VOLUME VIII No. 32 JULY 1969

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Editorial Office:
H.M. PRISON, BLUNDESTON, LOWESTOFT, SUFFOLK

CONTENTS

European Prisons

Denmark and West Germany

G. LISTER

MY FIRST DAY in Copenhagen was spent in discussion with senior officials of the prison department who gave me a general outline of the administration of justice in Denmark and whilst much of what I heard was similar to our own practice, some aspects were different and aroused my interest.

Age of Criminal Responsibility

It is worth noting that the age of criminal responsibility in Denmark is officially 15 years and that under that age, offenders are dealt with by the child care authorities. But of greater significance, however, is the reality that because the public prosecutor may withdraw the charge against an offender between 15 and 18 years, this older group also is more commonly dealt with by the same authorities. There are no juvenile courts in Denmark.

Sentencing

In this matter also, whilst fining, the application of suspended sentences and imprisonment resembled our own approach, three other measures, simple detention (Haefte), penal workhouse and preventive detention were markedly different and need further explanation.

Simple detention. This sentence can be imposed for a period of seven days to six months and is usually awarded in drunken driving cases and where comparatively minor offences have been committed. It is served in local lock-ups which are controlled by the police and whilst, because of the age of the buildings, such cases are often kept in solitary confinement, they have on the other hand, considerable privileges over those undergoing normal imprisonment. They can wear their own clothes, find work for themselves, supplement the diet and have certain personal possessions in their cells.

Penal workhouse. This type of sentence was introduced to deal with the less dangerous habitual offenders, persons who fail repeatedly to live a satisfactory life by committing sexual and property offences and who are frequently

heavy drinkers. The sentence is indeterminate, not less than one and not more than four years and is served in an open camp where, though there is some measure of security, the inmates are permitted a reasonable amount of freedom. (A more detailed description of such an establishment follows in a later stage of the report.)

Preventive detention. This form of sentence, like penal workhouse, is intended to deal with recidivists but in this case, with those who are considerably more dangerous, have committed serious offences against property and have psychopathic tendencies. The range of the indeterminacy is considerable, being not less than four or more than 20 years. I understand, however, that in practice the average term of detention has been around seven years. The sentence is always served in secure conditions until such time as the release date is known, when transfer to an open camp is possible. It is now being used far less frequently than was previously the case.

Mentally Abnormal Offenders

Denmark's attitude to its mentally abnormal offenders was of considerable interest and divided on the question as to whether they were susceptible to influence through punishment or not. In the former case the offender is sentenced to a special form of imprisonment with psychiatric supervision. The sentence is fixed and varies from six months to three years. In the latter situation, however, in cases of insantity, mental defect or serious personality disturbance, the Court uses various kinds of indeterminate preventive measures, depending on the extent of the threat to public safety the offender presents. Where this is the minor consideration, placement in a mental hospital or colony for mental defectives is usual, but where the danger is greater, committal to a detention centre is the more common practice. The length of such a sentence is decided by the Court following submissions from either the public prosecutor, the governing body of the institution, or the guardian appointed by the Court to safeguard the interests of the inmate.

Perhaps the two most significant facts in this area are that the fixed sentences of special imprisonment that I have mentioned, and the indeterminate committals to preventive detention are both carried out in the same institutions and that it would appear that the former measure is finding increasing favour with the Courts. I shall say more about one of these establishments later in the report.

Staffing

Wherever I went within the Danish Prison Service I was greatly impressed by the bearing, stability and ability of the uniformed staff. Confidence in the governor grades was very apparent, as was also the general state of discipline. It was also a particularly happy experience for me personally to be part of the easy and frank relationships that seemed to exist between all ranks

and specialists, both on and off duty.

It is perhaps appropriate at this point to make a number of observations, which may have a bearing on this situation. In the first place, all staff from the newest joined officer to the most senior governor possess, though all do not wear, the same type of uniform. This is well cut in excellent material and with scarcely distinguishable differences in badges of rank. The pay also of the basic grade officer was relatively higher than his British counterpart and as staff complements seemed on the whole, more than adequate—the potentially divisive factor of heavy overtime was kept within reasonable bounds. Differences in housing standards based on rank seemed less marked than we in this country are accustomed to and I was given to understand that pay differentials were similarly reduced by the effects of taxation.

Two other features of Danish staffing policy which seemed relevant to a satisfactory state of morale, concerned the occupation of official quarters and the age of retirement. Staff paid a rent for official quarters but with certain exceptions, were not obliged to occupy them. There was, I learnt, a marginal financial advantage in doing so, with the result that the more junior staff tend to take the official accommodation and the more senior to seek private accommodation in local communities. This is made a reasonably safe and attractive proposition as the service being comparatively small, moves are infrequent and as also the age of retirement is 67, this adds further to the possibility of serving at an establishment for a considerable period. Taking up this point again of what appears by British service standards to be a late retiring age, it was encouraging to see how such a wide age range of staff seemed to be satisfactorily integrated into the work of the different establishments.

Selection and Training

It was interesting to learn that the governor grades are almost without exception, graduates in law and that on first appointment they work from four to six years in the prison department headquarters in Copenhagen. It is only after this apprenticeship that they are posted as deputy governors in the field. There seemed to be no equivalent of the assistant governor grade of the British service and promotion from the ranks was not possible. My appreciation of the consequences of this policy was that management of establishments seemed to have a particularly strong system and head office orientation and that individual training and treatment objectives, were pursued almost in contrast by the specialists. The allegiance of the uniformed staff of jurist leadership seemed strong but the possibility of someone with a welfare background aspiring to top management, barely credible.

The situation regarding recruitment to the custodial grades appeared satisfactory in that it is possible for the administration to set comparatively tight age limits

for applicants who must be between 24 and 27 years of age. With national service still in force in Denmark, it is also expected that applicants should have acquitted themselves satisfactorily either as soldiers or with the civil defence organisation. The educational level is similar to that of our candidates, most of them having left school at 16 with a few exceptions who took a high school course

The selection system itself is in two stages, the first being very similar to British practice when the applicant presents himself at one of the larger establishments for an interview and tests of intelligence, general knowledge and literacy. From this a recommendation is made to head office, who either accept, reject or decide that the applicant must be subject to further examination of the Psycho-Technical Institute in Copenhagen. It might be of interest for our newly formed selection panels to know that at this second stage a series of psychological group tests are used and it is also of significance that the chairman of the prison staffs' association is a member of the selection board.

The newly appointed officer is on a period of two years' probation, during the early part of which he works under the supervision of an experienced colleague and is given some 30 hours' basic instruction within his own establishment. At a later stage, usually between six and 18 months after joining he is required to attend the three months' residential course at the Central Prison School in Copenhagen. Unfortunately a visit to this establishment was not on my itinerary but from the information I received about the syllabus, it seemed in the main not unlike our own. It differed, however, in the inclusion of some 50 hours' instruction in Danish for report-writing purposes and 40 in the use of firearms. An examination in certain subjects is set at the end of the course.

It was interesting also to note another feature of Danish staff training almost coincident with our own practice; the voluntary attendance of senior officers with from 10 to 15 years' service on eight-week refresher courses. Though here formal teaching is offered in such subjects as criminology, law and psychology, the main emphasis is on the group discussion method through which knowledge gained over many years of experience is exchanged with useful results. These refresher courses are not in any way associated with promotion.

HERSTEDVESTER

My first journey out from Copenhagen took me to the detention centre of Herstedvester situated near the township of Albertslund. The sentencing policy which brings inmates to such an establishment I have already mentioned so it is now perhaps sufficient merely to say that Herstedvester contains some of the most dangerous and intractable of the prison population in Denmark. Its primary purpose, therefore, is to safeguard the public but at the same time and as far as possible it sets out to treat the persons in

detention according to their special mental peculiarities and prepare them for eventual return to outside society.

As one would expect, security was an important consideration and indeed my first experience was of entry through a highly efficient modern gatehouse. The officer in charge sat behind an elaborate console through which he controlled both the pedestrian and vehicle inner and outer gates; he was in communication with the control post in the main administrative block and I understood that he was further assisted by a closed circuit television at night. Concerning the wider security of the centre, this depended mainly on a conventional wall without inner wire, but officers equipped with two-way radios patrolled the yards by day and dog patrols operated at night. There was no general television coverage of the wall and in my limited conversations on this subject I understood that, at that stage, they felt little need to go to such lengths. If they were brought to this, however, they hoped for some combination of alarm and automatically focussing cameras, so as not to have to employ large numbers of extra staff.

A medical superintendent was in charge assisted by a deputy governor with legal training, and leading a team of psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, nurses and teachers, and a body of custodial and workshop staff. As is always the case in such a situation, their problem was to harmonise the work of the main two groups whose aims of treatment and security often seem at variance, but clearly here at Herstedvester much was and had been done to ensure effective staff integration in this respect. Here it seemed was a regime characterised neither by repressive measures on the part of the custodial staff, nor by a suppressive approach from the medical team, but one in which both were striving towards a democratic ideal in which inmates were to be helped, not merely contained, and their behaviour understood rather than merely condemned.

The management and communications systems designed to that end are worthy of comment. Each morning there was a management meeting chaired by the medical superintendent and attended by the deputy governor, the psychiatrists, psychologists, the chief nurse, the welfare officer, teacher, the chief officer and his deputy, and the leading workshop instructors. Correspondence was first dealt with and then diaries were read by psychiatrists in charge of each ward, followed by a general discussion on the treatment and other matters raised. There was also a weekly review board when cases were presented by the therapist, either a psychiatrist or psychologist supported by a welfare officer and decisions taken about recommendations of inmates for release and parole. General custodial staff consultation was focussed on two types of meeting, chaired by the deputy governor and dealing mainly with regulatory matters. One was atten-

ded weekly by the chief and principal officers and another held once in three weeks for the junior staff and dealing with the same issues. Support groups led by the therapists were held from time to time to help the custodial staff make a contribution to and cope with the problems of the training and treatment process.

One of the most advanced aspects of the programme was the practice of allowing a six-hour leave each month to inmates who had completed satisfactorily one year at Herstedvester. On such a leave the inmate is accompanied by an officer of his own choice and may visit his home, go to the cinema, or just walk the streets if he so wishes. The officer is required to submit a report on their return and there is every indication that the therapeutic value to the inmate and educative advantage to the officer is considerable.

As one might expect, in an establishment with strong treatment orientation, the work schemes were not particularly elaborate, consisting mainly of domestic tasks, market gardening, printing and furniture making. Two features, however, particularly aroused my interest. In the first place inmates' earnings were considerably higher than in the British system but more significantly, they were divided three ways. One third could be spent on normal canteen items, whilst another was used to cover long term payments such as insurance premiums and also major purchases such as watches and radios. The remainder had to be saved for release. In work allocation also it seemed particularly imaginative to use gardening within the walls as a two-week holiday task for those inmates who asked for relief from the monotony of their normal work.

It was, however, in the field of parole that the Danes manifest the most intriguingly liberal attitudes. An ex-inmate who is so sick that despite all attempts to treat and rehabilitate him is still unable to maintain himself and his dependants may be granted a pension just in the same way as the psychotic or phsically handicapped person. I understand that as many as 40 ex-detainees from Herstedvester have qualified for such pensions and the view is held that this helps to normalise their relationship with society. In some cases the money is of necessity handled for them by the parole authorities.

THE DANISH WELFARE SOCIETY

The probation and after-care service in Denmark is in the hands of the Danish Welfare Society, a voluntary organisation whose administrative costs are borne by the government, but which finances certain types of help for clients and the running of its hostels from private subscriptions. I had the good fortune to spend a most enjoyable day with the deputy director who further explained that the responsibility for the supervision of probationers and for the conduct of investigations was delegated to a number of departments within the head office in Copenhagen and also to eight district offices. As

against that, however, it was of special interest to note that the society's representatives responsible for after-care were the governors of the State prisons and borstals, an arrangement which was based on the view that it was important to preserve the continuity of the relationships between the prison welfare officers and the parolees which had been built up during the course of the sentence. The staff of the society consisted of about 60 professionally-trained probation and after-care officers, usually graduates of the Danish Social High School, assisted by about 850 voluntary workers. Of this latter group each member was responsible for two or three cases, and clearly made a most valuable contribution to the work. They were, however, of a nature far removed from the traditional British voluntary worker, for in the first place they were paid a fee of about £2 per month for each case supervised and were also mainly drawn from the social work field or other allied professions, such as teaching, the Church, the police and the law. On the whole this seemed to be an extremely effective and realistic way of meeting this need.

The afternoon of the same day I visited Brondbyhus, a probation hostel situated about 10 miles south of Copenhagen and housed in a former seaside hotel. The sea bordered the bottom of the garden, enhancing what was a most delightful setting. Here were accommodated some 24 young men between the ages of 18 and 25, the majority of whom were probationers but also included one or two after-care cases. The average stay I understood was six months, during which time they worked locally and paid an economic rate for board and lodgings. The hostel appointments were extraordinarily fine and each inmate had a single room in which he was encouraged to invest personal possessions and generally to feel at one with his surroundings. There were few rules other than that alcohol was not allowed on the premises; the normal courtesies were insisted on such as informing the warden if one was going to be late and there was every indication that the atmosphere was extremely pleasant and relaxed. It was even permitted to entertain girl friends in private rooms until 10.30 p.m., a custom which I was assured was within the cultural norm and caused no outraged parents to complain to the warden.

Here again as in the prison situation, the importance of continuity of relationship was emphasised in that the hostel staff are responsible for the supervision of ex-inmates, usually having between 30 and 40 in this category at any one time.

Carlsberg Brewery

I spent my last day in Copenhagen at the Carlsberg Brewery, where I hoped amongst other things to find some comparative material to set against my enquiries into management structure and communications in institutions. I sought also to test out further the theory that I was finding increasingly compelling,

that the secret of good morale in the Danish service and indeed of the good life generally in the community, lay somewhere in the happy blend of discipline in the home and at work and the high degree of acceptance and tolerance encountered in general said relationships. On neither score was I disappointed.

I was first shown over the plant which was most impressive and then told of the firm's organisation and relationship between management and workers. As in the prison service it was interesting to note that promotion from the shop floor was possible only to a certain point in the hierarchy beyond which management candidates were brought in from outside. This, it appeared, caused no great resentment but it could well be that the possibility of this is offset by what were clearly extremely good working conditions and a high measure of workers' consultation. All departments and grades sent representatives to a works council the success of which can best be assessed by the absence of all but one minor strike since the war. Welfare facilities were good, wages high and there was an evident pride in belonging to the Carlsberg organisation. If one dare hazard a generality after so brief a visit the whole is perhaps best described as a benevolent patriarchy and is exemplified most adequately in the firm's practice of commissioning eminent artists to paint the portraits of all workers who complete 50 years' service. These are then hung in one of the magnificent reception halls. This comment I offer in no sense as a criticism, indeed it is a system in which there is a very great deal to admire.

Norre Snede—An Open Prison For Young Adults

For an inmate from a closed prison to arrive at Norre Snede must be a heartening experience for not only is its tone obviously relaxed and pleasant but the buildings also are particularly attractive with red roofs and whitewashed walls and with well-kept gardens and mature trees adding to the scene.

The task of this establishment is to care for some 75 low risk inmates between the ages of 18 and 30. The average length of sentence is about a year and men with records of violence, sexual aberration and arson are excluded.

The inmate's experience of Norre Snede begins with a short induction period when he meets the key figures of the establishment, has the routine explained and is interviewed to determine his domestic and work locations and his educational and welfare needs. There then follows what is described as the primary school, a three-week period when he spends the mornings in the classroom receiving instruction in traditional subjects and again meeting the same staff who elaborate their introductory themes in lecture/discussions. It is only after this period that he begins full time work on the farm or market garden, in the

joiner's shop or on maintenance or domestic tasks.

The inmate's living quarters were extremely fine, groups of 15 being accommodated in chalets, which provided well equipped separate rooms and most satisfactory sitting and dining room facilities. The standards were clearly intended to be those of a good home and the principle of lesser eligibility was certainly far from the planners' minds in this particular case. Further evidence of similar accepting attitudes was to be seen not only in Norre Snede but also in the closed prison at Nyborg, where staff were quite prepared to sit down and dine with the inmates. *It appeared then somewhat of a contradiction to find at Norre Snede inmates being referred to not by name but by number. The explanation, however, was not as I first supposed that this was a dehumanising relic from some earlier period but a method adopted to safeguard the identity of first offenders. Particularly interesting, therefore, was a secret ballot held recently among the inmates on this issue, the results of which was as follows:*

For the introduction of the use of names	68%
To retain the use of numbers	27%
Don't know	5%

The authorities decided to retain the use of numbers to protect the minority.

Being very much a face to face establishment the management structure and communication system at Norre Snede had no need to be particularly elaborate and indeed the staff were clearly well integrated and closely identified with the task. Each morning the governor met the chief officer, the schoolmaster, the administration officer and social worker to discuss the affairs of the day and weekly the same group assembled to review cases and make recommendations concerning release and parole, etc. There was, however, a third aspect to the system, a general staff committee which met regularly and gave opportunities to all grades of staff for greater participation in the running of the establishment. From this, at the time of my visit, three working parties had recently been formed to report to the governor on the reception process, the review system and on the possibilities of greater delegation of authority.

This establishment gave me my first introduction to Church attendance in Danish institutions, which I found to be voluntary and attracting congregations of about 10 per cent of the total population.

THE PENAL WORKHOUSE—SONDER OMME

I have already said something of the nature of the sentence which brings a man to this type of establishment but perhaps I should add that though it is clearly a penal sanction, it is imposed only after normal imprisonment has proved ineffective and its intention is primarily therapeutic. For men whose lives have been characterised by idleness, excessive drinking, vagrancy and an inability to

care adequately for their families, the emphasis is on the remedial quality of hard work in the open air. Through this it is hoped not only to inculcate habits of industry but also to build up a man physically against the time when he must return to normal society.

To this end, over the years, some 2,000 acres of heathland have been reclaimed for agricultural purposes and a desolate landscape transformed into an attractive patchwork of fields surrounded by windbreaks of fir trees and banks of wild red roses. Gradually a range of farm buildings have also been added and pigs, cattle and horses are now kept.

A parallel achievement over the same period has been the rehousing of the inmates; early wooden huts being now replaced by a number of single storey brick built pavilions. These have different degrees of security but each contains single rooms for inmates, common and dining rooms, a kitchen where inmates can make drinks and snacks in their leisure time and a hobbies room. In the area of land enclosed by the wings of each pavilion, inmates are encouraged to work on allotments in the summer evenings. As in other establishments, permission was given for inmates to make their rooms as pleasant and comfortable as possible and radios, carpets and pictures were very much in evidence.

Moving from the general to the particular, there were three other aspects of life at Sonder Omme which particularly aroused my interest.

The first was the extremely high standard of finish and excellence of design of the items of office furniture produced in the carpenters' shop and though this was to some extent, based on the traditional skill and good taste which so many Danes seem to possess, here it was assured by having so high a ratio of workshop staff to inmates that the final finish and more exacting tasks were always carried out by skilled men.

The second concerned the attitude to escapes which, though I may have misunderstood the situation, seemed oddly out of keeping with the general atmosphere in the establishment as a whole. It was rather surprising to find so elaborate a radio communication system centred on a substantial radio-mast with many very impressive hand and car sets, remembering that the population were on the whole rather inadequate and not particularly dangerous.

Punishment also for the returned escaper seemed by British standards to be rather severe and consisted of from 60 to 90 days isolation without books, letters, money or smoking.

THE YOUTH PRISON AT SOBYSOGARD

This must surely be one of the most attractive institutions in Europe situated as it is in a delightful old manor house some 10 miles south of Odense. Its cream washed walls, clock tower, cobbled courtyard and lake in the sur-

rounding parkland all contribute to an idyllic scene.

The population consists of some 75 young men of no great criminal sophistication undergoing an indeterminate period of training of which hard work, trade apprenticeship and education are the main elements. In many ways it is very similar to any British open borstal, but differs in that there are few inmates under the age of 18 and the maximum length of training is three years with one year on licence. It was interesting to note, however, that despite that, the average length of training was in fact closely approximate to our own. The inmates were accommodated in two large brick-built blocks overlooking a football field, each having his own room with the usual well furnished common and dining rooms. It was a little surprising to note that the blocks were fully secure at night.

During my visit sporting interest seemed to centre on football and handball and I was able to watch a particularly interesting match in the latter sport. In this staff took a prominent part. Indeed so overwhelming in numbers and competence did the staff seem to be that it was a little doubtful at times for whose benefit the game was being played.

Here once again I was brought up against what seemed an unduly high staff-inmate ratio and one could not help but wonder whether this situation might not be promoting in the inmates too great a dependence on authority and possibly have a debilitating rather than strengthening effect on personality. Following this line of thought I asked one inmate, a young man of high intelligence with a good command of English about protest of youth in Denmark. He replied with an air of resignation: "What was the use, the government saw the need and met it before you had the chance to realise its existence".

On the same theme another instance is perhaps worth recording which occurred during my stay at Sobysogard and concerned a boy on home leave some considerable distance away at Horsens in Jutland. The police reported to the establishment that the boy, together with a companion, had been drinking one evening and on their way home had caused a disturbance in the town and broken a number of windows. They had been arrested but then allowed to return home and at this point some action from the institution was required. The response I found both impressive yet disturbing in that the deputy governor motored to Horsens to discuss the matter with the boy and his parents and to hand over antabuse tablets in the hope that this would prevent a repetition of the affair. At no time was his recall from leave seriously considered. Here it seemed was the ultimate in tolerance and acceptance, which in one sense I greatly admired and yet I felt could also lead to an erosion of personal responsibility.

Perhaps somewhat in contradiction I must comment favourably on the imaginitive and enlightened policy of allowing inmates in dif-

ficulties on licence to return temporarily to the institution as lodgers and of using officer grade staff as after-care supervisors.

. . . .

WEST GERMANY

The Hamburg Prison Department is comparatively small with all grades of staff totalling just over 1,000 and responsible for some 3,000 inmates in seven establishments. It has a clear accountability to the Hamburg Senate but within the federal system it is also associated with other prison departments in Germany in formulating general principles and policies for the running of penal establishments. As in Denmark its higher management is jurist trained.

As an organisation, therefore, it came reasonably within the compass of a four-day tour and not only was I able to spend some time in general discussion at headquarters but also visit more than half the establishments. As I have no German there was some communication limitations but these were very largely overcome by the excellence and kindness of the interpreters who always accompanied me.

My main general interest was in the recruitment, training and conditions of the basic grade staff and in this I was helped both by officials and also by officers working in the field. It seemed that there was no particular recruitment problem which could to some extent be accounted for by a very satisfactory basic wage. Officers with whom I spoke also saw their job as particularly secure and having a good future and the uniform, which was of reasonable quality, they claimed they were proud to wear as it commanded the respect of the public. Little or no overtime was paid and though quarters were provided at advantageous rents, there was no obligation to occupy them. As in Denmark a limited number of establishments within a comparatively small area reduced the amount of staff movement and the practice here also was for the junior staff to occupy the official quarters and for the more senior officers to settle in local communities. It was interesting to find that at one establishment I visited the chief officer had become the mayor of the local township.

It was, however, in the initial training of basic grade staff that the Hamburg Prison Department really excelled and I shall therefore describe it in some detail. The course is arranged on the sandwich system and is in all of 18 months duration, half the time being used for practical placements and the other for theoretical instruction. The breakdown of the periods and their content is as follows:

(*a*) *Three months' practical work in an establishment.*

(*b*) *Two months' theoretical instruction in the officers' school of the Hamburg Remand Centre.* This covers general education subjects, and an introduction to psychology, social psychology, sociology and penal administration. Other lec-

tures are given in the law and the constitution, conditions of service within the department, the penal code and procedures and the principles of penal practice, which have common acceptance by all the prison departments within the Federal Republic. The law and social work in relation to young offenders is also included as is teaching in institutional administration, the writing of reports and the history of prisons. Instruction is given in the technical aspects of the job with discussion following practical demonstrations. Physical education is also provided with the emphasis on judo and the use of firearms is taught.

(*c*) *Two months' practical work at a second establishment.*

(*d*) *Four months' main theoretical instruction in the officers' school.* In this longer period the subjects covered in the first theoretical phase are again pursued but to a more advanced level and to this is added teaching in basic training and treatment principles, criminology, the social psychology of institutions, the spiritual aspects of penal work, the welfare task, both inside and outside prison, and first-aid.

(*e*) *Two months' practical work in a third establishment.*

(*f*) *Two months' theoretical instruction in the officers' school.*

In this final period the subjects mentioned previously are further developed and after a period of revision, examinations are taken, success in which is necessary for establishment.

The tutorial staff is drawn mainly from the prison department administration and staff, during this first 18 months' training, live in their own homes.

Once this period of training is behind him, the officer can hope for preferment through a four-rank system but there is little chance of promotion to the governor grade. Where this does occur it is interesting to note that a very clear line is drawn between academic and non-academic holders of the rank, which is reflected in differential rates of pay. For example a non-academic governor of 47 years of age, with two children and 25 years' service would earn DM1,812 monthly and his academic counterpart in the same circumstances DM2,200. An interesting comparison is the basic pay of an officer of 35 with two children which would be DM1,080 monthly

FULSBUTTEL PRISON

My first visit was in Hamburg itself to Fulsbuttel, a highly complex, maximum security establishment with over 1,200 inmates. It had four distinct parts, one dealing with normal imprisonment and young offenders, another providing a corrective regime for inmates who had committed serious offences, a third

being a detention centre for recidivists and a fourth carrying out classification. The inmates in each wore different coloured uniforms.

This was clearly a well disciplined and efficiently run establishment and my enquiries about its management revealed an uncomplicated structure. The sub-governors of the four parts met the governor each morning to deal with the day to day affairs and monthly a meeting of some 28 staff was convened, consisting of the sub-governors, their deputies and section heads to discuss general matters of policy. These issues were communicated to the general body of the staff through meetings chaired by the sub-governors. There was no formal opportunity provided for the governor himself to meet members of basic grade staff.

As one would expect in an establishment of this type, security was of paramount importance and I was therefore interested to see the methods used. In a sense I was a little surprised at the lack of sophistication in this area, but at the same time impressed by the ruthlessness and efficiency of their approach. In addition to a conventional wall, reliance was placed on armed guards in watch-towers with the support at night of dogs roaming freely within wire enclosed sectors. I was allowed to climb up to one of the watch-towers where the guard showed me his weapons which included an automatic pistol for personal protection, a conventional rifle and a light automatic. There were no written orders about their use but he informed me that in the event of a single inmate making a bid for escape, one warning shot was first to be fired and if this did not stop him then the next was to be aimed to maim. Where an attempt at a mass escape was made, the automatic was to be used. It seemed that there had been no occasion for the use of weapons at Fulsbuttel for some time. As far as the dogs were concerned it was pointed out that they provided a most adequate deterrence against escape and required only one handler for all the dogs on duty at any one time. The authorities showed little interest in television systems.

Industrial activity was also of a high standard with much of the work being carried out for and supervised by outside firms. This included the assembly of radio valves, the covering of a wide variety of canvas beach chairs, tailoring, bread-making on modern production lines and the manufacture of office furniture. Though the buildings were over 60 years old they had a clean functional appearance and it was good to see walls free of pipes and wires, etc. Each cell was equipped with a water closet. A further point of note was the ingenious way extra cell places had been achieved in one block by removing the roof and building an additional storey whilst the inmates continued to occupy the lower three floors.

NEUENGAMME—SEMI-OPEN PRISON

This institution was founded on the site of a war-time concen-

tration camp and my visit began with a tour of the memorial gardens where a startlingly grotesque piece of modern sculpture served as a reminder of the suffering and death of the many thousands of people from all over Europe who had been held there.

Today, however, a very different atmosphere prevails and the task of keeping and caring for some 500 inmates is pursued under what was clearly enlightened and energetic management in modern buildings set out in attractive gardens. The living accommodation was of a particularly interesting design, consisting of four long single storey blocks joined to form a closed rectangle with slightly projecting control posts at each corner from which it was possible to achieve duplicated observation of the corridors and the outside walls. There were communal dining arrangements for the main meals but breakfast and supper were taken in 65 living rooms, each of which served also as a dormitory for eight men. The bulk of the population was secured in these rooms in the evening, apart from groups who were allowed out at certain times to attend lectures, concerts and classes and play chess and table-tennis. Another feature worth recording was the use of a large room referred to as the church hall, which accommodate both the camp cinema and the Lutheran and Catholic fortnightly services.

As in most German establishments, here also at Neuengamme, there was great emphasis on industrial activity with work being carried out both for the State and for private concerns. From the former there was a most useful and continuous flow of work in the reconditioning of park benches and waste-paper bins and in the private sector one shop was given over to the manufacture of all types of camp furniture, another to the assembly of valves and electrical components and a third to the weaving of floor mats for a wide range of motor-cars. There was also a farm.

A further feature which caught my interest in this prison was what appeared to be a mirror in the door of the visiting room which made possible for the staff unseen observation of the occupants, a device which first struck me as somewhat unnecessary and rather distasteful. With the knowledge, however, that the occupants of the room all knew of its existence, perhaps it should not be too quickly dismissed for there is little doubt that it is both an effective and economical method of control in such situations.

Glasmoor Open Prison

This establishment like Neuengamme had an attractive well-kept appearance, was similarly designed on the closed rectangle principle but was considerably smaller with just over 200 inmates. None of them were serving sentences of more than two years.

The dormitories each accommodated eight men and were equipped with double tier bunks with

foam rubber mattresses. The lockers also were particularly well designed with plastic covered shelving for toilet items and slatted doors to give adequate ventilation. There was piped radio to each room which also doubled as a public address system.

Farming was the main occupation with pigs and cattle being kept and, within the confines of the estate, extensive peat cutting operations were being carried out.

Unlike other establishments, here at Glasmoor with its short term population, there was a system of home leave for inmates. I was told that up to seven days could be granted on compassionate grounds such as at the death of a close relative and that there was a particularly generous provision of five days general leave at Easter, Whitsuntide and Christmas for those who were in the terminal stages of their sentence and presented no security risk.

I took the opportunity whilst at Glasmoor to ask about the governor's powers of punishment which were given as follows:

Reprimand

Up to 28 days, solitary confinement in an arrest cell.

Up to 3 months, no reading material.

Up to 3 months, limited letters.

Up to 3 months, limitation of amount of cash available for spending at the canteen.

Up to 4 weeks, loss of light in cell.

Up to 7 days, no exercise.

Up to 7 days, no mattress.

Restricted diet of coffee and dry bread—up to 7 days.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude this brief description of Glasmoor in this rather negative way, for on the contrary, though the staff were obviously efficient and properly mindful of the need for security, the atmosphere was both extremely relaxed and purposeful, and I have no doubt that it promoted in the inmate as much hope for and confidence in the future as any prison can hope to do.

The Youth Prison—Hahnpfersand

There must be few prison departments in Europe that can offer a fine boat with cabin accommodation, radar and a crew of young offenders as official transport to one of their establishments. Such, however, is the situation when one arrives at Schulau Harbour to visit the island and youth prison of Hahnpfersand. The journey takes three-quarters of an hour, skirting the sand banks in the Elbe estuary to the prison landing stage where, after a short walk up a path through the trees, one comes to the main administration buildings.

The staff here numbered in all about 93 and controlled an inmate population of just under 200, which was divided into three main categories. One group consisted of first offenders with sentences under one year, a second of inmates with

fixed sentences from one to two and a half years and a third of those with terms from three years to life. With the exception of these long termers, all receptions were first located in an induction block from four to six weeks when the necessary documentation was carried out and then for the main part of the sentence each category was housed in separate blocks, all of which were fully secured at night. During the last three to six months of the sentence, however, all inmates except those serving less than one year, were allowed to live in what was known as "the village". This was in a part of the island about a mile from the main buildings and consisted of a collection of particularly attractive huts which had housed an anti-aircraft battery during the war. They had, of course, been thoroughly modernised and each contained bedrooms and a small living room with a television set for a group of eight inmates. Here there was considerable freedom and the whole complex was supervised by one principal officer.

The island itself was quite extensive with trees and farmland and though there were some workshops, agriculture and market gardening were the main occupations. There was also an elaborate education programme.

It was, however, the staffing and management of this establishment that I found particularly interesting. The governor himself was a trained psychologist and was assisted by another psychologist, a social worker, six full time teachers and a physical education specialist. There were no assistant governors as such but certain of the principal officer custodial staff had undergone a two years in-service training and were acting as housefathers in charge of the main blocks. The governor and the specialist group came on duty daily from the mainland and the custodial staff worked one week continuously on the island and then spent the next off duty with their families.

The pattern of meetings was also interesting and began with the traditional governor's daily morning meeting. Once weekly the teachers, social workers, psychologist and chief officer met to review cases and fortnightly there was a liaison meeting between the teachers and the housefathers. A full staff meeting chaired by the governor was held each month. In a setting which I would have thought particularly suited to the method, it was a little surprising to find that there was no group counselling.

A Visit To Sweden

L. R. OGIER

SWEDEN IS ABOUT twice the size of Great Britain and has a population of approximately seven and a half millions. Being rich in natural resources and self supporting in food production, it is not surprising that the standard of living is higher than in Britain, but so are wages and prices. Service is especially costly and in hotels and restaurants it is charged at 15 per cent of the bill. In Stockholm a normal charge for a man's haircut is 15*s*.

You may have heard a lot of rumours about the Swedes, but most of them are exaggerated. Their suicide rate is not remarkably high, it is higher than the British, but lower than many other European countries. Their divorce laws are lenient by our standards but their divorce rate is less than half the American figure.

They have had no wars for more than a century, and a democratic socialist government for 30 years, but in spite of a socialist government only public services are nationalised and most industry is privately owned. The people are heavily taxed, but much of the money is spent on social services.

Stockholm is often compared with Venice, but the comparison is simply that both cities are built on islands; the rest is pure contrast. Venice is darkly attractive; the Stockholm archipelago is spacious, green, and naturally beautiful. The city is modern, efficient and prosperous.

There is only one criminal court which does the combined work of the British magistrates, quarter sessions and assize courts. There is no jury system except in cases involving the freedom of the Press, but lay judges are elected by the communal councils. A panel of between seven and nine lay judges must assist the presiding judge at almost all trials and a unanimous vote by this panel can outvote the presiding judge. They are, in effect, a permanent jury. There are also district appeal courts and a supreme court. The same judge can marry you, send you to prison, and if your wife objects to your enforced absence he can divorce you for good measure. The sentencing policy is said to be more lenient than in Britain and statistics appear to support that statement.

The prisons of Sweden are divided into four geographical groups, with three other groups for youth prison (borstal), preventive detention and women. The term group for women is misleading as there is only one prison for women of all ages. Incidentally, women are frequently employed in men's prisons in such work as welfare officers and kitchen

staff. The director of industries has women assistants and there are women on the committee which plans prison building. Their presence may well account for the tasteful design of the furnishing and equipment in the new prison buildings.

In each of the prison groups for men there is one central prison which combines the duties of "local" prison and allocation centre, with the governor of this prison of a superior grade and responsible for supervising the rest of the group. Each group is largely self contained and has its own special training and open prisons. Far more prisoners serve their sentences in open conditions than they do in Britain.

Tobacco barons have largely been put out of business by the only method of paying wages above tobacco starvation level, but they also have their bullies and trouble makers. By a decision of the 1961 parliament, one prison in each of the four prison groups is set aside for recalcitrant prisoners and during 1962, 208 such men were subject to this sanction. Swedish bullies are known as "kings" and it does seem expedient to transfer these pretenders to only one kingdom rather than allow them to raise their standards wherever they may be. It is interesting to note that in 1962, 98 men were transferred for refusing to work and 12 in the whole country were transferred for "physical or mental abuse of officials".

The outstanding feature of the Swedish prison system lies in the efficient and spacious workshops, the modern machinery, and in the work provided. Almost all prisoners work a 45-hour week and earn between 30*s.* and £4, mainly on piece rates. In this department the British prisons are not playing in the same league.

The root cause of this almost ideal situation is a Royal Decree of 1926 when the prison department was given priority in certain government contracts, principally in work for the railways, post office, hospitals and armed forces. The major proportion of the work is for government departments, but there is also work for other markets. As an example, prefabricated houses are being manufactured for sale through a private agent. The director of industries is also planning to employ his own sales staff. In this context it should be remembered that Sweden has had full employment for many years.

Over the past 10 years the average population in Swedish prisons has risen from 2,946 to 4,963, but workshop production in prisons has risen by more than 250 per cent and agriculture by 100 per cent.

Prison officers in Sweden are mainly recruited in the area of each prison and selected by the prison governor. With some exceptions they are not compelled to move from their district and their pay and working conditions seem comparable to those in Britain. Prison officer training and "in-service" training appear to fall far behind British standards.

Some Swedish prisons have evening classes and prisoners are

encouraged to take correspondence courses, but there is nothing comparable with our evening institutes organised by a tutor organiser. Libraries appear to be adequate and are often affiliated to a local authority as they are in Britain.

Perhaps the only sad memory of Sweden is that so many Swedes have rejected organised religion and this general attitude has been reflected in the prisons. No prison chapels are being built and religion has to line up with films and concerts in well built halls that one feels have been built mainly for secular purposes. The minister is the man who conducts the Sunday service; the priest as a father figure has been displaced by the psychologist.

Sweden is a lovely and prosperous country with generous and hospitable people, but after four weeks from home and family even Heath Row Airport looked beautiful.

Inksha—A Russian Approach

T. W. ABBOTT

IN MAY OF 1966 I left England for a study tour of some Russian young offender units.

This paper is concerned only with my experiences at Inksha, a labour colony for juvenile offenders, and what I have written are my own personal, and perhaps impressionistic, observations of this one small part of the Russian correctional apparatus.

My host for the tour was Mr. Valentin Karuskin, head of the Department of Labour Colonies for Juvenile Offenders for the Russian Republic. My interpreter and, as it turned out, "Man Friday" was Mr. Ivan Rosonov, a third-year student majoring in English at Moscow University and a lawyer on the staff of Professor Nikforov an eminent authority on law, both Russian and English.

I have done my best to keep comparison to a minimum as I feel that we must either accept or reject Inksha in the light of its role in the overall Russian programme rather than by way of comparison with my experiences in the West.

For a person to tour a single establishment only to return and attempt to write an article on his experiences would, I suspect, strike the reader as being an attempt on my part to capitalise on the air of mystique that still surrounds anything Russian. I trust that it will, however, be accepted in the spirit in which it is put forward—an attempt, if you like, to pull aside for a brief glimpse a curtain which

in my experience was anything but iron.

Ivan Rosonov had called me at 7 a.m. that day to ask if it would be convenient for him to pick me up to visit the Inksha Juvenile Labour Colony later that morning. I replied that it would be convenient, and was told that a car would be around to pick me up at the hotel at 10 o'clock. Promptly at 10 o'clock the reception desk rang to inform me that my car was waiting at the entrance to the hotel.

I was rather taken aback when I walked through the revolving door and on to the pavement to find a large, black limousine parked at the kerb. The driver opened the rear door and I glanced into the half light to see the familiar face of Ivan who was to act as my interpreter for the tour. Next to him sat a rather large, well-tanned individual wearing a lightweight summer suit and tinted spectacles. He was holding a cigarette in the Russian manner, between the thumb and index finger.

Ivan moved over and indicated I should sit on his right. The gentleman in the tinted glasses on Ivan's left. The introduction was made and I met Valentin Karuskin.

During the drive out to the colony Karuskin gave me a briefing about Inksha and what I might expect to see. Then as the car sped out of the down town Moscow area the director suggested we speak of "lighter things". We spoke of the coming world cup tournament and of Russia's chances. I might add that in a candid moment Karuskin picked England to win. Then the subtle thrust "it is unfortunate the world cup has been stolen". I was about to parry with the fact that it had in fact been found two weeks earlier but doubted if my story would be accepted by my host when I described how, or rather what, had found it.

After driving for perhaps 40 minutes through the open countryside we crossed the Volga and entered a rather dense growth of tall, rather emaciated conifers. The drive over the bumpy road was most memorable as one glance at my notebook will attest. The forest which had enveloped us for the last 10 miles suddenly dropped away revealing a cleared area of some 200 acres. We had arrived. The car turned a corner and there was Inksha or rather its monastic main gate and nine-foot vertical wooden perimeter fence crowned with a single strand of barbed wire. At intervals of 20 yards the watchtowers.

Once through the main gate we were greeted by the commandant of Inksha, Major Shevchenko. The commandant was dressed in the uniform of a Militia officer—light green cap with red band, light green shirt, red shoulder flashes, royal blue trousers and a red stripe.

We were then led to Major Shevchenko's office. Sitting on either side of a long green covered table were the various heads of the colonies departments. Shevchenko's desk formed a "T" at the top of the long main table and there I sat along with Karuskin, Shevchenko and

Rosonov. I was offered a glass of mineral water and after the bumpy, dusty ride over that tortuous road gratefully accepted.

The next hour was spent in my asking questions to the Major and his departmental heads.

After the question and answer period lunch was served. The lunch lasted approximately three hours and consisted of salad, roast veal cutlets, chocolate and vast amounts of vodka chased with mineral water. The toasts were made and as is the Russian tradition (the first and last toast being drunk in one smooth motion), for the first and last toast no sipping is permitted. I really can't remember what the last toast was.

The custodial programme at Inksha speaks for itself. For an average daily population of 525, 1965 produced only five absconds. For anyone tempted to run away the nine-foot perimeter fence would certainly offer no barrier even though the fence is manned or rather womaned by rifle toting female staff who sit in their enclosures raised above the fence at 20-yard intervals. I was assured, and had every reason to believe, that the rifles were not loaded with live ammunition but that blank cartridges served only as a means of raising the alarm and that the inmates were aware of this. I could not help but think upon seeing the female staff members sitting on her raised perch with a rifle slung across her lap if this is what Makarenko meant when he spoke of "the elevating female influence in a pedagogical setting". I rather suspect that the answer to the low abscond rate lies not so much in the deterrent effect of the fence as in the common knowledge amongst the inmates that to abscond would mean his being sent to an institution with what the commandant described as "a punitive regime" and it is also interesting to note that an inmate need not go over the perimeter fence to be considered an absconder. Five yards from the inside of the security fence a strand of barbed wire lies stretched along the ground elevated approximately one foot. An inmate need only step over this wire to be considered an escaper. The final precaution is the placing every 50 yards or so of a senior "child" —these are young men who are at a late stage of training and soon to be discharged. The onus for preventing their comrades from absconding is very much on them and the incentive for their having to be on their toes at all times is abundantly apparent.

Discipline at Inksha is maintained on the basis of "mutual co-operation" between staff and inmate. A strong monitor/prefect system is in practice and what amounts to an inmate staff police force is very much in evidence there. The prefects patrol the pathways and all the buildings of the colony in pairs. They are smartly turned out in their blue summer issue clothing and red armbands. It is

quite apparent that the inmate sub-culture is not as strong an influence as one might find in Western institutions but to say that it is non-existent at Inksha would not be entirely accurate. It was interesting to note that the isolation unit had eight lads in punishment cells and perhaps more significant that those lads in isolation were there, by and large, for assaults —assaults on the prefects. The most common breaches of discipline are in the form of fighting, gambling, refusing to work and the awards that may be given by Major Shevchenko are (1) public reprimand, (2) written reprimand, (3) up to five days isolation on a restricted diet and extra duty during leisure-time and in extremely bad cases, the transfer of the trainee to that "more punitive regime". Shevchenko was of the opinion that the most successful corrective measure was the public reprimand. The effect on a lad of being paraded before 500 of his mates must indeed have a rather disquieting effect on the poor wrongdoer. I was assured that most lads who break the code of discipline are rejected by the rest of their sections as they are called. How long the period of rejection is in effect I did not ask but I feel that the conditioning process is so thorough the period is a lengthy and quite painful experience for the offender. It was interesting to note in the middle of the vast parade square a bulletin board with pictures of recent offenders placed over captions. The caption might read: "This is Ivan, he is a hooligan and a bully. He struck one of his comrades whilst he was *on duty*".

WORK PROGRAMME

The work programme carried out at Inksha consists mainly of industrial training in one of their vast machine shops. The colony has facilities for making portable fire pumps and spare parts for various machines, it has an aluminium smelter and casting room and a farm. The ratio of instructors to students in the machine shops is fairly high but senior inmates are expected to instruct when they have reached a high enough qualification. There appears to be very little difficulty in placing people in employment and in most cases is a matter of Shevchenko telephoning a suitable production unit near the lad's home and instructing that unit that they will take on the lad when he is discharged.

I found in walking around the machine shops that many lads were standing in groups apparently doing nothing. I was allowed to approach the lads and through Ivan speak to them and ask them any questions I liked. When asked why they were apparently standing around doing nothing the reply from a senior lad was that they had met their quota for the day and having done so were allowed to relax. Outside each of the three houses (sections) stood a large iron pole topped with a red star. The star on top of a particular pole was illuminated and flashing at regular intervals whereas the stars on the two remaining poles re-

mained quite inanimate. It appears that the section with the flashing star was the section which had met and exceeded its quota in the preceding week.

After touring the machine shops I was taken into the education centre. The rooms were bedecked with pictures of cosmonauts and former "children" who had made good—heroes of Stalingrad, cosmonauts, Arctic explorers among them. Great stress is placed on emulating successful citizens and a close link is maintained with outside agencies, young communists, young pioneers, etc., who arrange for well known explorers and people in the public eye to correspond with the lads and visit. Although my tour of the educational facilities was fairly limited I was most impressed when, walking into an English class, I was asked by Karuskin not to speak through my interpreter but to speak to the lads directly. Karuskin said: "This is an English class you must speak to them in English and they had better answer". It is only fair to add that he did smile whilst saying this.

I asked one young man in particular why he was at Inksha and he replied rather in the manner of a dalek: "I am a hooligan, Sir. I have been sent here to be retrained. I am enjoying myself, Sir, with my comrades at Inksha". Then to show that he hadn't entirely lost his sense of humour stated as I was leaving the room: "Hooligan was an Irishman you know". After leaving the education centre we moved out of the main security fence and into the farm and staff housing area. The housing was not unlike the quarters which surround many of our establishments in rural areas.

All staff are housed in the modern comfortably furnished quarters provided free of charge by the State. A well-stocked general store is available for the housewives to make their daily trips. A two-storey officers' club is open to all personnel and their families. The club contains a billiard room, bar, and a 500-seat auditorium equipped with a stage for amateur productions periodically given by the colony's inmates. Facilities are available by which a cinemascope screen can be lowered and films shown from the projection room. Inmates are marched down to the auditorium weekly to see films (educational).

The degree to which the staff are involved in the overall programme at Inksha is very close to being total. After their seven-hour tour of duty many of the staff of all categories return to sponsor various leisure-time activities. Strong emphasis is also placed on self improvement and many staff take advantage of various courses to enlighten them in all aspects of corrections. Although I have promised not to make the fatal error of comparison I feel that in this case before we sit back and gaze in awe at such a spartan devotion to duty it is only fair to inform the uninitiated that such a degree of involvement is found in many members of staff in borstals

throughout this country and young offender units elsewhere.

Two hundred staff of all grades are responsible for the total programme of custody, treatment training and administration of over 500 inmates at Inksha. The tour of the quarters completed, Karuskin suggested we return to Shevchenko's office for "a quick drink" before returning to Moscow.

We arrived back at the commandant's office at approximately 4.30 p.m. to find the table covered yet again with what seemed by now to be an endless supply of intermediate sized bottles of vodka. A toast was proposed, some presentations made and with Karuskin setting the pace we settled down to some serious drinking.

At approximately 8 o'clock Karuskin suggested that we "speak of lighter things". I agreed that this might be a good idea after so intense a tour of the colony. That apparently was my first mistake. The director's first question to me was: "What do the people in England think about the imperialist American aggression in Vietnam?" Fortunately, Ivan came to my rescue by asking me to sign the guest book, and the subject quickly changed.

When the time came to leave I walked to the main gate with Ivan, Karuskin and Shevchenko. Just before reaching the gate I turned to my right to observe in full a building which had caught the corner of my eye. It was a church. "How very nice to see a church, was it inter-denominational?" "Church?" said Ivan, who then muttered something to Shevchenko. After some considerable to-ing and fro-ing, Ivan, as if somewhat relieved by what Shevchenko had said, placed a hand on my shoulder and said: "This was once a Czarist church, Thomas, but now the building is used as an aluminium smelter", and sure enough, as my eyes moved skywards, I recognised that my attention had not been drawn to the building by its architectural merit but by the wisp of smoke wafting from the spire top. Clever people the Russians.

A Rose by any Other Name...

N. WINGATE

HAVING NOW SPENT more years in social work than I care to remember, I have seen the band wagon wheel turn almost full circle and now find acceptable to the theorists ideas and practises that at one time were condemned out of hand.

Sometimes I grow irritable with the complacent and patronising view taken by most people connected with social work of those commonly known as "woolly do-gooders".

Whilst I would in no way decry the value of training and acquiring of skills, although I would give much greater weight to experience than seems to be done today, it still remains a fact that social workers in their contact and relationship with their clients are only one small facet of the pressures, influences and happenings that take place in the life of a client. If he is lucky, "Joe" might get a half-hour interview once a fortnight and then there is an inferred assumption that Joe goes out of the office into a kind of vacuum until he returns a fortnight later. In fact, of course, his wife or girl friend, his family, his workmates, his foreman, his pals in the pub or club, all the people he meets in everyday life, exert their influence usually in a non-academic and non-permissive way, and I, for one, think it is a good job it is so.

Where then does the supposed danger in the use of partially or untrained "volunteers" lie?

Before writing of my own experience in this field, I look round at what is being done elsewhere. Unfortunately I can find no evidence of any research into what has been done, the trends it shows, its strengths and its weaknesses. Like so many band wagons it has grown up *ad hoc* and no lines of communication between one area and another have been established. Here, in my view, is a field calling for immediate research and development. From what I have gleaned, some areas have a training scheme similar in many ways to that used for the training of probation officers. Other areas seem to have no training at all. Some seem to concentrate on clubs for prisoners' wives and

children, and in present-day thinking it would seem that the use of volunteers is only envisaged as useful in the work of after-care. It would seem to me, however, that if volunteers are useful in one form of social work, then in general they should be equally useful in any form of social work. There remains also the unresolved situation of what were originally the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies; whilst it is true to say that local societies, where they exist, do have in many cases a closer working co-operation with the Probation and After-care Service, in other ways they still lead an independent life which may or may not be a good thing, depending on one's point of view. Whilst no doubt, communication at top levels exists, at my level, that of a basic grade officer, it is in fact non-existent.

I have never believed that attitudes or sincerely held beliefs can be changed by legislation. All that legislation can do is to obtain lip service to its demands. Proof of the value of any method must be obtained objectively and bias either for or against is equally bad.

It must be 10 years ago that against both the wishes and advice of those who knew better, I started to use "volunteers" in a general way. Whether we admit it or not, our service which was founded on voluntary effort, has used them indirectly at all times, so that this is no new concept, as one might be led to believe.

Some of the objections to lay help is the dangers to which they might become exposed, the need for confidentiality and of course the natural resistance of most trained social workers to use untrained and unskilled help.

This leads us to a consideration of what is the role of a "volunteer". I have never tried to turn any of my group of "volunteers" into second-class probation officers, third-class psychiatric social workers or indeed case workers of any type. If this is the type of role envisaged then I would want none of it. I think it true to say that all the people who help me would say that they are merely good neighbours who care, and at this level and on this basis I can see no danger whatsoever.

The helpers are classified according to the particular ability or gift that they have to offer. Examples of what I mean are that one man has a lorry and will move goods or furniture free of charge. Another has a barn where furniture can be stored. A third is a retired E.S.N. teacher who would be fully prepared and able to teach almost any boy or man to master the rudiments of reading and writing. Others will provide a room for study, a home to watch television, a form of home help, and indeed the work that can be done on a voluntary basis is only limited by the imagination of those that use it.

Recruitment of "volunteers" appears to vary from area to area and many of the recruits seem to come from one particular class of society. Under the present official system they have to be vetted, accepted and enrolled. The weakness

of this system is that people who are acceptable to the selection boards will not necessarily be acceptable to the client, and dare I say it—to the probation officer.

I feel that the success of my groups was largely due to the cellular construction of this very nebulous body and the fact that it had no committees, no chairman, no selection boards, meant that it was without strings, with no axe to grind and responsible only to the group organiser.

The group was recruited from all walks of life and only consisted of people who would take their coats off and would do somthing. We did not want talkers, committee members or any form of control from any hierarchy as this would have been completely inhibiting.

The beauty of this scheme was the simplicity with which it could be brought into being with almost immediate response in any case of need and the knowledge that if the case moved into a sphere where specialists help was required this could be provided at once by a specialist.

Perhaps one of the greatest functions of a probation officer is the fact that by virtue of his job he knows where there is a need and with a wide and diversified group of helpers he knows where that need can be met; the more he brings the two together the better officer he is.

Each local area had a co-ordinator working directly with the probation officer and the co-ordinator knew personally each member of the group and what they could offer. Only rarely did a "volunteer" deal with more than one client at a time and the continuum depended on the need.

Although nameless and formless, the group became known and calls for assistance came from medical officers of health, health visitors, samaritans, children's departments and clergy. They thus became self feeding and the success of any group is in direct ratio to the amount of work that it gets to do.

Before any introduction is made, I make sure that the client both needs help of the kind the "volunteer" will provide and is willing to accept help from "a friend of mine". Because of the careful selection made there has been, so far, no question of faces not fitting. Individual "volunteers" keep me and the co-ordinator informed of developments and I am available to give advice or guidance when needed.

Every three months the local groups meet, partly to discuss progress, partly for a form of training, but perhaps mainly to offer each other encouragement and support. Because they are independent units they will function whether the local probation officer values their services or otherwise.

It goes without saying that this method of the use of "volunteers" would not be acceptable to everyone and indeed at one town where I was asked to explain the scheme, I was prayed for publicly as being anti-Christ.

The scheme does not fit into

continued on page 38

Dr. H. K. Snell, C.B.E., M.D., D.P.H.

DR. H. K. SNELL, lately Director of Medical Services of the Prison Commission, died on 9th March after a short illness, in Addenbrooke's Hospital, Cambridge. He was aged 70.

Harvie Kennard Snell was born in London on 25th April 1898, the son of William Kennard Snell; formerly of Okehampton, Devon. He was educated at Alleyn's School, Dulwich and King's College, University of London. His student career was interrupted by service as an infantryman in the First World War, including a period in France and Italy. After the war he returned to King's College Hospital and qualified with the conjoint diploma in 1921. He graduated M.B., B.S., in 1924 and in the same year obtained the D.P.H. He proceeded M.D. in 1927.

Snell had proved a particularly able student and after qualification he held various house appointments at King's College Hospital.

He joined the Prison Medical Service in 1924 at H.M. Prison, Wandsworth and two years later, being eager to widen his experience of psychiatry, was seconded to Broadmoor for two years. Then followed periods of service at Parkhurst, Brixton and Liverpool prisons. While at Liverpool he created a record for the number of reception examinations he made in a single day, of over 400 mutinous Chinese seamen who were temporarily lodged in Liverpool Prison. He returned to London in 1943 as a medical officer at Wormwood Scrubs where, four years later, he was promoted to principal medical officer. In January 1951 he succeeded Dr. H. T. P. Young as Director of Medical Services at the Prison Commission and as H.M. Inspector of Retreats under the Inebriates Acts at the Home Office. He retired in 1963 and he and his wife removed to Comberton in Cambridgeshire to cultivate their garden and enjoy the tranquil pleasures of village life.

Snell saw many changes in the Prison Medical Service. On joining, he found it a small, rigid and detached organisation, having little contact with medicine outside its own walls. He left it an increasingly vigorous service, better fitted to play its important part in a modern penal system.

A modest man, he did not enter the limelight which his office sometimes necessitated easily but he was determined that inmates of English and Welsh prisons should enjoy a

high standard of medical care. Always a hard worker himself, he expected the same standards in his colleagues. He was, however, no severe taskmaster but a kindly, courteous and understanding person. His visits to the various Prison Service establishments were occasions to be anticipated with interest and, indeed, enthusiasm. His inspections were always thorough and meticulous and he kept himself abreast of developments in medicine. He never enjoyed controversy for its own sake but he liked to engage in discussion with his colleagues. He was a good discussant and quick to seize upon a debatable point. He was a regular attender at the meetings of those societies which interested him such as the Royal Medico-Psychological Association and the Medico-Legal Society. He also made several valuable contributions to the literature of forensic psychiatry and penology. Snell's expert opinion was frequently sought by other departments and he had made journeys to such places as the Solomon Islands and to Bermuda on behalf of the Colonial Office. For many years he was the Home Office observer on the joint committee of the British Medical Association and the Magistrates Association as well as being a member of a medical research council sub-committee. Snell was a good medical administrator and was always concerned about the welfare of his staff. He knew about their individual aspirations and triumphs and sorrows. In earlier years it seemed that he knew the name of everyone, down to the most newly joined hospital officer.

Snell's greatest contribution was probably to have kept alive a Prison Medical Service during the difficult days of the 1950's when both funds for the Prison Service and salaries of medical civil servants were comparatively low. He encouraged close co-operation with the National Health Service and was proud to have had an important role in the planning of the first psychiatric prison at Grendon. This was the outcome of the work of one of his distinguished predecessors, the late Sir Norwood East, whom Snell greatly admired and found such an inspiration.

Snell's considerable services were recognised by his appointment as an honorary physician to H.M. the Queen in 1959 and as a C.B.E. in the 1961 New Year's Honours List.

In his work he was greatly supported by his extremely happy family life and our deepest sympathy is extended to his wife Eileen, and to their son who is a member of the medical profession.

I.G.W.P.

Letters to the Editor

An End to Borstal?

To the Editor,

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Sir,

I have read with great interest Mr. Longley's well-considered article in the January issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL, "An End to Borstal Training?" I hope I may be forgiven if its challenging title induces an old borstal servant, in a few moments of nostalgia, to emerge limping from his out-dated retirement. How often have I felt as Mr. Longley does that the indeterminacy of the borstal sentence only tends to unsettle the inmate and to undermine his co-operation. Moreover it is true that the "wide boys", summing up the situation, may well decide that lip-service is the way to a reasonably early discharge, and in some cases no doubt he gets away with it, outwardly well-ordered but inwardly unchanged. For the staff, too, the onus of attempting to assess an inmate's real progress and in due course his readiness for discharge would, by the alternative imposition of a fixed sentence of imprisonment, be an abiding headache gratefully removed. The prison staffs have no such challenging decisions, no such assessments to make, and no heart-searching whether another month or two might not have strengthened the inmate's ability to resist the temptations which, in one way or another, will assuredly assail him when he is again at liberty.

The argument that a fixed sentence makes for settledness and acceptance on the part of the offender is incontestible; it always helps to be able to see the end of the road. Whether, however, it is always in his best interests to see the end of the road, with its temptation to sit back, eschew unnecessary effort and just let the months roll by, is another matter, and I find myself wondering whether we might not lose more than we might gain by substituting for the indeterminacy of the borstal sentence (actually of course the sentence of borstal training is not indeterminate) a fixed date of discharge. For borstal training, if it means anything at all, means step-by-step relaxation of control, step-by-step assessment of progress and in due course, after careful consultation with all who have been concerned in his training, the decision, always a difficult one, that the inmate is now fit to be released, or anyway that no advantage would accrue by his further stay in borstal. And this progressive, personal treatment is not compatible with a fixed, determinate sentence, which lacks the stimulation to do well in order to earn (a perfectly legitimate ambition) as

early a release as the "powers that be" may feel is fair and appropriate. And I must confess that I do hold the view, albeit questioned by Mr. Longley, that "those directly in charge of the training of an inmate are best qualified to decide when he should be released", within, of course, the six months' minimum and two years' maximum as laid down in the Act.

Mr. Longley makes considerable reference to the artificial situation created by the institutional routine to which the inmates are subjected. "Our institutional standards really have so little relevance to the environments from which the inmates generally come." Indisputable—but what is the answer? For since the day has yet not dawned when there shall be one establishment for each individual inmate, it follows that borstals are *ipso facto* institutions, and it is inevitable that some of the institutions are more "institutional" than others. But the development of borstal in the last 50 years has seen the growth of a great variety of institutions, from the most "closed" to the one which may claim today to be the most "open" of them all, and this development has progressively minimised the old and once justifiable criticism that the individual inmate was "lost" in the impersonality of the routine-ridden whole. We still have a long way to go, but considering the hit-or-miss methods of the old days, progress in the skills of personal training may be justly claimed, particularly since the staffs of all grades are nowadays much better trained than was the case some years ago. It should follow as a corollary to this that institution boards are more qualified to make the right decisions. Mr. Longley is not so sure. "The institution boards of borstals, by their very nature and the circumstances in which they invariably operate, also of necessity, come to some very inconsistent decisions." Of course they do, as do courts of law up and down the country in their duty of passing sentence on offenders. And as long as the frailty of human judgement lasts, so will the inconsistency persist. Such, however, is my respect for the borstal staffs and for many others, past and present, in the Service, that I hold that their ability to assess an inmate's character, progress and potential is of a very high order, both by virtue of their training and their experience. Nor is their judgement necessarily proved wrong if an inmate, conscientiously and objectively recommended for discharge, fails again. There are many factors beyond the compass of the staffs' predictive judgement which make for success or failure after discharge.

The old myth that borstals are run on public school lines dies hard. "How realistic is it", says Mr. Longley, "to expect a young man from a delinquent environment in a ruthlessly materialistic society to conform to the norms of a Victorian public school?" May I say categorically that borstals never were run and never were intended to be run on the norms (*sic*) of a Victorian or any other public school. In order

to get away from excessive mass regimentation and to improve individual study and personal training, the Commissioners, on the recommendation of Paterson (who incidentally was not himself a public school man) in 1922 divided up the then borstals into sub-divisions which they called houses, and proceeded to recruit personnel to run the houses, who, not unnaturally, were called housemasters and housemistresses. There the similarity to public schools ended. But the cliche went round: "Where were you at school, Eton or borstal?" And many a hard-working comedian has earned for himself a gratuitous laugh by claiming that the rag round his neck was the Old Borstalian tie. Poor jokes die hard, but perhaps ridicule is the best treatment for an out-dated legend about the respective functions of borstals and public schools. It is difficult to imagine any function more diverse.

"The value of borstal training is indisputably derived from the relationship which an inmate is able to form with members of the staff—and the change of attitude which he is able to acquire from such relationships." This is the truest and most fundamental thing which Mr. Longley says in his interesting article. And I have no doubt that the department, when appointing personnel to tackle this difficult work, looks first and foremost, as the Commissioners did in their day, for men and women likely to win the respect and perhaps in course of time the affection of at least some of the misguided youngsters who are committed to their care. Mr. Longley goes on to express concern that the indeterminate element in the borstal sentence tends to undermine this relationship because instead of settling down and benefiting from it, the inmate is always worrying about promotion and selection for discharge. I like to think that the converse may be nearer the truth, that this very relationship is in fact the most stabilising and settling factor in the inmate's progress. Nor, I believe, is he perpetually thinking about discharge and nothing else. For, however well he conducts himself he knows that he must serve a good many months before he can hope to be released, and in a considerable number of cases, sometimes after a kick or two against the pricks, he settles down to see it through. It is then that his close and developing contact with this or that member of the staff bears fruit, helping him to co-operate and leading perhaps—who knows?—to a genuine change of heart.

"Finally", Mr. Longley says, "it is also arguable that the imposition of the indeterminate sentence for borstal training in our Courts works against the principles of justice whereby the lengths of sentences are usually related to the offences committed and the previous criminal records of the convicted persons." It may well be equally arguable that the principles of justice are better served by giving to the Courts wider and less rigid powers whereby they are required

to look beyond the actual offence and the previous record (both of them useful servants, but, where sentencing is concerned, bad masters) to the personal needs of the young offender who stands convicted before them, and to send him if they see fit to a place of training in the hope of achieving his reform. And it is required of the executive to devise a system of training which demands of its staffs the close personal study of each individual in their care, while at the same time the inmate is required by his own personal effort (nothing automatic about it) progressively to work towards, and in due course to win, his release if possible before the statutory two years has been reached. I would think there is little derogation of the principles of justice in such enlightened penal policy.

And so back to Mr. Longley's title, "An End to Borstal Training?" Has it, in its current form, had its day? I am no longer qualified to judge, for so have I had mine. But I am grateful to Mr. Longley for the "?".

Yours etc.,

R. L. BRADLEY.

* * * *

Parole

To the Editor,

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Sir,

May I draw the attention of your readers to two inaccuracies contained in the article "Parole is Top of Research List" which appeared on page 24 of your January 1969 issue? The statements concerned derive from the source document "International Exchange of Information on Current Criminological Research Projects", upon which your article was based.

I am not the designated correspondent for the Howard Centre for Penology study, and the address of that centre is 125 Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11.

The correspondent is in fact Mr. H. J. Klare, and I am responsible solely for the testing programme.

I am, Sir,

Yours etc.,

GEOFFREY R. TWISELTON

(Wandsworth).

Some Research Findings On Prison Welfare

MALCOLM J. BROWN and
J. WALLACE McCULLOCH

A NATIONAL SURVEY was recently conducted in seven major social work disciplines, to ascertain what factors social workers find helpful to them in their daily practice—with particular emphasis on the place of social work research; and to learn more about the professional journal reading habits of social workers.

Although probation officers were included in this study, due to their relatively small number, prison welfare officers were not. The suggestion was made in private communication to the authors by several social workers, that this omission prevented comparisons between prison welfare officers and other social workers (particularly probation officers) from being made. A further small study was planned consequently, to examine the prison welfare discipline and the results of this study are reported briefly here.*

An attempt was made to submit the study questionnaire to all prison welfare officers in England, Scotland and Wales. It is believed that 165 of them received the questionnaire. This figure comprises more than 95 per cent of the entire prison welfare population. With one reminder, the total response rate was 49.09 per cent. This compares with a response rate of 68.53 per cent for probation officers

*One or two findings in relation to the main study had been published prior to the commencement of the prison welfare study. Due to the lack of inter-disciplinary reading, however, it is not thought that these published findings significantly influenced the prison welfare findings in any way.

and of 70.37 per cent for all social workers.

Officers were asked to place in rank order nine factors in relation to their assessed usefulness in daily practice; and to include any other one factor, should they so wish. The rank orders given by prison welfare officers were analysed and grouped into families or clusters—each member of the family showing a closer association to other members of that family than to any member of any other family.

The highest associations were between the factors, "literature on psychology", "literature on sociology" and "literature on social work research". All members of this particular family are rejected by prison welfare officers as being of help to them. (This opinion was shared by all social work disciplines.) The second cluster comprised, "own personality", "own experience" and "professional training", which were all positively related to one another. The third cluster comprised, "supervision", "discussion with colleagues" and "literature on social work practice"; again, these factors were all positively related to one another.

Coincidentally, independent of the "cluster analysis" the three factors which were rated highest for their usefulness, were those of "professional training", "own experience" and "own personality". This finding was identical with that for the combined social work disciplines.

The ages of the prison welfare officers were compared with those of the probation officer respondents and no significant difference was found. A test of significance was applied in relation to qualifications held by prison welfare officers and probation officers; and again, no statistically significant difference was found.

The regular professional journal reading habits were compared:

TABLE 1

Regular journal reading habits for the main professional journals as given by prison welfare officers and probation officers:

	Percentage of prison welfare officers reading journal	*Percentage of probation officers reading journal*
Case Conference ...	35.8	45.9
New Society ...	32.1	34.8
Probation ...	22.2	33.3
Prison Service Journal ...	14.8	*
None ...	25.9	25.9

*This figure was so small as not to warrant a separate category in the earlier analysis.

The average number of journals read regularly by prison welfare officers was 2.0 and by probation officers, 1.5. The trained prison welfare officer tended to read more than the untrained and the older officer tended to read more than his younger colleague (i.e., on average, the 45 years and older age group read more than the 44 years and younger age group).

Any suggestion of any significant difference between prison welfare

officers and probation officers has not been borne out by this study in relation to the areas in which information was sought. No statistically significant difference was found in either age or qualification. Prison welfare officers evaluation of helpful factors was found to be almost identical to that of the probation officers examined, although their rejection of "literature on sociology" and "literature on social work research" was a little more marked. The percentages from each discipline reading no professional journals regularly was identical and the average number read by prison welfare officers was higher than that of probation officers.

The fact that approximately 15 per cent of the prison welfare respondents read the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL regularly is indicative of some degree of identification with the prime setting to which they are attached. This thought is further supported by the fact that in using the "other" category for factors of their own choice, more prison welfare officers inserted "good relationships with other prison staff" than any other factor.

The comparatively low response rate is difficult to account for. A suggestion that it might be due to previous poor experiences with researchers was not investigated.

It was hypothesised that the non-probation trained prison welfare officer tended not to respond whilst the probation trained officer did. This was investigated but the evidence obtained indicated that the ex-NADPAS and allied group responded in similar proportion to their numbers as did those with full probation training.

A Rose by any Other Name . . .*—continued from page 27*

official ones where compulsory registration is required but its great advantage is that ordinary people become involved and committed to social service in the community. It is not, as many suppose, a one way track, and in my view the members of the group gain far more than they give.

It has been possible to use parties of the group to help in special projects, one party of men and women regularly attend and take part in the activities of a mental health re-habilitation clinic which could not get ordinary members of the public to mix with their clients. Others support probation hostels by visits or taking lads out individually or in pairs, others do relief duty in a children's home where the staff are over-worked and get little time off. Another group visits a local prison for games evenings, and as pointed out before, only the imagination of those concerned limits the extent of what can be achieved.

You can start a group like this today.

Prisons in Israel

J. D. WHEELER

IN NOVEMBER 1968, I visited Israel for the first time. With the help of Colonel J. S. Haywood, a regular visitor to the country, who thought it would be good experience, arrangements were made to spend some of my time looking at the Israeli penal system. The prison service headquarters is housed in a splendid new building in modern Jerusalem, where I was warmly received by Colonel Haywood's good friend Arieh Nir, the Commissioner of Prisons, who permitted me to visit the three principal prison establishments.

The recent political history of the country commences in 1917 with the British military occupation of the area and the expulsion of the Turks. In 1922 the League of Nations confirmed the British mandate over Palestine which lasted until the withdrawal in 1948 when the Jewish State of Israel was created with United Nations approval. At the beginning of 1967, Israel had a population of 2,657,400: 2,344,900 Jews, 223,000 Moslems, 58,500 Christians and 31,000 Druzes and others. The Jewish element of the population has almost quadrupled since independence; two-thirds of the increase being due to immigration. This population produced an average of 1,500 prisoners per annum. The country's philosophy of penal reform operates against the vexatious background of conflict between the Jewish and neighbouring Arab States. Significantly the Six Day War of June 1967, added almost a further million Arabs in the "occupied areas", thus making an 11 per cent Arab minority into 45 per cent of the total Israeli population. Recently, and as a consequence, the number of Arab infiltrators and persons detained for offences against the State have increased to provide a prison population of upwards of 3,000.

The Israeli prison service accepts the modern view that the ultimate justification for depriving a man of his liberty by imprisonment is to protect the community from crime, and to provide a controlled opportunity of training the offender to lead a better life on discharge. The

Israeli approach, therefore, is towards reform, and away from the merely punitive aspects of imprisonment. Since gaining independence in 1948 the State has consolidated and revised Prison Acts and Regulations to improve training and treatment of persons detained in prisons. The Israeli prisons comply with standards approved by the 1955 United Nations conference on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

The aim of the service is to provide prison regimes where men may be trained in the habits of industry and labour. Inheriting traditions from the days of the British mandate, the newly appointed prison guard is sent for basic training to a special school. Thereafter he receives training in the establishment to which he is posted. This and the opportunities to study in outside institutions is intended to create a prison service with a sympathetic approach to penal problems. Since 1953 social workers have been appointed to every prison in the country with a general responsibility to deal with welfare problems during sentence and to provide an initial report on the prisoner.

On being received in prison, the prisoner is informed of his statutory rights as set out in regulations. A careful study is made of the offender's personality, record and background. A decision is then taken as to where he is to serve and what training he is to receive. All prisoners, including detained persons, are allowed visitors and letters at stated intervals. Tobacco and toilet articles may also be sent in. In cases of serious illness near relatives are kept informed whenever this is possible.

STRUCTURE OF THE SERVICE

The Israeli prison service functions as an autonomous unit of the Ministry of Police. The Minister of Police is politically responsible for the service to the Knesset, the Israeli Parliament. The professional head of the service is the commissioner who is appointed by the minister to whom he is directly responsible. With the exception of Maassiyahu Camp, the six State prisons originate from the British mandate era and were built as police forts. These are generally known as Tegart forts, after the engineer who was responsible for the design. There is one small establishment for about six women offenders. The number of prisons increased in 1967 by the addition of another seven units in the occupied Arab territories under Israeli administration. The Commissioner of Prisons has direct command over all personnel operating within the prison service. The commissioner is assisted by various departments, branches and boards which take care of specific matters concerning the inmates, their welfare and the administration of the prison. For administrative convenience the service is divided into two departments with senior officers directly

responsible to the commissioner for:

(a) organisation and security, and
(b) Treatment and rehabilitation of prisoners.

Organisation Department

The department is responsible for planning, recruitment, staff training, and manpower. The manpower branch takes care of all matters concerning both the staff as a whole and any members individually, beginning from the selection of the new candidate, an allocation according to the individual's abilities and the requirements of the establishments, up to final discharge from the service. The training centre has its own staff of teachers and instructors who are full members of the service. The courses held at the centre deal with subjects pertaining to prison work, viz.: security, discipline, prison regulations, social psychology, juvenile delinquency, law and citizenship. Occasional supplementary courses are held at the training centre for more senior officers and clerical members of the service.

Security Department

This department deals with security matters and is responsible for the safe custody of all prisoners. The main functions are: (a) planning and supervision of the security system in general; (b) security measures with regard to emergency situations; (c) supervision of inmates' transportation from one prison to another as well as that from the prison to the police stations and gaols; and (d) supervision of inmates' transportation to outside clinics and hospitals for treatment or hospitalisation, the latter with or without a guard as required. As in the United Kingdom, prison security presents many difficulties compelling the Israeli service to continually improve the system in an endeavour to prevent escapes and smuggling. Basic security measures for Israeli prisons consist of watch-towers, fences and illuminations. All guards on duty outside a prison and in the watch-towers are armed.

Stores and Property Department

This department takes care of economics, technical and financial needs of the service; it also deals with planning and provides supervision of the workshops, vocational training and other inmates' occupations. Budget assessment, savings, acquisition of equipment and its allocation, building of new prisons and renovation of the existing ones are the main functions of this department. The maintenance of a single prisoner during the year 1967–8 amounted to approximately £825.

Occupational and Vocational Training

The Israeli service considers one of the main objectives of training is to provide prisoners with an opportunity to learn a trade or at least to acquire working habits so as to enable them to earn their living after release. With this objective in view there are workshops in prisons

teaching a variety of trades. Each prison has a particular vocational field and production in which it specialises. The philosophy of the system is "on the job" training in a workshop run on outside industrial principles. There is a combination of theoretical knowledge and professional skills as taught by the instructors.

Medical Services

On entering prison, the new prisoner is thoroughly examined by a qualified medical practitioner. The services of the medical branch are available to the prisoner throughout his detention. There is a psychiatric unit at Ramleh Prison which is headed by a psychiatrist. The unit staff consists of a psychologist, social worker, occupational therapist and male nurses, all of whom belong to the Ministry of Health with the exception of some male nurses who are prison staff members who have qualified for this work through experience in handling difficult prisoners. The unit provides treatment in direct interview situations, group work and case work.

Social Work

There are two to four social workers in every prison. In particular, great emphasis is placed on the work of the social worker in the observation and classification prison to which all prisoners sentenced to a term of imprisonment from between three months to five years are sent. A social worker is responsible for interviewing the prisoner and writing an initial report which includes a history of his family and social background; a life history and a character impression. The report details the past and present criminal offences and gives an opinion as to motivation. The social worker is at liberty to pursue the interviews outside the prison within the orbit of the prisoner's family. In due course the social worker presents his findings to a reception board composed of the prison governor, a social worker, the education, occupation and security officers. It is the duty of the social worker to inform the board of all that he has learned about the man. The reception board then decides on the prisoner's occupation in prison, vocational training, and where he is to live and serve his sentence.

Education Branch

This branch is responsible for the co-ordination of all educational effort in the prisons. The branch provides a school curriculum and encourages inmates in their cultural and other leisure activities. Particular attention is paid to sport and physical activities in general and matches are organised between the various prisons. There are drama circles in almost all the prisons guided by professional stage directors. From time to time these circles produce a play for the inmates to which also their families are invited.

Every prison has a library which also receives newspapers and weekly magazines in Hebrew, Arabic and

other languages. Many of the books in English that I saw in prison libraries were dealing with the popular American western stories and crime series.

RELEASE BOARD

Until 1954 the Israeli prisons followed the British practice of granting one-third remission from most sentences. A Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1954 created the distinction between inmates sentenced for the first time and recidivists; the following method of release now applies:

(a) The Minister of Police is empowered to decide upon the release of every prisoner sentenced from three to six months, after he has served two-thirds or more of his sentence, if the minister thinks him worthy of it. The decision is made in accordance with a recommendation submitted by the Commissioner of Prisons. During 1967 the cases of 327 prisoners were reviewed and 229 granted an early release.

(b) Every prisoner sentenced from six months up to two years may be released by the Minister of Police upon the completion of two-thirds of his term or at any time during the last third if such a recommendation has been submitted to the minister by the release board. During 1967 the cases of 535 prisoners were reviewed and 337 granted an early release.

(c) The Minister of Police is empowered on the recommendation of the release board to grant the release at any time for special reasons, e.g. health.

(d) The release board is empowered to release any prisoner sentenced from two years onwards (excluding life imprisonment) by granting him a license, the conditions of which are determined by the board, which is valid for the remainder of the term for which he would have been imprisoned, i.e. from the beginning of the last third or a part thereof as the case may be. During 1967, 10 cases were considered and four men granted an early release.

In 1967 the release board revoked 23 licenses granted to prisoners in accordance with paragraph (d) as they had offended against the conditions of the license. The release board consists of the president of a district court who is the chairman, the Commissioner of Prisons or his nominated representative, the chief of the prison service medical department, a senior education officer and a representative from the State attorney's department. The President of Israel is empowered by law to grant pardons and 419 requests were made during 1967 of which 72 were approved.

Prisoners may be paroled for up to 96 hours by virtue of a law passed in 1958. The Minister of Police is

authorised to grant parole on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Prisons. Absence from a prison on parole in no way affects the inmate's term of detention. Israeli law states that the purpose of parole is to be instrumental in helping the prisoners maintain a healthy relationship with their families and also to enable them to participate in family gatherings or to attend to important or urgent matters where personal attendance is imperative. The Minister of Police considered 1,614 cases during 1967 and granted 1,108. Only in four cases was the prisoner accompanied by a guard dressed in civilian clothes. During the year, six prisoners failed to return of whom five were soon caught by the police or prison staff.

Religion

The Israeli prison service takes into consideration the religious needs of all inmates, Jews, Moslems and Christians alike. Every prison is provided with a special place where a man may pray according to his faith. The Ministry of Religion is responsible for supplying all inmates of whatever religious group they belong to with the necessary articles to enable them to keep their traditions and observe religious customs. All religious matters in prison are attended to by the Rabbi of the Israeli prison service who deputes assistants to supervise the dietry laws in prison kitchens.

Ramleh Prison

Near to the Lod airport road stands Ramleh Prison which is the only maximum security establishment in the country. Here all seriously convicted offenders as well as members of Al Fatah and other detainees are housed. Security is vested in the outer perimeter wire fence and watch-towers occupied by armed guards. The gate is controlled by an electrical device operated by a guard located in an adjacent box. Inside, the emphasis is on creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and a reliance upon the staff to prevent undesirable incidents. The staff number 246, but since the Six Day War the prison has assumed responsibility for Jordanian establishments in the occupied west bank area at Shechem, Hebron and Ramallah. Over 400 persons are detained of whom about half are members of Al Fatah. There has been no escape from the prison since 1967. I was particularly impressed with the good relationships that existed between the prison guards and the inmates. In spite of overcrowding the conduct of the prisoners appeared to be excellent. The governor told me that during 1967 he had considered 682 cases of offences against prison regulations of which 264 were light transgressions and only six were serious cases. At the time of my visit the prison population was

accommodated in six wings thus:

Central prison for criminal offenders	156
Detainees	80
Infiltrators	100
Psychiatric patients	60
Hospital patients	23
Criminal offenders in new wing	44
Total ...	463

There are a great variety of training and occupation activities including a Braille book shop providing worthwhile employment for long term offenders. A hobbies and handicrafts shop taught the skills of these crafts and reflects the importance of tourism to the Israeli State. Of particular value to the State and inmate is a printing press producing government forms. Not only does this enterprise save the taxpayer substantial sums but provides valuable training for the 40 inmates employed. The Al Fatah detainees receive the same treatment as ordinary criminal offenders and their religious customs are respected. Some of the prisoners from the psychiatric unit were employed on an agricultural project within the prison compound. I spent a delightful half-hour in the prison kitchens where some 20-odd inmates are employed. I sampled the daily meal, a task normally performed by the Israeli governor, which had been prepared for all inmates both criminal prisoners and infiltrators alike. The kitchen was well-organised with modern equipment and I observed that it was possible for people of various religious faiths to have their appropriate diets. The Israeli prison service receives all ration supplies direct from the Army stores. Of the total population I was informed that approximately 55 inmates are employed on services within the prison such as cleaning and maintenance. The prison has a particularly good tailoring shop where 20 inmates were producing garments to a high standard under a Ministry of Labour instructor.

There are elementary Hebrew and Arabic classes for those inmates who were denied the opportunity to attend an ordinary school. Some of the inmates are allowed to continue their studies by means of correspondence courses. An active drama group in the prison produced a play in 1967 which was attended by upwards of 3,000 spectators from outside. The governor arranges for lectures to be given to groups of prisoners by the government information officer on various aspects of Israeli life. The prison education officer is responsible for organising a general educational programme and contests on various subjects. Entertainment is mainly provided by feature films shown three times a month in addition to documentary films which are occasionally received. Basketball and other sports are enjoyed in the compound within the prison walls.

Tel Mond Prison

Young offenders are sent to a progressive institution at Tel Mond

where the emphasis is on education social case-work and vocational training. Offenders are aged from 14 to 20 years. For the most part these youths are failures from a previous reform attempt, many having been the subject of a probation order or training in an institution for juveniles. The common problem was the lack of education and a concept of basic values. Consequently the efforts of the staff are devoted to training in the form of vocational courses and an extensive education programme. Of particular value was a bird and animal compound maintained by inmates, which helped to satisfy certain emotional needs of some of the more disturbed youths. Efforts to keep the young men in contact with the outside community are centred on games matches and visits from private volunteers. Contrasting the liberal regime within the establishment is the armed guard on the gate. Nevertheless the hazards of Israeli life are further reflected in the pre-military training programme in which many of the older youths participate.

The prison is divided into four units housing 220 youths. The living conditions vary from one unit to another and they offer the inmates the possibility to improve their environment by obtaining a transfer to a better unit when they have proved themselves worthy of it. Some of the buildings were old and in a poor state, but the more recent buildings provided accommodation for two to three young men in modern well-equipped rooms. The youths are encouraged to look upon their room as a home and to decorate it accordingly. The establishment is secure with an emphasis on creating an atmosphere of mutual trust so as to prevent undesirable incidents.

The governor of Tel Mond is particularly proud of the prison occupation and vocational training scheme. The scheme provides vocational training to inmates who, by acquiring a useful trade, are more likely to re-integrate in society after release. In 1966 a new building was constructed to provide better facilities for the scheme. It is also planned to provide classrooms, a technical library, laboratories and a dining hall. The vocational training scheme consists of two sections: (a) "on the job" training, under the guidance of instructors who are staff members of the prison service. To this section belong book-binding classes, agricultural classes, and a squad of 50 youths employed on prison maintenance and services; and (b) vocational courses under the guidance of the Ministry of Labour instructors are (1) tailoring; (2) carpentry; (3) locksmithry; (4) motor mechanics; (5) masonry; (6) gardening. Each course takes a year so that inmates sentenced to a lesser term cannot be admitted to them. On completion of the course, the participants are examined by officials of the Ministry of Labour and receive certificates according to their abilities and accomplishments.

Education is considered an important aspect of the training programme. In conjunction with Ministry of Education instructors, every encouragement is given to the

youths to study. The governor said that considerable difficulty was experienced in dealing with the mentally retarded youth or those who are sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, and they are accordingly not admitted to any of the general school classes. But there are two special classes for the mentally retarded. Additionally there are opportunities for the youths to involve themselves in a drama group, nature studies, physical culture, wood-carving and metal-work. The governor endeavours to promote sporting fixtures between the establishment and people from other walks of life. This promotes friendly relations with the outside community and helps the young offender prepare for his return to society. The governor stated that about a dozen matches are held annually with outside teams. The establishment has an excellent library containing a great variety of books, many in English, and also daily newspapers and weekly magazines. The institution makes use of feature films and documentaries as well as entertainment programmes organised by the prison education officer.

Maassiyahu Camp

The camp was opened in 1952 and is a semi-open prison with a progressive regime. Generally taking short-term offenders, the camp will also receive long-term recidivists who have progressed from the secure prison to this half-way house to eventual freedom. Most of the inmates are employed in workshops and "on the job" maintenance work. Of special interest is the Braille shop employing 10 inmates who produce text books in Hebrew, Arabic and English which are supplied free of charge to the various institutions. This work was undertaken with much enthusiasm and gave a sense of purpose to the dull days of imprisonment. The population is varied and includes men imprisoned for non-payment of debts, fines and alimony, for petty thefts, public disturbances, vagrancy, etc. The total prison population is about 317. The governor has 70 members of staff which he regards as relatively few for an open prison. No serious discipline offences are said to occur. During 1967 there were only five abscondings.

Vocational training consists of courses in tailoring and carpentry. Workshops providing "on the job" training under the guidance of prison service instructors are: (a) locksmithry; (b) mailbag and tent shop (18 inmates are said to have produced 20,000 bags during 1967); (c) an agricultural section providing vegetables for the prison; (d) a masonry shop. Cultural activities include religious studies under the guidance of an inmate, bible studies under the guidance of an outside teacher, a chess group, and a music appreciation group. The prison has an excellent library which was largely organised and run by inmates.

Future Development

The continued increase in the Israeli prison population has created an acute accommodation problem,

in particular at Ramleh Prison. To ease the situation it is intended to erect a new maximum security prison for long-term offenders near to Beersheba in the Negev Desert. Accommodation for 538 will be divided into two sections, one for about 360 criminal offenders and the other for about 175 infiltrators and members of Al Fatah. The living quarters are expected to consist of single cells for two-thirds and three inmates per cell for the remaining third. Each cell will have a bed, a table, a book shelf and a closet for clothes. A seven metre wall with eight watch-towers for armed guards additionally to the dissuading arid wastes of the Negev will provide the security.

IMPRESSIONS

No one naively believes that imprisonment is a picnic. The problem of balancing humane and benevolent considerations against a firm respect for law and order remains a delicate one. My impression of the Israeli prisons is that sincere efforts are made to provide for fair conditions and genuine training opportunities for all classes of inmate. The Israeli penal system is not static, but moves along with modern concepts. The service aspirations betoken a sympathetic official approach to penology, whilst acknowledging that the Israeli service faces many problems, especially overcrowding and the detainment of members of Al Fatah.

CONTRIBUTORS

MALCOLM J. BROWN, A.C.S.W., M.S.W.(Pennsylvania), B.SC.(Soc.), M.R.S.H., worked as a probation officer following generic training at Birmingham University. In 1960 he went to Zambia as a social work administrator and later as a senior lecturer in social work at the University of Zambia. He served with the United Nations as social welfare adviser in West Africa before joining the staff of Bradford University in 1967 where he lectures in social work management and social work research.

J. WALLACE MCCULLOCH, A.A.P.S.W., M.SC.(Edin.), M.R.S.H., worked as a psychiatric social worker in Scotland and then as a research scientific officer with the Medical Research Council specialising in epidemiology and also as honorary lecturer in the Department of Psychiatry of the University of Edinburgh. He has written a large number of papers on various social research projects and is currently a senior lecturer in social work research at the University of Bradford.

NORMAN WINGATE has been a probation officer for 20 years, having joined the Probation Service "straight from the Army". He has undertaken a great deal of experimental work in connection with after-care and at one time had a three-year period working almost exclusively with corrective trainees and preventive detention men. He works in Harrogate, Yorks.

J. D. WHEELER is an assistant governor at Wandsworth.

T. W. ABBOTT is an assistant governor at Gaynes Hall Borstal.

GEOFFREY LISTER is deputy principal of the Prison Service Staff College, Wakefield.

L. R. OGIER is governor of Her Majesty's Prison, Brixton.

Printed at H.M.P. Leyhill, Wotton-Under-Edge, Glos.