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Comment

The Prison Service Journal has always encouraged a degree of optimism; printing times compel us to look at longer or broader issues and to avoid the peaks and troughs of the day-to-day Prison Service. As this piece is being written the numbers crisis is reaching its spring peak and the Fresh Start offer apparently heads for acceptance. In the lazy heat of summer, the issues may not be so heady and the reader may be in more reflective mood.

Professor Nomura's article on imprisonment in Japan portrays a system reminiscent of Sir Lionel Fox's day, apparently intact and not shaken from its course by the sociological excitements of the last 20 years. Can it be that all the basic therapeutic model needed was sufficient access to outside agencies for it to command the acceptance of both public and prisoners?

Ian Dunbar reflects, too, in his Perrie Lecture on the growth and development of Long Lartin Prison which has, over a similar period, thankfully and with enterprise, not only survived but demonstrated the value of staff involvement with some of the more dangerous men in the dispersal system. Drawing, too, on wider experience of such prisons, he highlights the better features of regimes for long-term prisoners. It is right to set down what has worked successfully so that those who follow can work out with another generation of long-termers, perhaps in the Special Unit at Lincoln or in Full Sutton, how long terms of imprisonment can be successfully managed. Similar adaptable re-working is described by Paul Ripley in relation to the curriculum in a detention centre and by Liz Cronhelm for the Open University. Offenders are not necessarily fated to remain within a vicious circle, there are alternative satisfactions to offending.

This Prison Service Journal also breaks new ground. Dr. Kilgour discusses the problems of AIDS within prisons and how they can be faced and managed. And we welcome the first contribution from members of HM Probation Inspectorate on 'throughcare'. It seems therefore that we can join with Christopher Peck in looking forward with more than a degree of optimism.

But is this true? How have we come so close to the 50,000 Rubicon—and by now perhaps to have crossed it? To what degree has optimism within the Prison Service encouraged the urge to imprison? Readers of the current Howard Journal¹ will discover Professor Willem De Haan's description of trends in Dutch penal policy over a similar period. Holland may at present be building more prisons as keenly as Britain but it remains resolutely at the bottom of the penal league while we stand out at the top. Willem De Haan stresses that research into the dangers of long-term institutionalisation prompted a "bad conscience" in both the judiciary and the public and this basic doubt has supported a deep distrust of the value of imprisonment even as crime figures have

risen. Dutch reaction to the research of 20 years ago was not to make imprisonment "better" but to use it less. Interestingly the Victorians did much the same. And George Bernard Shaw² wrote:-

"If any person is addressing himself to the perusal of these dreadful books in the spirit of a philanthropist bent on reforming a necessary and beneficent public institution, I beg him to put it down and go about some other business. It is just such reformers who have in the past made the neglect, oppression, corruption and physical torture of the old common gaol the pretext for transforming it into that diabolical den of torment, mischief and damnation, the modern model prison. If, on the contrary, the reader comes to the books as a repentant sinner, let him read on."

Recent Home Secretaries have made no bones about the poor prison conditions in which prisoners live and staff work. Douglas Hurd³ said recently:-

"It does not make a man less likely to offend if he is forced to live in degrading conditions. The object of prison is not to humiliate or degrade an individual while . . . in custody."

His declared approach is pragmatic:-

" . . . holding a prisoner in conditions of necessary security while seeking to minimise the adverse effects of imprisonment and making such preparations as are possible to return him to the outside world as a stable citizen."

and

" . . . the general idea that a period of incarceration in overcrowded conditions will create a better man is not credible. This is not to belittle the individual success stories where the work and support of prison staff has helped offenders on a new path. These successes need to be recognised and applauded. But they cannot be regarded as the norm."

The Prison Service Journal's role is to make known such success stories, not (after Martinson⁴) to expect a successful generalisation of such rehabilitative work but to stimulate constructive innovation within and despite an overloaded and stressed system. We would, of course, support endeavours that reduce that stress. We need to stir the conscience of the prison system and—more broadly and at the risk of going outside our brief—of the criminal justice system which at present seems bent on relentlessly turning up the voltage with every piece of disobedience (Milgram⁵). Dutch consciences effect different outcomes from ours.

1. Howard Journal, February, 1987, Vol 26.1 pp 15-32.
2. In the Preface to Webb, S (1922) English Prisons under Local Government.
3. The Home Secretary spoke at Bristol University on 30 January 1987.
4. Martinson, R (1974) What Works? Questions and Answers about Prison Reform, The Public Interest, 35, pp 22-54.
5. Milgram S (1974) Obedience to Authority. Tavistock Publications.

A Throughcare System -

Some fundamental factors

Roger Shaw, Geoff Childs, Mollie Samuels
of H.M. Probation Inspectorate

The recently published report by HM Chief Inspector of Prisons on the preparation of prisoners for release¹ demonstrates that insufficient is being done to prepare prisoners for what lies ahead of them. The report offers many pointers to the deficiencies in the system; the failure to start the process early enough in the imprisonment, the lack of management responsibility, uncertainty as to which prisoners need assistance and an absence of priorities in policy and practice. It is a matter of disappointment and concern that there has been so little real progress despite all the discussion, research and reports of the last few years.

HM Inspectors of Probation, involved as they have been in the Prison Department Working Group on the Role of Probation Officers in Prison, and the throughcare circular which followed, have been reflecting on what constitutes good throughcare practice. This paper addresses some of the factors fundamental to throughcare, and considers issues related to its effective implementation.

We begin with the assumption of readers' familiarity with the plethora of working parties and circulars as well as the Jepson/Elliott report² on shared work commissioned by the Working Group on the Role of Probation Officers.³ This group defined

throughcare as "facilitating in every way as supportively and constructively as possible the progress of prisoners from the community through the prison experience to their return to the community". It is this definition, and the principles it embodies, to which the authors subscribe and to which the rest of this paper is addressed.

The secondment of probation officers to prisons, which began in 1966, was by no means the outcome of consensus between the two services. To date the Prison Officers' Association, whilst stating its commitment to shared working, has not been forceful in its implementation. The National Association of Probation Officers is now committed to a policy for the withdrawal of the probation officers from working inside prisons. The National Association of Senior Probation Officers has taken a contrary view, believing it necessary for probation officers to remain working inside prisons. The Association of Chief Officers of Probation has also consistently committed itself to maintaining a probation presence within the system.

Despite the differing views of the various probation service organisations about the secondment of probation officers, there, nevertheless, seems to be agreement about what should be the ultimate effect of the

Service contribution. It should be an aid to the Prison Service as it seeks to meet its responsibilities for the throughcare of inmates. Not that this is easily achieved for without clear objectives, a formalised operational structure, the involvement of all personnel and ultimate accountability to the Governor, effective throughcare of prisoners is but a pious hope. Even then without better information on prisoners and their needs than is usually the case, no throughcare objective has the smallest hope of achievement.

In our view this last, the availability of good basic information about prisoners, should be placed at least as high, if not higher, on the scale of importance than the often repeated shibboleth of 'shared work'. Shared what? one is entitled to ask. In the absence of dependable information one can 'pay one's money and take one's choice' of what to share without it having even the smallest relation to the inmates' real needs. Appropriate and constructive decisions about the future made by prisoners, and those concerned with their welfare, are barely possible, without benefit of reliable information. Preparation for the return to the community is hampered, if not made impossible, without benefit of certain essential information. To justify its absence on resource grounds seems senseless waste in view

of the overall cost of the prison experience most of which could be squandered in the first days or weeks of an inmate's return to the community for lack of appropriate preparation.

Of course we know that the system does accumulate information about inmates. Depending on the category the system deals variously with the business of information gathering. Some files grow thick and still thicker with accumulated unrelated reports often containing unverified, contradictory, vital data far too profuse for any hardworked staff properly to assess. How many inmates progress to parole review stage without details of their offences in the files or insufficient information about their criminal history? One could speculate on how relevant could be the system's engagement with the inmates in these circumstances. Where information is inadequate, decisions may be made independently by each service, or by colleagues in the same service, without the positive involvement of the inmate. How Governors' can be expected to hold staff accountable in these circumstances is a matter for conjecture.

We would argue that there are a number of fundamental stages where the acquisition and use of information is critical to good throughcare practice:

- i) on receipt into custody—acquisition of basic information about the inmate and his family, together with a brief assessment of the likely impact of the fact of the imprisonment on the inmate;
- ii) during sentence—formulation of a plan in which the responsibilities of prison and probation staff inside and outside prison are established, agreed and regularly reviewed;
- iii) during consideration for parole—assurance that the inmate and his family have an understanding of the parole process;
- iv) when preparing for release—a review of progress, formulation of release plan and identification of the after-care/parole officer plus guidance for any other agencies who may be involved.

The nature of these stages, where and when they are carried out, will differ according to the length of the sentence, the stage of imprisonment and the circumstances under which the prisoner is held. Prisoners who are, for instance, sentenced to terms

which render them eligible for parole consideration will be able to receive specific and prolonged attention as will others subject to long-term allocation. Short-term inmates, many of whom may be recidivists with drink or other difficulties, will progress immediately from reception into custody to preparation for release. Work associated with their release will then have to be undertaken on a very short timescale. Remand prisoners and fine defaulters present particular problems because there may be no information readily available at the prison. They may not be in contact with a probation officer or a legal adviser and may have dependants who are unaware of their imprisonment. For these and other reasons the plight of the remand prisoner may be greatest of all. One could, therefore, argue that any prisoner may have resettlement needs whatever the length of the sentence or the circumstances of the incarceration and it is difficult to exclude any inmate from consideration for throughcare.

The vehicle for the progressing of personal information, brief or detailed, about inmates could be a throughcare document prepared on every reception and remaining with the record for the duration of the custody. Speculation as to the content of such a document could lead to the following:

- i) the basic facts of the inmate's personal circumstances, including family links and the nature of the offence;
- ii) the objectives to be attained during imprisonment/custody;
- iii) the assigned responsibilities of staff for the attainment of these objectives;
- iv) an account of the review processes carried out at agreed intervals during the period of imprisonment, which takes into consideration length of sentence and significant events such as long-term allocation and consideration for parole. Also the reasons for transfer to other establishments should be stated.

We recognise that there are a number of difficulties inherent in implementing the principles and tasks which we have outlined as being fundamental to good throughcare practice. Some of these have already been identified and others include the ethos of the establishment, its functions

and the dynamics of the relationship between all prison and probation personnel. The latter will be influenced by the location of the probation team; whether it is based on the wing, in the administrative block, elsewhere in the prison or outside it completely. The decision whether it will be wing or centre-based or outside the prison has to be taken in relation to how best the identified throughcare needs of different categories of prisoners can be met. This, in turn, seems to be dependent on the existence of a structure which enables/encourages prison and probation staff to work together to a common end for which there is the same degree of accountability as there is for provision of the meals, the maintenance of security, the availability of medical services, etc.

If all this sounds like counsel of perfection in an impossibly difficult resource situation, we would argue energetically that this is not so. In fact, it is just because the resource situation is so acute that we need a better knowledge base from which to make key decisions about the management of inmates. Offenders most at risk of committing further offences are those currently in custody. Should we accept this as inevitable or should we reflect on the scope to maximise such strengths as inmates can, or are willing to, muster to help themselves survive in the community, within, instead of outside, the law? The real waste in the system must be of effort when ill-informed decisions in the preparation of prisoners for release by all parties to this overburdened system leave inmates infinitely worse off on release than at the moment of their incarceration. At the heart of effective decision-taking must be a good information system about individual inmates and their needs. How could it be argued that ensuring this is not of equal importance to the other major demands now being made on the system? It must also be at the heart of the job satisfaction aspired to in 'A Fresh Start'.

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Curriculum for the Young Offender

Paul Ripley

Education Officer at Whatton Detention Centre

Those involved in the custodial care of young offenders are involved in the process of trying to re-direct the potential future inmates of adult prisons into more socially accepted ways of behaviour. The young offender, almost as the apprentice first starting off on his trade, or the pupil first entering secondary school, is likely to be influenced quite considerably by the experiences his sentence produces. Sadly, research shows that the tendency to recidivism is more often stronger than the tendency to 'reform'. What this paper attempts to illustrate is that a part of the young offender's sentence could be viewed in alternative fashions. It suggests that a curriculum for the young offender should not rest on certain established truisms, but should be a dynamic, challenging curriculum with clearly defined objectives. These objectives should primarily be concerned with analysing the offending behaviour and seeking strengths and strategies from within the offender to challenge it. The strategies and strengths working against recidivism need then to be supported, especially through a realistic model of 'through-care'.

The Crime

Crime is initially a matter of choice. The offender determines a course of action and takes decisions leading up to the criminal act. The environment in which the choice is made is not a matter of choice. The young offender cannot choose his parents; he cannot choose his school; he cannot choose his peer group. These influences should be carefully considered when a curriculum to suit the young offender is developed. As such his individuality should be assessed, his needs

judged and a programme developed to work within the social framework within which he lives. His crime is relevant to his environment. His crime relies upon his environment: you don't find many young poachers in Tower Hamlets!

Reckless (1962) theorized that crime would only be contained by the strengths emanating from the potential offender:

"Of the two containing buffers against deviation, the inner containment is the more important in the mobile industrialized settings of modern society. This is because individuals in such societies spend much of their time away from family and the other supportive groups which can contain them. As a result, they must rely more on their own inner strengths to function competently. It is also probable that the outer is operationally more important than the inner containing buffer in less mobile, less industrialized societies where the clan, the castle, the tribe, the village retain their effectiveness, or in the modern, intensively managed, communistic societies."¹

If a custodial sentence is to be a deterrent feature against crime, it must look upon supporting this 'inner containment'. Its emphasis should be upon the support and development of the strengths of the containment.

This paper argues one case for supporting containment by recognising the state of deviation many of our young offenders are actually in. This state, for want of a better word, is maladjustment. If we are to challenge the offender's behaviour we must understand and work from the basis

that many of our young offenders are maladjusted and as such, their inner containment ability has been damaged, neglected or injured by the environment in which they have been nurtured.

What is Maladjustment?

If we accept that many young offenders are maladjusted, it is important to understand the meaning of the term. A maladjusted person may be under-reactive, neurotic, suffering from a psychiatric disorder, obsessional, emotionally disturbed. Many are the symptoms of maladjustment. Stott (1982) gave a general definition for maladjustment which appears to fit the young offender:

"What is maladjustment? Whether the children's behaviour, if persisted in, is likely to unfit them to take part and hold their own in society—children act against their own best interests—people who persistently yield to impulses which afford them immediate gratification but later involve them in trouble would, by definition, be considered maladjusted."²

The definition suits many young offenders. Imprisonment for relatively minor offences must be a sure manifestation of working against one's own self-interest. Recognition of this becomes problematical because maladjustment is not like a clinical affection, a permanently obvious situation. Emotionally vulnerable people seldom display their maladjustive behaviour to people in official positions, such as Probation Officers, Magistrates or Governors. These people tend to see the young offender on his best behaviour exhibiting none of the signs

or symptoms of maladjustment.

Maladjustment is observed when the structures are relaxed, in association, at work, in the classroom.

It is my contention that these are the areas in which behaviours can be examined and, by professional and skilful observation and action, the 'inner containment' reinforced and extended.

The Curriculum

It is not my intention to suggest strategies for implementation by professionals other than teachers. I would suggest other colleagues examine their attitudes and approaches realising that the young offenders are not likely to respond, other than at surface level, to treatment they frequently receive. They may conform but conformity and internalization are different processes. Conformity within a very structured and disciplined environment is no indicator of social skills developed.

For the teacher this suggests that the method used to deliver the curriculum must quickly encourage the offender to become an initiator. The initiator is more likely to learn than the passive participant in some academic exercise. Participation must be on the level of active analysis of what is in the best interests of the offender. The curriculum should be designed to fulfil the interests of the offender. This is not a licence to pursue meaningless activities. Rather the offender should be presented with situations which demand participation: situations determined by thoughtful and skilled teachers and instructors who ensure their curriculum is an active, participating student-based curriculum.

What does this mean in practical terms? First and foremost the effective teacher or instructor must have a clearly understood mode of behaviour management. Vital to the code are:

- appropriate rules governing students' behaviour, their clarity, the effectiveness of their communication and the students' understanding;
- staff subscription to and uniformity with the enforcement of these rules;
- clarity among staff and pupils concerning the consequences which follow infraction of the rules.

The most vital constituent is the staff subscription. The maladjusted student must have an understandable and strongly upheld code within which

he can develop. Inconsistency amongst staff will only exacerbate his maladjustment. An integrated, frequently reviewed regime would work towards overcoming problems of inconsistency.

Second, the content must be relevant. McGuire and Priestley (1985)³ give three broad headings concerning approaches towards contemporary practice of penology:

1. punishment;
2. treatment;
3. practical help.

The first, 'punishment', has no place in the educator's vocabulary; the second, 'treatment', is based upon the assumption of sickness or inadequacy; the third, 'practical help', is the pragmatic approach.

The teacher of the young offender must be prepared to incorporate both the 'treatment' and the 'practical help' models in the curriculum.

An eclectic approach is needed. There must be acceptance that there is no single answer. Every offence and offender is unique and the curriculum must be able to match this uniqueness.

Acceptance of the twin facets of a structured methodology and the maladjusted person within the methodology begs the question, 'What should be taught and how should the learning take place?'. For this there is again no simple answer. The educator has to look at his resources both in terms of material and personnel. The staff strengths and weaknesses must be evaluated. From this a curriculum that is practical and questioning, with a built-in element of success and self-analysis, should be developed. The curriculum must provide opportunities to counsel, to teach new skills, to develop old skills, to communicate, to share experiences—with time for reflection. Above all there must be an abundance of opportunities which will expose, then develop the inner containment so frequently damaged or underdeveloped in our maladjusted young offenders.

This eclectic curriculum approach should complement our statutory obligations. By developing the inner containment we should help the young offender by giving him the resources:

"To endeavour, by all available means, to prevent deterioration in the offender's physical and mental conditions and to promote his self respect—to provide, and to assist, the offender to make use of opportunities to acquire or develop personal resources, interests and skills

which may help him on release to cope with the demands of contemporary society without reverting to crime."⁴

This will not be achieved by a sterile curriculum. To fulfil our obligations we must be innovative, sensitive and conscious of the needs of each individual.

In a practical sense full use should be made by teachers and instructors of all the methods and materials available to them. Innovation must be the key word in curriculum development. The strengths of the teacher should be exploited to the fullest, especially their strengths as counsellors and mentors. Traditional classroom pedagogy should be questioned; we are unlikely to achieve, in similar conditions, what schools have not achieved over many years. A tradition of oral, rather than written, individual and group work should be practised. Computers, tape and video recorders, the television, all should be used frequently and with confidence.

In the practical areas of the curriculum more thought should be given to their role in the development of inner containment. Indeed, the workshop, the art room, the drama studio, possibly offer the greatest opportunity for discussing, questioning and resolving the behaviours which have led to offending.

Overall, the curriculum should not avoid issues perceived to be controversial. Racism and its implications should be examined; sexism and the macho image; stereotypes and truisms, should be critically examined, using all audio-visual aids available.

Above all, the teacher should be prepared to accept and explore 'red herrings'. The lesson plan should be flexible and able to take on the diversions, as it is from these that many issues will arise. These are the means by which the hidden curriculum of the institution may be examined and this curriculum is as influential as the planned curriculum, if not more so. ■

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Recent trends in the Japanese Prison Service

Professor Yukio Nomura

SHORT SUMMARY

This paper is intended to outline the structure and work of the prison service in Japan and discusses problems which the Japanese Prison Service is facing.

Correctional administration in Japan is governed by the Correction Bureau, Ministry of Justice. There are eight regional offices which share in the work of the Correction Bureau regionally.

Penal institutions consist of prisons, juvenile prisons and detention

houses. Prisons detain convicted prisoners sentenced to imprisonment with or without labour and persons sentenced to penal detention. Detention houses hold those remanded in custody and convicted persons sentenced to the death penalty.

Juvenile institutions consist of two categories, the juvenile training school and the juvenile classification home. Juvenile training schools accommodate juvenile delinquents committed on care orders by the family courts and give them correctional education.

The juvenile classification homes detain young delinquents who are remanded for observation by the family court; they conduct personality and character classification of the young delinquents in order to assist with investigation and disposal by the family courts and also to facilitate the execution of the care order.

"Recent Trends" describes the problems which the Japanese Prison Service faces today.

Organizations involved in Correctional Administration

The Correction Bureau has responsibility for the following matters under the Establishment Law of the Ministry of Justice:

- to execute punishment and to remand prisoners in custody, and to deal with matters relating to penal administration;
- to deal with matters relating to prisons, juvenile prisons, detention houses, juvenile training schools, juvenile classification homes and a women's guidance home;
- to deal with matters relating to the education and training of correctional officials;
- to deal with matters relating to the fingerprinting of offenders;
- to deal with matters relating to correctional administration which do not fall under the authority of public administration; and
- to deal with matters relating to persons confined on charges of contempt of court.

national training institute for prison officials was established in Tokyo in 1890. From 1909 to 1947 the Training Institute was operated by the Japanese Correctional Association, a non-profit foundation voluntarily organized by correctional staff throughout Japan. The Institute originally trained prison officers only, but began to train officials of juvenile institutions in 1949. Since July 1969, the Institute has been officially called the Training Institute for Correctional Officials. It has a branch in each of the eight correctional regions.

The purpose of the staff training provided at the Training Institute is to promote efficient correctional management by teaching both academic subjects and professional skills required for the performance of correction duties.

There are roughly two kinds of training courses. One is a junior course conducted by a branch office involving induction courses for new recruits, secondary courses for more senior officials, and special courses. The other is advanced training, conducted by the main Institute office, for executive officials, together with other special courses and research courses at the highest professional levels.

Regions

Regional Offices are located in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Sendai, Sapporo and Takamatsu where high courts and high public prosecutors' offices are located. The offices are an intermediate tier and share the work of the Correction Bureau regionally. The offices consist

Training

As early as 1884, a training programme for prison officers was being carried out in Yokohama Prison. The first

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Professor Nomura added twelve tables to his article but these have had to be omitted. The tables cover organization, total population, releases, etc. Copies can be supplied by the Editorial Office, but please enclose an A4 size, stamped, self-addressed envelope.

of three divisions and seven sections.

Some of the important functions of Regional Offices include institutional inspection, staff management, transfer of inmates between institutions, co-ordination of prison industry, assignment of prison visitors and contingency planning.

Institutions

Penal institutions consist of prisons, juvenile prisons and detention houses. Prisons detain convicted prisoners sentenced to imprisonment with or without labour and persons sentenced to penal detention. Detention houses detain persons remanded in custody and convicted persons sentenced to death.

The administration of penal institutions and the treatment of prisoners are regulated by such basic laws and

regulations as the Prison Law of 1908, the Prison Law Enforcement Regulations (Ministry of Justice Ordinance of 1908), the Ordinance for Progressive Treatment of Prisoners (Ministry of Justice Ordinance of 1933), the Prisoners' Classification Regulations (Minister of Justice Directive of 1972) and by other ministerial directives. In relation to penal institutions, police jails should also be mentioned. Police jails are custodial facilities attached to police stations mainly to detain persons arrested and remanded. These 1,224 jails are not administered by the Ministry of Justice but by the National Police Agency. They are also used as prisons or detention houses when needed.

There are two categories of juvenile institutions. One is juvenile training schools and the other is juvenile

classification homes. Juvenile training schools accommodate juvenile delinquents committed on care orders by the family courts and provide correctional educational aids. The juvenile classification homes detain young delinquents who are remanded for reports by the family courts and conduct personality and character classification of the young delinquents in order to assist with investigation and future disposal by the family courts—also to facilitate the execution of care orders.

The women's guidance home is located in Tokyo. The home holds adult women who have been sentenced to guidance orders by the criminal courts for soliciting and other crimes relating to prostitution (under the Anti-Prostitution Law); its aim is re-socialisation.

Treatment of Offenders in Prison

Categorization

All prisoners have the same status in prison: they are detained in prison because the court has sentenced them to stay there until the expiration of their terms. However, each prisoner has his own causes and motivations which drove him to commit a crime. In this context, the task of classification is necessary to cope with prisoners' individual needs and to make treatment programmes as effective as possible. The purpose therefore of classification is to provide prisoners with the most appropriate treatment programme for their individual rehabilitation. Classification is also significant in preventing incidents in prison because it enables prison authorities to deal with prisoners with caution according to their personalities.

It is unanimously recognised by prison authorities in Japan that the most important technical device for implementing individual treatment programmes and maintaining institutional security and discipline is the classification system. The present classification system in Japan consists of two parts: one is the allocation to an institution and the other is the designation of appropriate treatment.

Allocation categories are classified by sex, nationality, penalty, age, and kinds and terms of sentence. The most important factor in allocation is the degree of criminal tendency,

and this is specified by frequency of imprisonment, degree of association with organized gangs, mode of committing an offence, and social attitudes. All prisoners are classified as those with less advanced criminality (Class A) or those with advanced criminality (Class B).

In order to achieve the objectives of effective treatment programmes for prisoners, each prison is instructed to detain prisoners in specified categories and to meet standards for institutional treatment programmes. Effective correctional treatment will be achieved by sophisticated use of the classification categories of allocation and treatment. Some examples of treatment categories are as follows:

1. Categories based on special treatment needs:
 - Class V: those who need vocational training
 - Class E: those who need education
 - Class G: those who need living guidance
 - Class T: those who need professional therapeutic treatment
 - Class S: those who need special protective treatment
2. Categories based on specially recommended treatment:
 - Class O: those who are suitable

for prison maintenance work

Class N: those who are suitable for prison maintenance work.

The progressive grade system in Japan is one of the fundamental principles of corrective treatment. All prisoners are gradually motivated and encouraged towards reform, as they are granted more freedom and other privileges according to their promotion from the lowest grade (fourth grade) up to the highest (first grade) in the progressive grading system. In this manner, treatment is varied according to the grade of each inmate.

Recently, the progressive grade system has been criticized as being less successful for rehabilitation of the offender than was originally expected. On the other hand, the classification system has been advocated and developed as a sound basis for effective treatment. In the revision of the present Prison Law, efforts are being made to devise a treatment system which is fundamentally based on classification and retains the valuable aspects of the progressive grade system.

Security

Correctional activities cannot be operated successfully unless security and order are well maintained in penal institutions. In spite of the fact that the number of organized gang members has been increasing, amounting

to 25% of newly sentenced prisoners in 1985, security is well maintained in prisons. There have been no prisoners' riots for the past three decades. The frequency of other serious incidents seems to be negligible when the number of inmates is considered.

Such factors as the penitent feelings of the prisoners, active involvement in prison work which keeps the prisoners occupied and the sensitive and fair treatment of prisoners by guards in charge diminish occurrences of mass disturbances or other serious security incidents in penal institutions.

Grievance procedures and inspections alleviate prisoners' tensions and ensure the security of prisons. Inspectors from the Ministry of Justice visit a prison at least every two years to see whether the prison is properly administered in accordance with the Prison Law, regulations and standards set by the Corrective Bureau, and to see that prisoners' rights are not being infringed by the prison authorities. Prisoners have an opportunity to lodge complaints regarding their treatment with either the warden of the prison or a representative of the warden and may also petition the Minister of Justice or an official conducting prison inspections on the Minister's behalf. The Civil Liberties Bureau of the Ministry of Justice deals with complaints by inmates concerning infringement of human rights. Prisoners are allowed to write a petition to an official agency as well as to a legislator. Inmates are also guaranteed access to a court if they take legal action against prison authorities. An important element of maintaining good order is that prisoners can express their grievances at any time they want to do so.

Work

Work is an essential component of human life. Lack of suitable employment is regarded as one of the major factors which induce offenders to commit crime. Difficulty in finding employment has to be a serious concern in contemporary correctional administrations in all countries. Work programmes in a correctional institution should provide an offender with an opportunity to acquire working habits, to develop a proper attitude towards work, to upgrade occupational skills, to gain wages by "the sweat of one's brow", and at the same time, to integrate back into society.

Japanese prisons under the strong leadership of the Correction Bureau have made great efforts to improve

work programmes. In the past, agriculture used to be the main form of prison industry but at present, only a few prisons carry out agricultural work. Prisons located in urban areas have work programmes for industrial production, and most convicted prisoners are engaged in modern production work.

Vocational training is very costly, not only because of the need for sufficient qualified instructors, adequate facilities and equipment, but also because it inevitably reduces manpower in a prison which could be assigned to more profitable and productive work. However, vocational training is regarded as a very useful measure to develop prisoners' vocational skills and motivate them to work.

In Japan, the Correction Bureau provides different types of vocational training. At present, seven prisons have been designated to conduct special, intensive vocational training programmes to specified requirements laid down by the Ministry of Labour. At these seven institutions, trainees are taught special skills and receive professional certificates issued by the Ministry of Labour when they have completed the course satisfactorily. In the 1985 fiscal year, out of 31,938 prisoners released from penal institutions, 1,022 had completed training courses and received certificates. Less intensive training programmes are conducted in other prisons. Vocational trainees are also entitled to remuneration and most workshops are operated intramurally. There are a few open institutions where workshops are managed in a more relaxed atmosphere. There are also some workshops called prison camps which are located outside prison walls in an open environment with minimum security.

Education

Organizing and conducting systematic educational programmes for inmates are necessary components of rehabilitative efforts by prison authorities. Educational programmes vary according to social, cultural and economic situations in respective prisons. In a prison where the illiteracy rate is high, the need for primary education will be stressed. In some prisons a high school diploma is required for ordinary employment in prison industry and then educational programmes, particularly for younger prisoners,

include diploma courses.

In Japan, prisoners who have not completed their nine-year compulsory education or lack academic ability are advised to receive an academic education. In addition to academic activities, a public junior high school branch is established in one juvenile prison. When juveniles complete a compulsory course, a certificate of completion is issued by the principal of the municipal junior high school. There are also arrangements for taking correspondence courses in general academic subjects for which high school and university credits may be granted.

Living guidance or social education, which teaches them how to live as proper citizens, is an integral part of prison education. This includes moral training in daily activities with a view to cultivating acceptable attitudes and a stable state of mind. Living guidance is provided in the form of lectures, reading, club activities and group meetings. Volunteer prison visitors play an important role in conducting these activities, including priests or ministers of religion.

Even though the potential effectiveness of therapeutic treatment is well recognized in Japan, it has not yet been given official recognition by integrating it with regular treatment programmes. Since the number of specialists available in prisons is limited, psychiatric treatment is the responsibility of classification officials.

Care

Daily necessities for inmates, including food and clothing, are supplied at government expense; inmates may buy additional items at their own expense. A sufficient amount of food is supplied to every inmate, considering his age, physical condition, assigned tasks, etc.

Each prison has a medical division or section under the warden's supervision, according to its size. Doctors and other medical specialists work in these divisions or sections. There are five medical prisons where seriously ill prisoners are hospitalized and placed under intensive care. In addition, there are five other medical centres attached to large prisons where sick prisoners are hospitalized. Those prisoners who need special medical treatment may be transferred to medical centres or medical prisons, depending on their conditions. If necessary, sick prisoners may see a doctor

outside the prison. In case of emergency, they may be sent to an outside hospital.

Community Contact

The limits placed on the number of letters, and the number and length of visits, reflect the demands on staff resources for censorship and supervision, and the lack of space in visiting rooms. There are security and general reasons why the censorship of letters and supervision of visits are necessary. Inmates in the fourth grade in the progressive system are entitled to have a letter once a month and have a visit from relatives once a month. The higher a prisoner's grade,

the fewer restrictions on the number of letters and visits allowed. Inmates of the first grade, can write letters as they want and have visits every day. Prisoners on remand can write as many letters and have as many visits as necessary. There is no limit on the number of letters received from relatives regardless of grades.

Prisoners can meet with prison visitors when they need help. Prison visitors, including chaplains, are volunteers who come to a prison because they want to and for no other reason. Volunteer probation officers also visit prisoners to assist them settle and adjust to living circumstances in the communities to which prisoners will return when they are released. On an

experimental basis, a couple of probation officers are working at prisons in order to arrange contacts between prisoners and the community.

More than half of convicted prisoners are released on parole. There is pre-release treatment for inmates to be released on parole, one week or ten days before they are released. They can stay in a relaxed environment just like the atmosphere of home should be. They are educated about the release system, after-care, job finding and social welfare, and they can go to a probation office and shop in stores outside the prison. Through this treatment, they can adjust themselves before they re-enter the community.

Treatment of Specific Types of Offenders in Juvenile Institutions

Training Schools

A juvenile training school is a correctional institution receiving those juveniles who are committed by family courts as a protective measure, not as a penal sanction. The objectives of a juvenile training school are to facilitate readjustment to society and to promote sound growth through disciplined communal life, academic and vocational training, counselling, and living guidance.

Juvenile training schools are classified into four types as follows:

- 1) primary training schools for those aged 14 to 16,
- 2) middle training schools for those aged 16 years or more,
- 3) special training schools for those aged 16 years or more with advanced criminal tendencies, and
- 4) medical training schools for those who suffer from serious physical or mental defects.

In juvenile training schools, there are three grades of treatment: first, second and third grades. The first and second grades are sub-divided into two classes: higher and lower. Newly admitted juveniles are first placed in the lower class of the second grade, to be promoted step-by-step to the higher grades, but someone who makes exceptionally good progress may be promoted two classes at one time. Conversely, someone who has a particularly bad record may be lowered one grade, and in special circumstances, two grades or more at one time.

Promotion and demotion are determined after examining the daily records of the juvenile. An examination is made at least once a month. Juveniles of the first grade may be granted the privilege of self-government with regard to recreation and school activities.

Since 1977, juvenile training schools have introduced new educational programmes. These programmes have two objectives. One is to improve short-term programmes for road traffic offenders and ordinary delinquents in small-size open institutions. The other is to develop, in an appropriate manner in each facility, courses in living guidance, vocational education, general academic education, special education for retarded or emotionally unstable juveniles, and therapeutic programmes for physically or mentally handicapped juveniles.

Under these new educational programmes, short-term training schools receive juveniles who, based on the relatively minor character of their offences, appear amenable to early reform through intensive counselling and training during a period of four to five months only. Juveniles whose negligent driving has caused death or injury are assigned to specified training schools for traffic offenders where they receive intensive education over a two or three-month period on respect for human life and a citizen's obligation to comply with legal requirements as well as on traf-

fic safety. Long-term treatment institutions accommodate difficult juveniles, who probably will not respond adequately to briefer programmes of correctional education and training, for periods of up to two years. As a rule when a juvenile inmate has reached 20 years of age he is released.

Education

Since juveniles are committed to juvenile training schools in order to receive not punitive but reformatory treatment and are still in the stage of character formation, educational programmes are conducted extensively and systematically, and work irrelevant to these may not be imposed.

School education is given mainly to those who have not completed their compulsory education. Especially in the primary training schools where juveniles are under the compulsory education age, emphasis is placed on academic education. In the middle and advanced training schools, senior high school level courses or higher may be provided in addition to the courses for the compulsory education level. In the medical training schools, school education is provided in the manner similar to that in schools for handicapped children or other schools for special education. Certificates for completion of educational courses are issued, as a rule, by the principal of the public junior high school from which the juvenile came.

The majority of juvenile inmates have had no regular occupation before

their commitment, but those who have, have generally been engaged in unskilled work. The number of those who have professional skills is very few. Thus, vocational guidance is extensively provided in the training schools. Emphasis is placed on vocational knowledge and skills as well as the cultivation of industrious working habits and positive attitudes towards work. Juveniles are encouraged to attain standards for authorized licences and certificates through vocational training or, for more intensive and practical vocational guidance, on the basis of either home leave or day release.

Social education is an important aspect of correctional treatment. Social education aims at removing anti-social thoughts and behaviour and developing sound social attitudes. Social education is arranged through the whole period of institutional life, but special emphasis is given to it depending on the stage of treatment. During the initial period, just after admission, juveniles are required to engage in self-reflection and are given an orientation programme for their daily institutional life. During the intermediate stage, stress is placed upon developing the social skills required to maintain good human relations with other inmates, which is an essential element in group life. In the last stage of the pre-release period, guidance is adjusted in order to help juveniles prepare for a return to outside social life after release. Social education is provided in such ways as individual and group counselling, group discussions, lectures by the staff and prison visitors, and club activities. In the last stage, juveniles are given opportunities to participate in events of the local community as well as community services.

When a juvenile has attained the highest grade and his release on parole is considered to be appropriate, the superintendent, after deliberation

with the treatment council, makes an application for parole to the regional parole board. The superintendent may apply for the discharge of a juvenile to the board if he deems that the correctional goal has been attained by the juvenile. The regional parole board, receiving the application, sends one of its own members to interview the juvenile and decides, on the basis of the member's judgement, as well as the results of the environmental adjustment, whether to grant discharge on parole or not.

Classification Homes

The juvenile classification home is an institution established at the time of the re-organization of the juvenile justice and correction system in 1949. Homes are located in places where there are family courts. For the hearing of juvenile cases by family courts, classification of personality (assessment of intelligence, character, attitude, etc.) as well as information about the social environment (family, school, work, etc.), personal history and the criminal record of a juvenile, are indispensable. The juvenile classification home is charged with the duty of conducting the classification of personality, while the investigation of the social environment is carried out mainly by family court pre-hearing investigators.

The length of stay in a juvenile classification home is prescribed by the Juvenile Law; normally it is 14 days with the reservation that, if necessary, the period may be renewed for a maximum of another 14 days by a ruling of the family court. The average length of stay is about 20 days.

Major methods of classification used in juvenile classification homes are interviews, analyses of case history, and psychological tests to assess intelligence and character. Continuous

efforts are being made for better diagnosis in terms of clinical psychology and psychiatry. The results of classification, together with those of medical examinations, behavioural observation, and analysis of personal history and home environment, are considered at the classification conference, at which recommendations for the disposal of the case are formulated and submitted to the family court.

Psychological tests are an important method of classification, and up-to-date theories, projective methods, inventories, and aptitude tests are used. Examples of tests are intelligence tests, personality tests such as the Rorschach test, the thematic apperception test, and the sentence completion test. To cope with the recent increase of road traffic offenders, almost every home is equipped with instruments for driving aptitude tests and an electroencephalogram recorder.

Recently, what is called exploratory treatment is being advocated in juvenile classification homes. The purpose of this treatment is to examine thoroughly the problems, possibilities and personality characteristics of each juvenile. For this purpose, juveniles are assigned various tasks; for example, drawing pictures, clay-modelling, group discussion, composition, and reading. Exploratory treatment is considered to be a useful method for examining and classifying juveniles.

The results of classification are also used for the treatment, particularly in a case where he is committed to a juvenile training school. The results are filed in the juvenile records and sent to the juvenile training school.

In addition to the classification of juvenile inmates, homes provide testing and diagnostic services to any person on an outpatient basis upon request. The number of requests for these services in 1985 was 13,164.

Recent Trends

Prison Law

The Legislative Council reported an outline of the revision of the Prison Law to the Minister of Justice in November 1980. Preparations for the overall revision of the Prison Law are now under way. The aims of this revision are modernization, internationalization and formal legalization of the prison administration.

Increasing Numbers

The total number of inmates in all correctional institutions has been increasing recently, especially the number of inmates involved with gangs, stimulant drugs, and recidivism and correctional administrations have had difficulty in keeping order in correctional institutions.

Staff Changes

In penal institutions, many older, experienced staff have been retiring. Most staff in penal institutions are now young staff who do not have enough work experience. On the other hand, in juvenile institutions, older staff have been increasing so juvenile institutions cannot arrange active training programmes. Recently, the

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Becoming a Prison Officer

The probationary year

Christopher L Peck, B.A.

(Officer, Bedford Prison)

Recruitment

On 30 December 1985, the Prison Service added to its complement of staff one poorly informed member of the public, namely myself. Since leaving school I had spent a year as a computer operator before entering Trent Polytechnic, Nottingham, gaining a degree in Humanities. At this point I began to search for employment which could offer a structured career. The two paths I chose were the Army and the Prison Service. Each offered what I considered at the time to be good career prospects and both offered me appointments. I accepted the Prison Service offer and came to regret it.

After my interview in December 1984, I had to wait a whole year to complete a process which had begun 16 months previously. I remember that year as one of uncertainty having committed myself long-term to a career about which very little information was forthcoming. The Home Office claimed no knowledge of my appointment when I enquired in July 1985 and followed this in October 1985 by informing me that if I failed a medical my appointment would not be confirmed. It appears to me that the administration of recruitment is so remote as to make it inaccessible. This impersonal approach is perhaps reflected in the Prison Department's recruitment record.

Training

Eventually, starting at Nottingham

Training Prison was more of a relief than anything else. However, I do not think anything could have prepared me for my first day inside a prison. I made a nervous start, not made any easier by the conspicuousness of my clothes and the badge in my top pocket. Staff and inmates alike knew exactly why I was there. On my return home my wife offered me moral support when I announced that I was not going back the next day. I completed my 3 weeks at Nottingham having gained experience of being inside the walls of a prison, learning about a job that up until now someone else had always done. In my own mind, even at that early stage, there was a conflict between what had been promised during recruitment and what was in fact the reality. My conditioning to the job had already begun and was about to be reinforced by nine weeks at the Wakefield Officer Training School, course 279W.

During my time at Wakefield, I was pleasantly surprised at the standard of teaching. It was obvious that some Training Officers were comfortable in that classroom environment. Those that were not relied heavily on their experiences which whilst of value sometimes meant the neglect of basic facts. The two styles did, however, complement each other and on occasion brought light relief to tedious, repetitive sessions.

Posting

There was one day during my training

that I would not wish to experience again and that was the day our postings came through. I would like to feel that every consideration had been given to individual applications, but it was all too apparent that this was not the case. I was fortunate that one of my three selections, Bedford coincided with the requirements of the Prison Department. I can only sympathise with those who, like myself, were pinning all their hopes for the future on the Prison Service, only to be disappointed at the outset. There is a chance that an officer may be posted to any establishment and the three-choice posting system is clearly only a token gesture by the Prison Department. Through this experience I have become suspicious of anything the Department claims to be of benefit to the prison officer class.

Unfortunately, the Prison Department seems to make a habit of attempting gentle persuasion, but only if the outcome is one it agrees with. Should any resistance be encountered, then it dictates. Those in charge are so deeply involved in rules, regulations and codes of practice to see that a little more consideration to officers' welfare would produce a staff which respected the Department rather than despised it.

Joining

Having moved 100 miles and taken up residence in costly, temporary rented accommodation, I began my induction at Bedford. The induction

consisted of 2 weeks visiting each section of the prison in turn and gently becoming used to prison life. The Training School had provided a good base from which to start but was certainly no preparation for the long hours which started almost at once. What would have been useful would have been a locally generated handbook detailing who did what, where they could be found, and when.

It was hard to fit immediately into a prison routine and know exactly what was expected. It seemed that the staff assumed that because I had just come down from Training School I could become just another cog in the machinery. What is often forgotten is that local knowledge, or the lack of it, can be an enormous stumbling block to new members of staff. Within a very short period of time I became aware that in spite of all the training I had undergone, I knew very little. Yet, from the first there is still the expectation that new officers should perform to a standard far above their capabilities.

At Bedford, there were officers keen to be of assistance to a new member of staff. Equally, there were those who saw an opportunity to take advantage of inexperience. A new officer, gullible and eager to please will refuse almost nothing and look to senior members of staff for guidance. In the learning process there is no substitute for practical experience but when this enthusiasm for knowledge is interpreted as being prepared to do another's work load then management should take the matter in hand. It is sad but true that much of the management in the Prison Service is ineffective and indecisive. Some in positions of authority, Senior Officers and Principal Officers alike, are not necessarily to blame for their inability to handle staff. The ultimate responsibility lies with the Prison Department who, when appointing staff, should ensure that they

receive adequate training in man management.

Adjusting

Like many who left Training School confident and full of good ideas the reality of the job proved to be an anti-climax. The principles being taught today are so at odds with entrenched and antiquated views as to be unworkable. To compound the problem there are those who are painfully aware that changes have taken place.

What appears to be at the bottom of new ideas versus old, is a total lack of continuity, of in-service training. Much of the training done at Bedford is in the evening and constitutes a part of overtime. There are those who see this as an easy option to boost their earnings. I personally object to having to train in time that I should be dedicating to my family. Once officers leave Training School they become individually responsible for keeping abreast of changes in regulations and policy. By stressing this fact the Prison Department is again abdicating its responsibility to its staff. In reality the sheer number of hours worked by officers makes reading around the job almost impossible.

Perhaps the greatest divide between the training I received and reality occurs on the landings. It is also fair to say that it is on the landings that the training has been of most benefit. It is interesting to recall the Training School when I spent a disproportionate amount of time on Interpersonal Skills and speculate on how I would have managed without those classes. Like most of the others in my section I found Interpersonal Skills somewhat daunting and frankly occasionally tedious. I am certain now that it was those many hours that seemed pointless at the time which have stood in me in good stead. It is those officers who have mastered

those skills who keep prisons running smoothly.

Ambivalence Resolved?

During the early part of my probation, I felt an obligation to inmates who had welfare problems to try and sort them out. It soon became apparent, however, that there was a conflict between my responsibilities towards basic prison tasks and devoting a fair share of my time to their problems. Finding myself frustrated by a lack of time I now compromise by directing inmates to those more directly responsible.

Anger and frustration on the landings felt by staff and inmates can be alleviated by spending time talking about their problems. It is not always possible to provide an adequate answer. Nor is it always easy to sympathise, but just by allowing people to talk about their problems can help them to clarify the situation in their own minds.

Whatever the image may be that Prison Officers project to the public and inmates, the Prison Service is one of the caring professions. Compassion shown to those in prison who are inadequate, and the professionalism with which officers complete what are often unpleasant tasks never ceases to amaze me. Prison today is not merely a place for common criminals to serve their sentence but also a dumping ground for those that society rejects.

The past year in the Prison Service has opened my eyes to a part of life that society conveniently files under law and order, and occasionally clears its conscience in outcries in the press.

On 30 December 1986, I successfully completed my period of probation. As an established member of staff I am now looking forward to developing my career in the Prison Service. ■

JAPANESE PRISON SERVICE

change of generations in correctional staff has been causing difficulty in pursuing efficient correctional administration.

Prison Industries

The Correction Association for Prison Industry Co-operation (CAPIC) was founded on 1 July 1983. CAPIC is a foundation based on co-operation between the government and the private sector, a so-called organization of the third sector. CAPIC arranges

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materials necessary for prison industry and sells prison products. This system is an innovation in prison industry. CAPIC can maintain stable supplies of material, secure markets and sell products. CAPIC has become very popular as the brand for prison products.

Management and Technology

Although the financial situation of the correctional administration is critical, serious efforts have been

made to modernize management facilities in the correctional administration. Many office automation machines, such as computers and word-processors, have been introduced, and contribute to administrative efficiency, especially such equipment as personal radios, TV surveillance facilities, and wire cables around walls (to prevent invasion or escape) have contributed much to the safety of correctional institutions. ■

A.I.D.S. and the prison system

Dr. John Kilgour
CB, MB, Ch.B, MRCP, FFCM

Director of Prison Medical Services

Members of the staff of the prison system will already be familiar with many of the practical problems with which the Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus (HIV) challenges us. Yet there is still much ignorance of the facts about the history of the disease, the characteristics of the way it attacks its victims, the ways in which it can be caught and therefore who is likely to catch it, and the prospects for those who have been exposed to the virus. What are the threats to those who are inmates and staff of the prison system? What measures should we take, we who are responsible for the management and well-being of the prison population as well as those who operate our establishments?

This brief outline is aimed to explain the present 'state of the art' in controlling the disease from the point of view of epidemiologists, research workers, professional attendants and governments.

The Virus Identified

The disease became apparent as a clinical entity in 1981 in the United States where a significant new cause of disease and death was observed principally among male homosexuals on the West Coast. With remarkable speed, information was gathered, exchanged and analysed, and the Communicable Diseases Centre in Atlanta, Georgia, suggested that the only reasonable cause to fit the then known facts about the disease was a new virus. A clinical description of what constituted the full-blown Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) was agreed and published. Within months the virus was being tracked down both in the Institut Pasteur in Paris by Dr. Luc Montagnier and in the United States by Dr. Paul Gallo. At this time I was still a Director of the World Health Organisation in Geneva, and from there we observed the French team in the lead followed shortly by the Americans,

both giving the virus different names. This led not only to competition, but confusion and eventually in 1986, WHO was able to suggest a third name, HIV, now in universal usage.

The virus is constrained in its spread in the various countries of the world by the varying lifestyle of the communities at risk, and the constitution of the virus itself which dictates how it can spread from person to person. Taking the latter point first, the virus is comparatively fragile outside the human body. It seems to require a considerable quantity of the virus to pass at the same time into a recipient in order for that individual to develop the disease. The significant methods of spread are from blood to blood, and from semen to blood. Contaminated blood products have been the source of spread unwittingly into the haemophilic community before such products were heat-treated to remove this danger. Children of infected mothers have a better than 60%

chance of being born with the infection, and transmission of the virus has been recorded through mothers' milk. Organ transplants and donor semen must also be carefully screened like blood for transfusion.

Risk and Lifestyle

The life-style of the community under threat is a most significant factor in the spread of the virus. In the United States, on the West Coast, it has been the male homosexual and bisexual community which has provided the vast majority of the cases of AIDS and HIV antibody positives. On the East Coast, the majority of these cases has occurred amongst intravenous drug misusers where the virus has been transmitted by the multiple use of infected equipment. In the United Kingdom, where at the time of writing there have been recorded 686 cases of AIDS with 355 deaths, roughly 90% of these cases have occurred in homosexual or bisexual men. It has been estimated that 1.5 million people in the United States have been exposed to the virus, with over 30,000 full blown cases of AIDS. In the UK similar estimates point to about 50,000 HIV positives. The UK is currently 7th equal with Sweden in the number of cases per head of the population in Europe.

It will be seen from the UK experience that the main target for controlling the spread of the disease must be to change the lifestyle of the groups at highest risk, that is the homosexual community and the drug misusers, who are producing the HIV antibody positives in increasing numbers and in proportion of the total. It should be noted that the sexual partners of all those in high risk groups are at risk. The government initiative to develop an effective public education campaign has been extremely welcome, and places this country in the forefront of the western world in taking positive action to shape public attitudes. The United Kingdom has a very real chance of being able to contain the virus to a very large extent among the high risk groups. Those who are already infected with the virus and who go on to develop later clinical stages of the disease, will continue to do so irrespective of the success of the education campaign. This means that at present in the UK we can expect to have had between 15 and 20,000 cases of AIDS by the beginning of 1991, with half that number having occurred within the previous 12 months.

If the public education campaign is effective in changing the careless lifestyle of those at risk to a significant extent, there will be a reduction thereafter in the rate of increase which we would otherwise expect, looking at the experience in the United States which is roughly 3½ years ahead of us in the development of the disease.

Another welcome government initiative is to set up a directed research effort divided between work to develop a vaccine and work to develop a therapeutic agent. There is no vaccine at present in sight, and the nature of the virus may make the process of vaccine development extremely difficult. The only effective therapeutic agents at present available do not cure the disease, but they do prolong life by controlling the capacity of the virus to multiply in the blood outside the cells.

A third government initiative is of course to co-ordinate the provision of medical, nursing and other supportive care for AIDS cases at the time when this is necessary during the course of the disease. The easily predictable financial and social costs are already daunting.

Are Prison Staff at Risk?

It is very important for all concerned to understand that there is no epidemiological risk of catching the disease in the normal conditions of social contact or in the work place. No case of AIDS has been reported from the United States Correctional System among custodial, nursing or medical staff outside those few who were members of high risk groups, and the disease is considered to have been contracted because of that factor.

In the UK, so far, there has only been one full blown case of AIDS within the prison system, and he was a drug smuggler, Italian based, who died in a NHS hospital in 1985. There has been a handful of other cases having clinical signs of developing disease but short of the full blown syndrome. At the time of writing, there have been 81 cases reported as HIV positive. I regard this as a very large underestimate of the reality of the situation, which has been brought about because of the well-meaning advice from the interest groups outside the prison system who have advised homosexuals or drug misusers not to disclose (if they knew) their HIV status, nor to seek a blood test which might disclose the situation one way or the other.

The reasoning behind this is, of course, fear of discrimination from other inmates and even possibly from staff.

Testing

There have been various pressures upon me to allow mandatory blood testing of members of high risk groups which may have a superficial attraction at first sight. It has to be made clear, however, that there can be no compulsory blood testing performed upon anyone who is a member of the prison population. Blood tests are carried out by medical officers where, in their professional opinion, there is a good clinical reason for doing so. This would only be done for the benefit of and with the informed consent of the patient who will have received prior counselling before the test and will receive further counselling should the test come back positive. There is also the same facility for prison inmates as there is for members of the community at large to go to their doctor and ask for a blood test if they are concerned about the possibility of having caught the virus and wish to have a confirmatory test. In these cases also pre-test counselling and post-test counselling will be carried out. To sum up this particular important aspect, the law of the land would have to be changed before mandatory blood test screening could be carried out. There are also strong problems of medical ethics involved and my advice to medical officers has been that prison inmates must be treated in exactly the same way as they would be treated in the community at large by their National Health Service general practitioner. There must be no 'over-pressurising' of members of high risk groups in order to obtain epidemiological information which might well not be considered to be in the best interests of the individual concerned.

The Medical Directorate has issued from time-to-time guidelines to medical officers and to the Deputy Director-General's office on the advice to be issued to other staff. From what I have already written, it will be clear that there is no excuse or medical justification for any hysterical and ignorant over-reaction by staff in the handling of HIV positive inmates or AIDS cases.

Full-blown AIDS

The latest stages of the disease of AIDS are characterised by episodes of what are called opportunistic infec-

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THE OPEN UNIVERSITY IN A CLOSED WORLD

Liz Cronhelm *

Senior Counsellor, The Open University

The Open University admits any person to enrol on its undergraduate or continuing education programmes without asking questions about previous experience or educational qualifications. That is its essential *openness*. For many years, the Home Office has developed and implemented a wide-ranging policy for the provision of educational opportunities for its guests who are accommodated within very *closed* systems. Amongst the first 25,000 students enrolled in the OU in 1971 were 22 prisoners in Wakefield and Albany. The first prisoner to graduate from the OU did so from H.M.P. Albany in 1974. A number has graduated nearly every year since. Last year 250 prisoners located in 38 prisons were amongst the 64,000 undergraduate students currently registered throughout the U.K. and beyond.

Responding positively to special needs

It has always been the explicit policy of the Open University to respond positively to the special needs of individuals or groups in order to make university study possible, successful and rewarding for them. For many students, the OU offers the *only* opportunity for degree level study, not least because of the policy of "open entry". Courses are planned in such a way that it is not necessary to leave one's residence; excusal

from summer school will be given in appropriate cases and tutors make contact with individual students when academically necessary. Students make a positive commitment, educationally and financially, for only one year at a time; re-entry to the OU is possible at the beginning of any academic year subject to the correct registration procedures. These policies provide a suitable framework within which prisoners may study effectively at degree level. The "special scheme" which has been operating between the Home Office and the Open University has now been running for 16 years.

The invitation from the Home Office to contribute to the range of courses available to prisoners continues to provide a challenge to the OU. The university now offers 138 courses within its undergraduate degree programme and many of these may be chosen by prisoners. The priority of security over education has to be recognised by students and OU staff alike. From my perspective I sometimes feel that both may sometimes show a certain naivety in their reactions to the decisions taken by Home Office staff about course availability, student enrolment and access to materials. This is just one point at which the successful operation of the scheme depends so heavily upon the positive lead and co-operation offered by staff of the Home Office and the education service within the prisons.

"The success of our students reflects primarily their own quality and dedication." (Sir Walter Perry, 1976)

The Open University is founded upon values and principles which accept each adult as an individual on his own terms. The opportunities offered by the OU are there for him to take in order to develop in personal terms from his unique set of circumstances. In the several years which pass between an individual's first enquiries to the university and his graduation, the motivation for OU work will change and develop in part as a result of his experience of university study and in part because of the continuing process of adult life. For some students the relevance of OU courses to current occupations or careers is of great importance. For perhaps more students these reasons are less significant and motives are not clearly articulated. What is sought through university study is self-development, a personal challenge, the desire not to stagnate and the search for new ideas and stimulation. These reasons are stated repeatedly on the thousands of applications which are received by the OU each year and are also the reasons commonly stated by prisoners who seek enrolment in the university.

The annual decisions to continue registration in the OU and the control of the student's commitment to the OU are his alone. Once registered as

a student, progress towards graduation is constrained only by the university's limitation of a maximum of two "credits" in any one year and the student's successful completion of course work and examinations. Again from my perspective, I believe that it is the student's *control of his commitment to the Open University* which may be a strong motive for his continuing study since choices which may be made by prisoners are necessarily limited. Perhaps because of the "position" of education and its activities and courses within the prison, the men and women perceive or identify there an environment and routine within which they have greater room and flexibility for self-expression and development and one in which they can exercise greater choice and control over their activities. In no way would I suggest that our prisoner-students are in any way less highly motivated or less sincere in the aspirations and motives which they demonstrate in pursuing their goal of an Open University degree. This is fully shared by all Open University students. The "highest common factor" of all OU students is their uniqueness and it is a rare student who can fully articulate the total pattern of motivation which supports and guides his university study.

The circumstances under which OU students study are essentially *non-academic*. They are set amongst family, children, domestic and work responsibilities, competing interests and social activities. Selecting and maintaining a *space* which is regularly available for study, and acceptable and suitable to the individual, can be very problematical. Many of us perhaps do not realise this until we come to do it ourselves and we differ greatly in our speed in settling to study, our ability to study effectively in differing conditions and our tolerance or need for background music or noise. For most students, distracting, irritating noise frequently intrudes, interruptions are common, and competing demands are made. Most courses include television programmes. Many are transmitted at unsocial hours or at times when other channels are in use. Only about 30% of our students have video tape recording facilities in their home and the hazard of missing TV programmes is very common. How do they manage to maintain approximately 15 hours per week of *study time* within these diverse and varying constraints? Our students

must be ingenious in overcoming them but they also rely heavily on the co-operation, tolerance and understanding of those with whom they live and work.

Time to study?

Open University students in prisons also appear to have a variety of study conditions and arrangements. For those who know little of prison routines, it may be said that prisoners have plenty of time in which to study; but they too have their time very fully planned with work, exercise, visits, checks, interviews, etc. and when in their "pads" may similarly be subjected to noise, interruptions and inability to devise study conditions which they find acceptable. The arrangement within the "special scheme" in which a defined number of hours per week may be devoted to OU study without loss of prison pay is clearly a big bonus and indeed a privilege which many OU students might welcome. It goes a long way towards helping the students to plan and structure their studies. During study periods, most students experience quite strong feelings of isolation. Some will look to their current tutor for the opportunity to express those feelings but many will talk to members of their family or colleagues at work. Support and encouragement, understanding, or at least acceptance of their university activity from those with whom they live and work can be critical in lessening feelings of isolation and lack of direction. For the students in prisons, that understanding and encouragement is given by the staff who not only make appropriate arrangements for a good study environment and ambience, but also give individual support and guidance to the students during their years of study. After the first year, there appears to be variation between prisons in the number of OU courses which prisoners may follow in one year as this is dependent on financial arrangements. One problem which can emerge is that too much time may be spent on a course; if it is designed for 15 hours study per week, a student may get academically "lost" if he spends 30 hours per week in its study.

It must be rare that a student following a course of 9 months duration will not let himself experience variations in his normal routine, (illness of self or family, removal, loss of TV reception, disruption of study plans, etc.), or find some aspects of that course relatively stimulating or

boring. For all, developing university studentship includes the ability to absorb these variations and maintain an appropriate perspective on the medium and long-term goals. Throughout each course students submit regular written work to their tutor for teaching comment and grading. Many experience considerable anxiety as they anticipate the return of these assignments as the grades which they are awarded are very important to them. The chance to *share* their feelings of success or disappointment is very important and most often it is again the staff of the Education Departments who provide that opportunity.

Excitement should be an integral part of study. When it occurs it is a good emotion to carry. The doldrums which can also occur are not so good. Perhaps the ability to share these feelings with fellow students is something which many of our students miss because of their very wide geographical dispersal. These characteristics of variations in study conditions, continuity of motivation and interest during long courses and the opportunity to share the excitement of academic achievement are shared by all OU students. I sometimes feel that those students who are in prison may show them in sharper relief because of the closed and unique system within which they are studying.

For many tutors, teaching these men and women offers us our first opportunity to participate in prison education. We all receive very helpful briefing from prison staff but perhaps we still approach the first tutorial expecting "something different". But it is the similarities between these students and their fellows in the wider body of the OU which strikes us first. Once we become engaged in the active process of teaching, awareness of the prison environment may recede and again the similarities with other students and study centres are apparent.

The individual student's response to the centrally produced, nationally available, and somewhat monolithic course material is personal and distinctive. It is part of the tutor's role to assist the student with his interpretation and assimilation of the course material and so enable him to further both his learning and his personal development. Tutors' guidance is given mainly through written comments on students' assignments. The *decision* to accept or reject this teaching and guidance, act upon it or upon their own judgment, remains their own

as it does for all OU students.

The methods used in teaching and learning in the Open University are different from those found in other institutions of higher education and they are new to all its students.

Teaching and learning are both predicated on *distance* teaching techniques and students must acquire the necessary skills and attitudes to enable them to study successfully through these methods. This, together with the normal anxieties of adult students, has resulted in a policy on *foundation courses only* which enables fairly frequent meetings to take place between students and their tutor. An integral objective of the course work and the tutorials within each foundation course is to help students to acquire the appropriate skills to enable them to *work independently, though not in isolation* as they progress to higher level courses. The tutor's role in assisting the student to develop greater skills and confidence in his ability to study effectively and with enjoyment on his own, is one which has to be frequently practised for most students. They are not skills which come easily to everyone. For prisoners who are students, the difficulty of feeling lost, stuck or alone with their OU problems is not unique to them, but one which is shared by many of their fellow-students. The encouragement of the

Education Officer in the supportive environment of the Education Department plays a continuing positive role in students' successful progress.

Skills, confidence and real strength
With developing skills and confidence which comes to all students as they progress through their courses, individual interests, aptitudes, strengths and weaknesses will affect their work in unique ways. Use of the knowledge and experience which the adult student brings to his university work is encouraged, but it is not always easy to apply that knowledge or experience until undergraduate study is fairly advanced. The individual's developing *studentship* is closely nurtured and monitored by the tutor. Real strengths can be identified and built upon and unreal weaknesses discarded together with their associated anxieties. It is the development of confidence and university studentship which the tutor aims to encourage as each student moves through successive courses towards the attainment of his degree. After foundation level study most of this is achieved through correspondence teaching techniques, although opportunities are also made for tutors to meet their students when academically necessary and appropriate.

When asked, "What will a degree do for a person?", I feel that we need to look for the answer in terms of per-

sonal qualities, independence and responsibility, academic maturity and confidence, in addition to the mastery of subject matter which has been assessed through course work and examinations. For men and women in prison who are excluded from the outside world, Open University study can in their words "provide a life-line." I would suggest that their use of the word "life" has two important dimensions to it. Firstly it enables them to develop and maintain a structured and personally relevant 'life' with people and ideas, which is quite independent and external to their current situation and circumstances. Secondly it provides an opportunity for them to develop their unique personal interests and abilities during the continuing process of their adult lives.

Our first Vice-Chancellor, Sir Walter Perry has said that the Open University offers the hardest way devised by the wit of man for achieving graduate status. Many thousands have proved it can be done. We must continue to believe that they have found in doing it a significant measure of personal reward, benefit and self-fulfilment. ■

Reference

Sir Walter Perry, "Open University". Open University Press, 1976.

* This article does not necessarily reflect the views of the Open University.

AIDS

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tions. These occur because the immune system of the infected individual is so damaged by the virus that he or she is unable to resist infection by germs which would normally cause a healthy human being no problem. A full-blown case of AIDS may have 3-5 such episodes before the terminal one which will end in death. Others with AIDS will develop a skin cancer called Kaposi's sarcoma, and this too, is able to develop because of the damaged immune system of the patient. All such patients are likely to be sufficiently ill to have been treated in NHS hospitals with the appropriate facilities.

The Medical Directorate has plans for accommodating cases who are sufficiently well, that if they were in the community they would be living at home and probably working. The danger, such as there is, is not to the rest of the community (unless they are in blood to blood or semen to blood contact), but rather from the rest of the community to the individual case, who does not have the immune resistance to cope with the germs

which are being carried about by apparently healthy members of the community at large.

Managing AIDS in Custody

There are plans to expand hospital facilities at Brixton, and to use other suitable hospital accommodation in the four regions as and when the situation requires it. I am surprised that the number of full-blown cases of AIDS within the prison system has stayed so low, given the over-representation among the prison population of the high risk groups. Such cases would be obvious and could not be easily concealed. My theory is that as a habitual criminal becomes aware of his condition, he tends to lose his drive to criminal action. We shall soon see how valid this explanation is.

What we must ensure in the prison system is that we reflect the attitudes, the ethics and the standards of care of the community at large in the face of the threat presented by the AIDS virus. Whether it is in attitude to members of the high risk groups, or

the policy to avoid creating a 'ghetto reaction', or in ethical considerations relating to screening without consent, we must follow and not lead in these circumstances. I remain in close touch with national policy formation and this is a great asset.

The future is bleak for some years to come for those who are in the high risk groups and who refuse to change their lifestyle. For those who do not expose themselves to such risks, and are sure that their sexual partners also share their views, there is only infinitesimal danger. We must look to the public education campaign to become effective as soon as possible for the greatest number of the population, and for the research workers to come up with a vaccine and a therapeutic agent. Until that time and for about 5 years thereafter, the numbers of cases will rise inexorably.

With the full knowledge now available of how the disease is spread there should be no cause for over-reaction or inhumane treatment of those affected. ■

Regimes for Long Termers

Ian Dunbar *Director, South-West Region*

Introduction

I must state at the outset these are my personal views and not necessarily those of the Department.

I am delighted to be here with Bill Perrie at the first Perrie Lecture.

I am not sure which gives me the greatest pleasure, returning to Long Lartin as Director or attending such an occasion as this. I think it has to be the latter and I want to say how honoured I am to have been asked to give this inaugural lecture.

Bill Perrie and I share the dubious but stimulating distinction of being asked to run two dispersals consecutively. I have worked with him as a friend and a valued colleague.

It was with him that I learned a lot about the importance of caring, of creativity and of building teams.

It goes without saying that he was an outstanding governor and I am delighted that it has been seen appropriate to set up a series of lectures which will commemorate the contribution he made to the Prison Service. But I am aware of the terrible danger of producing a lecture which is full of anecdotes, so I will resist that temptation; of more importance is to explore ideas and concepts.

The Complexities

The whole area of running regimes for long-term prisoners is an extensive field of enormous complexity and difficulty. I think we must realise at the outset that no matter how we organise regimes for long-termers there will always be problems; some of them major.

Because of all the pressures which are impinging upon us, I see a danger of losing much of value from the past. Hence, with Bill Perrie very much in the audience, I will look back in this inaugural lecture at the beliefs which came alive when we first opened Long Lartin on 11 January, 1971. What I propose to do is to look at guidelines,

at staff, at violence and then conclude on inmates.

Beliefs and Hope

We started off with the belief that it is possible to run a dispersal prison without disturbances of a major kind.

We started off by ensuring that there was hope at the end of the tunnel; we asked ourselves the kind of activities and regimes that we would need if we were a Swiss village, cut off for many years without any contact with the outside world; we wanted to understand whether the behaviour which ensued was because of the individual prisoner and his past or because of the imprisonment.

Both of us were aware of the importance of dialogue not only by senior management with staff but also staff with prisoners and this became one of the by-words for all of us who were working here at that time.

We were aware that to governors and to staff the loss of control is a far greater fear than the loss of a prisoner by escape. No matter how important and serious the latter may be, a major preoccupation for all of us within dispersal had to be "keeping the roof on" and preventing major disturbance. Because of this we set out with a conscious effort to plan the regime to reduce tensions.

Bill Perrie projected confidence to all staff and a belief system about how to deal with prisoners and problems; how staff were organised influenced their effectiveness in securing and controlling the inmate. He believed it was important that at all times all of us as staff had our heads above the water and he was able to exemplify this to an amazing degree no matter what problems faced him.

For example, when anyone presented him with a problem, no matter how large, he said, "That's good. That's what we are here to resolve." When staff reported they had solved

problems using their own initiative he was even better satisfied and said so, and at times even went on to say, "Couldn't you have kept the incident going until I arrived?". He had a confidence that it is possible to hold a situation without being overwhelmed by it. He knew how to use staff to be good.

This is what gave staff confidence and they knew that he trusted them and for this reason Long Lartin got off to a good start.

At the same time we taught staff that they had to have the ability to absorb the aggression that some of the most dangerous men in the country could provide and that you did this not by acting as individuals but by acting as a team.

We were also aware that staff needed support and that this could come by using our personnel sensitively and by good management.

- a) By thinking positively.
- b) By maximising everyone's potential.
- c) That no matter what job—we are only as strong as the weakest link whether that be the governor, the deputy, the senior probation officer or the principal officer. All of us had to work as a member of the team and, believe me, it was survival. But it worked.
- d) Security—this was the backcloth against which we operated. We decided what we wanted to do and then we ensured that the security was able to cope with it.
- e) We knew what the Radzinowicz¹ aim was: to have a secure perimeter and an open regime inside and it was this that we strove to achieve and, indeed, I believe we did so.

We learned also that not entirely satisfactory buildings can be made to work.

Treatment we defined as anything any member of staff or the environment did to a prisoner.

Guidelines

Control situations will vary according to their individual ingredients, the emotions and attitudes of the staff involved, and those of the inmates involved. It is therefore difficult to lay down hard and fast rules for all circumstances. This does not, however, preclude the laying down of guidelines of a general nature.

- a) *Overstaffing* is as unhelpful from a *control* point of view as understaffing. Each wing or landing should have just enough staff to do the jobs the wing or landing requires. However, staff in the face-to-face situation should not feel isolated or exposed. You will work as a team. You will be told what we want. Feelings are facts. You will tell us what you *want* and *feel*.
- b) Train yourself to observe and interpret behaviour. If something is going on and there is no danger to personnel or security you can afford time to look carefully at what is happening and consider it.
- c) Build up a comprehensive store of information and knowledge about your inmates and, if possible, others. Learn to read moods.
- d) Cultivate an ability to absorb inmate critical and grievance-orientated attitudes; don't react instinctively. However, there is a limit to what you are expected to absorb and you are entitled to support when that limit is reached. But if you make an effort to absorb inmate reaction, you will be respected for it.
- e) In the face-to-face situation always leave the inmate and yourself an escape route from confrontation. Avoid getting into the "Do as I say or else"—or "If you do (or don't do) this I will do that" postures. It limits the flexibility of your response.
- f) Learn to listen interestedly to all that is said by inmates. It helps the inmate and if you listen properly you will gain valuable information, even insight.
- g) Learn the art of saying "No" in an unprovocative but nevertheless firm way.
- h) When you do make a decision, observe the following rules:
 - (i) think through the problem closely and consider all the alternative solutions;
 - (ii) if you can manage it, test your conclusions with a colleague;

- (iii) communicate it simply and clearly giving such explanation as necessary;
 - (iv) satisfy yourself your decision is clearly understood by those it involves;
 - (v) having followed the foregoing, stick to your decision—if you have made a mess of it get a senior to overrule you. This way the decision can be changed with the minimum loss of face.
- i) Remember, if you and inmates are talking to each other any situation is potentially controllable. It is only when staff and inmates fail to communicate, for whatever reason, that tension began to rise.
 - j) An emotional approach to control problems is not a professional approach. Learn to make a detached appraisal of a control situation. Consider the facts, not how you feel about it all.
 - k) When reaching a decision ensure you have the resources to implement what you have decided. Don't waste time bemoaning the paucity of your resources. Match your ideals with your resources.
 - l) Work hard at cultivating a relaxed approach—this will defuse many difficult situations.
 - m) Ensure the appropriate departments of the prison provide you with support, be it material aids, counselling support, or the support of a management or a project group. If there's no danger to life and limb, if there's no danger to security and there's an incident, we've got time to think. There's no danger, don't do something, stand there and think. They used to say at Long Lartin "We never did anything; we never solved any problems but what we did was we kept the problems at a manageable level—they were always at a manageable level and they never exploded to the point where they were beyond control and it escalated." And it was because people thought about what they were doing, questioned it, discussed it with others and were encouraged to do so by management.
 - n) If the foregoing skills are practiced and mastered, your performance will command respect—respect of your seniors, respect of your peers and perhaps most of all, respect of inmates. But most important, you will never really lose the initiative in the control game.

Staff Involvement

Treatment in dispersal circumstances should have the aim of permitting men to live as normal a life as circumstances will permit.

Confidence in the security defences and control skills will free staff to deal positively with treatment problems.

Training for relationships must be on-going and training should have a priority allocated to it.

Because of the stresses and strains of a dispersal prison, the only form of management which has any hope of success we believe is collective management. This means consultative management.

Staff must not be asked to carry impossible loads or fulfil well-nigh impossible tasks.

By involving staff in consultative management there is a greater chance of matching aims with resources and promoting a realistic regime.

Everyone is aware of treatment vehicles e.g. work, welfare, education, hobbies, PE, recreational facilities, etc.

The object of treatment is to build a number of disparate elements together to form a regime which meets the requirements laid on us by the Prison Department.

In this situation treatment staff are the catalysts. How well they co-ordinate, direct and generate treatment activities will decide the quality of the regime.

It is far better to individualise relationships with inmates than to provide them with unifying issues; we can do without mass protests against uninspiring food, new mattresses, shortage of kit, limited entertainment and restricted parole.

Respect of prisoners and taking one's time pays greater dividends than rushing, abusing or using force—before it is absolutely necessary to limit injury or serious damage.

Consistency and continuity of staff together make for an easier normality. A history of understanding and previous successful working through of issues gives everyone confidence that it's worth trying again. We have enjoyed a warmth and involvement that the report on the Hull riot valued (Fowler, 1977)² and which Gordon Fowler remembered in his recent evidence to the Parliamentary All Party Penal Affairs Group (1986)³:

"He has been alarmed in most of the dispersal prisons by the withdrawal of staff from involvement in the community life of the Wing

because of the fear of being assaulted or taken hostage. Most of the escapes he had investigated had started with threats to the staff that hostages would be taken. Real security and control meant knowing what someone was going to do before he did it which implied forming a relationship."

Thus security and control are distinguishable but complementary to each other; but they cannot be reasonably expected without trust, relationships, justice, respect, hope and reward.

Teamwork—the Whole Community

Long Lartin was built on the ideas, the aspirations of a whole range of people, security POs, POA officials, new deputy governors, experienced governors and many officers with varied experience. Specialists and doctors all joined in, so it was not based on any theory other than the theory that if a group of people are thrown together, given the overall task and permitted to develop their ideas and ideals then what would evolve would be something which all could subscribe to and which would have the in-built safeguard that no extreme views would go unchallenged. These were the things that we taught; they were not comfortable either to those of us who were involved or to Headquarters who had to cope with us. If you asked Bill Perrie what was the worst mistake he made at Long Lartin, he would say it was not understanding and realising the need to communicate with Headquarters and Region as openly as he communicated with staff and prisoners in Long Lartin itself. Tensions within the prison were used creatively but this was not true of our upward communications. He failed to influence the people that he wished and needed to influence most. It may be that that is one of the reasons why we are still wondering about how to develop our new dispersal prisons and it is a matter of much regret that all the work that went into understanding the development of Long Lartin was not used in the development of Frankland or Full Sutton.

There is a tendency in all of us to revert to simple policing or supervisory functions; to counteract this tendency we need to use anything at hand to help our understanding of prisoners and their behaviour. From the literature we know about body buffer zones and the particular needs of some violent prisoners for space.

Techniques of listening are well written-up.

No-go areas must be prevented by regular, normal involvement of staff—which reinforces their confidence.

Prisoners fear deterioration in prison and we need to challenge this fear through dialogue, involvement and activity.

Alistair Thompson (1983)⁴, Director, Scottish Prison Service, wrote very helpfully about staff; this and other literature is available to inform and encourage staff involvement, officers and specialists together.

However modern and well-equipped its buildings, however progressive and enlightened its regimes, it is an inescapable fact that the efficiency and effectiveness of a prison service is ultimately dependent upon the quality and commitment of its staff. By their attitudes they can ensure that friction between themselves and prisoners is minimised and thus make it difficult for troublemakers among prisoners to undermine management's purposes. It is incumbent on us to make the most effective use of staff.

The criterion of selection lies in paragraph II of Resolution 66 (26) of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers:

"All selection systems should take into account qualities of personality as well as intelligence and education attainments. The aim should be to select staff with the stability and balance of personality, the integrity, the power of empathy and capacity for good relationships which would enable them to manage inmates successfully in the difficult and artificial milieu of a penal establishment."

Custodial staff of such potential need to play their part in the process of social re-adaptation; they must be expanded, not eroded, by the increased deployment of specialists.

Threats to Good Practice

Over the past five years the Prison Department has recognised the dangers of increasing the use of specialists and relegating uniformed staff to more basic, less prestigious roles. This leads to a lack of job satisfaction, a tendency to create resentment on the part of the uniform staff against the "usurpers", and makes much more difficult the attainment of management's objectives. The aim has been to enhance the status and function of the prison staff.

Some other developments since 1966⁵ have militated against basic grade staff playing their proper part in the rehabilitative process. Electronic means of locking and unlocking inmates' accommodation have tended to restrict the contact between officer and prisoners; as relationships become less automatic, those members of staff who are content to act simply as custodians have a convenient excuse.

Drugs and overcrowding also raised threats to control and safe custody; accordingly staff anxiety rose. As a result staff were more inhibited in their relationships with inmates and overcrowding by its very nature acted as a barrier to the right kind of contacts between staff and prisoners. So much time was taken up with the sheer logistics of handling much larger numbers of prisoners than the establishment was designed to accommodate that little time was left for more productive contacts.

Staff were now subjected to public scrutiny in a manner never before experienced; access to the European Commission was increasingly used by prisoners to challenge staff actions and Departmental rules. The Inspectorate of Prisons has become more public and significant; the media have also in recent years begun to take a great deal more interest in the Prison Service and questioned its effectiveness. These developments have implications for the development of staff if they are to be equipped to cope with the challenges and changes which now confront them. If a wider role than simply that of control and custody is to be adopted, staff will require to be properly prepared for it both in their initial training and by way of in-service development courses. It is simply not enough to recruit good staff and provide them with training. Unless staff believe in what they are doing, management's aims will remain unachieved.

Support

It should be understood that staff felt—and indeed were—vulnerable to public criticism and complaints from prisoners. Every effort should be made by management to give them adequate support and appropriate opportunities to express their views on prison matters, particularly in formulating policies for the establishments in which they were working. Hence, whilst security is an implicit constant in all that one does, the day-to-day management input and concern is with maintaining equilibrium and control.

It is here that staff become of crucial importance—they will either be able to manage—or they won't! In such a community it is the fear of failure and its consequences—thoroughly understandable—which will dictate the attitudes which are adopted to prisoners. This, more than any other single factor will determine the stability of the overall regime. Staff confidence and the way this confidence is expressed are paramount. Once their confidence has been lost it is exceptionally difficult and costly to restore.

Control in a prison can be achieved in many different ways but the only successful control is when there is a true understanding between staff and prisoners and where, to some extent, there is a ready level of give-and-take, when the boundaries are clearly understood and where there can develop—dare I say—a certain amount of mutual respect. It is not just a matter of staff being professional but being able to relax with their charges and develop a dialogue and meaningful relationships.

Polarisation

When control has broken down underlying feelings come to the fore and are often acted out, stimulated by fear. Complex reactions follow but staff will not want ever to be in the same situation again: they demand safeguards. The danger for management is changing drastically the crucial nature of the relationship between officer and prisoner. Polarisation can occur and the very control so urgently sought can be more elusive than ever (causing relationships to deteriorate) which, if steps are not taken to correct it, can lead to further serious incidents.

The reason is not difficult to identify. If the ratio of staff to prisoners is at a certain level, control is maintained by the officer using his personality to influence the prisoner, which, as a by-product, maintains a reasonable atmosphere within the prison. Raise staffing levels and contact between staff and prisoner can decrease as quickly as contact between officer and officer increases. If this happens not only can 'no-go' areas develop but staff virtually become guards who have minimal contact with individual prisoners; both sides become more insecure, stereotypes build up, the subtleties of relationships between the two vanish and contempt grows as each side develops superficial but strong anti-stereotypes of the other.

Any meaningful concept of community breaks down and the atmosphere becomes tense, prisoners sullen, staff defensive and threatened.

Perhaps the most important attribute that the governor of such an establishment must have is the ability to organise and project himself as someone who can run a 'safe' regime for staff and prisoners. This means listening, supporting, involving staff and attending to prisoners' requests and controlling those prisoners who subvert the freedom and activity of others, by dealing with them firmly and fairly. It means supporting staff in the intensely difficult job of getting to know the prisoner, likewise to listen, be firm and fair.

In this 'ideal' regime, with minimum polarisation, prisoners will warn staff of possible trouble so that action can be taken to prevent it arising.

Violence

Incidents of violence have a profound effect on staff. Violence triggers further violence. Prisons in which hostility, distrust and fear are pronounced are more difficult to manage and less likely to modify the attitudes and activities of offenders. Aggressive behaviour can be regarded as functional for the prisoner in two ways:

- a) to obtain various rewards or incentives;
 - b) to deal with annoyance, frustration, mistreatment or provocation.
- The first includes image-building, muscling, threatening, bullying, challenging the inmates' social order, trafficking and baroning.

As the prison environment with overcrowding, lack of privacy, and noise stimulates annoyance and frustration, the second process can hardly surprise us. But reducing minor irritations and frustrations can be impulsive and explosive.

We need, therefore, to provide prison conditions which will make violence less necessary, useful and acceptable.

But some control measures will exacerbate annoyance, and punishment is minimally deterrent in a highly aroused prison.

This is when staff mediation and sensitivity are essential and more likely to succeed than punitive measures.

The danger is that the very measures which work best—dynamic security—are discarded for less subtle measures, with a preference for static and physical security.

A greater sensitivity to violence "cues" must be developed and we need to encourage those staff who are better at reducing tension and violence.

Prison staff require training in mediation and negotiation skills. Detecting conflict is of little value if the staff member doesn't have the skills to reduce the conflict and hostility. Successful negotiation and mediation of inmate conflict can leave inmates less bitter, less resentful and less bent on revenge. Negotiation, clarification, and skilled ways of calming upset individuals can prevent aggression directed at staff.

To encourage, reinforce and support constructive behaviour is a skill that can be learned and developed by everyone.

Inmates

Some inmates appear to function well in response to authoritarian staff behaviour while others are provoked. Some inmates desire a structured milieu, others place greater importance on meaningful activity or reduced social support.

Younger inmates generally prefer sociability, while older inmates seek solitude. Older inmates and those serving lengthier sentences are annoyed by lack of privacy and by lack of structure or predictability in their environments. Inmates who have had prior psychotic breakdowns are particularly aggravated by high noise levels or danger cues. But at some point or other during the course of their imprisonment most inmates experience some form of personal crisis.

The involvement of custodial staff in human service delivery is particularly important. Prison officers are the main human resource of any prison setting. It has been shown that they can be the most liked or disliked of prison staff members and that those officers who behave in a fair and concerned fashion have a major positive influence on the attitudes and behaviour of offenders, (Glaser, 1964).⁶ Most staff adopt a helping role, routinely offering inmates advice and assistance with institutional problems. But more support and training is needed.

We need to understand the importance different types of inmates attach to:

Privacy—from irritants such as noise and crowding;

Safety—from attack;

Structure—stability and consistency;

Support—services that facilitate self-improvement;

Emotional feedback—being appreciated and cared for;

Activity—occupying one's time with meaningful involvement;

Freedom—maintaining some sense of autonomy.

We should remember the following points about violence in prison.

- a) It has been demonstrated that there is a negative correlation between age and the likelihood of behaving violently in prison.
- b) Transiency of the population generally increases the likelihood of violence (the proportion of relative strangers).
- c) The relationship between crowding and rates of violence is strongest in relatively large institutions.

The conclusion that can be drawn is clear. Correctional authorities should strive to avoid relatively large, crowded institutions, with populations that are highly transient; and contain a high proportion of young, rebellious inmates.

The prisoner involved in education or litigation is at least directing his energies in a more constructive way.

Design and Safety

Significant reductions in violence might be achieved by appreciating and modifying those features of the prison environment that increase its likelihood. It is recognised that prison settings are not physically designed to prevent violence. Most prisons include a hodge-podge of buildings, dark corridors, backrooms, blind-spots and a variety of other architectural faults that lend themselves to violence. It is possible to enhance the effectiveness while reducing the obtrusiveness of surveillance by more thoughtful attention to the physical aspects of the prison environment. In the final analysis the reduction of violence will require major changes in the human as well as the physical environment of prisons. We need prison environments that foster a sense of community and emphasize mutuality of interests, rather than hinder coping.

The Origins of Resistance

Two theories have been advanced; by the first, "prisonisation", the pains of imprisonment form the basis of the origin and maintenance of the inmate social system. "Criminalisation" is the alternative explanation of the origin and maintenance of an inmate

social system—it is a product of values and norms which are imported into the prison by the inmate.

Analysis of treatment-orientated and custody-orientated institutions adds support to the prisonisation model, because adherence to the inmate code is greater in the more custody-orientated institution where deprivations are greater.

But it is upon entrance to the institution that the inmate will rely upon his reference group to maintain self-esteem and research indicates more support for the criminalisation model than the prisonisation. In either case design should aim to decrease resistance.

The Design of Prisons for Long Termers: English and American

The dispersal system contains fundamental conceptual and practical weaknesses. When it was set up there was no adequate recognition of the differences between security and control. As to the policy of dispersal, we can see that, given the nature of the architecture then available, our predecessors may have had little choice but to resort to almost any expedient to avoid the concentration of security/control problems. The two prime requirements for the containment of this very difficult population are the capacity to separate groups and individuals who need to be kept apart, and the need for flexibility so that the different requirements of different groups can be addressed. Since the 1960s we have been constructing prisons on the large unit philosophy. Frankland and Full Sutton are examples of this, they are inflexible and staff intensive as well. In the Federal system, designs are characterised by units in which the living accommodation is arranged around communal areas. Over the years the British system has got things wrong and on the face of it two medium-sized prisons built on unit-planned concepts would provide us with all the security, separation capacity and flexibility that we need to accommodate Category 'A' and extreme control problem cases.

The "new generation" style appears to:

- a) reduce tension;
 - b) improve surveillance;
 - c) encourage staff control through a communal, rather than confrontational, approach to prisoners;
- and

- d) enable many regimes to operate on the same site.

The evolution of these prisons has been a consistent process over the last 15 years driven by an idea of functional unit management and the conscious aim of encouraging a participatory style of staff control. The Federal Bureau has deliberately turned its back on old cell ranges because they provide poor surveillance and set staff and inmates at a distance. The "new generation" design simultaneously improves surveillance and encourages staff/inmate involvement. The American designs are based on the idea that prisoners will be spending much of their time outside their cells and that they will be mixing with staff in a single community.

Our designs in the 1950s and '60s were poverty-stricken, claustrophobic and difficult to use. If we start from the proposition that inmates will be out of their cells for most of the time then living units will look not like Featherstone or Frankland but like Otisville or Oak Park Heights. Old style "linear surveillance" architecture inhibits the kind of security and control and living standards which we need.

Conclusions

The report of the Control Review Committee⁷ covers this area more thoroughly than one lecture can and has an agenda for change. It should stand the test of time and needs re-reading. The Prison Department's "Fresh Start" proposals emphasize group/team working and this is welcome support for the style of working that my reading and experience lead me to advocate. Regimes do need development, for short-termers as well as long; individualism, relationships and activities need development together as I have argued in "A Sense of Direction".⁸ Such developments in regime, design and staffing have the support of the Research Advisory Group⁹ and give me confidence in a better way of working in the future. Some dispersals get themselves locked into a cycle of security, control and loss of confidence, of staff distance rather than involvement. Bill Perrie introduced me, at Long Lartin, to a better way of working with long-termers, a regime where staff had confidence in involvement—and I am grateful to him. I trust this lecture will be one means of recording the benefits of the work he pioneered. ■

continued on page 25

cynics' corner

I have discovered the answer to the major problem of the Prison Service. For those who have not been paying attention or who have been so negligent as not to secure and read recent copies of the Prison Service Journal, the nucleus of the problem is that the Home Secretary has given an undertaking that overcrowding in the Prison system will be ended by the end of the decade but the judiciary are expressing their independence by committing more and more criminals to custody. The Treasury is, not surprisingly, reluctant to commit even more public funds to building prisons to provide the extra spaces which will be required to achieve the Minister's aim.

Let it not be said that I don't do my bit. I spend many hours trying to persuade inmates to lead an honest life and to thereby avoid giving the Judges and Magistrates the opportunity of turning them into an overcrowding statistic but, alas, my success is limited because for every one who does join the straight and narrow there appears to be two new recruits who have earned a period of incarceration by failing just about every non-custodial alternative.

But I now know how Newton felt when the apple fell on his head. My flash of inspiration came not from the law of gravity but the law of the popular press which says that the number of column inches devoted to a news item varies in inverse proportion to its trivia rating. Had the Baron of Wapping behaved logically I might never have known about the broom cupboard opposite Harrods being sold for £36,500 and not only would the cartoonists have been deprived of a feast of material but the Prison Service would have missed out on my gem of an idea.

Now although the dimensions of the broom cupboard in question were relatively small, I did wonder about the habits of the previous occupants

of a house which required space for so many brushes; was the owner perhaps a secret brush salesman or was the family so scruffy that an army of sweepers was required to keep the house clean? Enough of my idle speculation, however, because it is much more important to recognise that the dimensions of the broom cupboard are very similar to those of the cells in our Victorian prisons. I understand that the cupboard was being advertised as being suitable for one person which demonstrates clearly that London property agents have a lot to learn from the Prison Service. With a little imagination and the judicious use of bunk-beds it is, as we know, quite easy to fit three people into such a space and we have been doing so for many years. It is true that the accommodation of three people means that facilities for personal hygiene and natural functions are rather lacking in sophistication but with a little hype it could be possible to make the communal use of a potty (or guzunder as it is known in the North) into the 'in thing'. Space for cooking and eating—if the pervading smell of urine and excreta is not off-putting—would obviously be very limited but imaginative use of a microwave cooker and picnic trays could overcome these problems.

On second thought, I feel we should aim for the top end of the market. Now I do recognise, although my knowledge of London geography is rather vague, that Wormwood Scrubs and Wandsworth are hardly Knightsbridge and this would have to be taken into consideration when setting prices but both establishments are within the Inner London area and have a number of intrinsic advantages which I will enumerate later. I would have thought that by linking two cells (ie, twice the size of the broom cupboard), space could be found for a toilet, shower, kitchen and bed-sitting

area: that must be worth £30,000 to the 'Yuppies', especially if decorated with Laura Ashley wallpaper.

The advantages which will really sell the deal, however, are inherent in the total facility. The young stockbroker, having spent his £70,000 p.a. on equipping himself with the mandatory Jensen and fitting out his pad with the best that Harrods can offer, is understandably concerned about car theft and burglary. He has his car windows etched and installs a burglar alarm but he knows that these are just minor irritants to the professional thief. The Wormwood Scrubs Executive Housing Development, however, would provide total security for his possessions within a high wall fitted with the latest in electronic security devices. In addition, the gymnasium and sports hall could be converted into an executive health club and squash courts; the hospital could be taken over by BUPA; Egon Ronay could establish a chic restaurant in the kitchen and dining rooms; and the exercise yard could become a golf driving range. This is starting to sound so attractive that I wonder if we should be aiming at the rich and famous rather than the 'Yuppies', and raising the prices accordingly.

I suppose you are wondering when I will get to the point and if you have persevered so far with my rambles then you are indeed deserving of an explanation. The point is that the money raised by selling off Wormwood Scrubs and Wandsworth as executive developments could be used to build four new prisons offering twice the number of cells at no cost to the taxpayer. You may think my plan unrealistic and, if so, you should get together with the man who uttered the immortal words, 'You will never sell a broom cupboard'. Meanwhile, I await my award from the Staff Suggestion Scheme. ■

BOOK REVIEWS

Books for review to be sent to:

The Reviews Editor, Prison Service Journal,
Jonathan Uzzell, HM Prison, St. Loyes Street,
Bedford.
MK40 1HG.

Major Crime Policy Matters in the light of Criminological research.

COUNCIL of EUROPE.

This collection of papers represents the discussions that took place at Strasbourg in November 1985 at what was called the 7th. Criminological Colloquium with representatives from member states to the Council of Europe.

Such an ambitious undertaking which involved philosophical, legal and psychiatric issues was bound to demonstrate the different perspectives these disciplines represent, and it is difficult to be certain whether the avowed intention of reducing boundaries was actually served or whether in fact the unavoidable overlap produced greater rather than less contradictions for the participants.

The essential issue under discussion was the perennial problems of understanding and defining "responsibility"—the validity of a psychiatric assessment and the philosophical and ethical consequences of this under the different legal frameworks of member countries. It was interesting to see that despite the varying judicial systems there was broad agreement that sentencing decisions ought to be based on the most humane methods of dealing with mentally disturbed offenders rather than taking sides on the philosophical uncertainties thrown up by debating the questions of "free will." This of course provides strong ammunition for the abolition of the whole question of "criminal responsibility" which is a position that Baroness Barbara Wootton has long argued.

It was salutary to note that despite the public's perception of psychiatric omniscience there was much evidence that we are generally unreliable in assessing "dangerousness", which should give some pause to the more loquacious psychiatrist who hastens to express opinions, both about dangerousness and future criminal behaviour, when the best predictor for such propensities is largely the previous criminal record of the offender—rather than an examination of the present mental state.

I found reading the turgid prose fairly hard going but given the fact of necessary translations, this was probably unavoidable. The trainee psychiatrist will not find much here to help with post-graduate examinations. The experienced forensic psychiatrist will also not discover much to help with his routine work though it may be of some comfort to discover that the semantic and philosophical issues that pervade the subject here produce the same problems in other countries. There is an interesting summary of the different medico-legal frameworks in European countries and for this at least it deserves a place in post-graduate and forensic psychiatric libraries.

Dr R PINTO, MBBS MRCT (G), M. Phil. Psych. FRC (Psych.)

Strategies for Improving Race Relations

Edited by JOHN W. SHAW, PETER G. NORDLIE and RICHARD M. SHAPIRO.
Manchester University Press.

This is a book about institutional racism and some of the strategies which have been used to combat a social evil.

Mention of Race Relations these days evokes either exclamations of hostility or stifled yawns from others groaning 'not more academic verbiage on the subject'.

But this is no dry tome from academia. It is a collection of papers written by practitioners fully committed to changing racial culture and climate in very different organisations, how the demand for change arose, the problems they encountered, the way in which these were resolved or otherwise and the effects that the changes had upon their organisations. The editors have used a very broad lens to picture the racial climate in organisations both here and in the U.S.A. One may be forgiven for thinking in the first instance that the problems of racial conflict are very different in the two countries, having as they do very different histories and social milieux. It soon becomes obvious that institutional racism is precisely that, in whatever country it appears and is practiced. What the editors have done in their selection of material is to highlight the common strands of inconsistency, denial of opportunity of 'outgroups' through to the rabid racist policies which characterise some organisations. In this the editors have succeeded and consequently have shown the value of reciprocal learning.

Raymond G. Hunt, in the opening paper describes a problem-solving approach to institutional racism in several U.S. law enforcement agencies. How the project progressed from fact-finding, through planning to implementation. Of particular interest is the definition placed on institutional racism in which the term encompassed two types of 'errors'. Errors of commission in which organisational policies and practices that, regardless of their motivation are directly or indirectly disadvantageous to racial minorities, for example, height minima. Errors of omission which are chronic manifestations of racism to which there is no serious organisational response: for example, verbal racial slurs or jokes, or discriminatory acts by an individual supervisor.

Identified under this approach were such things as affirmative action planning and programming. None of the police departments in the study seemed to operate any overt plan in this aspect. Recruitment proved another major problem area not least because there did not seem to be a complement of minority employees close to parity with any reasonable community population or workforce criterion. Minority recruiting efforts were passive. Select-

ion and hiring fared little better, prejudice being found amongst interviewers and in background investigations. Training showed a disproportionate weeding out of minority rookies. Evaluation and promotion and their absence from career planning in the police departments studied showed that very often minority officers were assigned to staff jobs in 'community relations' or to 'keeping the lid' on minority communities often exposing them to inordinately hazardous duty.

Finally the whole ambience of the organisational climate is looked at. The paper then goes on to describe the remedies developed to meet these problems. Hunt and his colleagues are drawn inextricably towards the conclusions that approaches towards the organisational change must be task-orientated with the advantage of organising it in relation to tangible activities and results and that planned change runs up against irrational human emotion. These changes also run up against the impatience of the eventual beneficiaries. They want relief now, not in some future time, and who can blame them—does all this sound familiar?

John Shaw's paper on planning and implementing race relations seminars at Holly Royde for prison service personnel should also be familiar, particularly to those who have attended seminars there. The University of Manchester has had a long-standing involvement in management seminars in race relations the seminars themselves were originally designed for the police service but developed to meet other management groups in public service, particularly prison governors. The emphasis is on the team approach and the formation of action plans to combat personal and institutional racism in specific establishments. In analysis and evaluation Shaw is the first to recognise that too much should not be expected from race relations training. He joins with Chesler in asserting that 'individual change is, from my point of view, simply not a sufficient goal in a society rife with institutional racism and injustice'. Having said this however Shaw points out that participants place a higher value on participative learning than on didactic presentations. Whether this is just saying something about learning processes is debatable but what is not in doubt is that the action plan projects work from the participant groups is task orientated and, as Hunt found, by organising it in relation to tangible activities, results in change.

Peter Nordlie in his paper on the evolution of race relations training in the U.S. Army traces its development from its inclusion in basic combat training in the 1960s, through the various programmes which have followed, to an overview of research on race relations training effectiveness to a conclusion that results have been mixed but probably positive on balance—a true sociologist speaking!

Here then is just a peep at three very different accounts amongst a total of some 13

contributors. The accounts are well written, readable and raise important issues both about institutional racism in toto and a rich harvest of strategies to combat particular forms of it across a wide spectrum of different organisations.

Who should read this book? Whilst the price of £25 may put it beyond the average private buyer it should be on the bookshelf of every organisation and read by every manager whose task is to eradicate racism in all its forms from within his company or organisation. The book would also be invaluable to those who wish to change the racial climate but are not sure how to go about it.

JOHN ALDRIDGE-GOULT,
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LONG TERMERS *continued from page 22*

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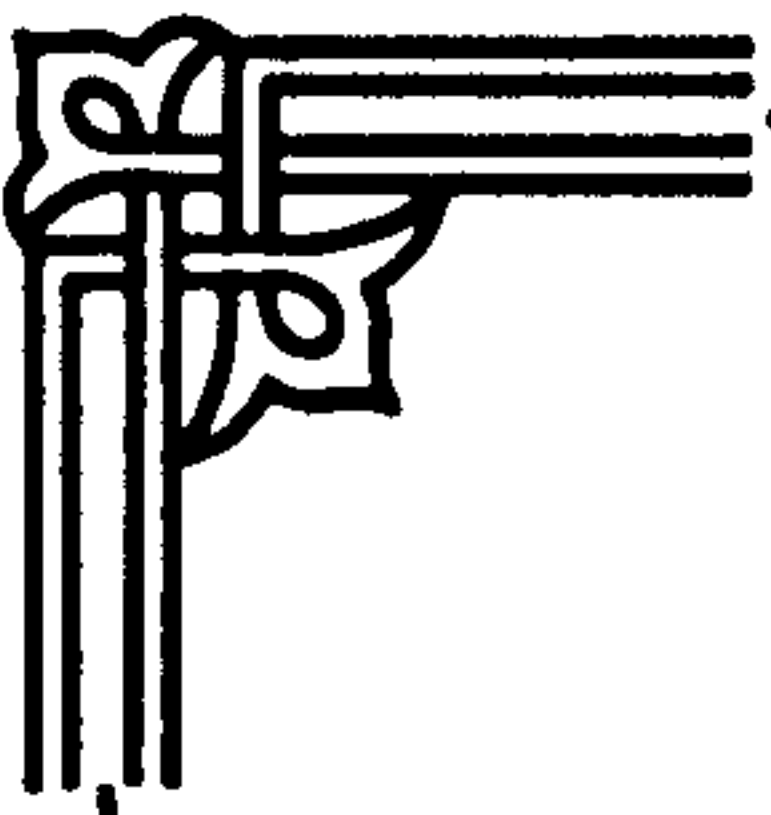
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