recorded by a parliamentary committee.

The foundations for an effective, modern Prison Service have been consolidated, but we must wait, probably for some time, to see what can and will be built upon those foundations.

OUR TASK

No matter in what type of establishment we serve, our task is to treat or train our charges in conditions of security—from the minimum security of a small open borstal, to the maximum security of a large class "A" prison.

The efficacy of security at all establishments depends not only on human and mechanical devices, but even more on the initial diagnosis of offenders in the classification unit and an immediate and comprehensive follow-up at the prison or borstal to which the inmate is transferred. The diagnosis will involve many factors, including a better use of the information available about a prisoner; the result should reflect the man's training needs in the security he needs.

This is probably an over-simplification of the problem, for one may think of the bulk of our prison population—the short-termers at our local prisons—who have no opportunity of receiving any form of prolonged treatment, despite their many needs. It may be argued that the short sentence is no longer justifiable; and in fact, should prison be the place for our thousands of social misfits and rejects?

To carry out some of our proposals for treatment we would need an overhaul in sentencing policy, for which we are not responsible.

In the case of many long-termers one may wish that such overhaul would proceed beyond the present parole system to permit a more indeterminate minimum/maximum sentence; this may induce a more Positive response to treatment, and would allow for prisoners to be released at the right time, i.e. when they are really fit for discharge, and when further imprisonment is likely to prove detrimental to the man and to whatever progress he has made. Conversely, a man should not be released until he has made some effort to progress and to reorientate his thinking about his place in the community.

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Much will depend, of course, on our definitions of "security" and "treatment". It is comparatively easy to define security needs, but often difficult to assess precise training requirements. One can readily quote cases where specific training needs are minimal or even non-existent by virtue of the inmates' rejection of formal treatment. We must face the fact that we have Within every prison subculture, many sophisticated prisoners who are virtually untrainable, and will by choice remain so, no matter how we attempt to induce a positive response. Our task in this case, apart from to "keep on trying", would be to provide the normal daily welfare facilities, and to hope that finally imprisonment will have served as a deterrent if nothing else.

Again it would be difficult to provide any immediate formal ^{training} for a "30-year train robber" or a "42-year spy"; and in fact our diagnosis here would probably specify nothing more than intensive psychological support, especially for the first and greater part of the man's sentence. Training must be related to release and our task would simply not be viable if we had to devise a specific training programme for a man whose normal discharge date was 20 or 28 years hence.

There are many prisoners, of course, who reject training or treatment in the initial stages of their sentence and we would need to be very patient in our methods of "training them to be trained". In many cases the process of natural and peer-group maturation may eventually bring about the desired result.

The needs of some men may rest solely on their physical or mental state, a repair of which should be available (if repair can be effected at all), in our hospitals and psychiatric units—since prison is considered to be their most appropriate disposal.

Those who are prepared to take advantage of training and treatment, whether it be from the beginning of their sentence or not, should find our training prisons equipped to meet their requirements in terms of technical, educational, cultural, recreational and medical/ psychiatric facilities. Ideally, whatever is lacking at first, should be provided at an open prison to which they may be transferred later at an appropriate stage in their imprisonment. The establishment of the open prison seems to have sprung more from economic considerations than from any defined area of penal philosophy, and the value of the open camp as an integral stage of a training programme has yet to be fully exploited.

We need, of course, to explore further the development of the therapeutic community in all areas of the service, for psychiatric and non-medical cases. The more informal social training required by so many inmates may be provided to some extent by a new and more realistic system of prison visiting, by further contacts with outside agencies, some form of community service and more well-directed group and case-work. This takes for granted that staff training will have afforded us an expertise and professional skill to carry out our task systematically and objectively: we would also depend upon the existence of a well-organised and effective after-care service to complete any process of treatment.

For many years we have thought of training and treatment in a rather abstract fashion. having no clear objective or task. often lacking in resources and direction. and occasionally imposing our personal and emotional needs on the situation in which we work. To assume that we will reach a perfectly lucid solution, eradicate all conflict and perform our task with an assurance of easy success would be facile and would imply a belief that crime itself will cease. We will vet be subject to pressures and demands from many quarters; they will continue to be conflicting, destructive and sometimes unrealistic. There will remain an element of confusion in our situation. but our terms of reference are surely to give our charges the necessary treatment in the appropriate condition of security. A regular reexamination of the service provide, of the results we achieve, and a meaningful system of research should help us discharge our duties to the prisoner and to society in an effective and progressively improved manner.

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Staff Training and Principal Officer Laing

W. J. BOOTH

THERE ARE TWO aspects of penal institutional life which have always seemed to me to be absolutely inevitable and unavoidable, namely, relationships with inmates and staff training. If one goes as far back as the mid-19th century by reading the stories of imprisonment, usually written by the literate of the convict population, there is evidence that this was always true. The system at that time, moreover, was in part designed to prevent relationships with inmates developing, and by concentrating the staff task on custody, effectively minimised the need for staff training. Nevertheless, the impressions from many of these books which most forcibly comes through is of the primary importance of the landing officer and the party officer in the work to be done. If this is true then, how much more so is it true today?

Often, when attempting to make these points to Prison Service staff who are on courses at the Staff College, I have referred them to an article written several years ago and published in the second issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL. This article was one by Principal Officer Robert Laing, now, unfortunately, deceased, who at that time was at Wakefield Prison following service at Liverpool and Dartmoor. Recently, it has become obvious that this particular issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL is becoming impossible to acquire, and we might be in danger of losing the benefit of the wisdom it contains. The editor of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, therefore, has kindly consented to repeat the article in this issue.

When reading or re-reading this article, however, we should be prepared to see what Principal Officer Laing was not saying, as much as what he was saying. For instance, he was not saying that the Prison Service has not changed at all since 1935, but rather that basic principles do not change often or very much. Areas of emphasis, official and otherwise, may be different, and this is important. The organisation which attempts to carry out the principle may change or be changed, and this is also important. But basic needs may very well not change at all.

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The need which is dramatised by this piece of autobiography is that of the inexperienced (at any level) to be trained, and the certainty that if the training is not done by the right people, it will, in the end, be done by someone who is not the right person. In these circumstances, the organisation is heavily dependent, as P.O. Laing was, on the goodwill and sense of responsibility of the wrong people.

The article points out three major training facts, namely:

- (a) That centralised staff training can only be very general and is always in danger of being irrelevant.
- (b) That unless some particular person has responsibility for local staff training it is not likely to be done well, and may not be done at all (e.g., "find out the same as I had to").
- (c) That, in fact, staff training in the Prison Service is unavoidable if only because newlyjoined staff cannot get from place A to place B in a penal institution without some form of instruction.

Staff training is not dependent upon the existence of formalised lecture series delivered by those who are highly competent, on an academic level, in the various disciplines which form part of our professional field. These will certainly be important and, at some stages, absolutely essential if the

service is to continue to develop its techniques. The daily working of a penal establishment, however, is a practical affair of routine and relationships, which requires that practical training on the job, by planned methods of supervision, be given. This applies just as much to locking doors as it does to case work and group work. To ignore this is to reproduce the situation which P.O. Laing so well describes and, moreover, to do this in institutions where the complexities have been allowed to show themselves over the years instead of being suppressed by the system.

INMATE PARTICIPATION TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO Robert M. Laing

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We hear a lot today about inmate participation and other techniques designed to improve relationships with our charges. It would be idle to deny that there is often division in our ranks on these topics, or that some of the old certainties are crumbling. Whether you greet it like a New Dawn, or sigh for the days when an order was an order and contained its own justification, you cannot ignore the trend-for in association, in workshop and wing and sports and TV committees, in group counselling, in many sacred fields, the inmate is participating as never before.

Or so it would appear. But looking back on 25 years I some-

times wonder what is really new after all. How often is a form of words mistaken for a principle? How often, in the fairyland of theory, is a ripe old pumpkin transformed into a glass coach? For even at Dartmoor, those many years ago, there were human relations and experiences shared-and it was not only prisoners who benefited. For the newly-appointed officer in those days "The Moor" was a tough nut to crack, and his senior colleagues lent precious little weight to his arm. "Find out. the same as I had to", was the trainee's daily bread. At "lectures" too we were stuffed with large indigestible hunks of standing orders and there was one infallible formula for every awkward situation not covered in that august work-it was "at the governor's discretion".

However, there were also the inmates, and they had their part in the scheme of things. Perhaps I can best illustrate this by relating a little story, from which the reader may extract his own moral.

Accompany me then, on my first morning's duty at "The Moor". I have been told, with the usual economy of instruction, (Me: "What do I do?" Senior officer: "Find out, the same as I had to") that I am in charge of the slaters' party. This leaves a pretty wide field unexplained, but at least I know such a party exists, and that I am likely to find it waiting in the yard—which I do. It consists of two men, a tall, ugly one and a short, brisk-looking companion. The latter is plainly not accustomed to being kept hanging about, for as soon as I appear he leads off with a slightly reproachful air towards the F.O.W.'s office, where they are to receive their instructions. Both are apparently skilled workmen, for the conversation is carried on from both sides with a wealth of confidentiality and a great deal of technical detail. I know something of the trade, but it does not occur to anybody to test this or to put me in the picture at this stage. In fact, they ignore my presence completely-whether out of tact or something less flattering I cannot decide.

I am still mentally juggling with the problems of status involved in all this, when somebody decides he had better at least hand me for safekeeping the pass for the materials issued, and we proceed to the inner gate.

Gatekeeper and prisoners exchange laconic informations, ("You're working down at . . .?" "Yes, that's right, Guv,") and we pass through. I pick up what I can of this, and even begin to square my shoulders a little.

Suddenly, Shorty stops and says, pleasantly but with disconcerting casualness: "You got the keys of the 'bunk', Guv?" I am taken aback. I know that the 'bunk' is the storehouse where tools are kept, and that someone, obviously, must have a key to it. However, Shorty comes to my aid again. "Just go back and ask for key No. 17", he advises.

I hesitate, and the party waits

impassively for the next move. The ball is in my court, so to speak. I return to the gate, where the gatekeeper confirms, with faintly raised eyebrows, that I do in fact require a key, and its number is 17. It was not his business, of course, to tell me so in the first place, and it is clear that he regards me as a bit of an eccentric, and wonders what the service is coming to these days. I take the key from the glass case pointed out to me, and rejoin my party.

They drift on again, observing the customary rule of silence—but eloquent enough, I have no doubt, in their own way—until, as we draw near the outer gate, Shorty remembers my education again.

"You'll need a gun, Guv", he says firmly.

"Oh-will I?"

"That's right, Guv. Just slip over to the gate lodge and ask for No. 6 gun and belt."

There is no doubt now that my party's only desire is to have everything done right and according to precedent, and I have no reason for suspecting any other motive. I no longer hesitate, therefore, but go confidently to the lodge and demand the gun and belt in question. The information is correct, the weapon is duly issued and bestowed about my person in the regulation manner, and off we go again. The initiation, I feel, is complete.

In a moment, however, it dawns on me that something is wrong. Shorty is hanging back, with a stubborn expression. I raise my eyebrows at him.

"Well?"

"What about inspecting the pouch, Guv, to see if the cartridges are all there?"

Deflated again, I oblige him. They are all correct. I snap the pouch shut with an air of finality, rally my forces for one supreme effort to control the situation, but it is no good. So far from being finally reassured, Shorty's face now registers acute apprehension.

"Well, what haven't I done now?"

"Aren't you going to open the breech, Guv, and make sure you haven't got one up the spout?" he asks reproachfully. "Somebody could get hurt".

And only when they are satisfied that I am at last thoroughly conversant with my duties, and no one is in any personal danger from my inexperience, does the slaters' party step out contentedly down the road.

Ways to Achieve Greater Staff Participation^{*}

NORMAN LOW

THERE WOULD APPEAR to be a formula for achieving greater staff participation. Firstly, one defines the areas in which greater participation is required. Next, one defines the task required to be undertaken in those areas. Step three is to assess the skills and techniques required to fulfil these tasks. The fourth step is to prepare the staff by training related to the skills and techniques required, and finally to introduce them to the new task.

At first, staff will appear to try hard but produce rather poor results, however, with patience, support and encouragement, their performance will gradually improve. Part of the support required can be provided by extra-mural training, perhaps in the evening or in staff's own time. After a year to 18 months practical experience in the new task it will probably be necessary to give staff the opportunity of further in-service training.

However, the task is not quite as

simple as that, and it is necessary to look at the whole situation.

From reading prison history and studying the introduction of legislation, it appears to me that in the main the Prison Service, like Topsy, "just growed". Since the rationalisation of prisons which took place in the 19th century, growth has been the consequence of three main features, legislation, changing prison ideas. population, and "bright" Changes in the structure of society too have had some bearing on the growth. The affluent society and the new technological age have brought pressures to bear which have produced new patterns of social behaviour. The work of the courts has increased and the prison population has steadily grown. To attempt to meet the demands made on it, the department has had to provide and staff many new detention centres, remand prisons, borstals and centres. The department has grown in size and the tasks it has been required to fulfil have become varied, resulting in great complexity. These changes have come about

^{*}This article is based on a paper read to a conference for assistant governors held in the South-East Region in early 1967.

whilst the staff have been working under tremendous pressure and the result would appear to have produced confusion amongst staff at all levels.

"Organisation", "management" and "role" are relatively new concepts for the service. Until quite recently and probably quite widely even today, the words which tend to be used instead are "regime", "hierarchy" and "post". These are a legacy of the foundations laid by Du Cane. These foundations, personified by the prisons built in the 19th century, seem permanent and immovable. In the 19th century, and until as late as 1921, the uniformed officer was referred to as a warder. (One who guards or keeps; One in charge of prisoners in a gaol.) Today the national Press continues to maintain this image by persistent recourse to the term in news items. One reason for this may be that although the label was changed to prison officer in 1921, the formal role altered little. Since the 1948 Criminal Justice Act, however, the diversity of the demands made on the basic grade officer and the rest of the staff have progressively increased. The label "governor" may well have been appropriate for the original role, but it has implications which seem to convey a restrictiveness which could be inappropriate. Progressively the role is becoming more and more managerial in its proper sense.

The functions of a manager are-

(a) to structure the work situation so as to ensure that a given task is carried out efficiently and effectively;

- (b) once the situation is organised, to supervise the staff to ensure that efficient and effective operation is maintained; and
- (c) to carry out constant evaluation and make adjustments where necessary.

One of the skills of the manager is to delegate areas of management, supervision and evaluation to those subordinate in the line management. Every manager has other demands made on him which require his individual attention, i.e. confidential report writing, acting as chairman at board meetings, dealing with correspondence, and being responsible to higher management. Every manager has at least one person to whom he is responsible and often more, which can be a source of conflict. It appears from all this that managers have to fulfil two demands made on them:

- (a) to organise work and see that people do it; and
- (b) to carry out certain individual functions.

Where then does the uniformed officer fit into this pattern?

In the demands made on members of the uniformed staff, one can identify certain areas where they carry out certain managerial functions. At times these involve other staff and prisoners and at times they involve only prisoners. One can think of the principal officer i/c court duties, the officer with a working party, and the officer with a prisoner counselling group. The degree of managerial responsibility may be limited but the function remains.

The changing role of the prison officer has been a point of discussion for some time now. It tends to be looked on as something new which needs to be implemented. I would venture to suggest that the change has been going on for many years and that what is really needed is recognition of the evolving role of the prison officer. Once we are prepared to recognise this then perhaps we can help in the evolution. Change does not take place in a vacuum, however, and any recognised change in the formal role, "basic grade prison officer", will have repercussions throughout the department and will necessitate adjustment and change to other roles.

If we intend to implement changes that will effect the formal role of the prison officer then there are certain questions which need to be asked and need to be answered.

WHY DO WE NEED TO HAVE

GREATER STAFF PARTICIPATION?

As the result of an increasing population in prisons, a widening public concern, and continuous introduction of new legislation, our task has become broader and more complex. Legislation from 1948 onwards has tended to emphasise more specialised training and treatment, and to meet these demands, specialists were introduced into the service. Psychologists, tutor-organisers, physical education organisers, industrial managers, welfare officers and social workers, became part of the full-time staff. The influx of assistant governors was increased and they too were required to fill some kind of specialised position, although this did not appear to be clearly defined and their role tended to be more informally structured.

Although much of value has resulted from the introduction of specialisation there has not been the expected radical change.

Of late a new rationalisation has been introduced by the service being regionalised. The result of the introduction of specialists has shown up the complexity of our task, and regionalisation will, I am quite sure, make the complexity more obvious still. The new Criminal Justice Act will also inevitably introduce further complexity.

The introduction of further specialists is not the answer to this problem. A more positive and flexible use of the staff we have most of is the only hope. From my experience of working with uniformed staff, I am certain that we use only a fraction of their capacities. This is why we need to have greater staff participation.

WHAT KIND OF PARTICIPATION DO WE NEED?

In order to answer this question one needs to have a definition of our task. We are statutorily required to-

- (a) contain offenders as required by the courts, by means of security;
- (b) care for those in our custody by providing food, clothing, bedding, hygiene, medical care, welfare, etc.; and
- (c) convert them into more socially acceptable citizens (rule 1) by means of training.

Broadly speaking, the task of the department falls into two areas.

(1) Trial and remand prisoners

The task is to be custodial and to be the servant of the courts. The prison officer role related to this task has, from experience, become highly specialised and involves knowledge of court procedures, and necessitates relationships with the Judiciary, counsel, police, witnesses, probation officers and the accused. It also requires knowledge of reception procedures and the ability to cope with men who are involved in what is often a highly emotional experience. It would appear that in this area officers are called on to perform at a high level, often under considerable pressure. Related also to this task is the question of observation, assessment and classification.

(2) Convicted and sentenced prisoners

This task is to implement rule 1 in its broadest sense within the limits imposed by security. The prison officer's role related to this task and his participation is not quite as specific and has endless variety. Regionalisation brings with it assessment, categorisation and allocation of prisoners and in this area staff participation is increasing and will need to go on increasing.

In prisons dealing with sentenced prisoners, be they local, regional or central, it is the officers having greatest face-to-face contact with the prisoner who thereby have the greatest potential for initiating change in the prisoner. At this level there is, willy-nilly, participation in training and treatment of prisoners.

How CAN WE ACHIEVE GREATER PARTICIPATION?

The first essential is to accept that staff need to be recognised as possessing ability and their job as possessing status. It is then necessary to increase this ability and status. To do this, one has to assess the skills and techniques the staff will require to fulfil their task and to provide appropriate training, followed by the opportunity to apply the skills and techniques. They will then need encouragement by ongoing support and further training.

WHEN CAN WE ACHIEVE THIS

GREATER STAFF PARTICIPATION?

Participation at the level needed will not come about overnight as the result of some critical act. It needs to be fostered, nurtured and fed. It may be slow to take root at first and once it begins to grow it may wither if support is withdrawn. Carefully supported it can go on growing and there is no limit to what can be achieved. Participation of staff makes demands on management and we need to be prepared to meet these demands. When we achieve this greater participation of staff, depends on what we are prepared to do about it.

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF GREATER PARTICIPATION OF STAFF?

Giving staff more opportunities to use their abilities makes greater demands on the managers, e.g. in staff training, support, organisation. constant evaluation, and recognition of ability and status in staff. These demands we shall have to meet within the limitations placed on us in our work situations and this is not easy to do. It will inevitably mean a readjustment in our own roles and in the roles of others. Psychologists, welfare officers, and social workers, are beginning to recognise that part of their role is giving support to staff who are in the face-to-face situation with prisoners. It may mean that the assistant governor finds that officers are fulfilling the role of counsellor, adviser, "treatment agent", that he saw as one of the main aspects of his role, and that he needs to develop a consultant and supportive role.

The greater participation there is by staff the greater becomes the necessity for good communication and consultation. There will be demands made on us to help evolve good communication and consultation structures within which the officer has recognised status. The more open communication becomes the more likely it is that we shall have to face criticism from below and we shall need the skill and patience to deal with this constructively. The full implications are so far reaching that one cannot cover them all in such a paper as this, but we need to be aware of them.

PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE OF GREATER STAFF PARTICIPATION

The work done at Blundeston is based on using the total human resources of the prisoner, staff, community, linked to the available resources in outside society. In order to achieve this it is necessary to use much more of the abilities of the staff.

The techniques used are-

- (a) individual face-to-face situations;
- (b) Small group situations; and
- (c) large group situations.

To prepare staff to fulfil the task required of them it has been necessary to give them training in individual and group counselling techniques, in recording and process techniques and linked to these, some psychological and sociological study.

The prison is divided into four separate wings of 76 prisoners. Each wing is divided into eight sections of eight to ten prisoners. Each section has an officer who is responsible for developing relationships with the men on his section and carrying out the individual counselling one would normally expect from a social worker. The section officers are expected to work closely with the wing principal officer and the welfare officer in all matters appertaining to the men on his section. Each prisoner attends a review board at 10-monthly intervals, with his section officer, the wing principal officer, and either the welfare officer, the deputy governor, or the assistant governor, whoever is available. In this interview the section officer is able to use the knowledge and understanding of the man he has gained to help him look at the man's past, his present, and his future. In this he is supported by the other staff members present. At the end of the review board, when the prisoner has departed, the section officer is then able to discuss the case with the other staff present and make some assessment of how he should carry out his counselling with the man in the coming months.

Each wing has a prisoner wing committee consisting of chairman, secretary and representatives for sports, messing, television and education. There is a wing meeting each Saturday morning between 10 a.m. and 11 a.m. and staff attend in a support and guidance role. In this situation it is necessary for staff to have some understanding of group dynamics, skills and techniques, in order that they can use this situation as a learning experience for the prisoners.

Each month the chairman and secretary of each wing attend a central council meeting, with the governor as chairman, at which available staff attend and prisoners may attend as non-participant members. The function of this meeting is to facilitate feed-back from the wing meetings. This allows community problems to be brought into the open for free discussion.

All sporting, social and recreational activities are run on a group or club basis with prisoners involved in the organisation and administration, supervised by an officer who acts as a liaison officer. In this situation the officer is not the person who runs or administers the group or club; he is a staff member with understanding of small group dynamics, skills and techniques, and he uses this as an opportunity to create a learning situation for those prisoners involved.

The methods used at Blundeston are centred on shared responsibility, open communication and the development of positive relationships between staff and inmates. There is an attempt to use the total human resources to aid the development of a sense of community.

Before the first prisoners were received in August 1963, all staff attended a fortnight's orientation course which was run on group lines. This dealt with all aspects of running the prison, including the routine and an outline of the general training structure. Since then all staff, except three civilian instructors and the industrial manager, have had a further five-day course run on group lines and aimed at further training in individual and group techniques.

In the winter of 1964–5 about 20 officers attended an evening course in their own time, aimed at developing the skills of individual counselling. At the same time about a dozen principal officers and senior officers attended a course in individual counselling supervision in the evenings, in their own time.

In the winter 1965-6 it was possible to arrange a course called "Skills in Communication" at the local college of further education, and again the staff attended in their own time. This helped them to brush up their basic English and decrease their anxiety regarding competent report writing.

During the winter 1966–7 approximately 20 staff attended a six-month course in social studies which was broadly based and aimed at broadening the staff's understanding of behaviour, management and organisations. All principal officers attend a one hour meeting each week aimed at investigating managerial skills and techniques.

Two courses have been run for junior officers. These courses have been aimed at introducing junior officers to the more specialised parts of their role such as gate duties, reception duties, orderly officer duties and also initiating them into such aspects as remission calculations, bails and fines, prisoners' earnings and prison industry. The later part of the course is aimed more specifically at introducing junior officers to group work and individual counselling, as well as to an understanding of prison and wing structure and management.

There were also two courses for senior wing officers. These were two day courses and covered four aspects—

- (a) prison management and administration;
- (b) wing management and administration;
- (c) wing officers' responsibilities —"Administration"; and
- (d) wing officers' responsibilities —"Continuity Agent in Human Relationships and Communications".

There has also been a further five-day preparatory course for staff, based on individual and group counselling skills and techniques. The final course run in the winter of 1966–7 was an advanced group work course, entirely group oriented, for staff who have been participating in such groups as the pre-hostel, working-out and discharge groups. The response of staff and their level of operation on this course was most encouraging.

Pre-hostel group

When prisoners have been selected for hostel or working-out training, they are required to attend a pre-hostel group meeting once each week under the supervision of a principal officer and a relief officer, both of whom have had training in small group work. The task of the group is to help men prepare for hostel, working out, and verbalise their anxieties about eventual release. At the same time this helps them to examine inter-personal relationships and problems of this nature. This is done in the prisoners' association time.

Working-out group

When prisoners obtain outside employment on the working-out scheme at Blundeston Prison, they are required to attend a working-out group once each week under the supervision of an officer who has been trained in small group work. The task of this group is to discuss the problems involved in working out, to examine inter-personal relationships and to enable the men to verbalise their anxieties about eventual release into free society. This is done in the prisoners' association time.

Discharge group

If a prisoner is not selected for hostel or working-out scheme or if he fails on either of these, he is required to attend a pre-discharge group, during working hours, under the supervision of an officer and relief officer who have had training in small group work. The task of this group is to examine the problems of release from a closed community into free society, to examine inter-personal relationships within the group and to verbalise their anxieties about eventual release.

Since the opening of Blundeston Prison, in 1963, the whole prison community including prisoners and

staff have been involved in a changing situation. The regime itself has made new demands on both staff and inmates. Originally prisoners were transferred here in bulk from Chelmsford, Parkhurst and Nottingham prisons, building up to a maximum population. Having achieved this, the preventive detention population slowly diminished, resulting in the introduction of long-term ordinary prisoners. These changes in themselves called for constant evaluation and adjustment. The regime is aimed at growth towards maturity of the prisoners, and as such, change is implicit. If change is to produce growth then constant evaluation and readjustment will be necessary.

Having started from scratch in mid-1963, the staff have steadily achieved greater participation in the work being done at Blundeston Prison. Factors of significance have come to light during this experience. Progress is slow and relies a great deal on on-going support and encouragement by the top management. Greater participation calls for a higher level of responsibility from staff members. It would appear that the staff's perception of their own level of competence is lower than the actual level. As a result of this, they have anxieties about their ability to meet the demands placed on them and tend to fight shy of these extra responsibilities. This phase needs to be worked through with patient and understanding firmness. When value and status are recognised in staff

and they become aware that they have ability that can be used purposefully, there is a tendency to try to run before they can walk; they tend to deny the limitations placed on all staff and attempt to work outside these limitations. In this situation again one needs to work patiently, drawing them back within the boundaries imposed by the limitations of security, statutory rules and regulations, and professional etiquette.

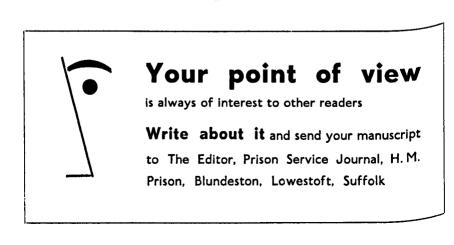
In providing a situation within which prisoners may grow in maturity, competence and confidence, and with the facility of on-going staff training, it is inevitable that staff also grow in maturity, competence, and self-confidence. As a result, demands are made on management to cope with this new competence and status, by way of open communication, consultation, support and further training, and by being prepared to be trained themselves.

CONCLUSIONS

In writing this paper I have drawn particularly on my experience of working with prison and borstal staff over the past 19 years in closed borstals, in a borstal allocation centre, in a regional prison and at Blundeston. I am confident that staff are, in the main, capable of meeting the demands of greater participation very successfully. I am now pleased, and no longer surprised, when staff demonstrate their increased knowledge and understanding and ability.

The pay-off of greater participation is in terms of increased job satisfaction and feelings of achievement.

Perhaps this paper should have been aimed at the broader involvement of management, rather than the greater participation of staff.



Police Reorganisation and Penal Reform

J. M. ATKINSON

DISCUSSION of the 1967 Criminal Justice Act has centred mainly around the question of whether or not the new measures will be effective in achieving the desired ends. Will parole help to alleviate overcrowding in the prisons, or will its effects be nullified by the imposition of longer sentences by the courts? Will measures for dealing with drunks and fine defaulters and the introduction of suspended sentences have any long term effect on the prison population, or will they merely delay the date of the offenders' ultimate imprisonment? Amidst all the talk and speculation about questions such as these, the possible implications of Home Office activities in another area seem to have been forgotten and, in this article, I shall suggest that there may be something paradoxical about the simultaneous introduction of penal and police reforms.

A number of the measures introduced by the Criminal Justice Act are designed to relieve some of the pressure on our already overstretched prison facilities, while, at the same time, other steps have

been taken in an attempt to make the police more efficient in the war against crime. The reorganisation of the police into bigger forces, the development of research into police methods, higher pay and the bid to attract better qualified recruits into the force, are all designed to improve the general efficiency of the police. The cynic might ask if the reason for wanting to clear some space in the prisons were not simply to make room for the additional offenders caught as a result of the improved police methods, but it seems unlikely that this is the logic behind the recent innovations.

The desire for improved police efficiency is presumably based on the assumption that some would-be offenders will be deterred by the knowledge that the chances of being caught are high, which is what seems to have happened recently in Chicago. This means that the innovators must be hoping not just that the police are going to catch more criminals, but that they will manage to bring about an improvement in the proportion

of offences which are *cleared up*. In 1966, the clearing up rate was 40.2 per cent of the total number of indictable offences known to the police, while in 1962 it was 44 per cent and in 1938, 50 per cent.* If one assumes for the moment that the number of offences known to the police will remain constant at its present level of about a million, it requires only the simplest mathematical calculation to show that the police would need to clear up something more than 10,000 extra offences to effect a 1 per cent improvement in the clearing up rate, 20,000 for a 2 per cent improvement and so on. While such estimates should obviously be treated with caution, it is clear that even a small improvement on the present clearing up rate could have a very considerable effect on the whole penal system, as well as on the police themselves. If great improvements in police efficiency do take place, a spiral could be set in motion: the extra cases cleared up would mean more work for the police, which might result in reduced further reorganisation efficiency. and changes, more cases cleared up, more work, less efficiency, and so on. Presumably it is hoped that such a situation will be avoided by the reduction in the overall crime rate which is supposed to result from the better clearing up rate. So little is known about the effectiveness of

deterrence, however, that it would be rash to assume that this is what actually will happen.

The effects of any increase in be police efficiency could also decisive in determining whether or not some of the objectives of the Criminal Justice Act are achieved, and the bid to relieve prison overcrowding would seem especially likely to be foiled. From the 1966 Criminal Statistics. one can see that, for every 100 indictable offences cleared up annually by the police, between six and seven offenders are committed to prison. If the possible effects of the Criminal Justice Act on the number of offenders sent to prison are ignored, and if we assume again that the number of indictable offences known to the police will remain unchanged, the number of extra imprisonments likely to occur as a result of an improved clearing up rate can be estimated. Again it requires only a simple mathematical calculation to show that, if the police cleared up the extra 10,000 cases needed to bring about a 1 per cent improvement in the clearing up rate, another 600 sentences of imprisonment would be added to the present annual total. A return to the 1962 clearing up rate of 44 per cent would require an extra 40,000 offences to be cleared up, which would mean 2,400 more prison sentences, while, if the odds of getting away with an indictable offence were shortened to the 1938 figure of 50:50, 100,000 more offences would have to be cleared up, which might mean as many as

^{*}These and all subsequent figures are derived from the *Criminal Statistics*, *England and Wales* for 1964 and 1966. London, H.M.S.O., 1965 (Cmnd. 2815), 1967 (Cmnd. 3332).

6,000 more prison committals a year than at present. Although the figures must again be treated with caution, they do suggest that, if the police do become more efficient, there could follow a noticeable increase in the annual number of prison sentences, which might counteract any reduction in prison overcrowding brought about by the Criminal Justice Act.

The introduction of parole is, of course, not seen simply as a bid to reduce the demand for cell space, but is also claimed to be a new form of "treatment". The extent to which it will deserve to be called "treatment" rather than just "early release" will, however, depend largely on the success or failure of another branch of the Home Office to recruit more probation officers, to whom parolees will be responsible. The possible higher proportion of offences cleared up by the police referred to above could also result in many more additional probation orders, which would place an even greater strain on the Probation Service than has already been placed on it by the addition of parolees to its clientele. In short, an improvement in police efficiency could have as serious an effect on parole as a form of treatment as on parole as a device for emptying prisons.

However enlightened it may be to introduce police and penal reforms at the same time, then, success in the former could have the effect of limiting, or even nullifying the chances of success in the latter. The

process, however, need not necessarily be a one way one. If some of the doubts about the effectiveness of the Criminal Justice Act mentioned at the start turn out to be justified, an improved clearing up rate may become even harder to achieve. If parolees commit new offences while on parole, and those given suspended sentences reoffend quickly, then it is the police who will have to catch them, which means that, if the pessimists' view of the Criminal Justice Act is the correct one, the police will have to clear up many offences which would not have been committed in the days before the Act.

If the reorganisation of the police and the new penal reforms both go according to plan, the possible problems outlined above need never arise. Fine defaulters will pay up, parolees will go straight and those given suspended sentences will take the chance to start a new life away from crime. The police will clear up such a large proportion of offences that the crime rate will fall, and no extra strain will be put on the prisons, the legal system or the Probation Service. But reforms rarely work out so smoothly in practice, and it looks as though the aims implicit in the police reforms cannot be realised without having an adverse effect on some of the aims of the Criminal Justice Act. If the reforms do work against each other in this way, they could raise new problems as serious as the ones they have been designed to solve.

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