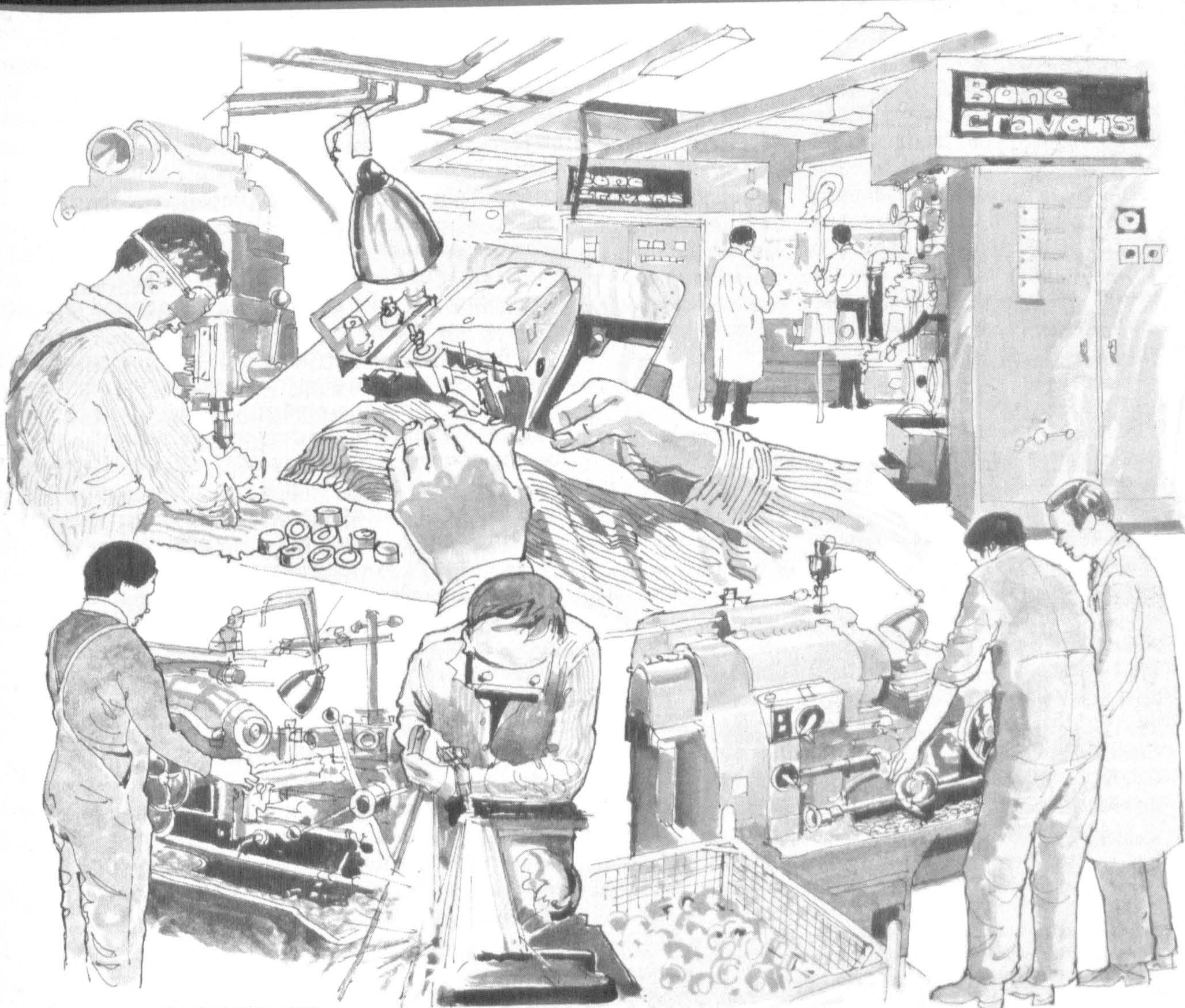


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Theme PRISON INDUSTRIES

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The editorial board wishes to make it clear that the views expressed by contributors are their own and do not reflect the official views or policies of the Prison Department.

Comment

It is ten years since the Journal devoted an issue to Prison Industries in this way and indeed in the intervening years the number of articles appearing on the subject are few and far between. This might be thought surprising since work probably occupies more time in the prison regime than any other single activity, indeed it may be that we take it for granted that it should be so since our society has for so long regarded work as a natural part of man's day. It is, however, timely to return to the theme of work and industry; attitudes in the wider society are having to be reshaped in the face of an ever-growing proportion of unemployed people and we cannot be immune from this within the Service. Re-reading the 1972 issue indicates a healthy optimism for the fast expanding Directorate of Industries and Supply as it then was. Ten years on a retrenchment is taking place with other questions being asked. If the future prospect of prisoners gaining employment on release is very poor why do we base our regimes on compulsory work with work experience and skill training as the lynchpins? Why not instead concentrate our resources on preparing people to live in a society where they are unlikely to work? There are pilot schemes around the Service helping prisoners with social skills or life training—should these be the model we adopt? Or is education with emphasis on literacy and numeracy an appropriate substitute for work?

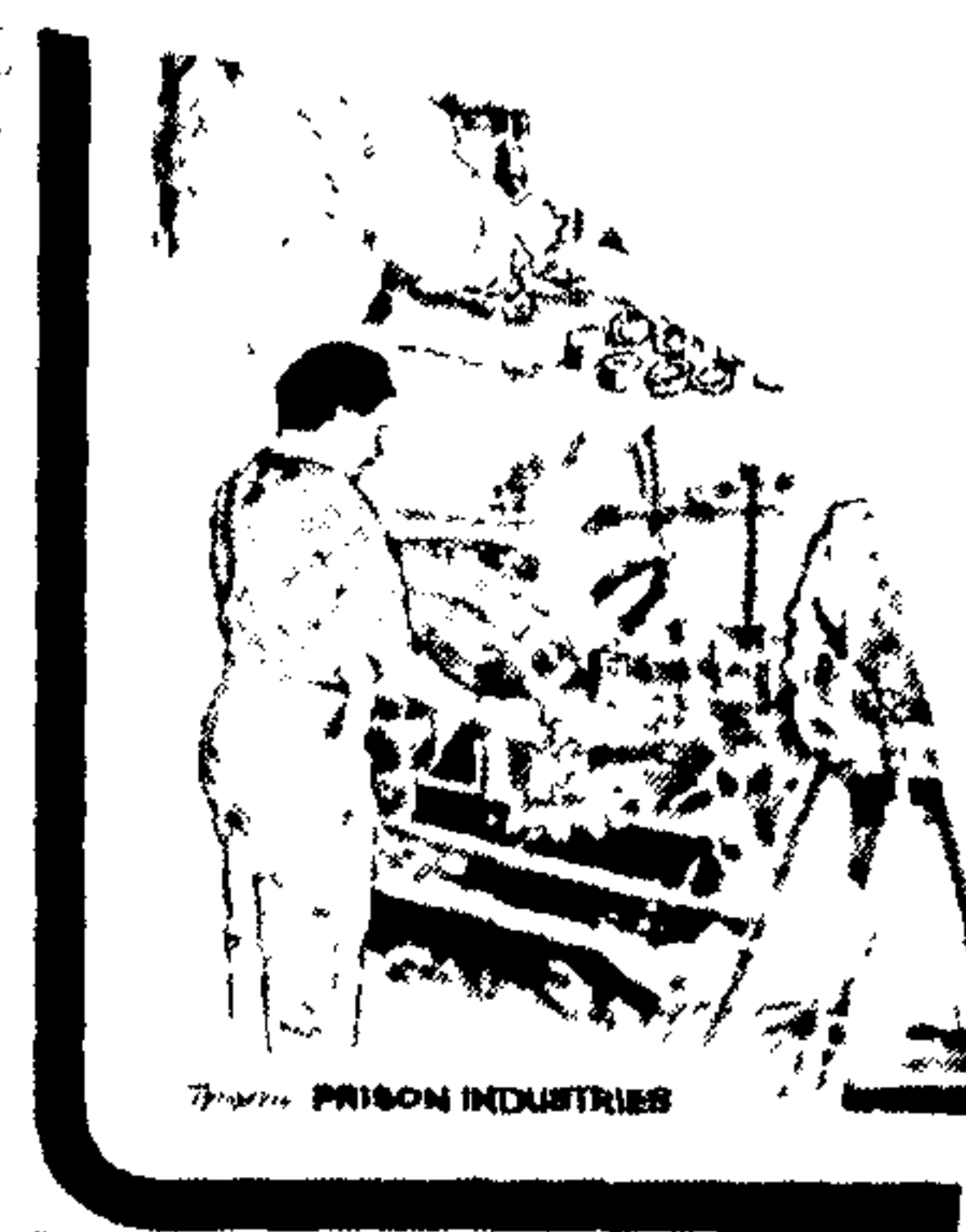
None of these questions and the arguments they raise can be isolated from cost effectiveness. In running an establishment the component activities of the regime are crucial. We know of the depressing effects of unemployment in outside society, will the same hold true for a prisoner? It may be that a shrinking supply of work will lead us to concentrate it in those places where the working week is longest but it is worth remembering that the tradition of working has provided the local prisons with building resources that can be adopted for other purposes. Work is a constructive form of association, if it goes it is important that we replace it with other constructive forms of association.

Finally two of the industrial managers who write in this issue address themselves to the position of the Industrial Manager and the Service's commitment to industry as a major and helpful part of the regime. Perhaps we shall move to industrial and non-industrial prisons, if so their message is clear; recognise the work and status of the Industrial Manager and commit the establishment to industry through its objectives and the selection of the staff to run it.

PRISON INDUSTRIES

Observations by The Director of Regimes and Services

K.J. Neale



It would be superfluous for me to trespass on the ground so adequately covered in the article by the Director of Industries and Farms (DIF) and the other excellent contributions to this issue of the *Prison Service Journal*. These articles illustrate very well how much progress is being made, the scope for developing a relevant work experience in the modern prison regime and the commercial potential of our investment. I am pleased that the *Journal* has again devoted an issue to prison industries, as it did in 1972 when I was Director of Industries and Supply. So I make only a few broad observations about the implications of a major commitment to industrial work in the wider context of the management of prison establishments and treatment regimes.

It is difficult to explain why the commitment to work, particularly industrial work, that has characterised the approach to prison regimes since the first elements of rehabilitation were introduced, still evokes sharp controversy about its validity and why prison systems throughout the world are still grappling, generally with only modest success, with the management implications of that. Perhaps work, conceptually, suffers from the fact that, unlike other regime activities, it was originally perceived and practised as a punitive task and has not yet been divested of that emotional burden. Nor do we yet understand enough about the intrinsic needs and responses of people in a coercive custodial situation to buttress the concept of organised work as a relevant experience for many for whom it has represented a major problem, in one way or another, in the outside community. In the sphere of management, the scale and relative sophistication of the means by which industrial work is organised and carried out in prisons, alongside the continuous and compelling processes that challenge operational management with more immediate priorities, is a threatening and often unwelcome dimension. We have yet to re-orientate

our management style to accommodate this in a positive and creative idiom that uses the resources of the training regimes to service the needs of operational management in a comprehensive approach that seeks to re-distribute the pressures on the organisation to advantage.

What is being done about these basic and rather spacious problems? Internationally the experience and definition of the problem is broadly similar to our own. We have a contribution to make to the solutions. On the management and production side of prison industries we are among the best. In terms of the broader aspects—a full working week, realistic wages—we have a poor record by comparison even with countries less advanced and poorer than ourselves. A study of prison management, sponsored by the Council of Europe, is expected to be published this year and will, I am confident, rehearse some of these problems in a wider context while endorsing the role of prison industries as a major factor and asset in regime management. In our Prison Service we are presently engaged in a comprehensive review of a number of subject areas that bear on the problems inherent in these very broad propositions. We

have embarked on a major re-appraisal of the policies for the role of DIF and in the new Regimes Committee we shall be looking at the possibility of new and creative developments in our efforts to devise a coherent and progressive contemporary treatment philosophy. More specifically the concept of Accountable Regimes, for which models are being developed at Featherstone and Shepton Mallet prisons, will provide the means of planning and controlling the competing resources which tend to inhibit the operational management of regimes, as well as motivating staff with a participative role and the means for management to optimise resource utilisation through a monitored system of accountability. In the field of management science and technology, we shall be seeking to develop equipment and techniques that will raise the capacity of managements to cope with these problems and provide prison industries with more advanced control systems and better management data. I like to think that alongside all this new thinking in the Prison Service, this edition of the *Journal* will stimulate and inform the debate about treatment regimes in general and prison industries in particular. That it will be of interest I am sure. It is more important that it should encourage the improvement and quality of prison regimes as an asset to prison management as well as treatment. ■

Ken Neale is Director of Regimes and Services in the Prison Department; Chairman of the Council of Europe Committee for Co-operation in Prison Affairs and a former Director of Prison Industries.

THE CLOSED SHOP

J. McCarthy



PART 1

AMSFOTEL'S GUIDE TO PRISON INDUSTRY

"I find prison industries are a considerable bore—more than that—a nuisance. Running the routine of a prison, the rising, the feeding, the exercising, the bedding and the occasional slop-out is enough in these days of continuous staff unrest without the unrealistic demands of the Directorate of Industries and Farms (DIF)".

"Work is unrealistic anyway in days where there are 3 million unemployed. It is training for the unemployment queue that we need to do: to encourage inmates to have hobbies and interests to occupy their time".

"I do not want particularly to know how much my shops produce and I am only interested in the hours men spend in them; even that is a questionable benefit when, in the last staff dispute, discipline reports went dramatically down whilst the shops were shut—and after all control is our primary task, not production".

"Not that the alternative of education is much better but at least I won't have a theoretical accountability about workshop hours and production. Education is firmly under the dominance of prison routine and has no lever to be otherwise, except examination results, but use of cells with examiner plans will cover that".

All of these comments I have heard from colleagues (will no-one rid me of this turbulent priest?) in the field. I like that expression, "in the field". To some it is a ruminating expression, reminiscent of the country bumpkin. Others feel the connotation is of a battlefield. Personally, I consider it is used as a slightly patronising expression to differentiate the managing

(or is it the nagging?) from the labouring class. However, all this is beside the point.

Rigor Mortis

There is a language, used regrettably neither by Sophocles nor Marcus Aurelius (nor indeed by Tarski), that revolves round the concept of open and closed systems. Basically, it is expedient to reveal open systems as those who like the outside world and closed systems as those who don't. (A thought: a house of prostitution would be hard to define in those terms. A convent would not; nor the Army and Navy Club.) The prison system is firmly a closed system. Closed systems have closed minds—need I say more? Our Service mind is firmly shut, with the important events of our parish paramount. Examples idly caught could be the cleanliness of toilet recesses, the staffing scheme, unchained works barrows, the amount of cannabis found behind the cigarettes sold by the canteen or, in the ultimate, isn't Headquarters terrible? Anyway, this closed/open system theory: closed systems are rigid with rigor mortis, paralysed with paranoia, angsted out of this world by anxiety defences. In short, they don't like change and anything to do with the outside world is firmly de trop. In addition, the rigidity of the organised structure means that the routine run by the uniformed staff is all-powerful. Anything that intrudes on this is dangerous and if it brings the danger of success or failure it is out, but out, of the question. Of course, we are more polite than this. We just don't acknowledge institutionally that industrial production exists. Yet it is the one inarguable positive management success criterion that we have. In my opinion, like the first Inspector General, it was always destined for assassination as organisationally inconvenient. An assassination conducted by a welter of

words like canteen, bathing, probation visits, hours of staff attendance which are more comfortable than apathy, conservatism, lack of will and poor management (which a competent manager might think nearer the truth). Personally, I'm on this humane containment kick, it's so vague as to be superbly ethereal. Is it library books, long visits and the opportunity to visit the gym or is it the intensive world of the Open University? It is the lack of definition which means the freedom to do nothing as opposed to production figures which pose the threat of having to do some (perish the thought) positive action, and I didn't get where I am today by being positively positive but by just creating the impression of such activity. This creation of an impression, covertly agreed on by most of us, consists of the taking of the best possible course of action intellectually supportable by the advanced thinkers, and at the same time non-threatening to the non-activists. Intellectually attractive and, at the same time, no naive thought of changing the status quo. Don't get your hands dirty, father, you look beautiful just sitting holding plastic flowers. The meaning of that implicit allegory eludes me but it must fit something.

When, if the needs must, I set out determined to visit my prison's 22 workshops it is a journey of exploration. One I have never actually found; one doubts if anyone else has either, but we are all bound by fear of our ignorance being discovered. Lest I gain undeserved credit, I need to say I rarely

Educated at Bedford and Sandhurst, John McCarthy has served at several establishments, including Grendon Underwood. A year at Manchester University under the Simon Fellowship Scheme gave him an opportunity to study management. He is at present Governor of Wormwood Scrubs prison.

visit more than five before ennui overtakes me. Vast areas of empty sheds with unused machines echoing to the clatter of the occasional staff tea cup. Scared inmates come into the shop about 9.20 in the morning, only to be shot out to exercise in 30 minutes in case they settle to work. In the afternoon, the shop re-opens at about 2.30 to work until 4. A total of about 10-12 hours per week. Such capital investment, such grandiose dreams, visions of thirty-five hours work with whirring machinery, production targets, schedules, patterns, profits (even that?) all now like Ozymandi.

Profit

Now, and for some years past, DIF have been trying to get back into the profit arena by threatening to take our workshops away unless we get more hours of production. Such disloyalty is vaguely hurtful. With such shops as we have, we can present a picture to ourselves and those outside of constructive activity. We can dwell lovingly in the land of what might have been, and even make it real for a few moments by the thrill of visiting the tailors' shop at the one moment of the day when production is at its peak. With such shops we can present the picture of a "complex organisation" which produces serious frowns and nods about our management expertise. After all, if I manage all this I must be competent. The fact that it is not working and I am therefore incompetent, is avoided quite easily. I throw darts at a board marked 'POA' (when they are not looking).

This rambling is all very well but maybe I should be constructive instead of knocking everything. (If you wish to follow this constructive view please go directly to Part II.) I think I feel that I consider that I am bound in vast skeins of silken wool—the debt of ages—and that unless someone starts everything off again progress is impossible. But with a new conditioned hours system starting at seven, progress could be possible. So on that note of hope I will approach the problem philosophically. What is the living day of a prisoner for? Why does he have daily exercise of one hour (I don't, do you?) Why does canteen, bathing, etc. have to be in working hours? What about shift systems in the shops? To start at the beginning again—what is the living day of a prisoner for? I suggest it is for him to lead as normal a life as possible within secure conditions so that he retains (or

increases) as much as possible of his constructive functioning, both mental and physical and spiritual. This means him, or her, being kept physically, mentally and spiritually fit. The question then arises how much should we be responsible for him doing this and how much is his responsibility? If it is his responsibility how much should we accept it as our duty to arouse in him a higher level of responsibility? These questions are against a background of the whole effect of the false environment that prison provides. Anyone who sets himself/herself up as caring for and managing others has to accept that part of their responsibility is to motivate them towards the purpose of the organisation, whatever it may be. One purpose of imprisonment is to get people to keep the law outside prison. (There are many informal purposes, I merely pick one of the formal ones for the purpose of the argument.) The problem is that we do not know at present how to pursue this purpose nor have we the resources *at present* to carry it out. An alternative purpose is to keep down the cost of incarceration, mentally, physically and financially. At the present time I opt for this choice as, whilst I realise it is possible to overcome some of the obstacles that prevent us having a reformatory influence, the will to conquer is not present nor is it likely to be present for some time to come. We are hidebound by history and blind to the holocaust of psychological damage, misery and hurt that we inflict for needlessly long periods so that eventually many inmates are deadened even to deprivation. I am not necessarily against punishment, only against pointless punishment. I am in charge of a good staff in a dilapidated, but reasonably clean, prison that stores humans in boxes. Mostly the storage space is over-used but the users adapt fairly well and the storers are humane in a straightforward sort of way. I should be proud? In fact in a way I am, but of what I do I am not. If one accepts the tenet of the sentence not being punishment I am involved in an act of overt hypocrisy, in collusion with those whom I criticise as unthinking. I flatter myself I do think. I am therefore the greater sinner. Talking about sinning (and why not?), too many in the Prison Service chaplaincy are conspicuous by their absence of prophesy in prison matters. Bureaucratic church ministers are not Christian priests. They are theologically

qualified civil servants. The civil service blessed by the presence of the Ministry in its midst reciprocates by allowing them to fill in parole reports and other with the junior governor grades. A good quid pro quo. Ave memoranda. However, in justice, we *all* know the prophetic message that needs to be given—how many of us give it? (For the relevance of this passage to prison industry see Irenaeus of Lyons and his views on the demi-urge.)

Commitment

But I must conclude. I am, like the Service, getting nowhere but filling in a lot of paper. It's called at home "Amsfoteling". So, to the point. This service could be much better than it is. The fault lies not with the staff, the fault lies not with the Director General nor with the Divisions but, in my opinion, primarily with the governor grades. If there is one thing worse than an intelligent bureaucrat, it's an unintelligent one. And yet that statement is not only provocative, but unjust. Our actual work does not demand intelligence; that quality, unfortunately, is only needed to defend the way we do it and that defence is the job of the interdepartmental civil servant. The training which governor grades receive reflects that. Diluted theory delivered by intelligent novices. Not just diluted either, but uncommitted. But there is the heart of the matter—our lack of commitment as professionals (oh dear, that word), as human beings and as Christians. It affects all areas of prison life, including industries.

You do however have to beware of one kind of commitment—commitment to change, as opposed to commitment to preserve. I didn't get where I am today by questioning critically anything (except, of course, criticism of me which is by definition anti-authority and therefore unworthy of examination). My aim has been to put aside ideals in practice, to mouth them frequently and at the same time climb the ladder as fast as possible. It's quite easy to be offensively inoffensive, make friends with those in power, go through the right display behaviour, then your work doesn't count; only important people's opinion of you. My own particular dodges are firstly to find out what the Controller's latest idea is: when you meet him, bring it up from your own brain with enthusiasm. Secondly—name drop: like, 'I was talking to the Director of Rolls Royce' or 'the Commandant of

the Police College' or 'so and so the MP, likely to be Minister or Personal Secretary to the PM'. All the world's a stage. Caution—never mention Schopenhauer—it threatens them (his music is terrible anyway). So here I am at Wormwood Scrubs. What, oh what, went wrong?

PART II

NO MORE AMSFOTELING

You will be aware from your knowledge of me that I could not have written the destructive, unbalanced, frustrated diatribe in Part I. It was of course Amsfotel who composed it. He haunts all governors of the flagship (loud drums, lowered flags, Land of Hope and Glory, three dog bark salute). So, serious I must be from now on: that is a statement of genuine intent.

I do not believe that industry can become an integral and accepted part of the service until the total organisation changes. Organisation should fit function. In my opinion, it fails in our case to fit overt function but fits only covert function (i.e. upwards accountability in terms of defensibility). Some of my evidence is as follows. The overall aim of the Service is to contain prisoners in such conditions as society, through parliament, may determine. The aims at present of this Service are:

1. humane but secure containment
2. service to the courts
3. ill-defined provision to motivated prisoners of opportunities for personal growth
4. rehabilitation, i.e. education for re-entry to the world
5. profitable industry

The first must be common to all prisons. The other four are functions requiring specific forms of organisation if they are to be efficient. The third, fourth and fifth functions are not mutually exclusive.

Staffing

If we look at open prisons they have small staffs as the security needs are minimal, though the growth or rehabilitation function may be large. Yet the overt aim is rehabilitation or growth. The organisation does not fit the function. If closed prisons are considered, the regime is for humane (?) but secure containment not for industry nor rehabilitation nor growth (leaving aside Coldingley, etc.). In fact, nearly all institutions are primarily

staffed on security grounds and not on any other, so any function apart from secure containment is inimical with the organisation. The reason for this is that political accountability demands effective containment. It does not demand much else, provided the containment is not too obviously inhumane.

Accepting the inevitability of political accountability, one way of creating greater efficiency is to create establishments organised, staffed and managed to carry out specific functions. This will mean clear direction through stated priorities for each institution. I know we have so-called functional establishments (like for example training prisons or borstals) but though described in functional terms they are not staffed nor managed to further that function.

If each region had local prisons servicing the courts; rehabilitation and/or growth prisons; and industrial prisons, then each type of institution could be staffed accordingly. Functions need not be mutually exclusive, except in industrial prisons and this article is about them (alright, alright, I know what you are thinking). In rehabilitation and growth prisons, industry can play an effective part but it will have to be subservient to the primary function. It is obvious that an industrial prison must have a 35/40 hour working week. All other activities must therefore be in the evenings and at the weekends. Objections may be raised in the form of "what about the POA?" A bargaining counter is to offer all the work, less one or two top management posts, to uniformed staff and where there are inevitable gaps in training and experience offer full-time training with a view to appointment. Parallel with this is the need to cut down the number of managers in all grades. At the same time, abandoning the existing historical parallel and warring structures of junior Governors and Chief Officers/Principal Officers.

All appointments should be to functions: e.g. institutional manager, wing manager, landing manager, reception manager. In the long term, all prison staff should enter at the present officer (junior supervisor) level. There should be real opportunities for rapid promotion. To have a single promotion structure, members will either all have to be in uniform or in civilian clothes. Industry needs flexible, organic management. In my opinion, uniform inhibits such attitudes, even if only for the reason that the uniform

has been associated in *the public's eyes* with repression and civilian clothes with sweetness and light. I know it's largely rubbish but fantasies do exist, so everyone needs to be in civilian clothes. Everyone will need to be under the civil service code. The style of management will have to fit the function of the institution, i.e. in this case that of industry. It will need to be based on organised task teams managed in a participatory style, or at least genuine consultation with the team running their own work task. Finally, the inmates. I believe man's basic need, after survival in all its forms, is to look after his family in the same way as other animals defend their families and hunt for them. Deprived of this function, forced into dependency, his anger and aggression can easily get turned inwards (into depression) or outwards (to riot and pillage). So inmates must get paid full wages so that they can *directly* support their families.

It is time I concluded. You may be thinking, it's all very well this broad brush painting but it's the details that are the snags. I said earlier we need to start again. This is my idea and one suggestion of how to do it. To extrapolate to other areas is not difficult, but other areas are not the purpose of my article. The repercussions for Headquarters would be considerable, but again that is not the purpose of my article. I would however point out that the parallel effective working of functional and geographical management is common in large multinationals. Anyway the strain of this intellectual fantasising is proving too much for me, much too much.

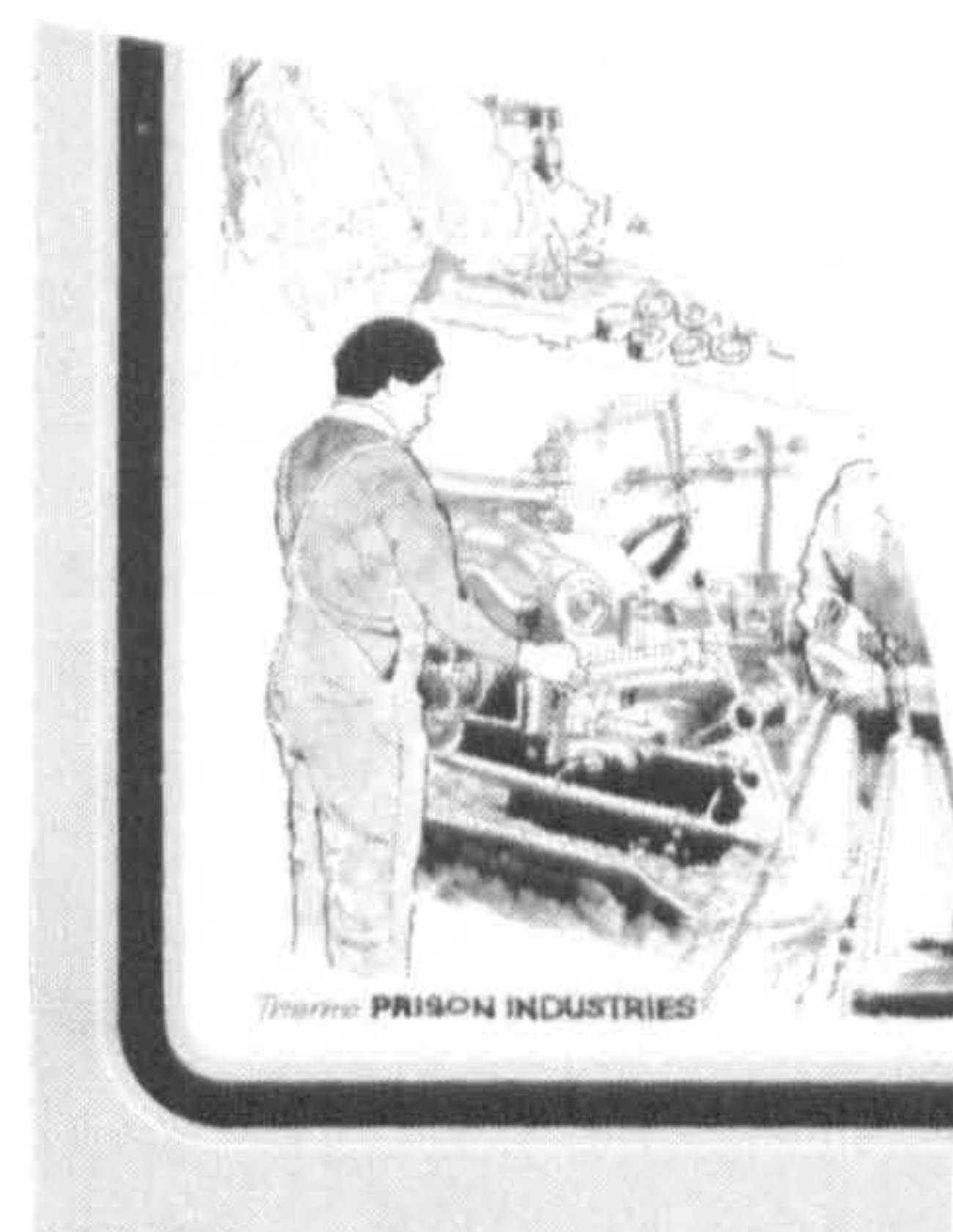
A letter came in the post for me this morning. It said: "Dear McCarthy (it said): your snide remarks at the governor grade and the service generally are not appreciated. What have you done in Wormwood Scrubs in the last year? Mouthed patronising phrases like 'My job is to get you to think'; 'I want you to grow', etc. By what right do you say these things? You get paid to do the thinking—you have no right to abdicate from your responsibilities. Signed Yours insincerely, your friend, Amsfotel". I replied: "Dear Amsfotel; If we, as citizens, accepted more of our personal responsibilities, would morals be as they are today, would the state be as it is today, would society be as it is today, would the environment be as it is today? Yours, McCarthy".

"PS: Or would industries in prison be as they are today?"

WORKING FOR THE FUTURE

J. Anderson

*"A programme of useful work should be established at the prison, not as a treatment programme, but simply because this is regarded in our society as a substantial part of the life of the ordinary adult". (Norval Morris in *The Future of Imprisonment*)*



Why industry in prison at all? It can be argued, cogently and persuasively, that if society is taking the drastic step of at least temporarily banishing into exile some of its members who for one reason or another don't fit in and can no longer be accommodated in the community, then perhaps with an eye to their return, it is in everyone's interest that they should not lose touch with ordinary, everyday life. Hence the emphasis on prison replicating as nearly as possible in a closed environment the conditions and norms of the world outside. Hence Coldingley—with its industrial emphasis and the underlying recognition that not only are prisoners human beings but that one day they will also be released. Simplistic though it may seem, it is a belief worth holding on to because not only does it link the past, present and future in both social and personal terms but also makes some sense of the currently unfashionable concepts of 'treatment' and 'rehabilitation'; not that the authorities are attempting to mould other people into a pattern of conformity still less that, like the little girl in the fairy tale, we hold the secrets of the magic porridge pot. Essentially, it is about acceptance in the 'here and now' and expectations of the future. As prison administrators we are doing no-one a service and are deluding ourselves if we think we are in the business of, on the one hand, doing things for other people and, on the other hand, judging them.

The difficulty is in being able to hold in tension the acceptance and expectation. Without the acceptance, we get entangled in delusions about power and social engineering, ranging from

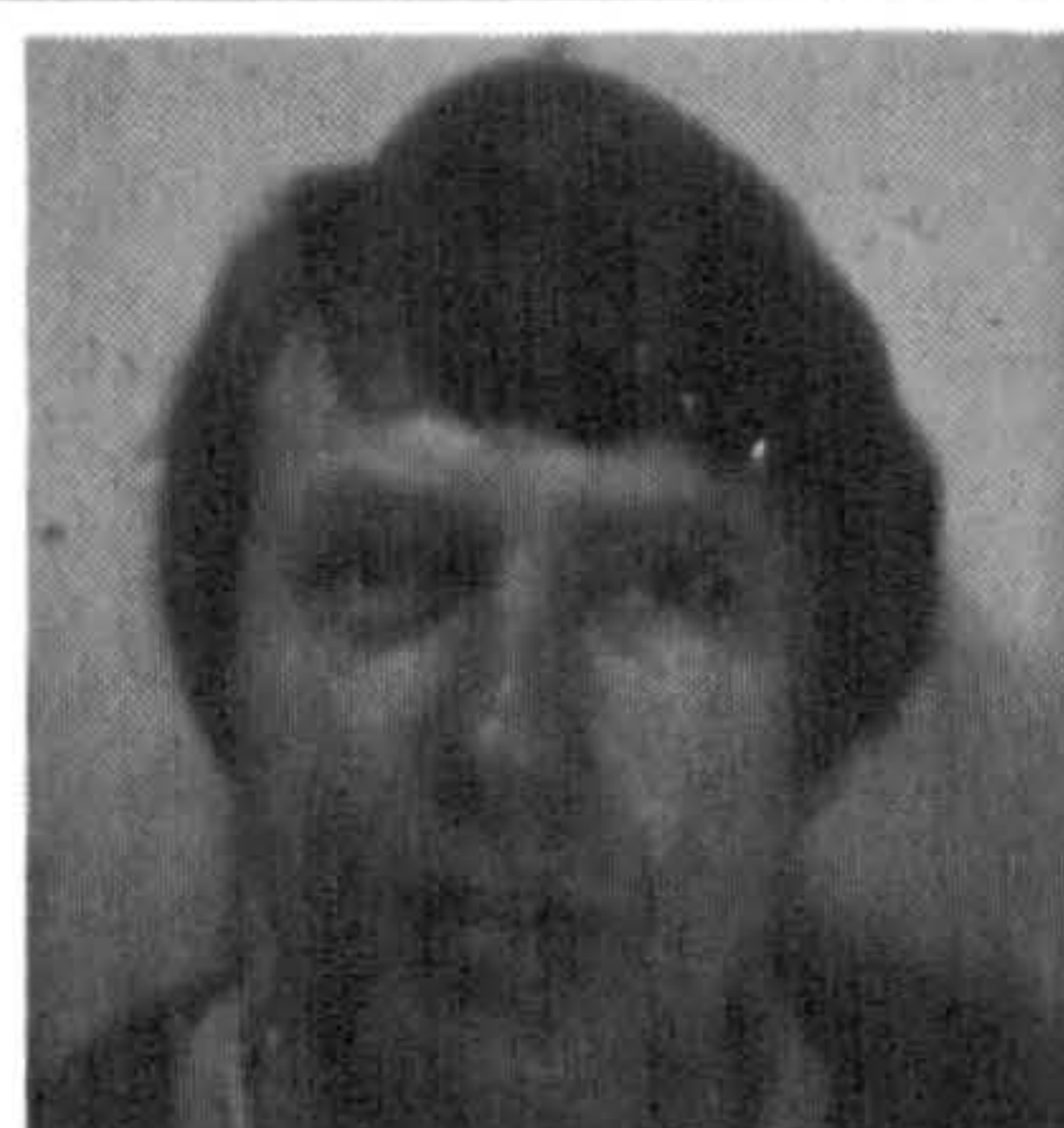
behaviour therapy to 'short sharp shocks'. When we discover that these approaches don't achieve the desired objectives we fall prey to the guilt and depression which society feels about offenders; but society, usually unable to acknowledge these feelings, discharges them on to its agents who have been entrusted not only with the care of the prisoners but also with ensuring that they mend their ways. Without the expectation and the future we drift into an easy and comforting assumption of our role as the only ones who care, the only ones who can tolerate badness, together with the belief that offenders will always be with us, nothing can be changed and that it is both impudent and unrealistic for outsiders to suppose that people will emerge from incarceration any different from what they were when they came in. Or, as Goethe succinctly put it: "If you treat an individual as he is he will stay as he is, but if you treat him as if he were what he ought to be and could be, he will become as he ought to be and could be".

But, however good our intentions are, it is impossible in a closed environment to replicate exactly the conditions of the outside working world and we need to ask ourselves

whether this is really what we want to do anyway. If it lies in our power to do otherwise, do we seriously think it desirable (or even moral) to attempt to reproduce in prison the conditions in Britain today with millions unemployed, a deep sense of alienation and frustration, and national policies which reflect an obsession with competition rather than co-operation? As Paul Tournier observed in a recent interview, what is lacking is a "sense of the person, a quality of personal relationship. The triumph of science and technology, the automation of production, the bureaucratic centralisation of the State, even leisure mass-produced, are all taking us more and more rapidly into a world of things, and into the eclipse of the person". Perhaps in prison it should be a different experience that is on offer, an alternative way of looking at life, options that afford different solutions to problems and hold out the hope of change.

Industry certainly has a place in the scheme of things. To feel that one still has a stake in the community, or a contribution to make, that one's work is valued, that the end-product is socially useful and reflects creativity and craftsmanship—these are the

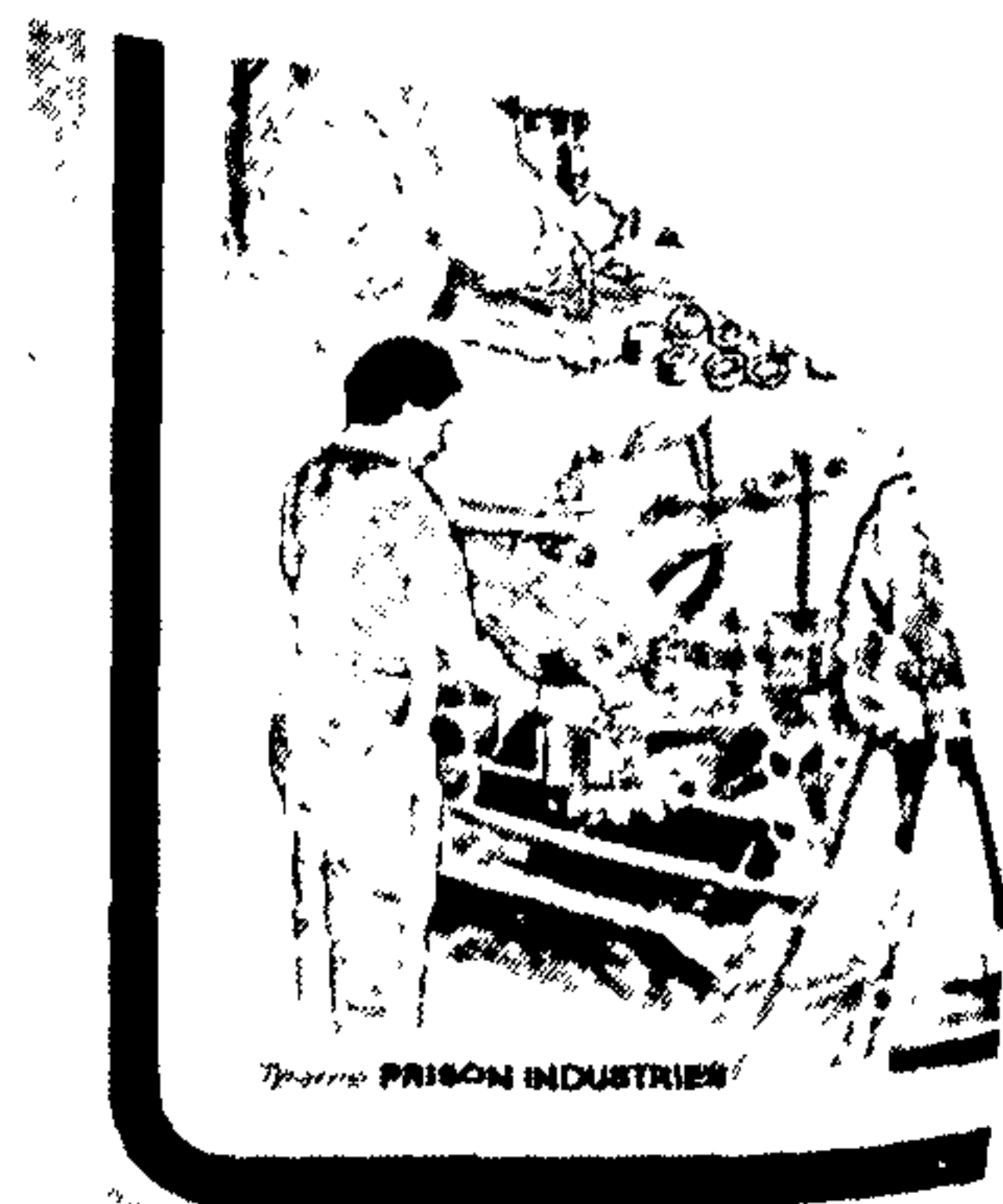
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Jim Anderson joined as a Borstal Housemaster at Hollesley Bay Colony in 1959. He served at Portland, Leyhill and in the Prison Department Inspectorate before becoming Governor of Huntercombe Borstal in 1973. Four years later he was appointed to Coldingley Prison where he is in charge of an establishment in which industry is the major consideration in the regime.

A PLEA FOR REALITY

*Contributed by two prisoners
from Coldingley*



The present industrial scene in prison can be compared to the old-fashioned treadmill—a great deal of energy being expended on getting nowhere—devoid of purpose, incentive, realism and a sense of achievement.

At the outset of a person's term of imprisonment, rehabilitation should be the over-riding factor in determining his treatment in prison. Whilst we concede that this is by no means an original thought, it cannot be stressed too often if there is to be any constructive change in the present Penal System.

It is patently obvious from the present policy of sentencing that more people are being imprisoned, more people are spending more time behind bars. The increase in the prison population belies the myth that the punishment of prison is a deterrent. Surely any intelligent study of the present system will reveal that it has failed abysmally. No one can deny the fact that there is no more profitable investment than in trained human resources. Rehabilitation and re-education must be significant factors if there is to be any hope of producing individuals who may be successfully integrated into society.

We feel that the 'Work Ethic', (in the widest sense) is an essential ingredient for any element of success. How better to launch this, than through 'Prison Industry'. The present system as it stands, is totally inadequate, unrealistic and does not bear any resemblance to its outside counterpart.

We have to admit that any realistic re-organisation will be a costly exercise but if this leads, as we believe, to a falling re-conviction rate, the investment will be more than worthwhile.

If the idea of re-organisation were to be accepted, we submit that it should be initiated and closely monitored by experienced industrialists from the private sector where realism has to be the order of the day.

We advisedly advocate assistance and expertise from 'outside' because

the apathy which is all too prevalent in prison, extends to both staff and inmates alike, purposeful motivation from both sides is sadly lacking.

Nowhere more than in the financial area would realism come to the fore. Firstly, individual prison schemes would have to become financially viable and secondly, prisoners' earnings should be raised to a comparable level with wages outside. Complementary to this, it would be expected that inmates would have to contribute towards their keep and also to outside commitments. Compulsory savings should be introduced thereby reducing claims being made upon Social Security when prisoners were eventually released.

We contend that the form of industry which we have suggested is more closely aligned to realism than anything which at present exists. We make no apology for the constant use of the word 'realism' because it is essential in any constructive effort to rehabilitate.

It is our strong contention that Prison Industry should not be confined to mundane and repetitive tasks, there should be ample scope for useful creativity, neither should non-manual work be excluded in any future programme.

Education is very much a poor relation of the prison system and any society or community which ignores Education is doing so at its peril.

Educational facilities should not be

regarded as an impediment to the industrial scene but rather become an integral part.

A system of 'Day Release' should be made available in all establishments, including those operating a 40 hour week, and students should not be financially penalised for attending such courses.

A re-examination of the industrial and educational facilities which could be introduced along the lines we have suggested would bring with them a feeling of purposeful fulfilment, which at present is virtually non-existent.

In Coldingley Prison some attempt has been made to create something approaching the type of 'work situation' we have previously outlined. However, the absence of any sense of realism, liaison and co-ordination prevents the industry achieving any credible viability or any parity with outside concerns. It is not possible in a short article such as this to make a detailed analysis of Coldingley other than to say that if a genuine attempt at partnership between civilian staff, at all levels, and inmates in the subject of decision-making were to be introduced, this would go a long way to introducing a new impetus into what appears to be a slowly disintegrating organisation.

What is wanted are fresh ideas, a lot more involvement with people outside—people outside the Civil Service e.g. industrialists, academics, accountants and trade unionists, etc.

We do not pretend that anything which we have suggested could be regarded as a miraculous discovery or indeed, anything sensationally revealing, they are simply our thoughts which we sincerely believe might be food for

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Prison Industries and Farms:

a retrospective

P. Canovan

Director, DIF



The Prison Service Journal last devoted a major part of one of its issues to Prison Industries and Farms in April 1972. Ken Neale (who was the Director of what was then known as the Directorate of Industries and Supply) began his introductory article "We take it as a compliment that the work of the Directorate should feature so prominently in this issue of the Prison Service Journal and we are grateful to the Editorial Board for their interest in our affairs". Almost a decade later on his words can be repeated but not without some feeling that this latest interest in DIF's affairs on the part of the Editorial Board is coloured to some extent with a desire to take a retrospective view of what industries and farms have achieved and failed to achieve over the last decade together with a wish for some indication of future perspectives.

A decade ago prison workshops had just begun to emerge from the cottage industry stage. Cottage industries have, of course, many advantages as far as industries which have to operate in the context of the Prison Service are concerned; they are labour intensive, require virtually no capital plant or machinery, require little training for the operatives and do not demand skilled instructors or a quantified and regular workforce. Their principal disadvantage, however, is that their products are unmarketable. This is a fairly decisive drawback. It may be recalled that two of the better products of prison workshops in those days were rye grass judo mats and wicker skips: no market exists for such products today; they have long been superseded by superior synthetic alternatives along with all the other products of cottage industries. The industrial consultants who advised DIS a decade ago to move away from cottage industries towards the model of industries in the outside world were well aware that the days

of cottage industries were numbered; they advised DIS to develop industries modelled as closely as possible on those in outside industry because only in this way could regular supplies of work be obtained and it would only be possible for Prison Industries to produce products of marketable quality, price and delivery if they could compete with modern outside industries. Developments over the decade have proved that this advice was right: shortage of work has not been a problem for Prison Industries with a few minor exceptions; capital investment in plant and

machinery and staff has enabled industries to produce a quality and quantity of products that would have been inconceivable 10 years ago and many of these products are as good as or even better than the products of outside industry.

But if Prison Industries have been successful in producing goods which can compete for quality and price with some of the best of British industry, it is also true to say that in several important respects they have not been permitted to live up to the expectations of those early days. In 1970/71 for example, industries employed more than 16,000 prisoners for an average working week of 26 hours: the annual total of man hours worked was nearly 22 million. By 1975/76 the number of inmates employed had fallen to 14,400, the average working week to 23½ hours and the annual total of man hours worked to 17.5 million. By 1979/80 the position had further deteriorated; the number of prisoners employed was under 13,000,

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After working as a school master at Ampleforth College and subsequently as a lecturer and senior lecturer in a College of Education, Mr. Canovan joined the Home Office in 1971 and worked in the General Department. He was transferred in 1973 to the Prison Department where among other duties he was the Secretary to the Prisons Board and the Prison Department Committee. In 1978 on promotion to Assistant Secretary he took charge of the Nationality Division and in 1980 became Director of Industries and Farms.

Value for Money

I. E. Scarlett

Commercial Manager



The government's purchasing policy is brief and to the point: *value for money*. In the past, this has tended to be interpreted as the lowest price but it is now widely recognised that this is too narrow a definition. In assessing value for money, one has to take into account wider implications; for example, the assurance of a continuous source of supply, the back-up service that will be provided in the future. Those responsible for purchasing are familiar with the concept of value for money and would automatically take it into consideration in carrying out their task. I would like to consider in this article the much wider implications for Prison Industries and the Prison Department.

We are all too well aware of the current economic difficulties which the country is facing; it is a subject that is constantly in the news. It would be unrealistic to expect the Prison Department to be unaffected. Prison Industries first felt the effects in the oil crisis of 1973 and since then the problems have multiplied. At first, the difficulties were external: problems in the supply of work and the supply of materials. But, during the past three years, the effects have also been felt internally, primarily due to the introduction of financial limits and (more recently) the pressures on Prison Industries to reduce the net deficit on our votes. These pressures are not only felt directly, but also indirectly, because the need for all departments to keep within their financial limits affects every aspect of prison operations.

S & T and Works

Before considering the various aspects in more detail, it is important to stress

that the policies and the aims and objectives for Prison Industries have not changed. We recognise that the Directorate of Industries and Farms (DIF) provides a service to the Prison Department. In the context of this article, the first task is to provide a service to the prison community as a whole. Our main customer is the Supply and Transport (S & T) Department. It is generally known that we manufacture the majority of inmates' clothing and cell furniture and provide a laundry service. However, it is not widely known that we also provide a design and development service for all the products required by S & T for Prison Department use. We have, over the past few years, been looking at a number of articles to see how they could be made more cheaply and give better value for money. We are now intensifying these efforts and the technical staff in the three product groups will be liaising with S & T to identify those areas where there are

the greatest savings. Using the facilities of the Clothing and Textiles Development Shop at Reading Prison and the Engineering and Woodworking Development Shop at Portsmouth Prison, they will redesign articles based upon performance specification and try to ensure that they are fit for the purpose they are required and at the least cost to the Department; not just the lowest initial price, but to ensure best value for money during the life of the article, taking into account servicing, maintenance, wear and tear, etc.

It is not only intended to give this service for the articles manufactured by Prison Industries but also to the items which are still purchased by the Supply and Transport department because Prison Industries are not yet capable of their manufacture—for example, prison officers' uniforms.

Another major area of manufacture of items for domestic use is for the Works Department: doors, windows,

After qualifying as a Mechanical and Production Engineer, Ivor Scarlett worked for a number of companies manufacturing a wide range of products before joining the Prison Service in January 1970, being appointed Commercial Manager in the Directorate of Industries and Farms in 1975.

security grills, concrete products, brushes—to name just a few. Because there is a much wider range of products manufactured in smaller quantities, it is much more difficult and requires more resources to redesign and develop the many articles required, and, therefore, progress will be slower, but I am sure there are areas where the effort is justified and there is scope for obtaining better value for money.

Other Departments

After the Prison Department itself, our next priority is to seek work from government departments, nationalised industries and local authorities. In this respect we are a Priority Supplier and it is the Government's policy that Prison Industries should have first preference, together with other Priority Suppliers, for work from government departments. However, it has to be recognised that all government departments are currently under pressure to reduce expenditure and get better value for money. The implications for Prison Industries are straightforward. Our existing customers—MOD, PSA, and others—have been indulgent in the past because they have recognised our difficulties: we were habitually late on delivery; sometimes there were quality problems, and sometimes we were unable to meet the quality assurance standards required by private industry. These government departments can no longer afford us this facility. If we fail to deliver the goods in the current year, they cannot carry the money over to the next year. They want assurances that contracts they place will be delivered on time and all the articles will be to specification. If we fail to give this service, they can obtain it elsewhere, and already this year we have lost millions of pounds worth of orders because of our poor performance during the last financial year. In future, if we are to retain, let alone expand the volume of work we obtain from government departments, we have got to considerably improve our performance.

Outside Industry

That capacity we cannot fill by manufacturing for our own domestic use or from the public sector, requires us to seek work from the private company. A decade ago there were few problem areas. We could obtain work without serious difficulties or complaints from outside industry but, with many firms in financial difficulties and unemployment rising, every market area is

sensitive. We are under increasing pressure to cease manufacturing products which will, directly or indirectly, be in competition with private industry. We have long had support from the CBI and TUC and there have been consultations for many years. In 1970, we established the joint CBI, TUC, Prison Department tripartite meetings which are held twice a year. At these meetings, we have consultation on our future development plans and discuss sensitive areas. We also consider specific problems to try and find acceptable solutions. These meetings have been of considerable benefit to Prison Industries and have enabled us to avoid any serious conflicts to date.

We also have had discussions with various trade associations, and when we identify a specific problem we try and do what we can to avoid direct conflict. In some cases the solution is to change our products or to seek alternative orders. There are obviously serious production management difficulties, but also, on occasions, the need to change the plant and equipment.

To help reduce these problems we have developed a policy of marketing products which will be substitutes for imports or, alternatively, products which can be exported, so that instead of competing with British companies we are competing with foreign companies. This requires considerably more effort and resources in DIF.

A further effect of the current economic climate is greater competition for the amount of work that is available. Government departments are looking for better value for money for the cash they have to spend. So does private industry. They require reduced price for the products. They are seeking a reduction in overhead costs. Profit margins for private companies are therefore very tight and there are cash flow problems and private firms are therefore seeking better credit facilities.

Training

Earlier, I referred to the service we provide to the prison community, but the service for which we are better known is the provision of work for inmates to provide industrial training experience, where possible, comparable to that in outside industry. Where this is not possible, at least to occupy in useful employment those inmates who are available for employment in industry. To do this for each establishment, we have in the past agreed plans

for the various establishments, taking into account the workshops available and the needs of the establishment. Until recently it had been assumed that other resources would be available, i.e. staff, capital plant and equipment, tools, maintenance and, above all, work.

Co-operation

This assumption is no longer valid. DIF does not have unlimited resources and it has to remain within its budgets. Any net losses above that planned for and agreed with the Prison Department's Finance Division have serious implications for the Prison Department. We have made considerable progress, certainly during the past decade, in improving the level of resources provided for industries and improving the quality and quantity of work. Standards have been laid down for the provision of industrial resources in all new establishments and these are outlined in the FE.11 guide. But with the current financial constraints on the Prison Department the provision of these resources can only be justified if they are fully and effectively used and provide an adequate financial contribution to offset the cost of the resources provided.

This is not a problem for DIF alone; operational management also has a significant part to play. The quality and volume of output is primarily a matter for operational management. But we must not overlook the important contributions that can be made by other Headquarters divisions. The Directorate of Works is required to ensure the plant and equipment installed is properly maintained, breakdown kept to a minimum, and when resources need to be changed to enable industries to improve efficiency or to manufacture new products, that the necessary work is carried out. Other Headquarters divisions also have an important part to play, either in the provision of services or when developing their policies. Ideally, there should be a corporate plan for the Department in which DIF plays its role. I accept that there are many difficulties in doing this, particularly when there are many pressures upon the Prison Department and it is difficult to predict the future with any degree of assurance. Nevertheless, I believe that this is a worthwhile objective that we should strive for. It would help us to avoid duplication of effort, as well as facilitate a better use of resources.

Improvements

I believe it is necessary in these difficult circumstances for DIF to take the lead and initiate consultation with regions and establishments and Headquarters divisions to identify the problem areas and to agree what can be done collectively to bring about improvements in the use of resources and to give the Department as a whole better value for money. Efforts towards this end have already commenced and working parties are looking at a number of aspects of this problem which should help bring about long-term benefits. The initiative has been taken to have consultations with regions and establishments concerning a number of selected workshops to see what could be done to increase workshop hours and improve workshop performance. This initiative can be extended as far as resources permit. Despite the difficulties, targets for improvements in the "macro" and "micro" sense should be established for the next few years, as worthwhile improvements cannot be brought about quickly.

Unless we can do this and bring about improvements, the likely outcome is a progressive deterioration in industries, with workshops being closed due to lack of work or resources,

inmates being without work and an increasing net loss in the operation of industries, which would lead to an even further reduction in the level of resources provided.

The early 1970's were a period of optimism and expansion, a period in which industries were largely successful and developing. The late 1970's were a period of growing difficulties and frustrations. The May Inquiry and the resultant reassessment of the Prison Department have helped us to bring the wider issues into perspective and to examine the options open to the Department. I believe Prison Industries are at the cross-roads. The potential is there for Prison Industries to make an increasing contribution to the Prison Department. Alternatively we could see a vicious spiral of declining industries and growing dissatisfaction by all concerned as the resources are reduced. I would hope that, instead of this being seen as an insurmountable problem, it is seen as an opportunity for Prison Industries to be outward-looking and to develop in co-operation with all concerned, rather than become inward-looking and isolationist. I believe that Prison Industries give good value for money and can do even better in the future. ■

WORKING FOR THE FUTURE
continued from page 5

important things and it is intensely regrettable that in tangible terms the rewards and remuneration are so few. One of the most telling episodes in Alan Paton's *Cry, The Beloved Country* is where the pastor from Johannesburg says to his unsophisticated brother visiting from the hill country that the tragedy is not that things are broken; it is that they are not mended again... "but the house that is broken, and the man that falls apart when the house is broken, these are the tragic things". ■

A PLEA FOR REALITY
continued from page 6

thought in any future industrial policy. There is one important plea which we would like to make, and that is, that any ideas from whatever source should not be lost in the ponderous deliberations of 'Establishment Type Committees'.

In conclusion, we emphasise the value of real prison occupations as an aid to rehabilitation. These must be pursued with relentless realism and honesty if they are to provide any moral example and purpose. ■

PRISON INDUSTRIES AND FARMS *continued from page 7*

the average working week was 22 hours and the annual total of man hours was 14.85 million. The only gleam of hope in this depressing picture was that the value of industrial output per man hour had shown a steady rise from £1.05 in 1970/71 to £1.647 in 1975/76 and to £1.782 in 1979/80*.

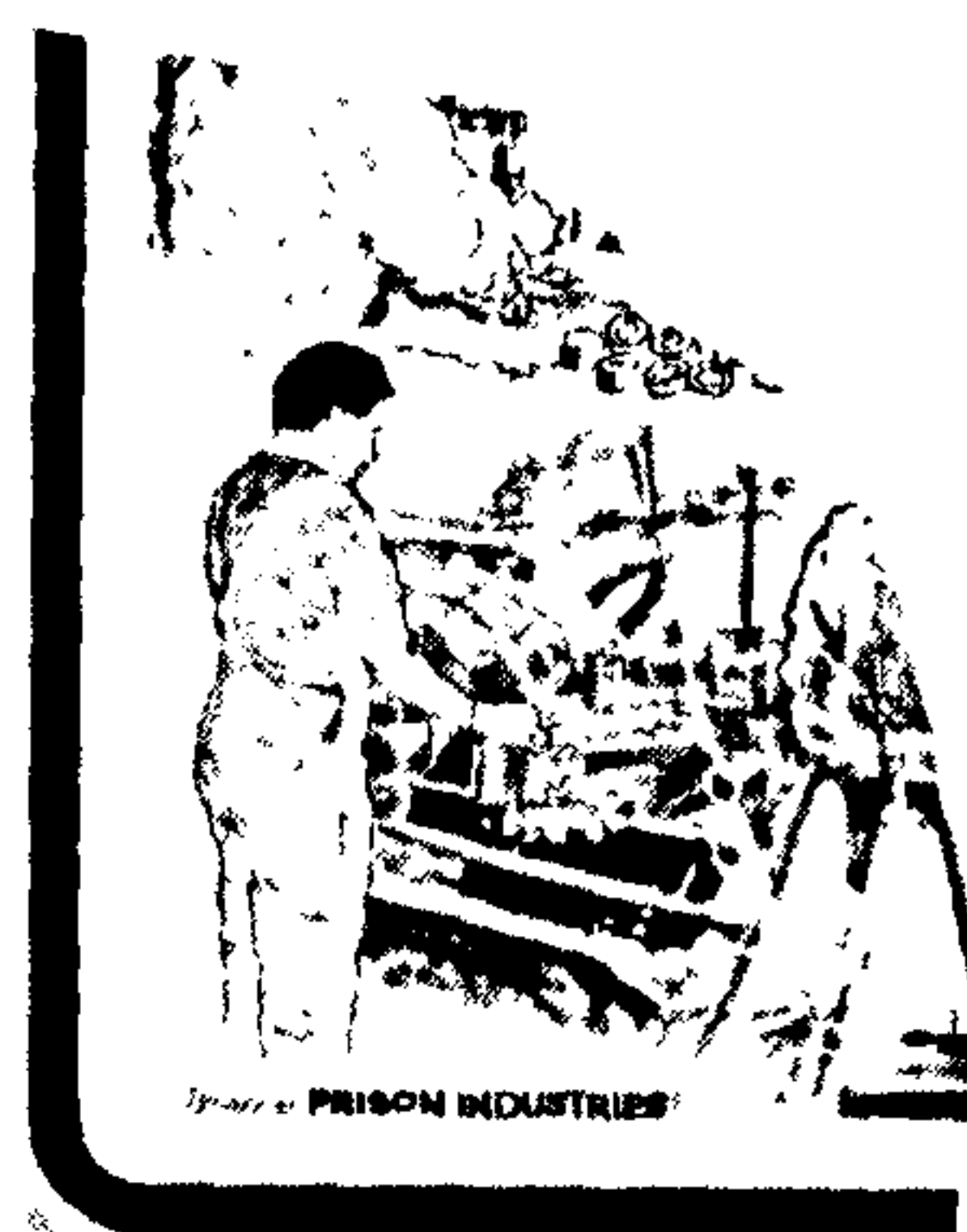
The reasons why there has been this severe decline in the number of prisoners employed and the amount of time for which they are employed have been analysed and discussed many times over. This is not the place to rehearse the arguments yet again and it would be invidious of me to use the Prison Service Journal as a pulpit to engage in prosyletising. But the question must be asked what reasons DIF has for expecting that the decline in hours of production over the last decade will not continue in the future given that the competition for inmate time and labour shows little sign of abating and that the financial and manpower constraints will remain for the foreseeable future. The point has frequently been made that the loss made on DIF's trading account in recent years is nothing more than the net cost of occupying many thousands of prisoners for millions of hours in the course of

the year and in comparison with the costs of other regime activities is infinitesimally small; industries are the cheapest way of occupying prisoners and alternative means of employing even the reduced numbers currently in workshops would involve prohibitive costs. Should it not therefore be accepted that as prison industries exist to give a service in providing occupation for prisoners, they should be absolved from the expectation that it produce an overall favourable trading account?

This argument embodies some degree of basic truth and is attractive in many respects. Its fatal flaw, however, is that it requires the assumption that resources can continue to be provided irrespective of whether those resources are used economically and efficiently. It is simply not acceptable that resources provided by public money should continue to be used inefficiently and uneconomically and it can be expected that the current pressure on the Department to use its resources better will not only continue but intensify. It is for these reasons, if for no others, that DIF expects that in the near future pressure to make better use of industrial resources will begin to bring about a reversal of the decline in work-

shop hours and manning levels and so lead to a steady increase in productive hours in prison workshops. The British public does not appear to have many expectations from the prison service but it is difficult to believe that it would find it acceptable that the average working day for prisoners is no more than four hours. The average taxpayer has to work for something like an eight hour day and it would be an unenviable task to try to convince the man on the Clapham omnibus that the same should not be required of the average prisoner. It will depend on whether or not prisoners will begin to be allowed to work for something like a normal working day during the next decade that prison industries and farms will achieve what they are potentially capable of as a minimum; that is to say of achieving a level of resource utilisation which completely covers the cost of providing the resources. If more than this minimum target can be achieved and prison industries and farms can begin to make a financial contribution to the Department, the next issue of the Prison Service Journal devoted to industries should make interesting reading. ■

*Figures adjusted to 1979-80 money values.



THE FUTURE OF THE CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRIES

J. Hewitson

Clothing and Textile Industries provide employment for more than 8,000 inmates and bring in about half the DIF income. Our industries consist of the traditional Tailoring, Weaving, Light and Heavy textiles as well as the more recently developed Knitwear industry. More than half our output is for internal supply and includes inmates and officers clothing and domestic textiles for example, towelling and sheeting. The balance is made up by Post Office mailbags and a range of clothing, equipment and domestic textiles for a number of other Government Departments leaving about 10% of our capacity for sales to the private sector.

Our industries are well-established and in the main well-equipped. We consider our role to be the employment foundation from which newer or future industries can develop. Fundamental to our success is the ability to sell. If we are not selling, we cannot provide work. You will therefore see how absolutely vital it is for us to satisfy customers and thereby preserve a source of supply of work for the future.

Herein lies our problem. Without doubt we must be about the most unreliable supplier of clothing and textile products in the country. 90% of our contracts, both internal and for outside sales, are running late on deliveries. This is not the only problem but it is the most important and generally our performance across the board is not one which inspires confidence or encourages suppliers to place work with us. This deficiency is particularly significant when one realises how fierce the competition is for work in the industry as a whole.

Every country in the world makes clothing and most have a textile industry. As in prisons, labour-intensive

clothing is an attractive base industry for developing countries and because of their low wage costs these countries have a competitive advantage. The UK market is one that has been easy to penetrate, and it is estimated that in 1980 imports of clothing and textiles took 60% of the UK market in volume terms. This has taken its toll on the UK industry in terms of mill closures and redundancies because low-cost imports not only reduce the size of the home market but also depress the overall price level.

Combined with the world recession, high interest rates and the loss of competitiveness caused by the high exchange rates, this has created extremely difficult trading conditions. Problems have been compounded by rising energy costs in the UK. The textile pipeline is a long one, from fibre production through spinning weaving/knitting, make-up and distribution until the end product reaches the final customer and massive destocking at every stage, both in the private and public sector, has resulted in a severe cumulative reduction in

orders. Destocking, combined with company closures, has brought substantial amounts of bankrupt stocks onto the market. All this has resulted in a fall of 1% in the last twelve months in the price of clothing and textiles with inevitable consequences for profitability and future investment.

Against this sombre background it has been necessary for all those involved in the clothing and textile industry to take a hard look at where the future lies and what steps are needed to combat the adverse market situation. Even looking beyond the current recession, it is unlikely that overall demand for textiles and clothing will show rapid growth. There will, however, be attractive opportunities in particular areas. Firms will need to be flexible enough to take advantage of fashion swings and to use their closeness to the market to respond quickly to changing demand; to improve their use of designers; to maximise their efficiency in terms of manpower and machinery. The UK alone is unlikely to provide a market of adequate size

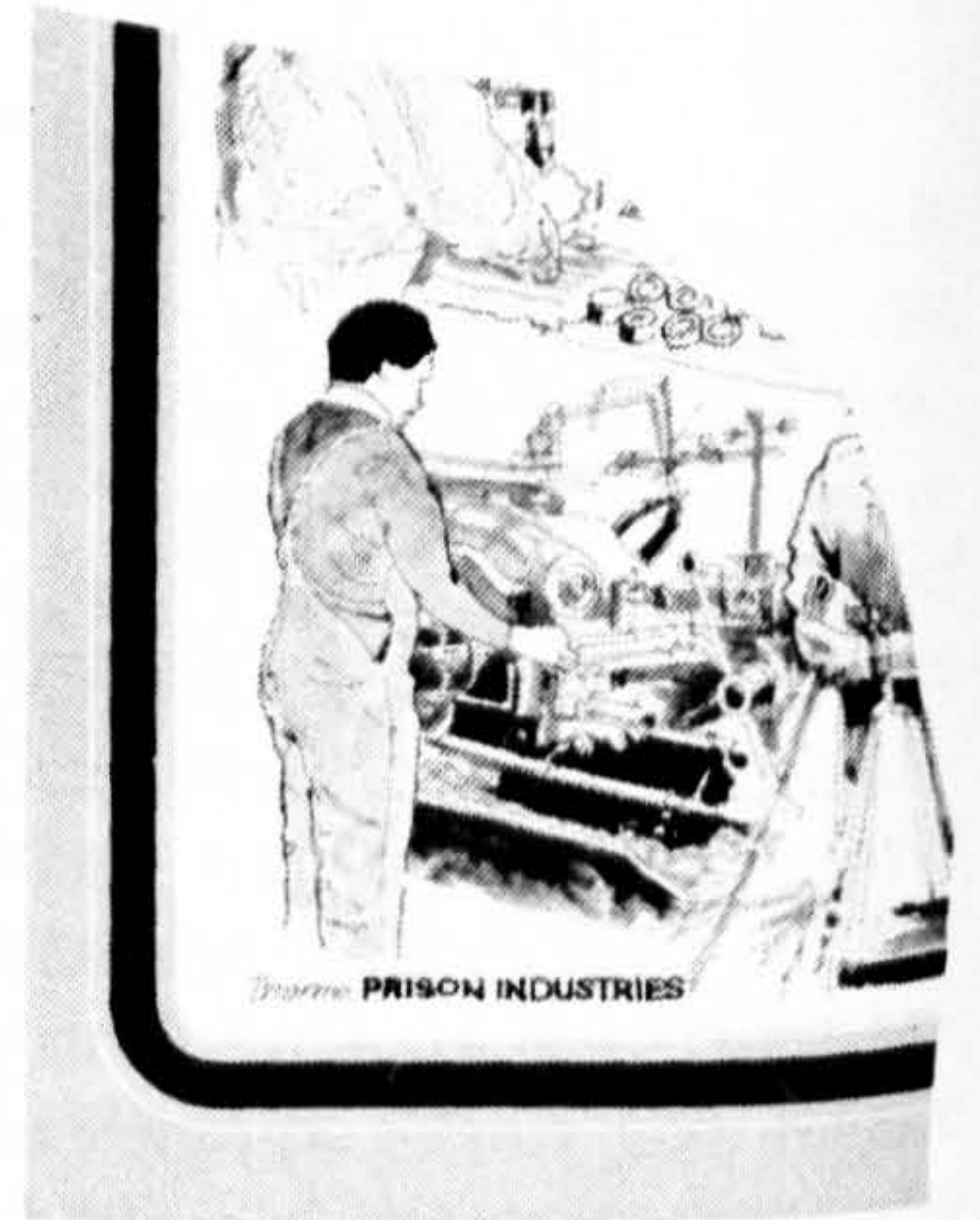
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Jack Hewitson joined the Prison Service in 1962 as a Tailoring Instructor at Leyhill Prison and served at Wormwood Scrubs and Wandsworth before leaving to work for the South African Bureau of Standards for two years. After returning to the UK he was appointed in 1973 to his present post of Clothing and Textile Group Manager in the Directorate of Industries and Farms.

PRISON INDUSTRIES AND THE TOY MARKET

Electronic Toys and Games

D. Beaton



Why did DIF decide to enter the Toy Market? A blunt and challenging question but one calling for an answer. Toys is an extremely competitive industry; most of the year's production is aimed at the Christmas buying period so that all production plans have to be laid approximately one year ahead of demand with no guarantee that the products will be sold. In recent years these kinds of difficulties have led to the demise of some of the country's most famous and traditional toy manufacturers. But from DIF's point of view these difficulties are more than offset by some very considerable advantages; prisoners seem to enjoy manufacturing toys, presumably because of the association with children; toys are attractive and pleasing to the eye, particularly in comparison with the usual run of prison industries products like coat-hangers and mailbags; toys can usually be manufactured in small workshops because they are less space-consuming than most other industries and last, but by no means least, the manufacturing of toys is potentially capable of contributing very substantially towards the Department's finances.

According to information obtained from the Department of Trade and Industry index the annual potential size of the toy industry is calculated to be some £12 million for wooden toys, £15 million for tubular toys, £20 million for mechanical toys and an incalculably large market for electronic toys—the forecast for the United States of America in 1979 was some £150 million. It is clear that the markets are vast and to some extent at least this removes one of the major constraints on Prison Industries in that Prison Industries aim to take no more than 3 per cent of any one marketing segment. This is an essential consideration, particularly in the current economic climate, because too deep a penetration of any one single market gives rise to objections from trade associations and trades unions. It will be appreciated that many parts of the toy industry are dominated by imports; if Prison Industries seek to compete in those markets it will encounter much less opposition from trade associations and

virtually none from trades unions.

Compared with outside industry, PRINDUS toy manufacture can be classed as being medium-sized in the wooden, mechanical and electronic toy side of the business and quite small, currently, on the tubular-steel side. Wooden, mechanical and tubular toys are in concept quite traditional and familiar to everyone. Electronic toys, however, are a completely different proposition, and because of this they form the main subject of this article.

Electronic toys are highly sophisticated and call for a considerable degree of technology, particularly in the

microprocessor field. Because of this high degree of technology there is an element of commercial risk; new technology replaces the old at an alarming rate. Thus, efforts have to be made to determine a product with a reasonable and extendable life-cycle, if at all possible. Secondly, the risk of taking too much time from the inception of ideas to the launch of the product is very real; ideas can be readily exploited by other manufacturers. Thirdly, there is the ever-present cloud on the horizon that could signify interest from the Far East where it is extremely difficult to compete on equal terms.

Recognising these problems, it was felt that, provided PRINDUS did not over-reach itself and expand only on the basis of its increased knowledge and experience, then it was right for it to enter the electronic toy market. After all, was not the Government itself encouraging industry to enter the microprocessor field?

So, in 1979, DIF's marketing agent together with our technical specialists defined the design parameters of the Quick-Fire Target Game.

It is a fact that in the commercial world a production output in significant quantities can usually be attained

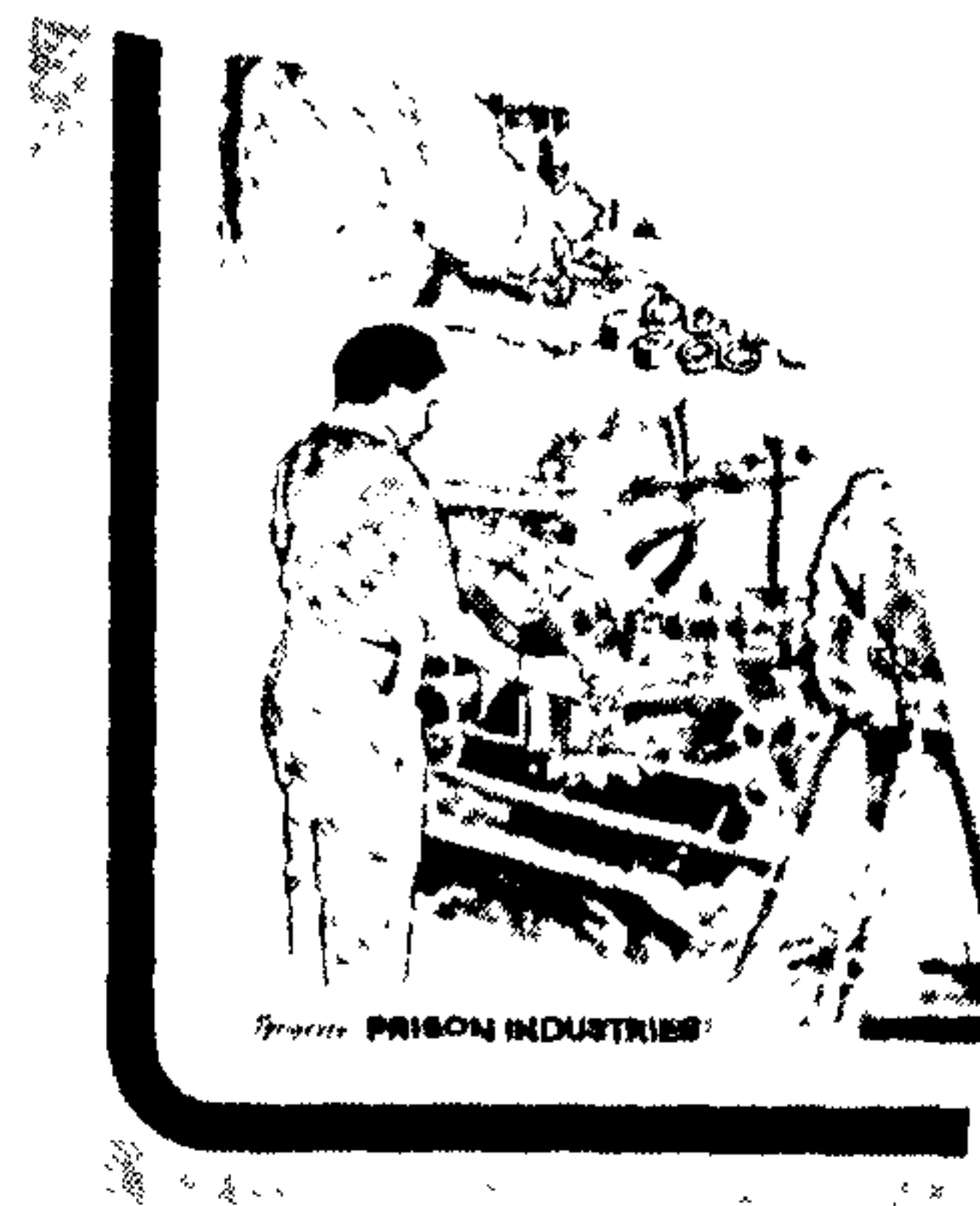
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After considerable commercial experience in shipbuilding, furniture manufacture and general building, Doug Beaton joined the Prison Commission in 1961 as a Technical Officer; being promoted to become Woodworking Specialist three years later. He was appointed Regional Industrial Supervisor (Midlands) in 1970 and in 1974 took up his present post as Group Manager (Engineering and Woodworking) in the Directorate of Industries and Farms.

How the Industrial Manager sees himself

Colin Hawkins



WANTED:	Works Manager
DUTIES:	To manage an industrial complex to meet the Managing Director's needs for the employment of an allocated work force. Responsible to the Managing Director through a Financial Manager.
LIMITS OF AUTHORITY:	Finance—NIL. Selection of Staff and work force—Limited Managerial responsibility for all staff engaged in industry except support staff.

Would we expect there to be a rush of qualified applicants responding to an advertisement like this? Would we really expect a manager in the private sector to be able to achieve his objectives with so little authority?

We are often involved in discussion with each other regarding the responsibilities and authority of managers, yet in this modern prison service we impede the Industrial Manager to such an extent that in many instances it is impossible for him to perform effectively and meet objectives. What organisation, whether it be in the private or public sector, would have a management structure where the Managing Director was not in direct contact with the manager whose efforts result in cash coming into that organisation. Yet we do in this service.

Following the May Report, Prison

Department have reorganised at Headquarters and Board level. With this reorganisation, the employment of inmates, (works, industries, education, etc.) is the responsibility of one of the Board members, namely the Director of Regimes and Services. The Financial Manager referred to earlier, namely the Administration Officer, is clearly channelled to the Director of Personnel and Finance. How then is it possible that he is the

General Manager of industry in an establishment since he is able to spend on average only 10% of his time on industrial matters?

The Administration Officer was of course in charge of industries before the Industrial Manager posts were recommended by the Salmon Report of 1933, which incidently recommended that the Industrial Manager should take over from the Steward, the employment side of the latter's work,

Colin Hawkins joined at Wakefield Prison in 1968 as a Civilian Instructional Officer following a long experience of the engineering industry. Appointed Production Training Officer for the North East in 1972, he was promoted to his present post in 1976. As Industrial Manager based at Durham Prison he has responsibilities for industrial activities in six other neighbouring establishments.

and be responsible through the Governor to the Industrial Commissioner. Now, nearly 50 years later, we have infinitely more complex industries, but we still have a management structure which was recognised as being outdated all those years ago.

This current antiquated local management structure results in the Industrial Manager reporting through the Administration Officer to the Governor, whilst other regime activities heads, report direct to the Governor and invariably their activities may occupy a much smaller part of an inmate's time.

The Report on the Profitability of Prison Industries prepared by the Arthur Young Management Services in 1981, realised that if prison industries were to improve its performance, changes were inevitable.

The three main proposals are:

1. "Priorities and objectives should be set by the Prisons Board for each establishment which should include an agreed role for the Directorate of Industries". This inevitably should lead to some changes. However it is envisaged that an increase in workshop hours should be possible in those establishments where industry is to be a major regime activity. Many times in the past, regime activities have been brought into establishments with little or no consideration to the costs or to its affects on the existing regime resources. Basically this thinking is in line with other recent Prison Department initiatives such as accountable regimes whose purpose is to ensure that management can make the best use of existing resources. The eventual aim is that Governors and other senior staff should be more accountable for the activities in their charge.
2. "The training and assessment of Governors should take into account their part in the performance of industrial activities". Governors may be concerned regarding this aspect, however, since they are ultimately responsible for all aspects in their establishment, it puts no real extra responsibility onto him. It does, however, put accountability for the governor to supply a labour force for an agreed number of hours, with the Industrial Manager in turn being accountable to ensure the budgetted volume is produced.
3. "In establishments where work is of a high priority, the Industrial Manager should report direct to

the Governor". Where an Industrial Manager is based, clearly reflects the importance of industry at that establishment. He should, therefore, report direct to the Governor. This is currently happening in some establishments.

Personally I believe the report does not go far enough when it states that where there is no need for a resident Industrial Manager, the responsibility for industry can remain with the Administration Officer. In many instances the Industrial Manager may have a deputy who is available for more than 10% of his time to manage industries at that establishment. The deputy therefore has more time than the Administration Officer and I believe responsibility for industry should be with the Industrial Manager. Where it is established that industrial work is a high priority, then the Industrial Manager should automatically become a member of the Senior Management Committee.

The change will obviously make Governors apprehensive regarding their span of control. However, as stated earlier, industry will probably be the major regime activity and the only activity bringing cash into the department, therefore it is only right that he should be a member. Governors will also ask 'how much time will the Industrial Manager take of my day?' This could be answered quite simply, 'no more than what it should have been in the past'. This gives Governors no real measure. It is difficult to assess because situations will vary. I maintain however, that if Governors supply the labour and the inmates, and the Industrial Manager is fully trained, then no major slice of the Governors time should be necessary. Industrial Managers should be fully trained since we have training grade posts, namely the Deputy Industrial Manager.

On a broader issue Governors may have to reorganise their daily routine because of the other changes that may materialise, such as local budgets. The Industrial Manager must be given the position in the management structure in order for industry to be given the necessary status. All too often Industrial Managers find that basic discipline staff, in some instances, don't even know his name even after being the Industrial Manager of an establishment for years. You could wager money on the fact that they know the Governor's and the Chief Officer's name.

The Governor should use the Industrial Manager to the full, after

all he is the local industrial adviser and a technical adviser for those areas not covered by the works department. One is fully aware that any operational change or indeed any industrial one, invariably affects other areas of an establishment. It is essential therefore that the Industrial Manager is in direct contact with the Governor in a similar manner as other recognised heads of department. These proposals will be viewed critically by Administration Officers. However, a point raised by the consultant was that in private industry, the administration would act in support of production. I have a lot of respect for Administration Officers and I enjoy good relationships with them, as I am sure those who know me will vouch. However, their own span of control is far too wide and they are not, in all fairness, professionally qualified to manage industries. In the past they have failed since industrial performance has declined and they have not been accountable to DIF. I believe some of their failure has been due to a demarcation problem within their own group. I refer specifically to the control of the Manufacturing Office. If the Industrial Manager was an administrative post it would have been obvious who would have been responsible for its activities. Currently the Industrial Manager has no control over this function and this is an area where failure often occurs. My advice to Administration Officers is quite simple. Don't look back, look forward to the changes. I see the future role of the Administration Officer as being akin to an accountant's. Each spending area of the prison being allocated various monies and the Administrative Officer monitoring the expenditure on behalf of the Governor, and himself remaining a member of the Senior Management Committee.

This brings me to quote part of the conclusion from the Arthur Young Report: 'The Prison Service does not sufficiently exploit the resources available for industrial activities'.

These resources as we all know cost money. Money, which at present is wasted because of the under-utilisation of industrial resources.

Finally, I don't intend this to be an industrial takeover, as some readers may think. Directorate of Industry and Farms' activities are however an integral part of the Prison Service. Their financial performance is very dependent upon the priority given to it and the relationship between work and other activities. Therefore their status must be enhanced. ■

achieving and maintaining good customer relations

A. Hughes-Hunt



The text book approach to this topic is stated quite simply:

"Provide the customer continually with either products or services to the required standard, in sufficient quantity, on time, at the right price. Then you will achieve the goal".

The prison industrial situation has certain aspects which have to be given special consideration, and others that are held in common with the commercial sector. The following list gives some of these aspects and the reader will be able to identify to which category they belong—

- a. Agreement between headquarters at Tolworth, Regional Director and Governor before any industry is undertaken.
- b. The commitment of senior and middle management at establishments to industry.
- c. Workshops, plant and machinery to produce required goods/services.
- d. Labour force, and appreciation of other commitments within the establishment that compete for men's time.
- e. Co-operation and control between instructors and inmates.
- f. An incentive to produce work of the quality and quantity required.
- g. Management services (production training, quality control, production control).
- h. Security.
- j. Communication.

This is not meant to be a complete check list or in any particular order. Each part will affect the individual as to their position and diverse responsibilities within the management structure, and will also be affected by the type of establishment in which they work. Many of the items on the list must have been considered when the department took the initial steps and

rationalised prison industries in the mid-60s. Consideration, no doubt, was given to the many trades that were being practised; some were closed down and others expanded. This led to the retraining and recruitment of instructors for the remaining industries. Management services were introduced, and the next few years were a period of transition. A new management structure was established at Headquarters, new plant and machinery was purchased, and purpose-built workshops constructed. This brought a new concept to prison workshops, and the outcome has been that a wide range of products have been developed and produced at acceptable quality and required quantity for our many customers from other Government departments and the commercial sector.

Recently I attended a meeting with senior officials from regional headquarters, together with officers and industrial managers from various prisons: the topic of discussion was "increased output in nominated workshops". The range of establishments represented was dispersal to local prisons and the response was unbelievable. Most governors had facts and figures and were able to promise an increase in workshop hours that had been thought impossible beforehand. One establishment appeared to have set up a new routine to accommodate its requirements, thereby proving it necessary to involve, if not the Regional Director, then his deputy to support the industrial set-up within the region.

Once this was established the task of getting commitment from senior and middle management and staff towards industry within the establishments would be made possible. Interest in industry needs to be stimulated and not seen as just something that provides an alternative place to put inmates when out of their cells.

The labour force is not chosen, the men are committed to prison and then allocated to the workshops through the Labour Board. Often there is no choice on either side. This is where the skills of the instructors are brought into play, teaching men skills to produce work of satisfactory quality in a trade of which the inmate may have little or no prior knowledge. It has surprised many people, inmates included, to find they can either sew a straight line, insert a sleeve, assemble metal or timber products, or operate printing machines, etc. Perhaps better use could be made of the inmate employment sheet, not only stating the type of work engaged on but the degree of skill obtained. This information could be entered into his prison record and perhaps more round pegs would find round holes. It would increase inmates' ability to produce quality work in quantity much sooner. In turn this would increase their earning-power and, motivated by the incentive scheme, further increase production.

The quality standards and rates of production in some prison workshops are in many cases equal to or better than those expected in the private sector. Now, to achieve and maintain this situation, and in doing so create good customer relations, decisions have to be made on the methods used. Quality and quantity are usually achieved by a stable, experienced, and

motivated workforce. The labour and labour turnover experienced in most prison workshops does not promote this type of workforce. The alternatives are to deskill work and employ more inmates under supervision in an attempt to obtain quality and quantity, or purchase sophisticated plant and equipment (with their inherent dangers) to produce quality and quantity. There are decisions to be made and many factors to be considered such as: type of industry, security, category of establishment, numbers of inmates involved, the availability of staff (both instructional and discipline), length of stay in workshops; workshop hours, etc. This information is now being gathered, I believe thus making the allocation of work more realistic and bringing us nearer to our goal. However, in the initial stages a meeting should be held at governor level with the administration officer and the industrial manager. When agreements are reached they should as far as

possible be adhered to and progress monitored to ensure that the industrial production was meeting agreed schedules. Deviation would be noticed quickly and remedial action initiated. This way, everyone involved in industry, from the governor through to instructor, would know what was going on and their place in the scheme of things.

I appear to have laid at the governor's door the inference that he has not been made aware how his industries have been committed to meeting the customers' requirements. That is not a criticism, merely an observation. I am aware that the governor has many areas of responsibility. His main task is to keep those in his charge incarcerated and he has delegated his industrial commitment to the administration officer and the industrial manager. They in turn have responsibility but no authority in the manning of a workshops. I feel that the Department of Industries and Farms have gone

along with their part by supplying machines, materials, etc., but the man who controls the manpower has not been taken along at the same pace.

This discussion has been based on the problems of production. Perhaps a look should be taken at the customer. From personal experience, I have met both the satisfied and the dissatisfied customer. Some are confused by our systems, some take advantage, knowing we need the work, and change their schedules (if they have any), putting extra strain on the production resources. This type of pressure should not be direct to the establishment but through the Sales Department and discussed with the industrial manager. This would eliminate situations where work is left in the shop in various stages of completion. Thereby, by satisfying Peter you dissatisfy Paul and this only ends up in chaos.

To reach our objective we all need to have the same objective and move in the same direction. ■

THE FUTURE OF THE CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRIES *continued from page 11*

and firms will increasingly have to regard the EEC as their home market, despite the problems of adapting to the diversity of European tastes, and also to recognise the world-wide opportunities for their products.

For us it means that we must improve our reliability and produce what customers want, when they want it and at an acceptable price. Because of past failures we have lost orders this year to a value of approximately £2m from other Government Departments. This has left a number of workshops short of our traditional work, for example, CB Suits, Workwear and even reduced the quantity of mailbags. As a result new orders are for quantities relative to our past performance. If our manufacturing shops can achieve their quality, quantity and delivery targets we have no doubt that we can by trimming costs and more efficient use of materials compete successfully with imported products. Such markets, for the products of our Knitwear, Tailoring and Weaving industries have already been identified, for example, 100% cotton 'T' shirts, and economy donkey jackets and we are exploring how our products can be brought to the notice of potential customers within the EEC. As an indication of the steps we are taking to improve our efficiency, we hope, by mid-1982, to be able to provide lay patterns of the highest quality with the use of automatic equipment which in addition will

provide a facility for computing costings, estimates of cost, material and production control data. And in order to meet the demand for a greater variety of fabrics, to reduce noise levels and costs, we have invested in a number of modern looms, and further capital investment in this area is planned for 1982. This will provide us with a satisfactory supply of materials for our Tailoring and Textile industries at a minimum expenditure to the Department. We hope to build on the successes we have over the past few years in the central cutting of materials, and the establishment of an industry based on one central prison with a number of local satellite units. Featherstone Knitwear is an example of the latter, where the additional management resource has been given more accountability to the establishment than has been general practice.

It is also worth mentioning that the prevailing market conditions do bring considerable benefit to one of our functions, the buying of yarns, material and machinery. Keen prices are the order of the day and yarn prices, for example, are 6% lower than last year. Purchasing contracts are running to time and in some cases in advance of our requirements with only those suppliers who try to buy work at ridiculous prices offering a product inferior to our specification and encountering problems of quality-assurance who run into difficulties.

We are now in a position to call the tune, offer no concession to specification and insist that it is met in every respect. Our Purchasing Manager is now able to meet his targets of right price, right quality, to the right place, at the right time far more consistently than in the past, and we can say with some confidence that the situation is unlikely to change in the near future.

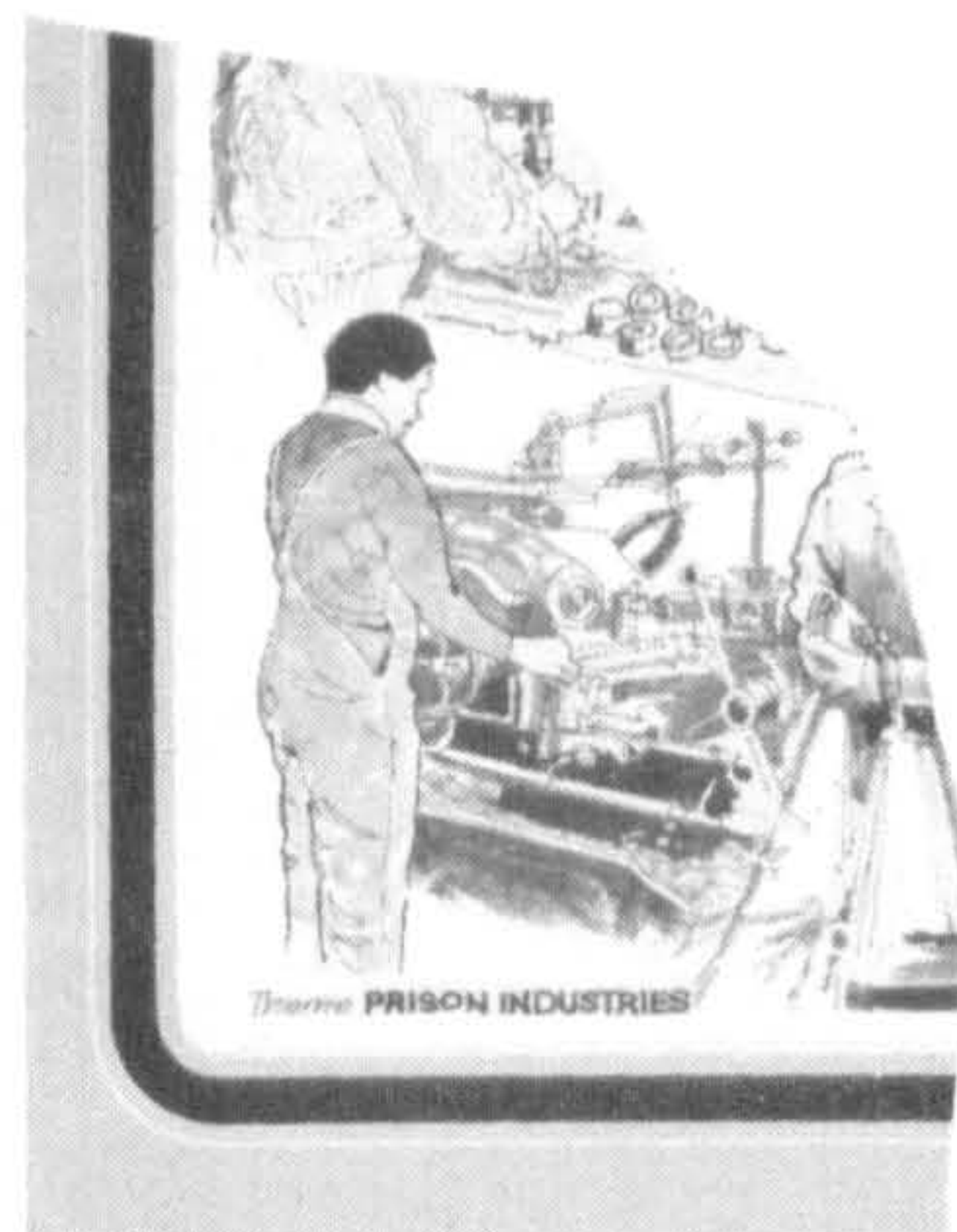
To sum up, our objectives are clear. We must manufacture to more consistent standards of quality and delivery. We must increase capacity and output through productivity and improve profitability through greater efficiency and reduction of costs. We must move forward on all these fronts if we are to better our current financial performance of 20% short of sales and 60% increased loss against budget. We cannot ignore the restraints. Expenditure cuts, industrial relation difficulties, low hours, undermanning, and the loss of staff morale through our poor performance are major problems in themselves and it is important that the future includes increased elements of leadership at all levels. We have had many changes in the past and there are many more changes ahead.

If we are to achieve a viable level of quality, reliability and service it is vital that everyone gives special attention to communication and is ready to appreciate mutual problems thus leading to better understanding.

WHO SUPPORTS INDUSTRY?

Jack Dawson

Industrial Manager, Ranby Prison



BICC

Those initials may be familiar to you as standing for British Insulated Calender Cables. They will always remind me of Metal Recovery Shops at Liverpool in the mid 1960's. Workshops whose main resources consisted of heavy lump hammers, a cable stripping machine, and a lot of muscle. Even the 'thought' of working in them filled me with dread. But the staff who both managed and supervised them, seemed to have a sense of purpose, however basic.

Since that time, massive industrial resource has been poured into prisons. Modern workshops with first-class equipment and service back-up have been provided. I manage such a workshop complex. It should be a rewarding and a fulfilling task; it is not. Instead I, like a lot of people within the Service, from all grades and all shades of opinion, feel frustrated.

In this article my frustration will no doubt be directed at the Directorate of Industry and Farms. That faceless, functional structure that operates from Tolworth Tower. I could just as readily have a go at: Governors, Administration Officers, Chief Officer, Prison Officers' Association, Civil Service Union, Delph and Dobcross Brass Band, Margaret Thatcher and Tony Benn. I will however try to be objective, and hope to suggest an improved approach to industrial work in prison life.

I have just read a speech given at the 1980 Chaplains' Conference by the Right Rev. A. Harris, Bishop of Middlesborough, which so impressed a lapsed 'Independent Methodist' like myself, that I have no hesitation in pinching part of his text to collate my thoughts around. BICC can also stand for Belief; Identity; Coherence and Continuity.

Belief

You may ask, do I believe in industries in prisons, or more fundamentally, do I believe in industrially organised work within prisons? Of course I do. But then I have a vested interest, so perhaps the question of belief in industry should be aimed at those levels of management who are not directly involved in industrial activity. No! I do not want a kiss on the cheek every Monday from the Chief Officer or Education Officer. I would like a reiterated belief that a 'need' exists

for work within prisons, quantify it as you will with any of the modern cliches, such as humane containment,

occupational therapy, work experience, positive custody.

This belief should be reinforced by the Prisons Board and Senior Management in prisons by encouraging local policies with regard to work. Policies that express that 'Need'. Let me hasten to clarify; there is a world of difference between prison needing industries and there being a need within a prison for industry. The former may not be true, because it emanates from an operational requirement. The latter, however, stems from a personal requirement of inmates, how did they get in this article? I'll let you into a secret. DIF believe inmates get in the way of industrial efficiency.

To summarise this section on belief, I believe that there is inmate need for work in prisons and we must somehow, by re-affirming, reinforcing or reiterating policy, recognise that need. *If we don't believe in industries we should not have them!*

Identity

Officers, Civvies! PTO Grades! CIO Grades! Governor Grades! Administration Grades! lesser spotted Blue Tits,



Jack Dawson, now the Industrial Manager at Ranby Prison joined at Manchester as a Prison Officer in 1965 and later served at Foston Hall Detention Centre. Regrading as a Civilian Instructional Officer in 1966, he was at Liverpool before his promotion to Production Controller (Woodwork) at DIF. He took up his present post in 1975 when the industrial complex was opened.

and any other species that are around or to be a true Darwinian, have evolved—Greeting!

You probably know and can identify yourself and your job easily and readily. I am afraid that in terms of the prison contact, I have found identity becoming increasingly difficult over the years. It seemed quite simple, many years ago at Liverpool, as an Instructor, I controlled inmates; went in awe of the Governor and fear of the Chief Officer, but generally had a happy, harmonious relationship with all staff within the prison. We seem, however, to have bred, or fostered, a race of grade-conscious warlords, whose only thought of identity is to their own feudal grades. We, who have some sort of loyalty to DIF, are amongst the worst of them. We tend to talk of problems within the prison but outside the workshops as being of no concern to us. We talk of industrial resource within the prison being DIF resource, not Prison Department resource. We shy away from identity with a Prison Establishment and we seem to spend most of our time trying to change the prison structure in which we work, not to improve the prison in general terms, but to meet the sectional needs of industries.

Unfortunately, that is true of every grade and sectional interest within the Service. We all seem to have a misguided belief that, only by joining the rat race of grade and grade functions can we survive. Identity with grade or specialities is not enough.

Darwin would have classed me, albeit loosely, in the following terms: Homosapiens, caucasian, male. Using the same terminology I class myself: Prison Department employee, Ranby Prison employee, Industrial Specialist. That I believe gives me a better identity base. I then have two characteristics in common with every other member of staff at Ranby. It follows, therefore, that I have a fair chance of relating to their beliefs and identity problems on a day-to-day basis. We are all losing the ability to identify with others in the Service and what worries me most is that we seem less and less able to identify what we do to the inmate. How do we reverse this trend? The Prison Board could start the trend by saying "All staff who have day-to-day contact with inmates will undergo the same basic training". That training should devote more time to the so-called "specialisations". I believe it is highly significant that almost all the civilian instructors who work with me, say

that, the most informative part of their induction programme, was the one week they spent at Officers' Training School. Perhaps for one week they identified with the broader needs of the Service, and with the problems of other staff and inmates within the Service. Recognition is identity! The specialist must receive generalist training. The generalist must receive insight into the work of the specialist.

Coherence

If belief and identity are the foundation of the structure, coherence is its shape; its design, its practicality and above all how it fits in with other structures. To be coherent, industries in prison must seek to match their constituent parts: skill requirements; space; cost, etc., with the constituent parts of the prison. This means a critical examination of inmate need, security levels, before an industry is planned. To illustrate let me cite some obvious mismatches between the Service and the industries within the Service:

1. Sophisticated industries with high-cost plant, situated in prisons with high security requirements. Which gives little hope of practical working week being achieved. Which in turn leave 'return' on that plant, a practical impossibility.
2. Industries which turn out sales work to the value of one million pounds a year, in a system in which no local staff are trained in Cost Accountancy (except by pure chance).
3. Governors at those establishments who have neither industrial background, nor have received any sort of training about the needs and problems of a large industrial unit (Assistant Governor training and secondment?).
4. A top-heavy bureaucracy that seeks control both sophisticated and simple industries at long-range, and control it with such a complex management structure that even the well-meaning people within it fail to identify themselves with it (DIF now have liaison officers to decide who should make decisions about what).
5. Local management structures built on different grading structures. Structures that result in conflicting loyalties, and unclear accountability.

We could all add to the list. We would all, of course, have different solutions, but these problems must be tackled *NOW*. The shape of industries in prison

is in need of a radical overhaul—*not review!*—overhaul. The production management-structure that has so far failed it should be made to fit the needs of the establishment. Prison industries cannot survive in their present form. If the Service wants industries it must, through its senior management, insist on *coherence*. By gum I feel better for that!

Continuity

The Right Rev. Harris referred to continuity as being the cult of discovering one's family tree or history. Continuity is therefore roots.

I believe that successful continuity in all walks of life is dependent on the people who run it. There are other factors to continuity, but people are the key. Prisons, however, are unique and the people who run them in whatever specialisation they may be in, know them better for having worked within them. It follows that their performance will be better if both their roots and future are seen to be closely linked with Prison.

I do not wish to denigrate the contribution of those people of whom it can be said they are just passing by within the Prison Service. New blood is, from time to time, necessary at all levels within the Service. But with much better career development programmes, and a much wider training scope, both for specialists in prison matters and more specialists in industrial matters. If people can, through broader training, become more aware of the uniqueness of a Prison, then better continuity must result. The Prison officers leaving training school should be better aware of the place, problems and working of industries in prisons. Not as a 'nice to know' approach, but as a 'need to know'!

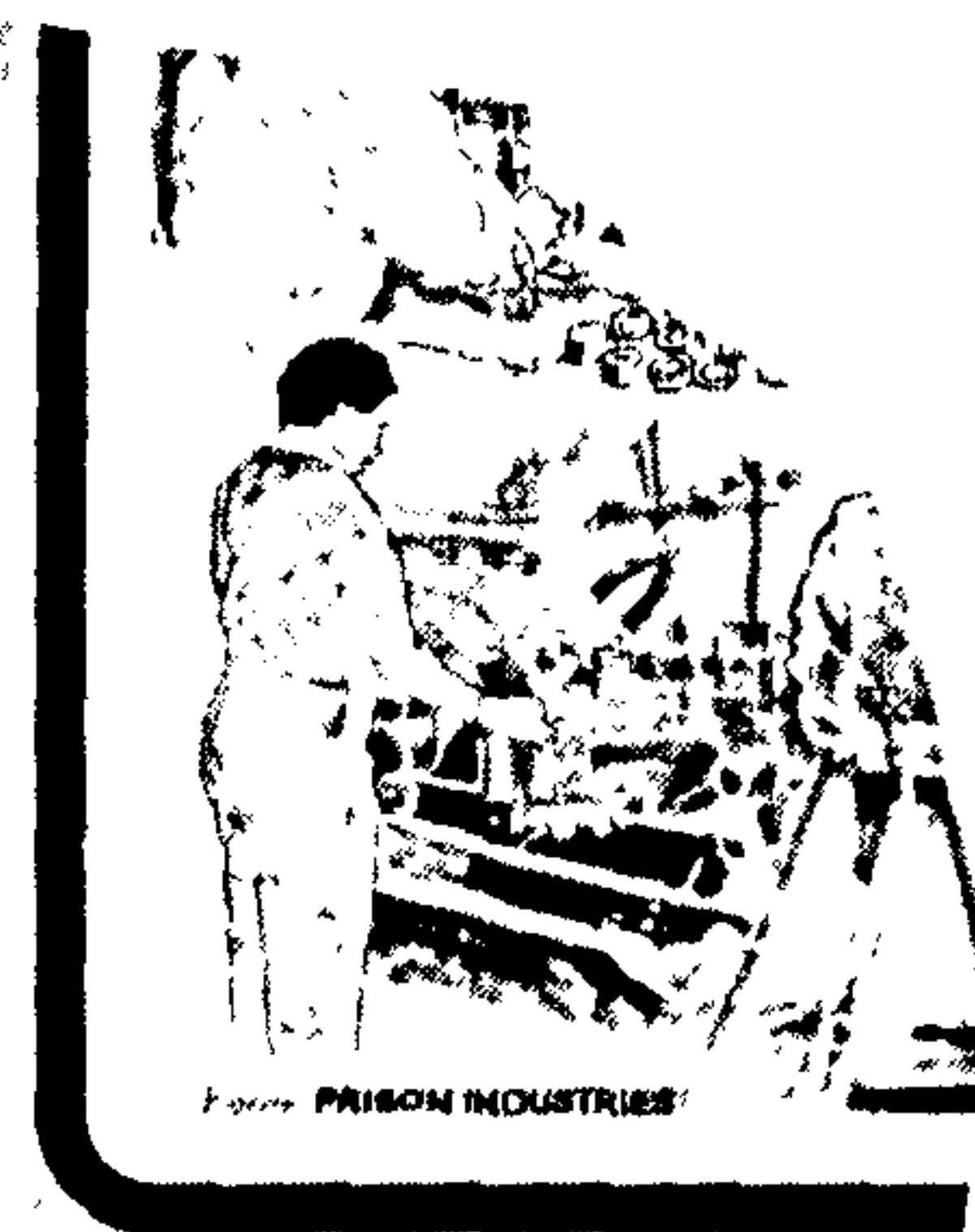
The new boy in DIF should be given a meaningful experience of 'prisons'. That does not mean a weeks induction or a series of visits—it means secondment. If I may elaborate—we have in industries employed some very bright people, who have been brought in as new blood. With mixed results, both good and bad, for prison industries. It is not unfair to say that they have often failed because of poor implementation. Implementation means making the plan work in prison. Implementation in prisons is difficult if you know your way around. Implementation is near impossible if you don't. The prison is a body reluctant to change, and change, coming from people who seem not to

continued on page 22

The Organisation of Prison Industries in Sweden

Claes Lundqvist

(Planning Unit of the Swedish Industries and Work Training Department). Translated by Norman Bishop.



Introduction

Industrial work is only one of several occupational possibilities offered to inmates in a Swedish prison. Other possibilities are agricultural work, market gardening, forestry, various kinds of building work and of course various kinds of maintenance work. In addition, inmates are given the opportunity to undertake full or part-time study which can be either theoretically or practically focussed. Inmates with very little or no real work experience are offered vocational testing, training and counselling. An increasing number of inmates are being given the opportunity to work or study in society through what Americans call work release.

The Administration's main aim with all these activities is to use the period in prison as an opportunity to promote the inmate's capacity to adjust to working life after release. In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary to have well-differentiated programmes and a continuous modification of activities so that they correspond to the current situation on the outside labour market.

Industrial Work

Industrial work includes various forms of engineering production as well as assembly work. Carpentry work includes the production and assembly of prefabricated houses, furniture and packaging. Other industrial work includes the production of clothing and textiles, leather products and certain kinds of office equipment. In addition, laundries have been installed at three prisons.

Prison workshops occupy about 55 per cent of prison inmates. The size of these workshops varies from those with places for 8 to 10 inmates up to others occupying about 100 inmates. The work undertaken in these shops is organised in forms which as nearly as possible correspond to the organizational forms to be found in ordinary industrial life. Standardised and normal production machines are used. Even the manufacture of those articles produced in small volume which vary considerably, can be undertaken with conventional machinery.

Manpower—a Troublesome Chapter

About 11,000 persons per year are received in Swedish prisons. All age groups—from teenagers to old age pensioners—are represented. Some of these persons are almost entirely without social or personal problems and come from every level of society. But there are others who are society's outcasts, indeed some of them might well be said to be total rejects. About 10 per cent of the intake are in receipt of sickness or age pensions. Work motivation varies from good to bad and includes those who have never worked and do not want to work. Among the inmates are to be found not only those who have been badly damaged by drugs and alcohol, but those who are entirely free of such problems. These circumstances must be met by a richly varied and individualised set of activities. Many work activities must be carried out by inmates without previous experience of work

or workshops. Such a situation makes considerable demands upon foremen and instructors if high standards for delivery dates and quality are to be maintained. Efforts are being made to develop new work methods with the aim of introducing automated processes into the production chain. In this way it is hoped to counteract inmates' lack of work experience and to reduce the time necessary for learning.

Products

The variety of articles produced is considerable. Engineering production is focussed primarily on cupboards, storage shelves and certain items of telephone equipment. Steel equipment includes such furniture as beds, chairs, tables, stepladders stands and steel frames for warehouse trucks. In addition, specialised parts are produced for governmental services. At one prison, road signs are manufactured.

Three institutions are completely engaged in the assembly of prefabricated house and garages. Cell equipment and furniture are other important products.

The general workshops have many branches. Tailoring work provides for the manufacture of protective gloves, protective bags and linings, storage and transport containers, etc. The laundries serve both prisons and hospitals. Workshops for office products make plastic and cardboard files as well as certain other office equipment. The smaller workshops deal with assembly work, packing and certain kinds of craft products.

Earnings

In accordance with the provisions of the Act on Correctional Treatment in Institutions, earnings are paid to inmates which take account of work effort. Both fixed time rates and piece rates are used. Inmates who are completely or partially incapable of work, or of taking part in some similar activity, receive earnings in the form of sickness benefits.

The financial framework for the payment of earnings is decided upon, each year, by the government. An average wage is between 3 and 4 Swedish crowns per hour (35p-45p in English money). Such amounts are naturally perceived as being minute in comparison with rates paid on the open market. Direct comparison however is not possible since prison earnings are not taxable. Inmates therefore receive a certain natural advantage through the form of earning. Even so, earnings for inmates differ markedly from the system of payment operated in free society. This conflicts with the principle that the institutional climate, so far as possible, shall correspond to normal circumstances outside the prison. It is this view which has led to the attempt to adjust inmate earnings to the situation on the open market resulting in the experiments at the Tillberga and Skogome prisons.

At these prisons, the point of departure for calculating inmates' earnings is the standard agreements with the trade unions on the free market, but attention is also given to the level of work effort. An amount corresponding to national taxes is withdrawn from the amount payable and inmates also pay for their food. The remaining amount can then be used as follows: 25 per cent of the net remaining amount can be used by the inmate as he wishes, but 75 per cent must be used in accordance with a planned budget which is constructed with and for each inmate. Special social worker assistants—roughly corresponding to assistant governors in the English Prison Service—help the inmate to plan his personal finances so that he can, for example, contribute to his family's maintenance, cover expenses during the first period after release, pay for travel and upkeep during the frequent leaves which are granted and reduce debts which can lead to difficulties after release. The research evaluations which have been made of the experiments at Tillberga and Skogome show that the wages

system has facilitated post-release adjustment to society and appears to have had a certain influence on preventing recidivism at least during the first period after release. Many inmates have left these institutions having completely paid off their debts, whilst others have reduced them. The National Prison and Probation Administration has now proposed a modified basic wage system which is derived from the Tillberga-Skogome model. The intention is that the proposed system should come into use in all prisons and in all forms of work or study.

Financial Results

Parliament and the Government make available financial appropriations each budget year for costs in connection with work in prisons. These financial appropriations cover the salaries paid to various grades of industrial personnel, costs of buildings and shops, depreciation, etc. On the other hand these appropriations do *not* cover inmate wages, the costs of buying raw materials for production, nor teaching material. Such costs are covered through the income gained by the sale of products.

The turnover from the Administration's industrial activity is about £10,000,000 yearly. The cost of raw materials is about £8,000,000 and for inmates' earnings about £1,400,000. During the last few years, the income derived from sales has been higher than the costs for inmates' wages and raw materials.

Of course for a full financial analysis of the outcome of industrial operations it is necessary to reckon in the above mentioned costs for salaries paid to industrial staff, as well as the cost of workshop space, depreciation interest, costs, etc.

If such a total analysis is made, then over recent years, expenses have been greater than income to by about £6,000,000 yearly. This amount represents the cost of occupying about 2,500 inmates every day in work, training, work therapeutic measures, work release, etc., for 40 hours per week throughout the year with a strength of about 400 industrial staff. Compared with other Swedish services which provide work for socially handicapped persons, these costs are not high.

Collaboration with the Civil Labour Market

Special councils have been set up at

most prisons; the Councils for Labour and Trades Union Matters. A Council's functions are as follows:

- to be a point of contact between the prison and the labour market
- to deal with questions concerning inmate work and training, work release and preparations for discharge
- to assist inmates over trades union problems and to try to engage the unions in the problems facing inmates on the labour market
- to initiate and promote information on correctional matters.

The Councils are composed of representatives drawn from prison management, industrial staff and the custodial staff. Inmates have two representatives. The Labour Market Board and the After-Care Service have each a representative on the Council. In addition, the two largest trades unions are represented as well as the employers' confederation. The prison governor is the chairman, whilst the Council's secretary acts as contact man for inmates.

Management

Responsibility for the management of Swedish prison industries lies with the Administration's Industries and Work Training Department. The department consists of a Production Office plus a planning unit, training unit, handicap unit, building unit, agricultural unit and a staff unit. Units and sections are responsible for all functions within their respective areas of competence, i.e. technical management and supervision, taking initiatives to improve products, deciding on choice of products, exercising control and supervision of operations and managing, selling and marketing. The guidance of prison production operations is a direct responsibility of the central administration.

Agricultural work however is organised in close collaboration with the agricultural co-operative organisation and prisons deliver to the nearest local branch. Units within the National Prison and Probation Administration are responsible for all main elements in the management of production, the prisons having part to play in determining the choice of products, decisions on the acquisition of machinery and other important investments.

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View *from a* Bar Stool

R. Mitchell

There I was sitting on my bar stool trying to enjoy my pint of best bitter amid the distractions of a raucous celebration. The Genial Host was looking even more hang-dog than usual as he struggled to open a bottle of gaseous vinegar which was making a brave attempt to imitate champagne.

"I'll have another glass of Chateau Barnsley 1980" said the soak as he staggered unsteadily towards the bar.

"Common, don't be so bloody miserable. Have a glass of this aerated gnat's water: it might be rubbish but at least it's free". These remarks were addressed to me as I tried manfully to remain aloof from the conviviality.

"No thanks" I replied, "I'll stick to the poison I know and, furthermore, I can't understand why we are celebrating The Old Brown and Mild getting the sack". The soak adopted a pained expression which he uses when talking to mental defectives and said:

"You inflation-proofed Civil Servants can never understand the qualitative difference between getting the sack and being made redundant. Now listen carefully, when you get the sack you sue for wrongful dismissal to make your fortune, and when you are made redundant you are saved the legal expenses. The Old Brown and Mild has just received enough lucre to keep him in pints for the rest of his days and his dole money will pay for the remainder of his living expenses. I would have thought that even an idiot could identify grounds for smiles and free champagne".

I refused to be intimidated into either drinking the wine or accepting the argument and retorted:

"But there are now about 2½ million

unemployed and that's nothing to celebrate. We are even finding it difficult to find work for prisoners".

I knew I had made a mistake as soon as I said it. The light of battle appeared in his glazed eyes and he tipped the Old Codger off his bar stool in order to settle his ample rump down and take up the traditional philosophising posture.

"Now that is something on which I can safely consider myself an expert" he said with the authority of one who considers himself an expert on everything. "I once tried to do some business with your industries people and, as I understand it, you have an army of bloated bureaucrats in an ivory tower in London trying to find work for prisoners who have little skill or motivation, and who are sitting in workshops where the supervision ratio is so high that it would make any commercial business go bankrupt in a week. I ask the simple question, why bother? Why not sack all the bureaucrats, close all the workshops, and do something useful with prisoners like teaching them how to be honest—or at least demonstrating that it doesn't pay to be dishonest. It would be cheaper and couldn't be any less effective".

I would have done better to continue

to swallow my ale rather than the bait he had offered but I have never been able to resist an alcoholic discussion.

"And what would public opinion have to say if we announced that we had adopted a policy of prisoners not being required to work during their sentences. The old battle-cry of 'holiday camps' would scream in banner headlines over the front pages of the Daily Express and the Daily Mirror alike—and it's not often they agree on a headline".

I sat back, having, I thought, shoved his own petard up the part of his anatomy where it should hurt most.

"The answer to that is simple", he replied, not being in the least taken aback, "You tell people how much money it is saving, which I would conservatively estimate at a few million; you tell people how it will take a few thousand workers out of unemployment by diverting government contracts to private industry; and you tell people how prison officers will be able to get on with the job they have been asking to do for years, namely training prisoners. I doubt if even the Morning Star could make any propaganda out of that".

I began to feel that it would be less painful to start drinking the champagne



Ray Mitchell joined the Prison Service as an Officer in 1967 and after three years at Liverpool became an Assistant Governor serving at Dartmoor and the Prison Service College, Wakefield. He was Reviews Editor of the P.S.J. in 1977/79 and was appointed Deputy Governor of Preston Prison in September 1979.

than to get him to understand the problems of the Prison Service, but I decided to make one last effort:

"That all sounds very simple but the fatal flaws in your argument are, first, that the Prison Service has always relied on work to occupy a substantial part of the prisoner's day, at least ever since we stopped expecting them to sit in their cells reading the good book and contemplating their sins. Secondly, it depends on the feasibility of being able to teach or persuade prisoners to lead an honest life. The magic cure for crime seems as elusive as a virgin in a brothel"

There was a pause in the discussion whilst the soak pulled the Old Codger's cap down over his ears for pinching his drink and, I suspect, whilst he worked out how he could sound intelligent whilst talking through the back of his neck. At last he found himself a comparatively clean glass, secured a bottle and said:

"You are always complaining that the Prison Service is too cautious, too frightened to experiment. Such a drastic change would give an opportunity for a re-think of the whole philosophy of imprisonment. You would be forced to develop new things to do with prisoners. As far as the cure for crime is concerned, you claim to be an optimist, so just keep trying".

I decided I had tried enough for one night and as The Old Brown and Mild staggered over with a wide grin splitting his wrinkled countenance, waving a bottle of plonk at me, I held out an empty glass and said, "Congratulations Old B and M". ■

Reprinted from the 'Informer' with the kind permission of the Editor.

WHO SUPPORTS INDUSTRY?

continued from page 18

understand the prison, is made with, at the best, reluctance, and at the worst with conflict. Conflict between prisons and prison industries has been there for all to see over the past years. We, who know the Prison Service, must through people who know the Service, and have first claim to loyalty to it, seek to change for the better, and in particular for the betterment of those we are charged to keep. To pursue industrial aim or 'Gods' alone will not give continuity. Keep our 'roots' within the prisons.

An easy summary to this article would be to reverse the initials BICC to CCIB and appeal for Continuity through Coherent policies. Policies that can be identified with and ones which the Service believes in. The

PRISON INDUSTRIES AND THE TOY MARKET *continued from page 12*

within 12 months from embryo. PRINDUS confidently expected to produce around 3,000 toys per week, but for a variety of reasons this was not to be achieved.

From the outset, severe difficulties were experienced in producing satisfactory injection mouldings. It was found that the silver finish specified for the target panel could not be attained and a decision was made to mould in black instead.

Problems were experienced with the printed circuit boards. Does one crop after flow soldering or before? We were indeed learning the hard way. The pads were too small on the printed circuit boards, and we had difficulty in connecting the light-emitting diodes and the light-sensitive diodes. The track occasionally lifted, making the gun-firing sequence intermittent. These are but a few of the host of technical problems that were experienced in our first electronic toy venture. Despite considerable efforts by all concerned, DIF failed to meet the Christmas market for 1980 and even produced short of target for Christmas 1981!

Some 18 months after first starting the Quickfire Target Game, production has now reached 1,000 per week, with maximum production appearing to be 1,500 per week. This is quite an achievement, considering the substantial setbacks encountered. Now that the design and production problems have been resolved, we have a real chance of meeting our full obligations for Christmas 1982. What has been learned is that whereas a commercial firm

takes 12 months from inception to delivery, Prison Industries need a minimum of 24 months to complete the same task. Side benefits are that PRINDUS have now established a reasonable track record as far as quality, output and volume are concerned, and this must hold us in good stead for the future. Having now successfully resolved the problems of their first electronic toy, PRINDUS have launched into their second and third toys with a fair modicum of success. These are the Sound Phasor and Sketch-A-Sound toys, all of which are in great demand. They are already illustrated in mail-order catalogues and will also be advertised on television. They are first-class products of which PRINDUS should be proud. Each toy has a considerable play value, is innovative and interesting to manufacture. Both toys will be available in time for Christmas 1981.

Whilst the experience has been extremely worthwhile and augurs well for the future, it must be said that serious shortcomings in our organisation have been highlighted. DIF have failed to convert the aesthetic idea into reality quickly enough. Their production engineering could have been very much better—alterations in mid-stream proved to be very costly both in time and money. They failed to obtain the service that they should have expected from their suppliers—they were let down badly both on quality and delivery. Communications were not wholly effective, both within and without the organisation. Relationships between Head Office and out-stations and Head Office and customer were at times most acrimonious. Full technical support was not available when it was needed, and as a consequence the programme slipped. The management structure was far too cumbersome to respond effectively.

Procurement procedures did not allow DIF to purchase at the most advantageous price nor did they allow materials to be procured quickly enough.

Despite the above constraints, laudable efforts have now been made to improve the situation. If everything goes well, then the second phase of the electronic toy programme should proceed a good deal better than the first. Furthermore, the whole of the Commercial Group is now under review and it is hoped that any new restructuring will be much more effective than the current organisation.

difficult summary is to lay down an action plan, that turns thoughts into actions. The Prisons Board have, in my opinion, with the current financial and political situation, an opportunity to reshape prison structure for the better. I hope and believe that industry in prisons has a large contribution to make to "positive custody".

The prayer of the bureaucrat is "Use me, O Lord, but preferably in an advisory capacity".

Advice gives options. Directions give none. Perhaps more directives are the answer. ■

Editor's Note: A number of the articles in this issue have been commissioned within the Directorate of Industries and Farms. This particular article represents the views of the individual contributor rather than those of the Directorate.

READERS Write

THE EDITOR
Prison Service Journal

Dear Sir,

Prison Service Journal, 21 years; comments on Ray Mitchell's article.

If the Journal is not eagerly awaited by staff then it is because it does not contain information which might affect them.

What it does contain is over-long articles on personal views and reminiscences, about organisations outside the service including abroad, historical material about ideas long dead and repetitious compilations of papers around a theme.

What the Journal should but does not contain is news of changes at establishments and the opening of new ones, of staff promotions and transfers, of régime experiments, riots and escapes (prevented), new equipment and changes in our working conditions. These are of proven interest as the substances of conversation between staff members. It is a pity that they are provided for only by the grapevine.

In addition to interest value, another reason for change is that if the service wants to improve its image the starting place should be its opinion of itself. So let us see in our magazine some stirring words of encouragement, some contributions from higher up which express confidence in policies and some contents which suggest that not only the care of inmates but also the well-being of staff is important.

So shall we dispose of the "Criminology symposium" approach and go for a "news" format giving real information about current events and future trends in the service. Ideally it would be organised like an actual newspaper with correspondents who will follow up information rather than wait for contributions.

Such a publication might be inelegant and even inaccurate but if it is read, discussed and thrown away by most of the service it is to be preferred to the present sublime product which is collected by a literary minority.

Yours sincerely,

NEIL FLUDGER

HM Prison, Coldingley

THE EDITOR
Prison Service Journal

Dear Sir,

Having just struggled through Keith Ritch's polysyllabic convoluted and jargonistic letter I feel that I should write to nail my colours to the mast. I am proud of being a "fringe-ologist" and feel that if there were a lot more fringe-ologists about in the prison service then we could not be handicapped with a prison system that is one hundred years behind the times.

I spent part of my secondment with the prison service at the same institution as Mr. Ritch and I must confess that I was one of the five that not only bought the *Prison Service Journal*, but I also read it, and worse still enjoyed reading it. To add to my sins, having returned to the mainstream of probation work I still enjoy reading the *Journal*.

Your correspondent is correct when he reiterates the comments of May on the need for a house journal, but he is wrong in suggesting that the *Prison Service Journal* should be undertaking this task. Those working in the service

are already too taken up with what's going on within the walls and spend insufficient time in looking outside to learn from the experience and expertise of others. Are there not lessons that can be learned from the way the Swiss run their prison service? Should not all staff be made aware of the efforts being made to help single, inadequate homeless offenders? Could not Risley benefit from the experience of Brixton? Rather than seeking to discourage others from reading the *Journal* I would have thought it was the responsibility of governor grades to facilitate discussion on such issues with all staff, and that their main tool could have been this Journal.

I am sure that the introduction of a crossword and a move down-market would increase sales and circulation of the *Journal*, but only at the cost of building even bigger walls around the prison system. Please, Mr. Ritch and fellow governors, face up to your responsibilities and encourage some wider debate amongst staff.

Yours faithfully,

COLIN J. BERG

Senior Probation Officer

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VIABLE ALTERNATIVE?

The Future of the Prison Service

ROY D. KING and ROD MORGAN, with
J.P. MARTIN and J.E. THOMAS
Gower 1980, £11.50

This book arose out of the dissatisfaction of its authors with the deliberations of the *May Committee of Inquiry into the United Kingdom Prison Service*, out of their concern with the "overwhelming pessimism" which followed the Report and from their belief that "what now is needed is debate, leading to policy formation, perhaps by one of the specialised ad hoc committees . . . followed by action". The two main authors have together and separately already made major contributions to the analysis of prison regimes through publications such as *A Taste of Prison* and *Albany*, and through their outstanding submission to the May Committee itself under the title of *Crisis in the Prisons: The Way Out*. Indeed, this book should be read in conjunction with the authors' submission *Crisis in the Prisons*, partly because some of the original coherence and strength of argument tends to be lost in the book's detailed examination of the May Committee's deliberations. The other two contributors to the book are also notable commentators on the prison system: J.P. Martin (co-author of *The Social Consequences of Conviction*) and J.E. Thomas (author of *The English Prison Officer*).

One of the valuable features of the book is that it critically appraises some of the evidence submitted to the May Committee, not least that provided by the Home Office, as well as the conclusions which the Committee drew from the evidence. The authors clearly believe that 'May', faced with a shortage of time and apparent lack of relevant experience, inadequately challenged existing Departmental policy and was unduly influenced by Home Office evidence. But perhaps this book's main value is that it uses this appraisal as a platform from which some of the themes of *Crisis in the Prisons* can be pursued, particularly those which stem from the alleged collapse of the belief in the treatment/training ethic and the consequent need for a commitment to the policy of humane containment. The strength of the authors' case lies in their extremely logical and thorough analysis of the implications of the move from treatment/training to humane containment and the detailed examination of the three components of the latter – the minimum use of custody; the minimum use of security; and the normalisation of prison. However, in face of the authors' unqualified acceptance of the demise of the treatment/training objective and the scathing dismissal of the May Committee's "positive custody" objective which retained at least an element of treatment/training, one should, perhaps, reflect upon the confident assumptions of criminologists in the 1950's and 1960's. This might prompt some

degree of scepticism about the equally confident turn-about in criminological thinking as it rejects the 'Welfare Model' and espouses the 'Justice Model' of sentencing and its counterpart in prison objectives.

In their dealing with the first element of humane containment, the minimum use of custody, the authors are adamant that the size and composition of prison population is "always a policy choice". On this issue the May Committee is criticised for being ambivalent, but the main target is the Home Office whose evidence on future population trends, it is claimed, was almost exclusively limited to extrapolating on the basis of existing practices and thus encouraging a belief in the inevitability of prison population growth. For the authors, the question was not whether prison population should or could be reduced, but what were the most appropriate measures. Opposed to increasing executive discretion, they nevertheless believed in a multi-method approach without, perhaps, examining sufficiently the ideological and practical implications of advocating a reduction in sentence length.

In the case of the second element, the minimum use of security, this partly related to the central issue of the demise of treatment/training in that the introduction of the dispersal system which King and Morgan reject, was influenced by considerations of treatment/training. But the main and very powerfully-argued contention is that, arising from a confusion of security and control issues, the number of prisoners under conditions of maximum security is unnecessarily and excessively high and is in conflict with the concept of humane containment.

The third element, however, is in many respects the most provocative in that it not only challenges widely-held beliefs about the quantity and quality of existing prison resources, about the need to build more prisons and about the criteria of overcrowding but argues that, if humane containment replaces treatment/training, the need for the distinction between local and training prisons disappears and the space and resources in many training prisons could be used to alleviate the pressures in other parts of the prison system. This, however, is but one aspect of humane containment, the overall standards of which the authors spell out within a framework of prisoners retaining all the rights of the ordinary citizen which are consistent with security.

Meanwhile, the enforcement of these standards and the consequential management problems are the subject of the two chapters contributed by Martin and Thomas. It is salutary to be brought back to the hard reality of industrial relations by Dr. Thomas and not least to the reactions of prison officers to a constantly changing and complex situation. In the wake of the original emphasis on treatment/training,

specialists were seen as usurping the creative role of the officer; in the subsequent wake of the demise of treatment/training and the decline in the military traditions an ideological vacuum existed; and in the wake of prisoner militancy and Home Office laissez-faire a power vacuum existed. It is a pity that these crucial issues were not related, in the concluding chapter of the book, to the question of officer attitudes to the implications of the proposals made by King and Morgan.

Professor Martin, however, does examine the main worries of staff, as well as prisoners and in a chapter entitled "Maintaining standards: who guards the guards?", he not only examines the rules and procedures which are concerned with prisoners' rights, but recognises that "Staff morale is vital to the quality of care" and that "it is essential that some understanding of staff fears should be shown . . .". This is a highly informative and critical chapter, which looks at the role of internal and external (including European) bodies in formulating and enforcing standards in prisons. The future requires, he believes, a re-thinking of this whole area which might be most appropriately carried out by a body similar to the Streatfeild Committee on the Business of the Criminal Courts of the early 1960's.

N.A. JEPSON
University of Leeds

The Suspended Sentence after Ten Years: a Review and Reassessment

PROFESSOR A.E. BOTTOMS

Changes in Conservatism of Prison Officers, Police Officers and Social Workers During Training

L. POTTER, A. WATSON, P. WATSON

Both University of Leeds Occasional Papers 1980

The Centre for Social Work and Applied Social Studies at Leeds University has invested a great deal of effort in understanding the problems facing those working in the fields of social welfare and criminal justice. For many years it has given the Prison Service academic support, advice and expertise. It has co-ordinated the work of advisory staff at the Prison Service College and the Officers' Training Schools and contributed to our understanding of training and operational problems.

These Occasional Papers, then, are not the work of remote academics. They are pamphlets written by people who have a clear understanding of the difficulties facing our Service and others within the criminal justice field. They are published in order to bring research findings to

the largest possible audience and widen the debate on specific issues.

The first paper is an expanded version of a paper delivered at the Frank Dawtry Memorial Seminar in 1977 by Professor A.E. Bottoms. The suspended sentence has been in use since January 1968. It was the first totally new sentencing option since the statutory creation of probation 60 years earlier and has become the second commonest penalty for adult male indictable offenders, being used twice as frequently as probation. Despite its popularity with the courts, it has attracted far less critical appraisal or research activity than parole or community service.

Professor Bottoms' pamphlet is an attempt to bring the suspended sentence further to the front of penological debate. The first section reviews its history since its proposal in 1950 by Sir Leo Page. Page's original argument proposed two theories. Firstly, as a more effective deterrent to the individual offender, the "Sword of Damocles" image. Secondly it would allow courts to show the degree of gravity of the offence without sending the offender to prison. The option was seen as an alternative both to custodial and non-custodial sentences.

Whatever the views of Page and other pre-1967 theorists, the suspended sentence was introduced as an alternative to imprisonment; this was supported by Roy Jenkins throughout its parliamentary stages and upheld by the Court of Appeal in late 1968.

Despite the official view, Bottoms shows that courts used the new provision as often to replace other forms of non-custodial sentences. Magistrates seemed to impose longer sentences when they were suspended than they did when the offender was sent directly to prison, rather than deciding on a suitable sentence length and then deciding whether to suspend it.

In re-assessing the suspended sentence, the second part of Bottoms' books shows that distinguished academics, judges and administrators have found the disposal confusing. Is it a let off or a serious award held in abeyance, a custodial or a non-custodial sentence, a sentence for use in carefully selected cases or one with more general application?

In considering these issues, Bottoms discusses the various arguments surrounding the suspended sentence and then looks in detail at the case for abolition. The suspended sentence has not been markedly successful, having failed to have a permanent impact on the number of people in prison. There may be humanitarian consideration in its favour but rising criminal conviction and tight limits on public expenditure are more convincing arguments at this time.

Part 3 concludes very succinctly; the possibility of abolition is worthy of serious debate. Bottoms is in favour of the abolition of the sentence and says, "Its effect is that we give custodial sentences to persons whom we intend to release into the community. We need to reduce the prison population but we need to do so in a positive, permanent way".

The second paper outlines studies of certain attitudes amongst student groups and the ways these attitudes are affected by training. Studies of prison officers, police officers and social workers, evolved separately but showing considerable similarities are considered.

The purpose of having applied social studies subjects in the prison officer training course is said, in the paper, to encourage the students to greater flexibility. Flexibility and rigidity are difficult to measure objectively but use of the Wilson Patterson Test goes some way to achieving this. Tested at the beginning and the end of the residential course, student officers showed some modification of attitudes, tending to be more liberal at the end.

This is not a surprising result as much of the residential part of officer training gives students opportunities to examine controversial issues in some depth. They are exposed to views and hard information from tutors and fellow students which cause them to think about issues in alternative ways. Not unnaturally this extends

beyond the classroom into ordinary conversation and debate.

Being a prison officer is nothing like being a mechanic or a lathe operator. It is a job which requires tremendous inter-personal skills, self-confidence and the ability to command respect. Technical knowledge is not very important; officers always have time to find the answer to a prisoner's query.

In establishing an effective working relationship however, they cannot afford to be dilatory. Each prisoner is different and because of this every prison officer must learn the qualities of flexibility and tolerance. The influence of Officer Training Schools' tutors is one important part of that learning process. It is good to know that officer training is achieving one of its most important objectives.

PETER J LEONARD
Deputy Governor
Wellingborough Borstal

The Economics of Crime

edited by RALPH ANDREANO and JOHN J. SIEGFRIED,

John Wiley and Sons, 1980, £9.00

This is an American book containing twenty-three essays on crime by writers whose points of view and methods derive from their training as economists. As a "growth industry" crime is of obvious interest to the economist especially so perhaps because growth is no longer a feature in other industries in the Western industrial world.

In 1965 a United States Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice estimated that crime was responsible for 4 per cent of the gross national product. Inevitably, therefore, the eye of the economist is attracted and the tools of his trade marginal utility, elasticity of supply and demand, used to analyse the decisions made by those who commit crimes, those who try to prevent crime and those who are victims of crime.

Paul Rubin in his essay on the economics of crime offers a useful corrective to the assumption that delinquency is simply abnormal behaviour or the unpredictable behaviour of abnormal people. He argues that rational motives are a significant factor in nearly all criminal activity and not only in crimes against property and the more overtly acquisitive crimes. In which case criminal behaviour would respond to crime being made less rewarding in the same way that businesses and customers respond to changes in the costs and the prices of goods.

Those who have worked amongst professional criminals will have heard them say that unless a certain level of income can be obtained legitimately then, rather than fall below the living standards which that income would bring, they will resort to crime. The economists take this argument at face value and extend it to other offenders.

Morgan Reynolds emphasises the element of choice in offending. "Criminals commit crimes because in their judgement it is profitable to do so. People respond rationally to their opportunities". But is it true that even in the market place people "respond rationally to their opportunities"? Is not the advertising industry devoted to an opposing concept based on consumer preferences which may be only marginally affected by straightforward economic considerations? In a recent study of burglary in the Thames Valley area it was discovered that, although many burglars found shoplifting a more viable occupation, it lacked the excitement and occasional large rewards of their preferred profession. However, even if criminal behaviour can be described so simply, this does not mean that solutions are equally simple to find. In the same chapter Reynolds recounts the experience of one African country where widespread robberies had become a major cause of public alarm. As a deterrent it was decided to execute summarily those convicted of robbery. The number of offences fell but the unforeseen consequence was that when robberies did occur, and such

savage punishment did not deter all, then the robbers made sure there were no witnesses to their acts. Overall, therefore, the position worsened.

Gordon Tulloch in a short but stimulating essay on the effectiveness of punishment claims that there is a true analogy between crime and punishment and the demand curve on the graph which slopes downwards in response to greater costs. In America, those States which have the harsher punishments have fewer crimes. To my mind Tulloch does not fully counter the notion that the social pressures which led to the State legislature adopting harsh penalties were responsible also for the low level of crime and not the penalties per se which may have been only the formal expression of those social pressures.

Economic sanctions can be applied not only to individuals but also to institutions and William Landes writing on the bail system argues forcefully that those who are remanded in custody and subsequently found innocent should be financially compensated so that the true costs of such remands are felt by the courts and added pressure put upon the authorities to use bail more. The Prison Service might want to add the costs of the escorts to court to the bill to press courts into examining the necessity for long remands and the consequent trips to court.

Not all the economists in the book are conservative. David Gordon offers a radical explanation of crime as a justifiable response to economic exploitation. He draws attention to the selective way in which the law operates to disadvantage those from the poorer sections of the community. The man who steals from the shop with its wares laid invitingly on open counters is punished by the law. The manufacturer of lead filled petrol may be censured but is not subject to legal prosecution. And yet who does more harm to the community! Gordon goes on to argue that this selective use of the criminal law is essentially part of the capitalist system and this leads him to the conclusion that "we must somehow change the entire structure of institutions in this country in order to eliminate the causes of crime".

The majority of the articles are less wide ranging, concentrating on specific aspects of crime such as income tax evasion, heroin misuse, jury conscription, punishment and offering an economist's view. However, it would be unfair if I have suggested that the economists in this book are unaware of the complexity of human motivation. They present a point of view which taken with other perspectives does aid our understanding of crime in society. It is a book to be dipped into rather than read cover to cover.

J. STAPLES
Deputy Governor
Holloway Prison

Psychiatry in Dissent

ANTHONY CLARE
Tavistock Publications 1980, £5.25

It is always refreshing to read a book which achieves what it sets out to do. As the title of this book suggests, it is a critical appraisal of the various and controversial issues both in the thought and practice of psychiatrists today. It is concerned not only with those being cared for under compulsory orders or the mentally abnormal offenders, but examines the whole area of changing concepts in the field of psychodynamics and psychotherapeutics, in attitudes and understandings, in long term interests for psychiatrists and in areas of concern for both the doctor and the public.

In some ways the drawing together of current views on mental illness with its controversial topics and widely diverse opinions, ought not to be difficult. However, in this revised edition the author has not only brought them together but has sought to critically analyse them, present some in a provocative way, to stimulate thought and discussion and provide a wealth of references. Anthony Clare begins by examining the concepts of mental illness and the various ideal-

gical attitudes taken by psychiatrists both in this country and abroad. Then, through an examination of the models of mental illness he discusses the diagnostic progress. Nevertheless, the relatively small proportion of abnormal psychic phenomena discussed is more than sufficient for the reader to follow the direction and interpretations in the chapters following on schizophrenia. Here, the many varieties of presentation and complexities of this disorder are clearly discussed and stimulate thought. The contemporary views on perhaps the most sensitive of all areas in the treatment of mental illness namely ECT and psychosurgery are then discussed at considerable length. Considering the stance taken on the question of psychosurgery in this country, the author did seem to spend a surprisingly large amount of time, but the reader will certainly enjoy the intellectual excursion provided.

More controversial issues developed towards the end of the book and concerned the question of responsibility and hospitalisation. The author very carefully brings together the problems facing psychiatrists in this country in providing an adequate and comprehensive health care service for the psychiatrically disturbed, both in terms of in-patient care and out-patient facilities. Dr. Clare expands on many contentious issues, not surprisingly man-power and finances, the use of junior and overseas doctors and the position psychiatry now seem to have in the pecking order of specialities. All this gives an initial feeling of gloom, but it must be remembered that any doctor worth his salt diagnoses first and then prescribes treatment.

A striking feature of the book is the sheer mass of quotations and references, and, I must admit, I found myself searching for the author amongst them all. Nevertheless, the text has been painstakingly compiled and is a scholarly contribution to psychiatry which I thoroughly recommend as an addition to the library of all concerned with the care of the mentally ill.

R.C. INGREY-SENN
Deputy Director
Prison Medical Services

The Seventh Denis Carroll
Memorial Lecture—ISTD

Psychiatry, the Law and the Offender

by ROBERT BLUGLASS

Professor Bluglass traces the historical background which led to the increasing interest in the mental health of prisoners and then discusses various dilemmas which face the psychiatrist and lawyer. Moving on to psychiatry and prisons, the author considers that prison hospitals cannot undertake the treatment of patients who would justify compulsory care. Many readers will appreciate that it is not so much the inability or failure of the prisons to treat patients who would justify compulsory care, but the basic concept that those who do justify compulsory care ought not to be in prison. Finally, the author examines future prospects in terms of research treatment and assessment and emphasises the need for an effective net-work of institutions which can provide the wide range of facilities necessary in the total management of the offender patient and within which the general psychiatrist must also play his role, together with forensic psychiatrists and all the other agencies involved. It was indeed refreshing to hear these words spoken again.

R.C. I-S

Probation in Penal Philosophy

W.R. WESTON

Occasional Paper No. 1
Centre for Social Work and Applied Social
Studies

University of Leeds 1980

This paper sets out its author's perception of the place of crime in our society, the development of attempts to deal with that phenomenon and what

could (ought?) to be done to improve those attempts. The author, a Chief Probation Officer, approaches this innocuous, if hardly modest, task with gusto. The gusto, unfortunately, falters very early on with the author reeling from own goals in the Probation Service half. He comes to a dead stop when the list of ills to which the probation flesh is heir appear to become too much. "The symptoms of this (*ambivalances and uncertainties of aims and approaches*) are now seen in the fact that some of these questions (*what and who is a Probation Officer?*) are still the subject of a major debate in the Service, when for the real health and sense of purpose of the organisation they should have been resolved long ago".

At this point the author appears to take a deep breath and addresses himself to a task at which the Probation Service is as good as the rest of us (and just about as likely to be right I imagine), that of answering the questions 'why are we in this mess?' and 'what can be done to get us all out of it?'

Not unexpectedly, however, the reader is again faced with a lengthy list of rhetorical questions as the author squares up to the fact that, since the decline of adherence to the 'treatment philosophy', no-one now has the correct remedy for the present troubles and it does not look likely that anyone ever will have such a remedy.

Despite this, Mr. Weston feels his way towards the idea that somehow society ought to place crime, and its treatment and effects at all levels, in one "system as a whole". This notion of the 'system as a whole', encompassing not only the official agencies, police, courts, probation prisons etc, dealing with the problem of crime but also the crime and the criminal himself, is in danger, I venture to suggest, of becoming a modern shibboleth. In reality, is it not the case that the system as a whole is too big for our own comprehension? Do we take refuge in that notion of a system as a respectable way of avoiding our individual responsibilities to the immediate problems with which we are faced?

A system, in the sense of the actions of one part affecting all the others, there undoubtedly is, but rather than strain our eyes looking for that system's limits, should we not try and ensure that our own individual actions are good enough to stand the test of commonsense judgement? We can often get too complicated for our own good. It is precisely here that Mr. Weston's call to his fellow Probation Service workers to speak from those convictions to society in terms it can understand and respond to (p6) is linked with his earlier view that the qualities of Frank Dawtry (in whose memory this paper was first given) of "vision, humanity, toughness, efficiency" are as much needed now as ever they were. We can all say 'amen' to that.

M.R.J. GANDER
Governor
Low Newton Remand Centre

Psychiatric Aspects of Imprisonment

JOHN GUNN, GRAHAM ROBERTSON, SUSANNE DELL and CYNTHIA WAY

Academic Press, 1978 £12.80

In 1970, the Home Office Research Unit invited Professor Gibbens of the Institute of Psychiatry in London to conduct a series of studies into psychiatric aspects of imprisonment. The first two of these studies – about remands for psychiatric reports to court and about disruptive long-term prisoners – have been written up, the latter by Patrick Pope in the *Prison Service Journal* for May 1976. This book, by other members of the Institute of Psychiatry, reports on three other projects: an evaluation of the psychiatric prison at Grendon Underwood, the operation of prison psychiatric services as exemplified at Wormwood Scrubs, and the prevalence of psychiatric disorder in the prison population.

Before getting down to these projects, how-

ever, the book plots the history of the prison psychiatric service as an offshoot of the medical care first introduced by an Act of 1774 to combat gaol fever. Mental health matters really only emerged for the prison surgeon at the beginning of the 19th century but gradually he assumed an advisory function on the mental and physical health of inmates – including, as today, the effects of discipline and treatment – and a role as expert witness on the sanity of those facing trial. From the start, therefore, the relationship between doctor and patient was unusual and is reflected in the development of the prison medical service distinct from the National Health Service: one important difference lies in the fact that, instead of the prisoner consulting the doctor, it is the State which consults the doctor about the prisoner.

This interesting opening chapter also plots significant developments like the move from diagnosis of insanity to its treatment in the pioneering work done by Hamblin-Smith at Birmingham in the 1920's and 1930's; the rise of psychotherapy at Wormwood Scrubs in the 1940's; the subsequent burgeoning of psychological treatments and the effects of the *Mental Health Act, 1959*. Its climax is understandably the opening, in July 1962, of Grendon Underwood as a unique and still widely acclaimed psychiatric experiment.

By far the greatest part of the book concerns Grendon. Research results are reported on the nature of the 1971–1972 intake of 107 men; of those "ghosted out" (over one-fifth of the intake was transferred as unsuitable); of the regime; and of the changes in the individuals who stayed.

The first evaluation is based on changes during treatment. The interviews, questionnaires and psychological tests, which are detailed in the appendices, showed a reduction in symptoms of disturbance and of antagonism, an increase in inmates' self-confidence, and a fall in their unrealistic estimation of psychiatrists. Given the therapeutic community and the regime's emphasis on people's ability to help themselves, these are evidence of Grendon's success. Most of these changes, however, take place in the men's first three months at Grendon which points not so much to a therapeutic development but an adjustment to and benefit from Grendon's unique regime. The authors stress this and, later in the book, they play down the failure of the regime to affect reconviction rates, interpreting the research as evidence that Grendon breaks down the negative consequences of prolonged imprisonment. "One interpretation of our results of the Grendon study is that the therapeutic community reduces or eliminates the prisonisation effect of previous imprisonment: a remarkable effect if that is correct".

The second evaluation centres on a controlled reconviction study conducted by Gunn et al. Now, the results of a psychologist's reconviction study of Grendon were summarised in the *Prison Service Journal* (Number 7) in July 1972 and provoked a series of articles and letters unprecedented in the Journal. Something as unexpected as interest was revealed in the *Prison Service Journal* Numbers 9 (Peter Scott in January 1973), 11 (Mark Williams in July 1973) and 14 (correspondence in April 1974). The essence of Margaret Newton's research was that, when inmates from Grendon and elsewhere were matched on a handful of features, there was no evidence that going to Grendon related to lowered reconviction rates. In their turn, Gunn et al point out the methodological pitfalls of such research. They query the possibility of properly matching men even though they themselves were helped enormously in identifying a sample matched to their 61 Grendon inmates by the Home Office's "parole index". They reject as unethical the idea of randomly allocating men to different treatments and evaluating the outcomes. They end up regarding reconviction as no satisfactory test of any prison treatment: the criterion of reconviction, they say, may be a better guide to after-care than imprisonment. So what did their own study reveal? That's right: there were no significant differences between the

reconviction rates of Grendon graduates and of the inmates superficially matched with them.

The authors are more enthusiastic about their third evaluation: a postal follow-up survey of men released from Grendon and Wormwood Scrubs. Though the results are not easily summarised and are too often prone to small numbers of respondents, they make good use of case studies to describe the findings. Two chapters in the book deal with the psychiatric service, the treatment population and the changes during treatment at Wormwood Scrubs Prison. It is the parallel of the Grendon evaluation and is meant to demonstrate a more traditional prison psychiatric service – albeit that Wormwood Scrubs is exceptional in being the first, largest and most important psychiatric effort outside of Grendon. The research does not deal with physical methods of treatment (drugs and ECT) nor with hormonal and behaviour modification therapies which are sometimes used for sex offenders at Wormwood Scrubs.

The researchers, using interviews, tests and questionnaires, were disappointed at the small number of responses they got in following patients through various stages of treatment. Nevertheless, there seemed to be a real reduction in the disturbance revealed by the tests. This was not necessarily due to psychiatric treatment because the reduction was no more than one would expect of the adaptation made particularly by first-timers in prison. Furthermore, the shifts were greater amongst addicts who had engaged in group psychotherapy than amongst others who had undergone individual psychotherapy. These two findings suggest that, as at Grendon, it is the group work which affects the men, helping them deal with the effects of imprisonment. They suggest that psychiatric treatment in prison is often palliative, enabling men to cope with problems that prison itself has created.

The essence of group therapy and the therapeutic community at Grendon is not exclusively medical – the regime and day-to-day activities are run mainly by non-psychiatric staff. Though psychiatrists should be involved, argue Gunn et al, "There seems to be no reason why the principles of Grendon could be extended to other prisons". Shortly after their research, indeed, a small therapeutic unit was set up at Wormwood Scrubs for about 40 patients. Reading this book, with its message of hope in group therapy at Grendon and at Wormwood Scrubs, it is all the more ironic to see reports in the newspapers of "the Annexe" being closed during rebuilding of the hospital at Wormwood Scrubs.

It would be easy for a book on the psychiatric aspects of imprisonment to get caught in at least one of two traps: that criminal behaviour is inevitably related to psychiatric disorder and that the proper management of prisoners always involves psychiatric treatment. This book gets entrapped in neither but does uncover a high prevalence of psychiatric symptoms among the prison population. In a separate research project, which lies less happily alongside those about Grendon and Wormwood Scrubs, the authors added a psychiatric dimension to a survey conducted by the Home Office Research Unit. One in ten of the prison population of the South East region was surveyed in February 1972. One-fifth of this sample had had previous psychiatric treatment in the National Health Service; approximately one-third was defined as psychiatric cases by the researchers' criteria; more than one-third wanted psychiatric treatment; and maybe 2 per cent were psychotic. One-third admitted illegal drug-taking; up to a quarter could have been problem drinkers; and one in 7 had gambling problems.

The book is extremely interesting, written in an objective and honest manner. Sometimes the findings have to be read and re-read, because the sections are not always well organised from the reader's point of view. The book was first published in 1978 and, notwithstanding the effects of the industrial action on the production of book reviews, that is an exceptionally long time ago for the Journal to be reviewing the work: happily, the results described in the book

are important enough to be conveyed even at this stage. In addition, reviewing this book feels rather like completing a full circle because it was in the *Prison Service Journal* that John Gunn set out his original stocktaking of the psychiatric services at Grendon and Wormwood Scrubs Prisons (numbers 8 and 10, October 1972 and April 1973 respectively) while undertaking the research reported here.

RICK EVANS
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Midland Regional Office

Social Work Studies No 3: Throughcare with Prisoners Families

MARK MONGER, JOHN PENDLETON, JENNY ROBERTS

University of Nottingham. Department of Social Administration and Social Work £5.30

The fact that this important piece of work has taken eight years to pass from fieldwork to publication is, in my view, a serious indictment of the status of research in the subject matter as well as of the system by which research reaches (or doesn't reach) those who most need it.

The book gives an account of the attempts made by one probation area to give expression to the notion of 'through care' as distinct from aftercare. Since being stuck with the title of Probation and *After Care* the debate about the meaning of the concept of after care and its unsatisfactory relationship to the needs of prisoners and their families has raged (or more accurately, spluttered!) This book gives powerful support to the demands that the Probation Service should grasp the nettle of 'through care' and strive to make a more powerful commitment to helping prisoners and their families, not from any high flown notions about treatment but from a humanitarian concern to reduce the damaging effects which forced separation inflicts upon family life and the upbringing of children.

In describing the experiences of probation officers inside and outside in trying to implement a through care model the authors reveal many holes and unsatisfactory aspects of practice. They emphasise however their conviction that through care can work and give some good examples of action taken which was directly related to the ability of the prisoner and or his family to overcome some at least of their problems.

Their analysis of the depressive aspects of the service's involvement with prisoners and the inhibiting and deskilling influence this has on officers work is valuable in its own right. I was particularly impressed with their chapter on the relationship and role conflict problems of probation officers working inside and outside in Chapter 6 and with their thoughtful and optimistic Chapter on Implications for the future. I do wish to identify with this optimism not so much from conviction that the service has the capacity to make through care work but from conviction that probation officers can work with families to ameliorate some of the worst effects of separation due to imprisonment and that this is a proper task for a humanitarian service concerned with keeping people out of prison.

I hope this book, despite its limited publication, will be read and debated in all corners of the penal system by practitioners and trainers.

BRIAN FELLOWES
Assistant Chief Probation Officer

The Life Style Violent Juvenile

ANDREW H VACHSS & YITZHAK BAKAL
Lexington Books 1980 £16.50

The title of this book is somewhat misleading as it is predominantly about designing a Secure Treatment Unit for violent youths in the USA who have usually been members of gangs. However, in order to give the reader an insight

into the feelings and behaviour of the life style violent juvenile it begins with an interview between Vachss and a youth, "Pirate", who is a gang member in New York. From outside the gang the activities of the members can be viewed as extremely violent, sadistic and motiveless. Pirate, for example, describes his initiation ceremonies as a mugging, a rape and beating up a stranger with a baseball bat that had nine-inch nails across. The prevailing philosophy of the gang seems to be "Hurt people before they hurt you", regardless of who they are. British gangs, in contrast, tend to have as their main aim the physical abuse of ethnic minorities such as Pakistanis and the protection of the gang's territory. The Life Style Violent Juvenile would seem, then, or simply reading the introduction, to be a book of particular relevance to the USA but of little relevance to Britain. This is not the case if one reads on.

The book is actually a follow up to *Closing Correctional Institutions* by Bakal which, as most readers of this review will know, deals with the closing of many institutions in Massachusetts in the early 1970's and the placement of young delinquents in the community. By 1975 Massachusetts confined only six per cent of delinquents in correctional institutions and the current book argues for secure intensive care for the dangerous offender. This is not a new notion to Britain and hence the book is relevant to British readers. What is new is the description in extensive detail of plans for a Special Treatment Unit to deal with 50 such individuals. Security hardware, staff selection, assessment and classification, staff training, shift systems, the politics of institutional care and detailed architectural plans of the Unit are all included in subsequent chapters. The philosophy of the unit is there cannot be treatment without security for life style violent youths. We found this a novel and attractive philosophy.

The residents, for whom violence is a way of life, are protected from each other through attention to the design of the buildings and elaborate staff manning and training levels. The Secure Treatment Unit has limited aims and "makes two promises to the public: (1) it will successfully incapacitate the life style violent delinquent for a minimum period, and (2) it will produce a de-escalation of life style violence in the released offender". The authors recognize the difficulty of the task but expect progress through the unit. This involves moving through four sub units with more emphasis on vocational and cognitive aspects as there is a concomitant decrease in the likelihood of violence. The estimated cost of the institution (in 1979) was 3 million dollars and it would cost 50,000 dollars per year to keep each juvenile in the institution. The book concludes with verbatim records of interviews between the authors and senior administrators, lawyers, prisoners and criminologists. One budding senator was asked if the financial cost was excessive. He simply replied "No". Presumably he felt that there was no need to justify providing resources where they were most needed.

The only criticism we have is that the book says very little about how youths would fare once back on the violent streets. This is a shame because the authors could have tackled the issue with the honesty that characterises the rest of the book. Overall the book is well written, readable, and informative. We recommend it to anyone interested in exploring the practical details of an idea which has much support; the incarceration of only very dangerous offenders.

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ADVERTISEMENT

MEDICAL AID FOR CIVIL SERVANTS?

by Desmond Main Thompson
Secretary, CSMAA

"What's all this about? We don't need any special treatment. We've got the NHS, haven't we, and that covers us from birth until death, doesn't it?" Well, of course, if you have the misfortune to be knocked down in the street, or your appendix blows up in the middle of the night, you will almost certainly be rushed to hospital in an ambulance provided by the NHS. But there are an awful lot of medical conditions, often involving considerable discomfort and pain, which cannot be relieved quickly because there are long hospital waiting lists for the particular treatment or surgery required. That is the principal reason why private health organisations such as BUPA and Private Patients Plan are flourishing and expanding: another is that in most cases you can choose the time and place (and the surgeon) for an operation to suit your domestic circumstances or your work commitments. But, you may object, by "buying" my medical treatment won't I be "jumping the queue" and delaying some one else's treatment? No, you won't, and the reason is quite simple. Most consultants and surgeons have contracts for service with the NHS (although some do not work in the NHS at all) under which they work for the NHS for a number of sessions a week. Outside these contractual sessions they are free to accept patients for private treatment. By doing so they do not in any way shorten the time they devote to NHS patients.

This is where the Civil Service Medical Aid Association ("CSMAA") comes in. By the way, do not confuse it with the Civil Service Motoring Association ("CSMA"). The Medical Aid Association has been in existence since 1929 and has adapted itself over the years to changing conditions, and in particular to the introduction of the National Health Service. It is the fifth largest private health insurance organisation in the country and, as its name implies, membership is in general limited to civil servants and others in employment closely linked to employment under the Crown, though membership can continue after retirement. Spouses or dependent relatives under the age of 60, widows or widowers of members and children can also be covered.

The Association is managed by senior civil servants, who give their services free, and a small paid staff of 9. It is partly because of the relatively low cost of management that the Association is able to offer cover at a fraction of the cost of better known organisations. Another reason is that the Association meets 85% of admissible expenses, not 100%, but most members prefer it that way. A few take out additional cover, at low cost, with another organisation to fill the 15% gap. The Association itself is currently considering the possibility of offering 100% cover on a voluntary basis (within defined maxima graded according to the nature of the operation) at a higher rate of contribution.

Since becoming Secretary of the CSMAA earlier this year, I have been surprised to find how many civil servants (and, of course, their dependants) are not members of the Association. I know from letters we receive that, in quite a number of cases, this is due to lack of knowledge of the Association's existence and, of course, of the benefits it provides. I have not mentioned the benefits specifically in this article because the Association publishes a brochure, copies of which are held by Welfare Officers, which sets out the benefits and contributions in some detail. Particularly favourable rates of contribution are available for members who join under the age of 41. (Even more favourable rates for people below the age of 31 are in the pipeline. When introduced these will apply both to existing members and to new members.)

Of course, like any other health insurance association, it is sometimes necessary to impose a limitation on benefit where there is a pre-existing medical condition. But I know from experience that the Committee takes a very sympathetic view of all applications. If you have any queries concerning membership of the Association why not write to me at Charles House, 375 Kensington High Street, London W14 8QL? I look forward to hearing from you.

CSMAA

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