

J PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 1995 NO. 101



*Is there an ideal
design for prisons?
... an architect writes.*

*Why is the prison
population at
record levels?
... Paul Cavadino
offers a view.*



*Is small
beautiful?
... the Scots move
on from Barlinnie.*



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Contents

Comment

A Polymorphous Edition

Recent Trends in the Use of Imprisonment

Paul Cavadino

Budapest prison

Mitch Egan

The Victim's Charter, Life Sentence Prisoners and Effective Through-Care Practice

Peter H Johnston

Investigation into Self-harm

Neil Stevenson and Sarah Skett

Reviews

'The Youth Court: One Year Onwards'

J. A. McNicholas

The Future of Small Units in the Scottish Prison Service

Ed Wozniak

Does good design help those inside?

Leslie Fairweather

Sociologists everywhere!!

Katy Webley

To be laid before Parliament

T. G. Weiler

Letters

Parkhurst, Parole Board

S. Ellis and P. Midgley

Experimenting with Incentives at Woodhill

Martin Lomas

Quality means - 'You get more than you expected'

Barry Greenberry

Interview

Alan Walker

Holly Welsh

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Comment

A POLYMORPHOUS EDITION

In this Issue we depart from past practice by not selecting a theme around which a number of articles are arranged. That practice has not done justice to some of the articles which do not fit into that theme by appearing to play them down. Within the covers of this Issue there are a number of important articles which deserve attention and demonstrate the range of significant changes which the Service is experiencing.

After the disasters of Whitemoor and Parkhurst the debate between concentration and dispersal has been resurrected with the former gaining the upper hand.

If Ministers agree to the idea of a single high security prison to complement the dispersal system then it might hold not only those who could launch a well organised escape but also those who are so troublesome that they have to be moved frequently from segregation unit in one prison to a segregation unit in another. In which case it might reward us to see how the Scottish Service has learned from the world famous Barlinnie Unit and the reasons for its closure. Ed Wozniak writes positively about that change which appeared to be so negative when it was first announced.

To exacerbate our problems with security has come the steady rise in prison numbers, a reversal of the trend which the 1991 Criminal Justice Act seemed designed to reinforce. Paul Cavadino spells out the changes in sentencing practice which has led to that trend.

The continuation of such a rise in the population must inevitably lead to more prisons being built and Leslie Fairweather discusses prison design from the viewpoint of an architect who knows the prison system well.

A worrying increase has been recorded in the

number of suicides in prison and the article reporting work done at Glen Parva throws light on the characteristics of those who commit acts of self-harm and those who threaten to do so. It may help in our assessment of risk. The phrase "risk assessment" is being used increasingly in a number of contexts. Health and Safety is one but the concept is being applied more widely and Peter Johnston in his article on life sentence prisoners makes reference to it. Such assessments of risk in deciding whether to let somebody out of the prison or not has lead to more refusals as though that would remove all risk but, of course, it doesn't. All it does is postpone the risk till the time when the prisoner does go out and may increase the risk through the lack of adequate preparation which a short period of leave would have offered. That is why the health and safety concept is interesting and relevant. In that context a job is not stopped because there is a risk but the emphasis is upon what action can be taken to minimise that risk and allow the job to be done.

Martin Lomas offers a useful and positive counterpoint to the article by Alison Liebling and Mary Bosworth in Issue No 98 of the Journal on Incentives showing how such schemes may encourage conforming behaviour from prisoners.

With so many initiatives and so much change it is important to address the way in which we manage change. To that end Barry Greenberry highlights the help governors can get from their local Training and Enterprise Councils, through the Investors in People programme. That programme is a way of recognising the good work staff do, of which we tend to do too little as Alan Walker our Director of Operations (South) points out in his interview with Holly Welsh ■

Recent Trends in the Use of Imprisonment

"...the process is like running up an escalator which is moving ever more rapidly downwards."

Paul Cavadino is the Chair of the Penal Affairs Consortium and co-author of 'Criminal Justice in Transition' (Waterside Press, 1994).

In a very short space of time, criminal justice policy in England and Wales has swung from an official policy of seeking a more sparing use of custody to an approach in which Ministers explicitly advocate a substantially increased use of imprisonment.

In 1990 the White Paper 'Crime, Justice and Protecting the Public' argued that prison can be 'an expensive way of making bad people worse'. Yet in 1993 the current Home Secretary, Michael Howard, memorably told the Conservative Party that 'prison works' and the following year the Prime Minister told the Conference with approval that judges were now imprisoning an increasing proportion of offenders.

The result of this U-turn has been to reinforce a hardening climate in the sentencing of offenders, which since early 1993 has produced a sharp increase in the courts' use of prison.

The 1991 Act

The prison population reached its lowest point in recent years at the end of December 1992, three months after implementation of the Criminal Justice Act 1991 (with its tight restrictions on the use of custodial sentences) on 1st October 1992. In the two months after the Act's implementation there was a fall of nearly 3,000 in the prison population from 45,835 at the end of September to 43,046 at the end of November - a very striking fall at a time of year when the prison population is normally rising. By the end of December 1992 it had fallen to 40,606 (the usual December fall accounting for only part of this further reduction). At the end of January 1993 the number was 41,561: therefore, the number of prisoners four months after the 1991 Act's implementation was more than 4,000 lower than before implementation, representing a real and substantial fall in the use of custody by the courts.

The change in the courts' behaviour at that time is illustrated by the fall in the proportion of offenders sentenced for indictable offences who

received immediate custodial sentences, from 16 per cent in the first three-quarters of 1992 to 12 per cent in the last quarter following implementation of the 1991 Act. A fall occurred both at magistrates' courts (from 5 to 3 per cent) and at the Crown Court (from 45 to 40 per cent) and for all age groups. The falls were most evident for offenders convicted of burglary, theft, handling stolen goods, fraud and forgery, and for offenders with a substantial number of previous convictions.

As a result of this drop in the use of custody, the number of prisoners held in police cells was rapidly reduced and the practice was ended in February 1993. There was a fall in prison overcrowding: the number of prisoners held three to a cell fell from 1,272 in March 1992 to 108 in March 1993, and the number two to a cell from 9,160 to 6,872. Prison population projections for the end of the century were scaled down by several thousand: projections published in May 1992 had envisaged a prison population of 50,500 in 1995 and 57,500 in 2000, but revised projections published in March 1993 scaled these figures down to 45,500 and 50,400 respectively.

The Changing Climate

Early in 1993, however, the trend was reversed. Intensive media campaigns about crime affected the climate in which sentencing and remand decisions were made and the prison population began to rise sharply, as the table indicates. The continuing strong media pressure for harsher sentencing policies was reinforced by a series of speeches and public statements by both Government and Opposition representatives advocating 'tough' measures to deal with offenders, and by a weakening of the 1991 Act's statutory restrictions on the use of prison sentences by provisions contained in the Criminal Justice Act 1993.

Published figures for the proportion of offenders sentenced at the Crown Court after committal for trial who receive immediate custody, which had fallen from 48 per cent in September

1992 to 42 per cent in January 1993, rose steadily to 54 per cent by August 1993 and thereafter remained between 52 and 54 per cent between September 1993 and August 1994. At the time of writing more comprehensive sentencing figures are available only up to the end of 1993. These show that the proportion of people sentenced by magistrates' courts for indictable offences who received custodial sentences rose from 3 per cent in January 1993 to 7 per cent in December 1993; at Crown Courts the percentage rose over the same period from 41 to 54 per cent; and at all courts the proportion rose from 12 to 16 per cent. The rise in the use of immediate custody was most marked for property offenders (rising from 5 per cent in early 1993 to 8 per cent in late 1993 at magistrates' courts, and from 35 per cent to 47 per cent at Crown Courts) and for those with between six and 20 previous convictions.

As the 'law and order' debate became ever more punitive, the rise in the prison population accelerated. In the two years from the end of November 1992 to the end of November 1994 the prison population increased by 17 per cent from 43,064 to 50,565 - an average increase of 312 a month. At this rate of increase the Prison Service would need to open a new prison the size of Dartmoor every two months to cater properly for the extra prisoners. The number of women prisoners rose by 28 per cent and the number of remand prisoners by 37 per cent over the same period. After the seasonal fall to 47,611 at the end of December, the rise resumed in early 1995, reaching a new record level of 51,243 on 16 March this year.

The number of prisoners held two to a cell designed for one person rose to 8,480 at the end of November 1994. The regular use of police cells resumed in 1994 as a result partly of the population pressure and partly of the loss of cells in the riot at Wymott prison in late 1993. Revised prison population projections were published in June 1994, containing a projection for the year 2000 of 56,600; and the projections to be published in 1995 will undoubtedly be higher still.

The brunt of rising numbers is always borne by city and town centre local prisons. At the end of November 1994, 18,383 prisoners were held in the country's local prisons, which had a total CNA of 15,594 places, overall, therefore, local prisons were 18 per cent overcrowded. 14 local prisons were over 30 per cent overcrowded on that date: this included five prisons which were over 50 per cent overcrowded and a further five which were over 40 per cent overcrowded. As Brendan O'Friel, Chairman of the Prison Governors' Association, told the Association's 1995 annual conference: 'The pressure on governors and their staff caused by the rising prisoner population is

Prison Population				
November 1992 to November 1994				
	Total Prison Population	Remand Prisoners	Young Offenders (under 21)	Women Prisoners
1992				
30 November	43,064	9,200	7,263	1,492
31 December	40,606	8,272	6,783	1,353
1993				
31 January	41,561	9,281	7,060	1,381
28 February	42,882	9,933	7,488	1,402
31 March	43,195	9,996	7,659	1,419
30 April	43,391	9,997	7,682	1,464
31 May	43,585	10,181	7,784	1,494
30 June	44,246	10,632	7,876	1,580
31 July	44,830	10,572	7,892	1,657
31 August	45,633	11,407	8,016	1,681
30 September	46,211	11,445	8,256	1,674
31 October	46,886	11,829	8,393	1,711
30 November	47,153	11,885	8,288	1,690
31 December	45,214	10,763	7,780	1,573
1994				
31 January	46,902	12,100	8,078	1,653
28 February	47,906	11,923	8,217	1,708
31 March	48,778	11,569	8,196	1,773
30 April	47,943	11,966	8,273	1,718
31 May	48,675	12,434	8,310	1,788
30 June	48,929	12,493	8,339	1,804
31 July	49,169	12,331	8,391	1,859
31 August	49,392	12,574	8,451	1,898
30 September	49,812	12,681	8,502	1,949
31 October	49,851	12,606	8,450	1,905
30 November	50,565	12,597	8,610	1,908

increasing remorselessly... Overcrowded prisons are unhealthy places, far more likely to turn out embittered, hardened and contaminated individuals.'

Conclusion

For a brief period in early 1993 the elimination of overcrowding appeared to be a realistic prospect for the Prison Service. However, the recent sea-change in criminal justice policy with its shift towards markedly more punitive sentencing, has dashed that prospect for the foreseeable future. There are plans to open six more privately managed prisons, the first two of which are expected to open in 1997-98, and 2,000 additional places are being provided by 1996-97 by building houseblocks at existing prisons.

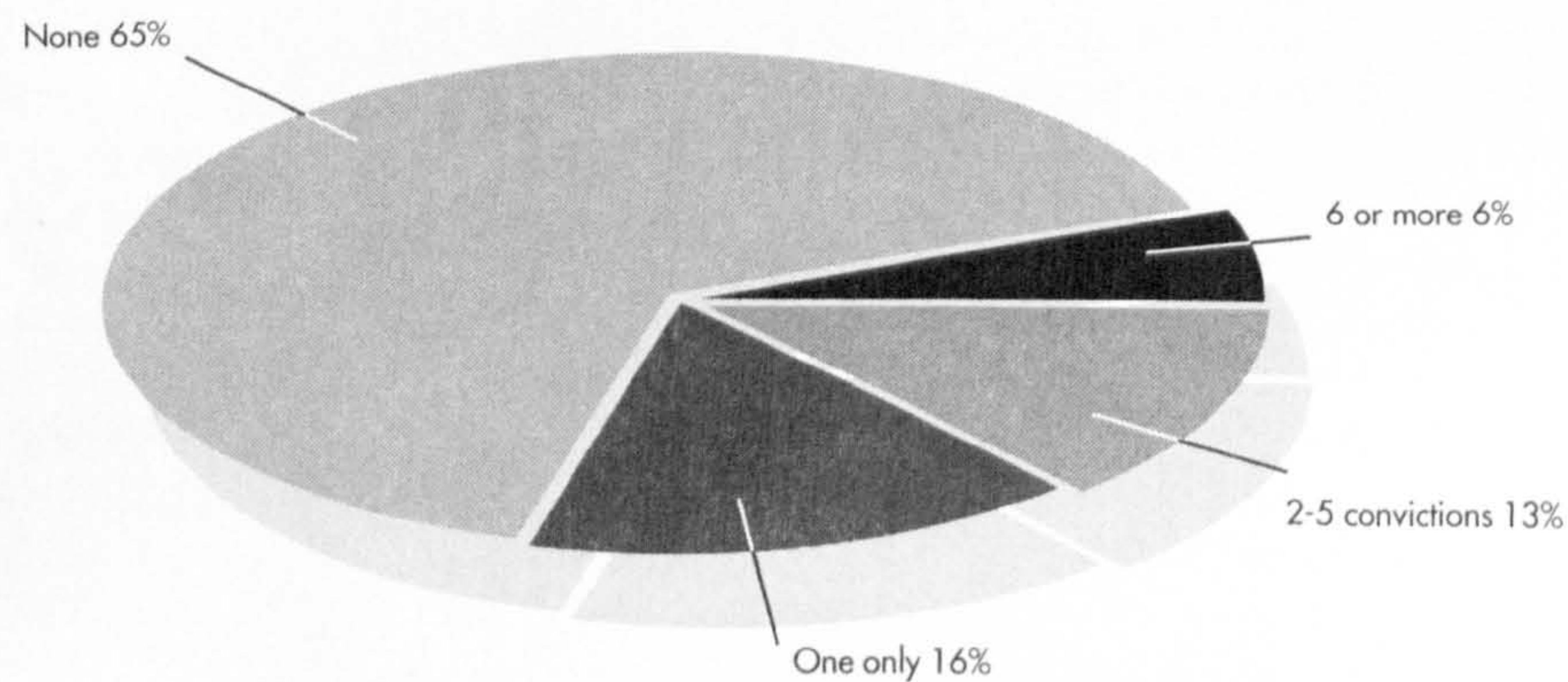
However, at the current rate of increase the rising prison population will outstrip the provision of new places: the process is like running up an escalator which is moving ever more rapidly downwards.

As Lord Woolf said in a House of Lords debate in February 1994, 'As a result of a change in climate, the importance of avoiding custody when it is appropriate to do so has been forgotten. A factor which has undoubtedly contributed to this change of climate in that the Government, who give a lead in these matters, have abandoned

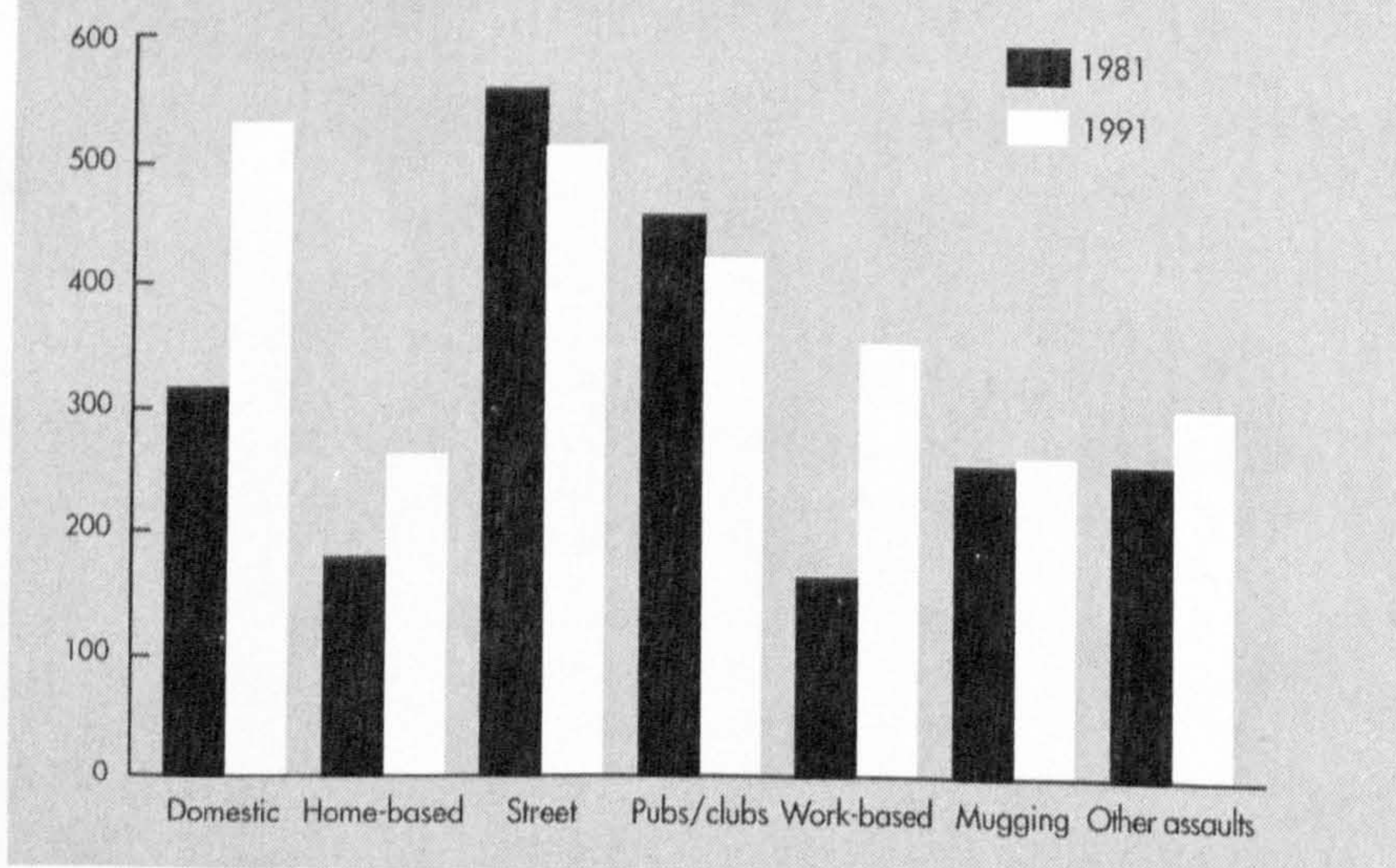
the need for restraint in the use of prisons... It needs to be reiterated repeatedly that if prison is used when it is not necessary, then it is frustrating, not furthering, the objectives of the criminal justice system. It is an expensive way of making the criminal justice system less effective.' While prison is necessary for serious offenders, it is crucial that we should return to a sense of the importance of using it sparingly if we are to give the Prison Service the opportunity of working properly with a manageable number of prisoners ■

Home Office Statistics

Males born in 1953 convicted of an offence on the 'standard list' by age 35



BCS: Violence in different circumstances 1981 and 1991



Budapest prison

"It is the only prison I have visited where the dominant smells are fresh bread and goulash."

As with many former Communist states, legislation on criminal and penal matters has been slow to follow changed attitudes. Other issues, principally the economy, take precedence. Sanctions and treatment methods which are no longer used remain on the statute books, and practice is - unusually - outstripping the aims and aspirations in published documents. In Hungary, community-based sanctions are now used regularly and the minimum period of imprisonment has been reduced from one year to one day.

The prison in Budapest holds up to 2,000 adult prisoners and is described as the largest prison in Eastern Europe: it is certainly the largest in Hungary. It extends over two sites, on either side of a main road - a similar layout to Highpoint prison in Suffolk, except that in Budapest the two parts are connected by an underground tunnel. The tunnel is large, well lit, well ventilated and cheerful. Prisoners are always escorted in the tunnel, which is also covered by closed circuit television monitors.

The prison has just been enlarged by the addition of a new four storey block with a central outdoor quadrangle furnished with games equipment. Main exercise is not taken in the quadrangle although the space is used for supplementary exercise time. The block also has a well-equipped education department complete with library. Classes are run for between nine and 12 students, by teachers from the local education authority. It offers prisoners the opportunity to complete primary and secondary education. Vocational training is also provided, and the Vocational Training catering course trains the caterers for all Hungarian prisons. This new unit also houses a kitchen where one civilian caterer and six prisoners provided the meals for about 830 prisoners. All diets are catered for, even if there are individual requirements. The food was well prepared, tasty and well presented. The kitchen itself adjoined the dining-hall, which was a large airy room of a size to allow about 400 prisoners to

dine together at each sitting.

The original prison consists of two identical blocks, each with a central hub and three radial wings, rather like the open galleries of Victorian prisons. The ground floor hub acts as the wing centre, and there is a central control point between second and third levels. All gates and cell doors are electronically locked, and controlled from these manned central points. Although the system is now suffering a little from old-age, it is secure and efficient and frees officers from the round of locking and unlocking.

The prison normally holds convicted prisoners although 550-600 unsentenced prisoners are currently accommodated to facilitate renovation at a nearby remand prison. Conditions for remands are constrained by the requirement to prevent pre-trial collusion and they are therefore unable to use the telephones except in unusual circumstances, and are separated from convicted prisoners.

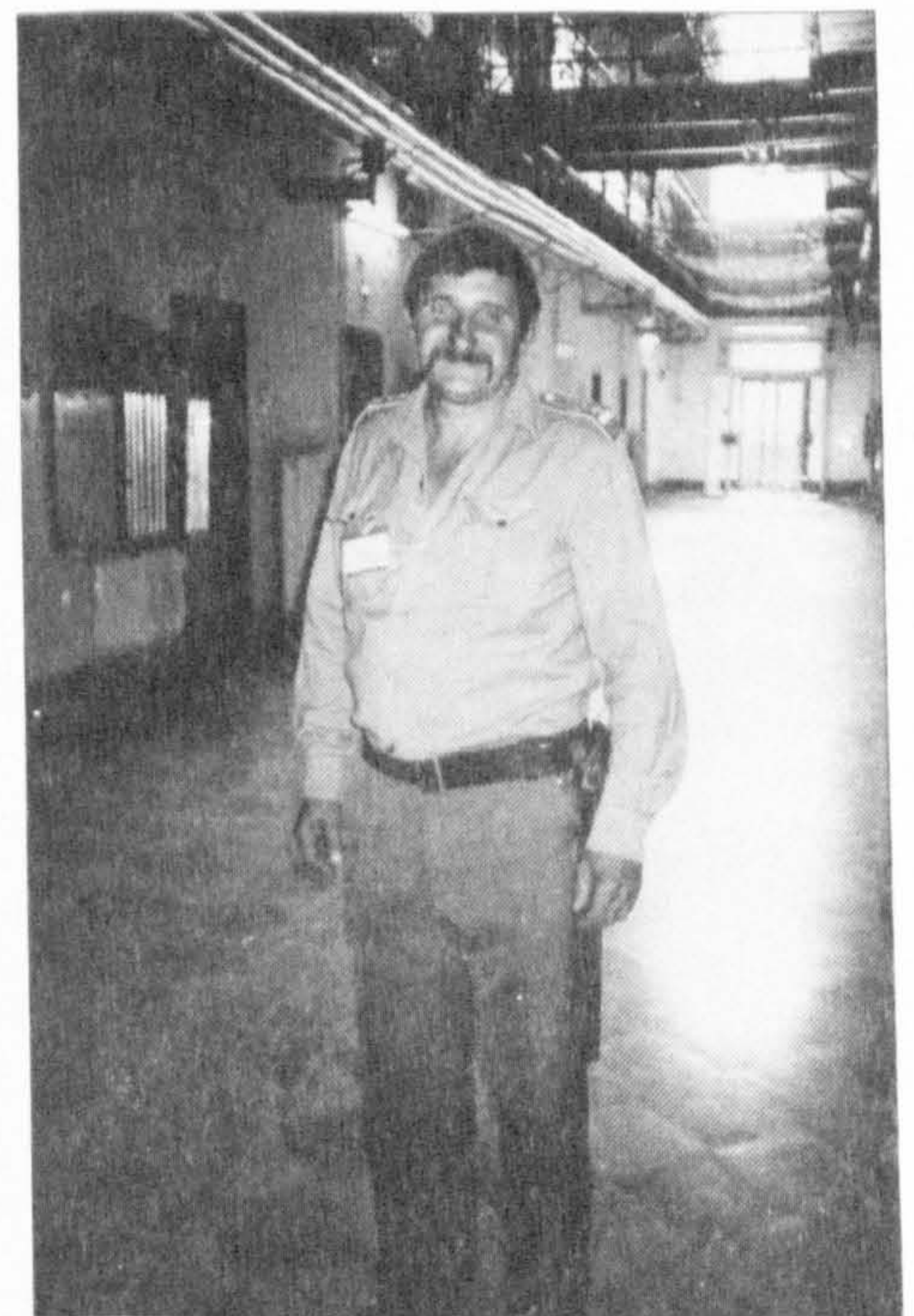
The prison keeps pigs on a small farm in the grounds, and produces a weekly newspaper for prisoners. It felt purposeful and cheerful, and looked clean. It is the only prison I have visited where the dominant smells are fresh bread and goulash.

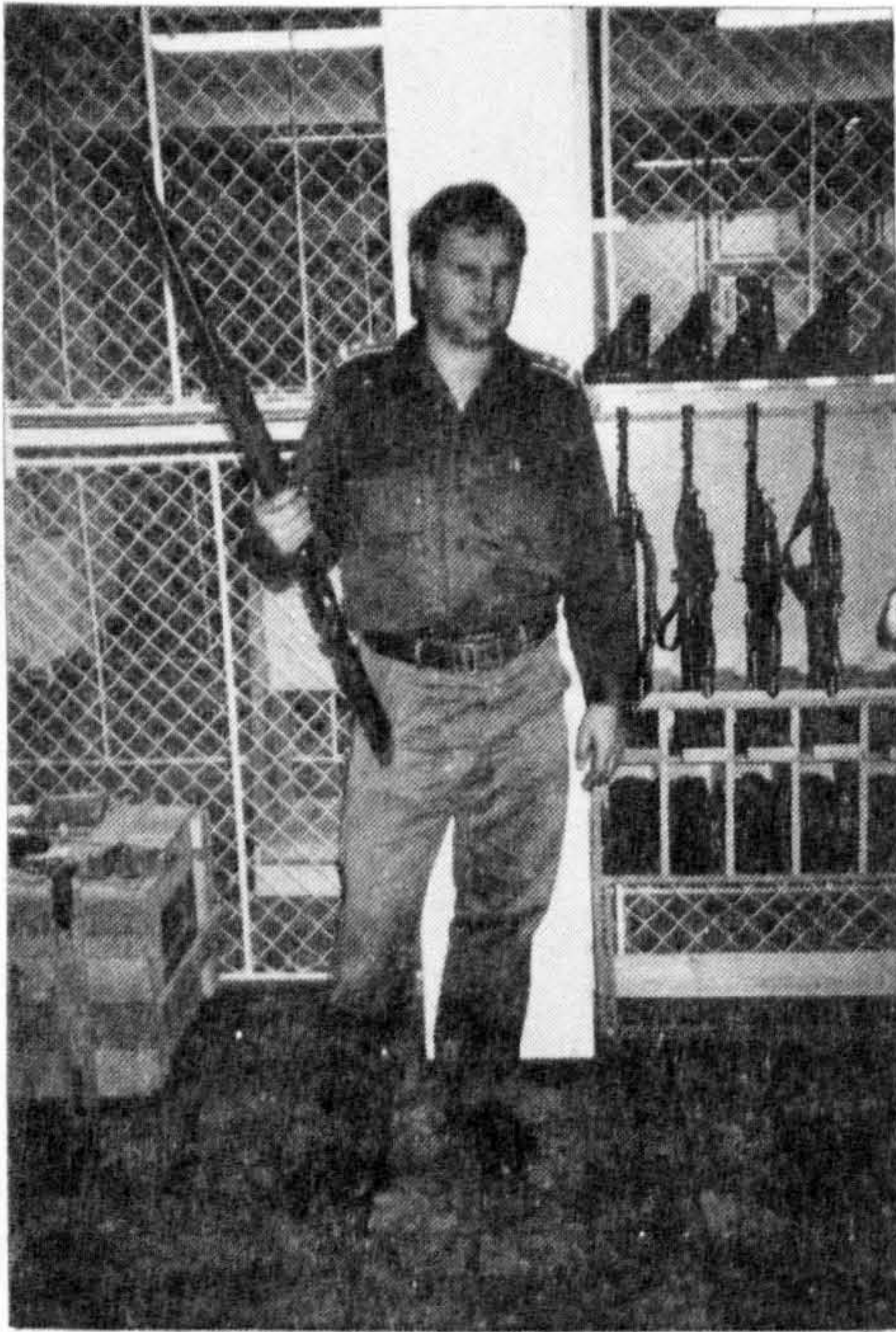
Foreign Prisoners

Budapest prison also holds all the foreign prisoners in Hungary, to mitigate the problem of family contact for foreign nationals. Families and friends do not have to journey beyond the capital city, brave rural transport systems, or compete for scarce accommodation. There are generally between 30 and 50 foreign nationals in custody, mostly from Balkan or Arab countries. They are held separately from Hungarian

Mitch Egan is Governor of HMP Leicester. Her visit to Budapest was arranged through a Churchill Fellowship.

Wide, galleried wings in the original accommodation of Budapest prison





The armoury in Budapest prison

prisoners, which could (and did) raise the alarming spectre of a 'foreign' ghetto in the prison. In fact, the concentration allowed the prison authorities to meet some of the needs shared by non-Hungarians, particularly in the matter of diet (in-cell cooking facilities were available to this group) and language. The foreign nationals are, significantly, in the 40 per cent of the prison population housed in the new and vastly superior accommodation block. Prisoners seemed generally content. One, from Brazil, described the difference that access to cardphones had made to his contact with his family. Family ties are, as in Poland, treated as the first priority.

The prison provides employment for more than half of the population, mainly in the woodworking industry which produces quality furniture for the open market and for export. There is no internal prison market for the produce. The factory is controlled by a separate arm of the prison administration and is run on a commercial footing.

April 93 saw the first 'formal' changes in the Hungarian prison system, with the introduction of cardphones for prisoners and more readily available excels. Temporary release on 12 or 24 hour passes is available to eligible prisoners up to four times each month. The new penal code also introduced the possibility of progress, through three stages of regime, towards release. All prisoners start on the basic, most limited regime and earn their way to enhancements through two further stages. The final stage - pre release - is a very open regime, likely to engage prisoners in the last months of their sentences.

The prison shares the site with a forensic psychiatric unit, independent of the prison system and accountable to the health authority. The Governor of the prison and the medical director of this facility are colleagues of equal status, without authority over each other's establishment. The psychiatric unit acts as a treatment and assessment centre, reporting to the court on pre-trial prisoners who have been admitted for assessment. If the diagnosis indicates that the prisoner is unfit for trial, the unit will continue with treatment until the individual is sufficiently stable for release, or until the further hospitalisation of the individual is considered inappropriate. In these latter cases, and where cases fall short of full recovery, the individual is released with community support, in co-operation with the area health authority.

Staffing in the prison system is a combination of uniformed security guards - uniformed and with military ranks - and case officers who work directly with prisoners much as correctional officers in Canada. Staff ratios on the guard side are generally 1:10. Case officers work eight-hour days, guards work 12-hour shifts up to a basic 178 hours per month - although with overtime it is usually between 190 and 200 hours. Uniforms are not particularly militaristic and in fact were similar to prisoners' uniforms.

Security

Security in the prison is a sophisticated blend of computerised personal safety systems and a secure perimeter. The personal security system handles an amazing amount of process and would, for instance, respond to an out-of-hours fire alarm by

- alerting staff in the prison to a possible fire. The computer controls alarm systems and indicator boards, and also clocks staff on and off duty for pay purposes
- calling a duty governor and works officer - at home, if necessary. The computer holds contact numbers for all staff, and is linked to a telephone line
- contacting the emergency services.

The wall is protected by a series of measures:

- perimeter watch towers, staffed 24 hours a day by armed guards who carry both pump-action shotguns for defending the wall from within and preventing escape, and Kalashnikov assault rifles to defend the walls from attack from outside. Both firearms can be racked in the guard tower; additionally, the rifle case is kept in a closed cabinet which registers each opening on the main security computer
- the wall is topped with razor-wire
- the wall itself is sturdy
- and floodlit
- there is a multi strand low-voltage electrification system mounted on the wall at shoulder height
- a closed-circuit television system operates
- as does an infra-red detector system
- at night, untrained attack dogs patrol between watchtowers.

The wall has not been breached for many years ■

The Victim's Charter, Life Sentence Prisoners and Effective Through- Care Practice

Lifer Releases and the Role of the Victim or their Family

The place of the victim in the Criminal Justice System is a matter of current political and academic debate. Some of the issues raised by making the Criminal Justice System more 'Victim Centred' were discussed recently by Perman (1994) in this journal. The Victim's Charter (1990) throws many of these issues into stark relief in respect of life sentence prisoners. It gives the victim, or their relatives, a voice in the pre-release planning process for life sentence prisoners, by making it a requirement on the Probation Service to seek out victims and/or their relatives, and to listen to their views on the proposed release.

Page 21 of the Victim's Charter states 'when the possible release of a life sentence prisoner is being considered, the Probation Service makes careful plans, including arrangements for supervision. The Probation Service will, wherever possible, get in touch with the victim, or the victim's family, to see if they do have anxieties about the offender's release particularly when it may be appropriate to meet the anxieties by imposing restrictions on where the offender works, lives or goes'. The victims or their relatives are not being asked to decide whether the prisoner should be released or not, but to give their views on the release plan, which the Probation Service should then take into account when preparing reports for reviews which will make final decisions or proposals about the release arrangements.

The Victim's Charter (1990) clearly places a heavy responsibility on the Probation Service, but it is only in the last year that the majority of local Probation Services have begun to consider how to respond. In the current political climate, increasing pressure will be exerted on those Probation Services not fulfilling the Charter requirements, possibly to the extent that some lifer releases may be delayed if enquiries have not been attempted. For many in the Probation Service, it is the

prospect of the Probation Officer responsible for the through care of the life sentence prisoners having to meet the victim's family, or the victim(s) themselves if they survived, which is a major cause for concern (see Johnston 1994). Do Probation Officers have the skills and emotional resilience necessary to complete such tasks, and if they have, how will such contact effect their work with the prisoner?

While the Probation Service strives to balance the 'needs' and 'rights' of the victims and offenders in the process of lifer release planning, it is becoming increasingly evident that the Victim's Charter in respect of the release of life sentence prisoners will have major unforeseen consequences for those working in prisons. Once victims' or their relatives' views have been gathered regarding the proposed release plan, decisions may well have to be made about the viability of the plan. Changes to Home Leave, work and other arrangements, which could be well advanced after many years preparation with the prisoner, may have to be made to take account of the impact of the plan on the relatives or the victim themselves. Prison staff will inevitably have to take the leading role in assisting the prisoner come to terms with these situations. The information gained from Victim's Charter enquiries is, however, of enormous potential value for prison staff. It can be used in their work with the prisoner to provide further evidence of how far he/she has progressed in understanding the impact of the offence on others, and in deciding what are the chances of a successful release. This is especially important if the release plan involves a return to the local community where the offence took place, and where the victims or their relatives may still be living.

West Yorkshire Initiative

For the last two years, West Yorkshire Probation Service has been implementing the Victim's Charter in respect of the release of life

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*This article is based on
research carried out by the
author during a Cropwood
Fellowship at the Institute of
Criminology, Cambridge
University during 1994.*

sentence prisoners. Specialist Probation staff with many years' experience of working with victims and their offenders, have been completing the pre-release enquiries with victims or their relatives on behalf of the home Probation Officers responsible for preparing review reports. It was felt that at this stage in the development of West Yorkshire Probation Service, the use of specialist staff would provide a more effective service in this sensitive and complex area of work. Referral to the specialist unit takes place at the point the prisoner is being considered for transfer from semi-secure to open prison, or later if a referral has not previously been received. Referral is also required before a Discretionary Lifer Panel sits. The results of a follow-up evaluation of this work by the author with victims or their families who received this service between 1993/1994 in West Yorkshire are given in a more detailed report (Johnston 1994) but are summarised here.

Out of 11 families referred, nine agreed to follow-up evaluation after Victims Charter enquiries. It is only a minority of families or victims who cannot be traced, or who do not wish to be involved in the pre-release enquiry work. Even where the offence occurred many years previously, (in this study the longest period of time between offence and contact by the specialist worker was 26 years), there is a need to receive and give information, and a wish to be heard. There is frequently anger when victims or their families learn that release is being considered. Careful evaluation of the limits of their possible influence in the decision making process is required. Many express relief that someone in the Criminal Justice System has contacted them, as they may have received false information from others in their community about the prisoner and his/her circumstances. All those contacted by the author following Victim's Charter enquiries felt it was important that their views on home leave and release plans were noted by the authorities, especially where they felt the conditions of release should take account of their circumstances. Some had lived for years in the fear that release decisions would be made which could affect their lives, but would not take account of their views. The need to be heard was of great importance to victims or their relatives in situations where the prisoner intended to live in their locality upon release.

The use of specialist staff, rather than the home Probation Officer for the prisoner, appears to have been successful in that the victims or their relatives did not perceive the workers as being committed to the offender's perception of release arrangements.

For some victims, or their relatives, the lack of information both about the offender and his/her motivation to commit the crime can lead to

requests for communication, either directly or indirectly, with the prisoner to attempt to find answers to many unanswered questions. In the period studied by the author, four such requests were made during Victim's Charter enquiries. These were carefully assessed by the specialist staff, home Probation Officer for the prisoner and relevant prison based personnel. There have been examples of both direct and indirect contact being arranged which have assisted the victims or their relatives in their search for answers. This process has also allowed some prisoners to begin the process of re-integration into the community by active participation in resolving particular issues for victims or their families. It must be stressed, however, that moving from enquiry work to 'mediation' will not be appropriate for most victims or offenders in lifer cases, but staff both inside and outside prisons should not be surprised if some victims or relatives request such help. In fact all those victims or their relatives in the West Yorkshire study had received no contact from any voluntary or statutory agency after sentence took place. Problems created by the Criminal Justice System prior to and shortly after the sentence of offenders are described by Victim Support (1990). As statutory and voluntary agencies improve their services to victims or their relatives, it is hoped that lack of information and many of the worst features of 'secondary victimisation' in the Criminal Justice System will diminish. Establishing contact with the victims or their relatives of life sentence prisoners prior to release is another way in which the voice of the victim can appropriately be heard and taken into account, without placing the responsibility for decisions on the victims themselves.

Implications for Work with Life Sentence Prisoners

As Probation Services accumulate experience of Victim's Charter enquiries, there is growing recognition that contact with victims or families should be established by Probation staff as soon after sentence as possible. Victims' issues in the release planning process should not be identified in the final stage of the life sentence. Last minute changes to home leave and release arrangements can therefore be avoided. Post-sentence contact by the Probation Service with victims or their relatives can highlight potential problems early in the sentence. In West Yorkshire, home Probation Officers for life sentence prisoners now refer to the specialist unit following sentence in order that contact can be established with victims or their relatives, information exchanged and arrangements made for further contacts at significant points in the sentence.

Prisoners should be made aware by the prison staff of the importance of the Victim's Charter enquiries right at the start of the life sentence. Whilst work during sentence with life sentence prisoners has always had a public protection and victim perspective element, this had traditionally been at a generalised level and rarely at the specific level of the actual needs or concerns of the victim or their relatives. These needs and concerns will be an increasingly significant feature of the information available to prison staff at the start of the sentence and throughout, and will pose new challenges for effective life sentence release planning which must now take account of the wishes and anxieties of those most closely affected by the crime.

Unresolved Issues

Two issues where there will be on-going debate as Victim Charter work develops are [a] the role of Victim Support and [b] confidentiality of information collected by the Probation Service.

The position of Victim Support at a national level is clear, in that members are advised not to relieve the Probation Service of the responsibility of informing the victim or family that release is being considered and taking their views into account. Members have also been advised to decline requests to obtain information about the victim or their family on behalf of the Probation Service, as Victim Support is not in a position to advise the victim about the way in which the information may then be used by others in the Criminal Justice System (Victim Support 1994). Victim Support members may, however, support and advise local Probation Services as they begin to develop this new service to a new client group. Some Probation Services, without specialist workers of their own, may decide however to seek more formal arrangements with their local Victim Support schemes to deliver this expanding area of work as Probation resources become more limited and priorities have to be set.

The work in West Yorkshire has also highlighted a pressing need to clarify confidentiality issues. How much information about the prisoner's release plan should be given to victims or their relatives? Can information supplied by victims or their relatives remain confidential if they request that it be held back from the prisoner? Guidance on these issues is now being developed by the Home Office. At present, victim or family information can be withheld from the prisoner if it is felt necessary to do so, but given the move to more information being given to prisoners about decisions affecting them, can absolute confidentiality be guaranteed to all victims? Indeed, Padfield (1993) has suggested

it may not be long before some life sentence prisoners challenge the decisions made on the basis of information to which they have had no or only limited access.

While life sentence prisoners may have the right to challenge decisions made, it remains unlikely that victims or their relatives will be accorded the same status if the final release arrangements for the prisoner do not meet their anxieties or wishes.

Conclusions

Victim's Charter enquiries, before the release of life sentence prisoners, present many challenges to all those involved in effective lifer through-care practice. It is a growth area for the Probation Service in terms of new work which consumes considerable time and other resources, but is part of the general thrust toward the victim dimension being incorporated into all aspects of pre-release work with all prisoners. New risk assessment procedures for determinate sentence prisoners when Home Leave and Temporary Release are being considered, are other examples of this trend.

Life sentence release is an issue with a high public profile at the present time. Taking account of the victim's or their relatives' anxieties and wishes is not the sole responsibility of the Probation Service. Prison based staff of all grades with responsibility for preparing life sentence prisoners for release will inevitably have to take account of and manage the information gained by the Probation Service. An even closer partnership, therefore, between Prison Service and Probation Service personnel is required if the work is to sensitively balance prisoner and victim need. If this can be achieved, further significant progress will be made in keeping the confidence of the public in our work and achieving the successful reintegration of life sentence prisoners into the community ■

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Investigation into Self-harm

"a young offender population would appear to be more at risk than the general population for self harm ..."

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Introduction and Methodology

This investigation was chosen initially to look at the differences on a number of variables between three groups of inmates; those who had self harmed, those who had thought of self harm only, and those who had neither thought of nor perpetrated self harm. Secondly, it was timed to coincide with the proposed introduction of the new F2052SH *Self Harm at Risk* document, in order to help inform the process.

The sample of inmates interviewed were split into three groups; group one were inmates who had actually committed self harm, group two were inmates who had thought of self harm, but not actually committed any act, and group three were a control group who had neither committed nor had thought of committing self harm. All inmates came from the same institution.

Inmates who had committed self harm came to the researcher's attention via the F213s 'injury to inmate' forms, or by visiting the hospital wards each morning to identify new cases. This took place during a three-month period in 1993 with all consenting inmates who had committed self harm being interviewed.

This took place within 24 hours of the act being committed and was carried out in a private location; the interview usually took place within the hospital wing that being the place the inmate spent time immediately after the act of self harm.

During the same period all consenting inmates who had thought of self harm but not actually carried out any such act were interviewed. These inmates came to the researcher's attention when they either told staff on the living units that they had thought of self harm, or, staff had become concerned about the inmate. In each case, the inmate was referred to the hospital. All interviews again took place in a private location normally on the living unit where the inmate resided.

Finally during the same period, a selection of consenting inmates drawn from the living units, who had neither committed nor had thoughts of

committing self harm were interviewed in private on their respective units. These inmates were identified by the researcher asking for volunteers to assist with the research project.

The interview consisted of a set of questions which covered all areas of the inmate's life and background (see appendix for a full list of variables covered). They were delivered in an unstructured format where all questions were asked of all inmates, but not necessarily in the same order or with the same phrasing. All interviews were conducted by the same person.

Results and conclusions

Of all inmates asked to take part one refused. Group one contained 22 inmates, group two, 32 inmates and group three 20 inmates.

Demographic Variables

Those who had thoughts of self harm only, were more likely to be older than the other two groups. Self harmers were more likely to have achieved more qualifications whilst in prison and when in the community they were less likely to have been unemployed. However there were no differences between the groups on the number of qualifications obtained in the community.

Criminological Variables

Self harmers were more likely to have been in prison before, and more likely to be convicted of robbery, than the other two groups. Self harmers were least likely to have been convicted of car and drug offences or violence.

Social and Family Variables

Self harmers, and those who had thought of self harm, were much less likely to have friends who visited or wrote to them in prison. They were also less likely to be single.

Self harmers were more likely to have a

deceased parent; they were also less likely to receive visits or letters from their parents or partner. However visits from mother were not significantly different between the groups.

Variables related to self harm

Self harmers were more likely to have both attempted to injure themselves on previous prison sentences and to have suffered previous depressions. Self harmers and those who had thought of self harm were also more likely to have attempted to injure themselves in the community.

They were more likely to self harm at midday and in the evening, whereas those who thought of self harm were more likely to do so over a period between 11am and midnight. Self harmers were more likely to injure themselves on Mondays, Fridays and the weekend.

The remand units and the hospital had all the cases of self harm interviewed in this time period; there were no self harmers on the main convicted units. However those who had thought of self harm were spread across all units, both convicted and remand.

Most injury was superficial and in no way life threatening (cuts to arms and wrists), however the main expectation of the injury was to die. Three other popular expectations were to escape bullies, leave the present location and get help. This was the same for both the self injurers and those who had thought of self harm.

Self harmers and those who had thought of self harm were more likely to show a disturbed sleeping pattern. There were no significant differences between the groups regarding their consumption of drugs and alcohol, however the trend suggested self harmers were less likely to use alcohol and more likely to use drugs.

Conclusion and Discussion

It is clear that although intellectually self harm and suicide appear to be separate concepts, they also tend to be regularly linked together in reported studies. The literature is not clear and consistent in its definitions of parasuicide (commonly used as an alternative expression for self harm), unsuccessful suicide attempts, successful suicide attempts, self injury, and self harm; further it may not be clear from an individual's behaviour which of the categories applies best to them (an unsuccessful suicide attempt may be perceived as self harm whereas self harm with no death intention may result in death accidentally). The literature therefore can be confusing when trying to find links and predictors for the different behaviours. Therefore the discussion outlined below makes reference to

various studies investigating both self harm and suicide.

This research was interested in investigating the differences on a number of variables, between three groups of inmates; those who had self harmed, those who had thought of self harm only, and those who had neither thought of nor perpetrated self harm.

From the findings above, inmates who self injure were more likely:

- to have been in prison before
- to have attempted self injury both on previous sentences and in the community
- to have had previous depressive episodes (self reported)
- to be located on the remand or allocation units
- to have little or no contact with family, friends and partners
- to have a stable relationship before custody
- to have been employed before custody
- to be convicted/charged with robbery.

Therefore in summary these variables seem to indicate an individual isolated from contacts on the outside, who has a history of self harm, and periods of custody, who is located in the remand area of the prison, therefore more likely to be unconvicted and/or unsentenced. It is interesting to note that in the literature, unemployment occurs as a significant risk factor for self harm in the community (Platt and Kreitman., 1985, Morgan et al 1975, Stocks and Scott 1991, Standish et al 1989, Robinson and Duffy 1989). Those inmates who were employed in the community and subsequently self harmed, could also be said to be 'unemployed' in that they had lost employment by coming into custody.

This notion of 'loss' and its relationship to both self harm and suicidal ideation, is also well documented in the literature and can be demonstrated here with the present findings. For example, Fernando and Storm (1984), investigating psychiatric populations found that people having committed suicide had suffered more losses (for example losing a job, divorce, bereavement), than those who had not; Fahmy and Jones (1990) described loss of a love object as being important as a causative factor of self harm. In the present study, presence of a stable relationship before custody could be construed as contributing to loss on being removed from that relationship once incarcerated. Simply being removed from the community and the subsequent restriction of liberty, self esteem, and control could also contribute to feelings of loss; thus, as found

here, one would expect to see problems in individuals when first confined, namely remand inmates.

Loss has also been extensively linked to depression which was found to be a significant variable in this study, by way of attempting to explain the aetiology and process of depressive episodes. In relation to self harm, O'Brien et al (1987), found a high correlation between self harm and major depressive disorder, as have many other studies (Morgan et al 1975, Johnson et al 1973, Wolfersdorf et al 1990). Hopelessness and other cognitive factors present during a depressive episode, have also been linked to self harm; Pattison et al (1983), found despair was one of the four predominant psychological factors that accompanies self injury and Beck and Weishaar (1990) found that a score of nine or over on the Beck Hopelessness Scale appeared predictive of future suicide. Wolfersdorf Gunter, Steiner, and Keller (1990), although investigating suicidal depressive syndrome described the cognitive symptoms as feelings of worthlessness, anxiety, and depressive delusions.

A young offender population would appear to be more at risk than the general population for self harm in that criminality has been found to be associated with repetition of self injury (Gethin 1976, Robinson and Duffy 1989), and onset of the behaviour tends to occur in late adolescence (Pattison et al 1983) or young adulthood (Sakinofsky et al 1990). Further, from the literature, one of the strongest predictors of future self harm is past self harm (Gethin 1976, Hassanyey et al 1989, Franklin 1988). Again this is borne out in the present study in that previous sentences, and previous self harm were all significant variables distinguishing the self harm group.

Self injury was more likely to be perpetrated at midday and in the evening, when inmates are locked in their cells and therefore alone (it is interesting to note however that 36.4 per cent of inmates who self injured were in shared or dormitory accommodation). There was no self injury in the early hours of the morning between midnight and 7am. It was also more likely at the beginning and the end of the week.

Most injury sustained was superficial, however the main expectation seemed to be to die. Other popular expectations were to escape bullies, leave the location and get help. Self injury is therefore being used as a coping strategy resulting in the removal of stress (or the removal of the inmate from stress) and the attracting of attention to the inmate's predicament.

Self harm has been found to be a predictor of future suicide attempts (Read et al 1993), reinforcing the finding here that despite non-fatal

injuries a common expectation of self harm was death.

In general those inmates who had thought of self injury only, resided in the middle ground between the self harmers and those who had neither perpetrated nor thought of self harm, on most variables. One notable exception is that they tended to be significantly older than either the self harmers or the 'no thoughts no harm' group.

The 'thoughts' group shared characteristics with the self harm group compared with the 'no thoughts no harm' group in that they were also more likely to have self harmed in the community, more likely to have a disturbed sleeping pattern, less likely to have friends write and visit, and had similar expectations as to the consequences of self harm.

Differences between the 'thoughts' and 'self harm' groups, included the presence of significant ties to the outside community. The self harmers tended to have been employed and to have had a relationship before custody, compared with those inmates who had only thought of self harm. The self harmers also tended to have been in prison before whereas the 'thoughts' group had not.

In conclusion, this small preliminary investigation has highlighted several variables at this institution which seem to differentiate between those who self harm and those who do not. Whilst it would be foolish to concentrate solely on the results of this research, it has provided some useful pointers which can be used in the assessment of likely self harmers ■

A list of the full references in this article can be obtained direct from the authors.

Appendix

Variables in the Interview

Age.	Number of days spent thinking about self harm.
Marital Status.	Whether inmate wanted to/did confide in anyone.
Relatives, number and status.	Type of accommodation whilst in prison.
Friends, number who are in contact.	Whether inmate had attempted self harm before this sentence.
Qualifications obtained inside prison and in the community.	Whether inmate had been in prison before.
Employment obtained inside prison and in the community.	Attempts made on previous sentence.
Convicted or remand offence.	Self harm in the community.
Hour, day and month of self harm.	Previous depressions.
Location of inmate when self harmed.	Change in sleeping patterns this sentence.
Type of injury.	Change in eating patterns this sentence.
Expectations/reasons, of/for self harm.	Alcohol consumption in the community.
Time spent thinking about self harm.	Drug use in the community.
Thoughts of self harm before event.	

Reviews

BOOKS

'The Youth Court: One Year Onwards'

Bryan Gibson, Paul Cavadino. Andrew Rutherford, Andrew Ashworth, John Harding.

£15.258 PP. ISBN 1872870147PB

The Youth Court: One Year Onwards is published in paperback by the Waterside Press which specialises in books and materials on criminal justice and related matters. This particular book is one of a series dealing with the *Criminal Justice Act 1991* and its aftermath. In effect, it is a second edition of *The Youth Court* published in 1992 which, despite some equivocal reviews was well received with the book running into two reprints within the year. This edition is a weightier tome with a greater content of material which is reflected in the price.

The Waterside Press is proving to be an interesting stable; publishing specialist books utilising groups of contributors of considerable standing in their own fields of activity. This book is no exception. Indeed, one is almost tempted to refer to the contributors as 'the Famous Five' and certainly they have a lot to offer the reader in the way of comment, analysis and straightforward information about the law in relation to the Youth Court.

In sadness, rather than in anger, the foreword contains the observation, 'that a further book on the same topic is necessary so soon after coming into force of the potentially ground-breaking *Criminal Justice Act 1991* speaks volumes'. It establishes the boundaries of the book by making clear that, 'it is not in the business of analysing the implications of Parliament's rejection, within months, of the key aspects of its own criminal justice legislation'. The Managing Editor says that this must fall to those who are expert in the politics of justice in the longer term.

The main plank of the book's argument is that much of the innovative nature of the *Criminal Justice Act 1991* lay in the development of inter-agency practice during the 1980s, which paved the way for bringing into being legislation that enshrined the notion that the level and the

severity of the sentence should, as far as possible, correspond to the seriousness of the current offence. This notion of proportionality, combined with the ethos of the Juvenile Court, has given the Youth Courts the basis for developing their own sense of identity and purpose.

For those readers concerned with practice in the Youth Courts, it is helpful to read the HM Inspectorate of Probation Thematic Inspection Report on *Young Offenders and the Probation Service*. The Report makes the point that what constitutes good practice is extremely hard to define because the national framework of legislation policies and guidance documents prior to the 1991 *Criminal Justice Act* allowed and encouraged a diversity and complexity of arrangements but there was an absence of information about the relative impact on offending levels because of these diverse arrangements. *Youth Court: One Year Onwards* would argue that within that diversity lies the richness from which creativity and movement can take place.

Whichever way one looks at the argument there is solid information to show there was a steady fall in the numbers of young people going into care and custody during the 1980s. The principle of keeping young people out of custody came under threat as a result of the severe disquiet over the Bulger case and the attention of the media to youth crime. The impact on Ministers was less than edifying, resulting in the hasty *Criminal Justice and Public Order Act* which is now enacted. It is perhaps a matter of some regret that *Youth Court: One Year Onwards* went to print before that enactment took place because this gives a slightly unfinished feel to the book.

An important factor in this second edition of *Youth Court* is that the contributors played a substantial part in the national debate which attempted to ameliorate the worst aspects of the post-1991 legislation, especially the secure training order. The book is making a plea to regain, if not retain, the underlying philosophy of the 1991 Act.

How successful is *Youth Court: One*

Year Onwards? Initially, the format is somewhat reminiscent of desk top publishing. In fact the Managing Editor, Bryan Gibson, has developed a robust house-style with which one becomes comfortable quite quickly. The contents are set out clearly on the back page so that you know immediately you pick the book up what you are getting. However, this means that the brief details of the contributors have to be set out on the second fly sheet. The details are succinct and give a reasonable provenance. The book is generally well structured with clearly set out content. It has some 11 chapters with a foreword and two useful appendices. There is a good sense of being led into the book through the ramifications of current legislation and developing case law; then it looks at inter-agency co-operation and the future. The index, whilst not over-detailed, is more than adequate for dipping into the various areas of legislation and comment.

This second edition of *Youth Court* will not have the same impact as the first; simply because there is much more knowledge of the Youth Courts about and practitioners are becoming more confident in their work. For those who want to get a more substantive feel of the subject it is helpful to read *Youth Court*, second edition, in conjunction with the Inspection Report on Young Offenders.

The real meat of this book lies in the way that it addresses sentencing practice and emerging case law. Matters in the Youth Courts and Youth Justice generally are moving at such a pace with, for example, the restrictions on cautioning and bail, that there will be need for a 3rd Edition in the not too far distant future. In the meantime, most practitioners would agree with the sentiment expressed in the conclusion that: 'the effect of ad hoc legislative amendments can be moderated by good practice and careful gate keeping strategies'.

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The Future of Small Units in the Scottish Prison Service

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Introduction

In January Barlinnie Special Unit (BSU) closed after almost 21 years in existence. To many of those interested in prisons living outside Scotland BSU was, without doubt, the best known feature of Scottish prisons. From its inception in 1973 it provided a regime which challenged traditional methods for dealing with 'difficult' prisoners and the celebrated successes and failures of several of its 'former pupils' resulted in considerable public debate about the operation of the regime. On a practical level it was a penal 'experiment' which influenced the strategies for dealing with 'difficult' prisoners in numerous other jurisdictions either through imitation or, alternatively, through the rejection of the notion of a 'community' response to the management of prisoners.

Why has it closed and what does its closure mean for future strategies for managing 'difficult' prisoners in Scotland? It closed because it was clear that in the absence of an active and continuously developing community, the BSU regime had become stagnant and moribund. Siltage of prisoners had occurred to such an extent that in its 20-year history fewer than 40 prisoners have been accepted into the unit. Indeed, latterly many prisoners spent excessively lengthy periods of time in the Unit (in one case, ten years), often actively refusing to move to another establishment. They refused to move on because in their eyes this would have been seen as a backward move, entailing too many sacrifices.

The closure of BSU should not be taken to signify the end of an era in Scottish prisons, or the failure of a penal 'experiment', or for that matter a reversal in the Scottish Prison Service (SPS) policy on small units. BSU closed, quite simply, because, in the words of the Prisons Inspectorate report it had become 'fossilised' and, when faced with the prospect of revitalising the unit, the SPS Working Party which was charged with the task undertaking a review of its operation concluded

that BSU was no longer able to meet the many and varied physical demands for space which are now seen as essential features of any small unit facility such as exists, for example, in Shotts Unit in Scotland or the Control Review Committee Units in England. To quote directly from the Working Party report:

'It is because of its physical unsuitability that the Working Party recommends that the BSU should be closed, although the Working Party would wish to emphasise that it is simply the physical facility which it is recommending for closure and not the concept or ethos of small units'.

The Working Party on BSU

In March of 1994 the report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons for Scotland (HMCIP) on BSU was published. Its general tenor was critical:

'as other units, especially at Shotts and Perth, have developed along similar but not identical lines, the Barlinnie Unit has increasingly run the risk, which it has not altogether avoided, of becoming slightly fossilised, a victim of its own impressive mythology and thus apparently unable to move forward in ways which might seem appropriate to the 1990s because it is still embalmed in the successful developments which it pioneered in the 1970s ... the community meetings appear in recent times to have lost much of their impetus and the regime lacks direction ... we cannot see that this approach necessarily does much to challenge the prisoners about their original offending behaviour or to prepare them effectively and in other than a desultory fashion against their eventual release ... the word 'special' should similarly disappear from the vocabulary associated with this unit ... what was originally a badge of pride has

now, as it were, become an albatross around the Unit's neck'.

(The Scottish Office Home and Health Department, 1994, pps 31-33)

As a result of the Inspectorate report a SPS Working Party was set up in April 1994 to consider the purpose and role of BSU and, a month later in response to a considerably less critical HMCIP report on Shotts Unit, certain elements of the operation of that unit were included in the Working Party's terms of reference. The Working Party Report was published in November of last year and, somewhat regrettably, since then most commentators have focused almost exclusively on the closure of BSU, virtually ignoring the strategy for small units which the Working Party had recommended and the Scottish Prison Service Board had accepted in its entirety. The remainder of this article details the salient aspects of that strategy.

Small Units in the SPS

Small units have existed in various forms in the SPS for slightly over 40 years. Each of these units was created largely on an ad hoc basis as a pragmatic response to an immediate management problem. The 1990 policy document 'Opportunity and Responsibility' (SPS, 1990) attempted to draw together those units in existence at that time by creating a small units policy with clearly stated objectives. These objectives (see SPS, 1990, pp. 58-60) provided a theoretical basis with which to underpin the concept of small units in the SPS. What they did not do, however, was bring about any changes in the operation of the regime in place in BSU to ensure that the objective of 'returning prisoners to the mainstream better able to cope and to make progress towards release' could be met. What the Working Party attempted to do was provide such coherence.

The Purpose of Small Units

Ideally, any prison service should aim to eliminate the need for small units. The experience of small units, in Scotland and elsewhere, has shown that as satellites operating 'outside' the main body of the prison service these units often create more problems than they solve: siltage; exit; standards of regime etc. The more acceptable solution revolves around assisting those who appear likely to respond to their sentence with violence or other types of unacceptable behaviour to come to terms with their imprisonment during the *early* stages of their sentence, and by being able to offer those who cannot function in large mainstream settings alternative, less threatening

locations within the mainstream.

The evidence which the Working Party collected, however, suggested that while such a position was the ultimate goal, at the present time, there remained a very real need for small units in the SPS. This prompted the Working Party to give careful consideration to current perceptions of the purpose that such units should serve and they concluded that such units should function primarily as facilities where those prisoners who will not conform to, or who cannot cope with the regimes in operation in mainstream prison establishments, can be managed. Prisoners housed within these facilities should be obliged to address their attitudes towards imprisonment, their difficulties in coming to terms with mainstream prison life and, where appropriate, the factors underpinning their offending behaviour whilst in prison. They should also be given the greatest opportunity possible to develop their social and life skills, their self-esteem and their self-confidence. The Working Party defined the purpose of small units as facilities 'to provide an intensive treatment resource for those prisoners who are unable or unwilling to accept the operation of mainstream prisons and who it is agreed might benefit from removal from their present location'.

Types of Units

The information on 'problem' prisoners which the Working Party received from the eight long-term male establishments in Scotland prompted discussion on whether there is a need for more than one type of unit in the SPS and this was an issue which was further explored through the use of focus group discussions with staff and prisoners. A number of those staff and prisoners who participated in the groups suggested that many coping difficulties and subsequent management problems could be avoided if those prisoners serving very long sentences, including life, were helped to come to terms with their imprisonment during the early stages of their sentence. The vast majority of those who have spent time in the Barlinnie and Shotts Units have been serving such sentences, thus suggesting that these categories of prisoners are more likely than any others to experience grave difficulty in coming to terms with their imprisonment. The reasons why these prisoners may experience such coping difficulties are likely to be numerous and to vary on an individual basis. These may include feelings of hopelessness; a need to establish one's reputation and position in the mainstream through unacceptable behaviour; and, difficulties in coming to terms with the index offence.

The Working Party view was that it may be

possible to reduce the need for small units by offering an early intervention to those who seem most likely to experience grave coping difficulties. Therefore, a facility is to be established for the induction of all prisoners serving ten years or more, including life sentence prisoners. This Centre, housed in a distinct part of Shotts prison, became operational in April 1995 and, if successful, the approach developed in the Centre may be extended to other categories of prisoner.

Such a Centre would determine whether early intervention can reduce the likelihood of a prisoner requiring a unit later in his sentence. However, the Working Party did not anticipate that it will eliminate altogether the need for small units for a number of reasons. Firstly, some of those who progress through the Induction Centre may initially adapt to mainstream prison life but subsequently develop coping difficulties; and secondly, a number of those serving sentences of less than ten years, and who are therefore not eligible for the Induction Centre in the first instance, may also pose management problems of such severity that they merit a referral.

This evidence, together with the lessons learned from managing prisoners in BSU and Shotts Unit led the Working Party to identify three types of small unit which it suggested were required in the SPS:

- i. There is clearly a need for a unit for the management of those prisoners who refuse to conform, or who express their inability to cope with mainstream prison life through violence, subversion and manipulation. Such a unit must have a fairly flexible and unstructured regime within which the prisoner must take a large degree of responsibility for his own progress and where he must be encouraged to make as many of his own decisions as possible. This role is currently filled by the Shotts Unit and as such, the Working Party recommended that, subject to some minor amendments to its regime and operating practices, Shotts Unit should maintain its position in the SPS.
- ii. The evidence from establishments and from several specialists working in the Service shows that there are currently a number of prisoners within the system who pose management problems of such severity to merit placement in a unit but who, by virtue of their personality and character traits, are unable to cope with the type of

unstructured, participatory regime in operation in Shotts Unit. Such prisoners require a setting which is less threatening than the mainstream but which offers a more structured regime than that of Shotts Unit which may be too personally challenging. The Working Party therefore recommended that Peterhead E Hall be established as a unit for the management of these prisoners.

- iii. The final type of unit does not fit perfectly into the earlier definition of a small unit (viz. an intensive treatment regime) but the consensus is that the SPS has need of some form of 'time out' unit. In this context, the Working Party recommended the Perth Six Cell Unit should function as a national Time Out Facility. This should enable pressure to be taken off establishments through the temporary removal of seriously disruptive prisoners and it should also offer those prisoners apparently at risk of becoming trapped in a downward spiral of violence and disruption an opportunity in the short-term to reassess their situation.

Assessment

As long as small units remain necessary, they should be of mutual benefit to both the SPS and those prisoners who present difficulty within the system and who choose to avail themselves of the opportunity to re-examine their attitudes and behaviour. If both sides are to gain maximum benefit from finite resources, however, it is important that the prisoners in greatest need are identified and targeted for a place in a unit. The experience of the past 40 years of units in Scotland suggests that it was not always those prisoners in greatest need who found their way into small units. The Working Party therefore recommended the creation of a Small Units Strategy Group (SUSG) and a system of standardised and objective assessment criteria.

The assessment of each candidate for a unit against standardised and objective criteria is vital for three reasons: firstly, to ensure that each prisoner can be channelled into the most appropriate unit for his needs; secondly, to ensure that those prisoners with the greatest need are offered a place in a unit; and thirdly, to ensure that the units continue to meet the needs of the mainstream system.

Exit and entry

Once a prisoner has been assessed and accepted as a candidate for a unit, the Working Party recommended that he should go through a formal three-month induction period - in addition to a week-long familiarisation period - designed to enable him to assess whether he feels able to cope with a unit environment. Such a formal induction period will serve two purposes; firstly, it will ensure that all prisoners receive the same information on the rules and practices in place in the unit and may speed up their integration into the community; and, secondly, it will allow a period of adjustment during which the prisoner and his Personal Officer can draw up a 'contract' to govern the prisoner's stay in the unit. (The issue of contracts is dealt with below).

One of the principal failures of BSU was that once prisoners came into the Unit they were loathe to leave and the system itself appeared unable to move them on. If any unit community is to develop it is necessary for its population to change fairly regularly. Similarly, if prisoners are to be encouraged to make the most of the opportunities and facilities available in a small unit, it is necessary that they should not perceive themselves as being entitled to remain there indefinitely. As such, the Working Party recommended that the duration of any prisoner's stay in a small unit should be limited to a minimum of one year and a maximum of three. The precise period of time which any prisoner needs to spend in a unit will be dependent upon the nature and severity of his problems and his progress whilst in the unit and as such, exit arrangements will need to be flexible but whilst this flexibility is recognised so also must be the fact that the period in the unit must not exceed three years.

Although it may not be possible to estimate a target exit date when a prisoner first enters the unit, towards the end of the three-month induction period, however, when the prisoner's needs have been assessed and agreed and his personal contract negotiated, it should be much easier to estimate how much time he will require in order to address his needs. As such, the Working Party recommended that at the end of the three-month induction period an agreed target exit date should be written into the prisoner's personal contract.

Contracts

At the point at which a prisoner is assessed for a unit place, he will be informed that he will be required to negotiate and sign a personal 'contract'. Any prisoner who refuses to accept the notion of a contract, or who subsequently cannot agree the terms of a contract with unit staff, will

be returned to his prison of allocation where a method of local management which is acceptable to the establishment will have to be found.

The development of a mutually agreeable personal contract will enable the prisoner to address his own needs while, at the same time, addressing the needs of the prison system. The creation of a contract should be a two-way process in which the expectations of the SPS upon the prisoner, together with the prisoner's expectations of the unit and the SPS are clarified. The creation of this contract would also facilitate, within the context of Sentence Planning, the targeting of clear goals by the prisoner.

Each contract will contain a number of standardised, non-negotiable core elements such as an agreement to abstain from physical violence and the use of illicit drugs, an agreement to participate in constructive activity and an agreement to engage in a Personal Development Programme. All non-negotiable elements should be clearly explained to the prisoner at the time of assessment for a unit place, in order to filter out those who will not accept such obligations. During the formal three-month induction period each prisoner, in discussion with his Personal Officer and the unit psychologist should go on to agree specific personal elements, such as the nature of the constructive activity and the cognitive and behavioural areas to be addressed, which can be added on to the core components to complete the contract.

The Role of Staff

All the evidence collected by the Working Party supported the view that unit staff should be volunteers. This has always been the case but it is now SPS policy to trawl nationally for candidates for any job which becomes vacant in any establishment (other than Governor-in-Charge and Deputy Governor).

The difficult nature of unit work makes it essential that, once in the job, staff receive comprehensive and regular training. A prerequisite for future unit staff should be the satisfactory completion of a first level counselling skills course which comprises elements of counselling, basic and advanced groupwork, interviewing and assessment skills and support and supervision for group leaders. Unit staff need to develop an expertise in these areas as well as in specialisms such as the delivery of cognitive/behavioural courses, anger management and substance abuse. In addition, mechanisms will be developed to ensure that units, with their intense interpersonal exchanges, provide opportunities to share best practice with the mainstream through regular contact and ultimately through the transfer of

staff. Quality training of this type must be resourced at a level which reflects the intensity of the unit environment, the need for the constant maintenance of skills and the opportunities for sharing best practice.

Conclusion

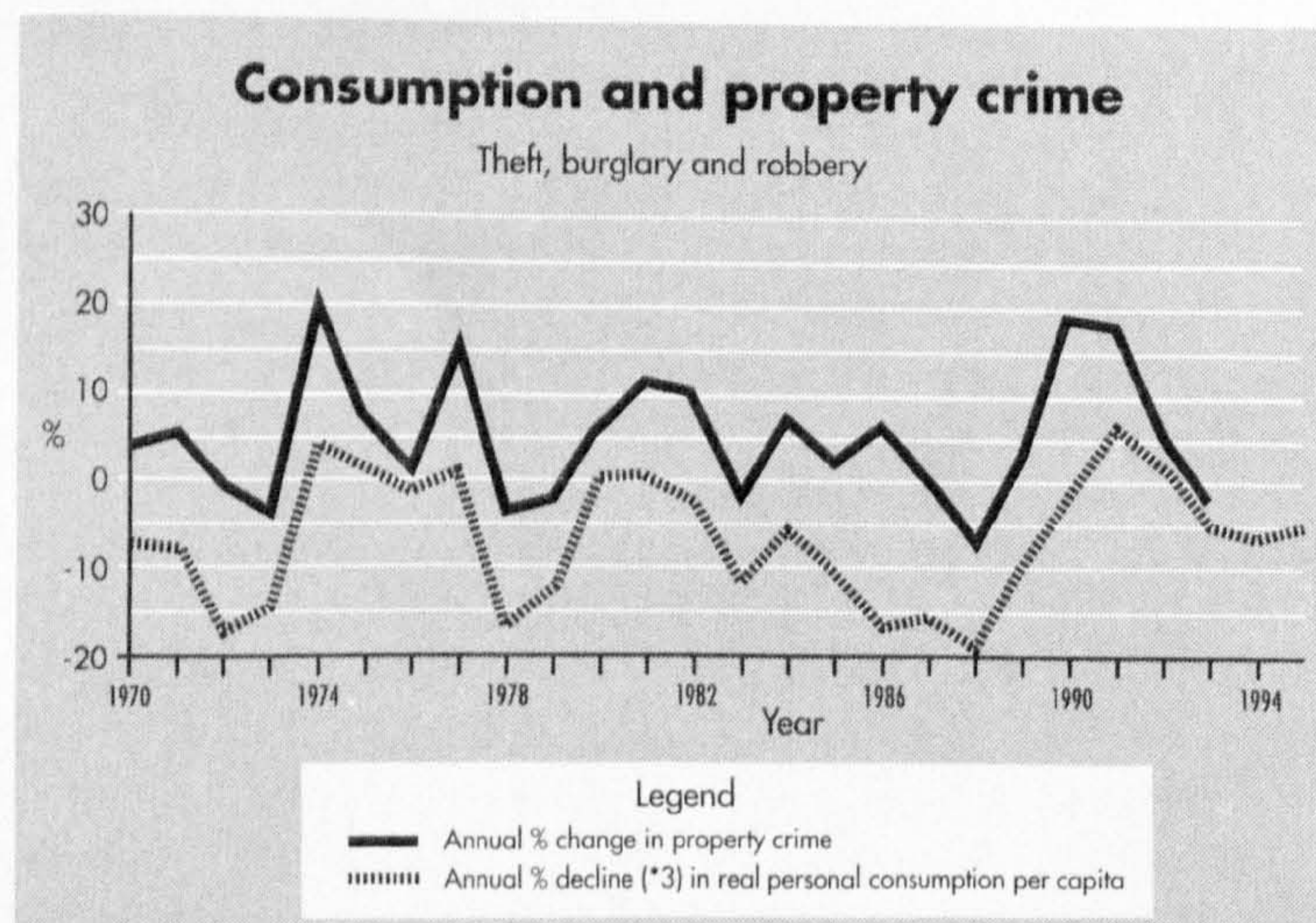
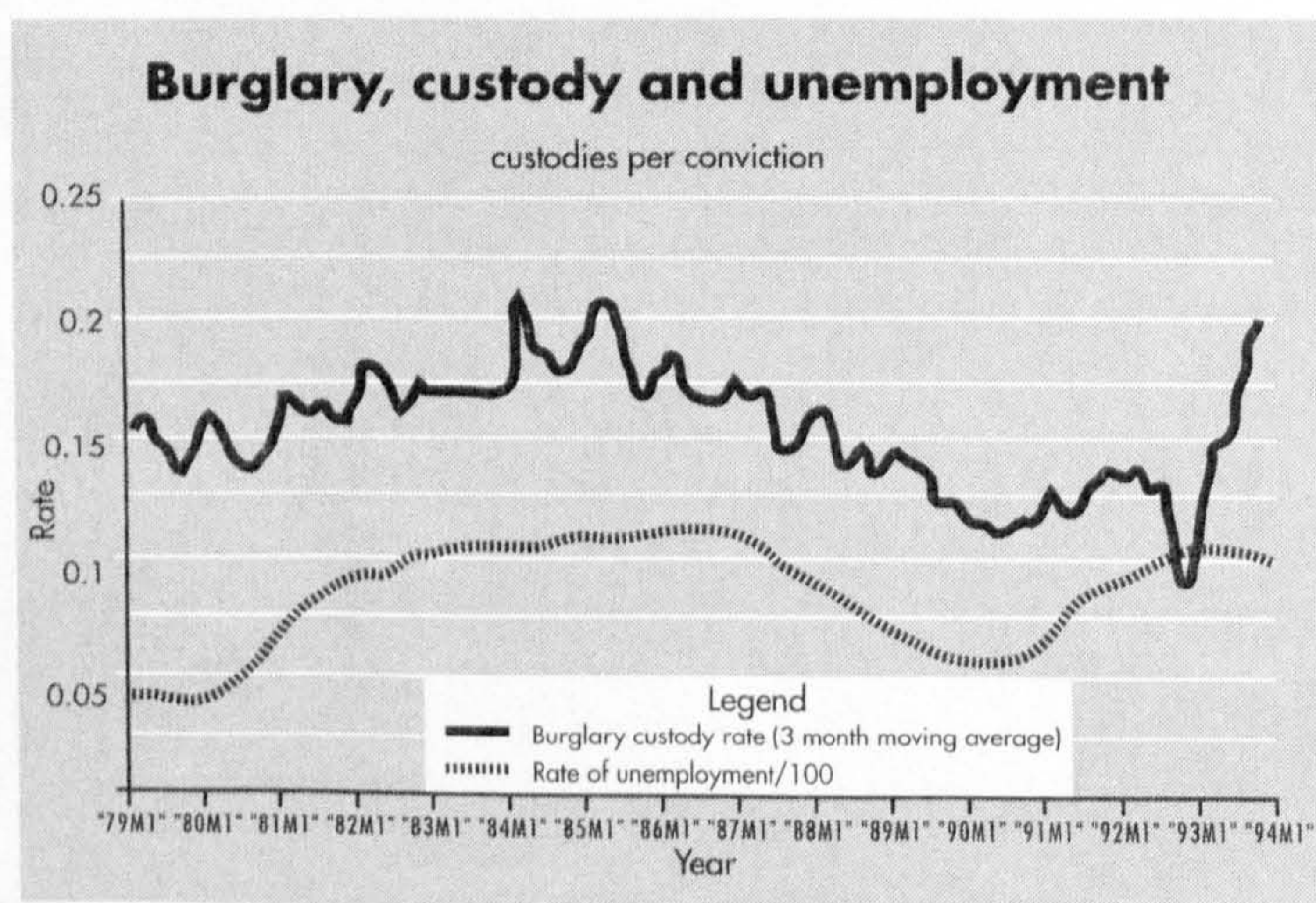
BSU was without doubt an innovative penal experiment; it provided a challenge to accepted mechanisms for dealing with 'difficult' prisoners. However, in its later years it had lost much of its earlier innovation and direction. It had, to use the current vernacular, passed its 'sell by' date. The closure should not be read as a signal that the concept or ethos of small units in Scotland has

been abandoned. This is far from being the case and, in fact, the SPS would hope that what has replaced BSU is a more considered, coherent strategy which serves the needs of both the system and the prisoners but one which is very much built on the experience of BSU ■

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Home Office Statistics



Does good design help those inside?

"There can be no justification for deliberately designing unwholesome accommodation or choosing dowdy colours, dim lighting and excessively harsh materials in the forlorn hope that this will somehow deter wrongdoers."

This apparently simple question conceals a host of contradictions. Yes, good design can have beneficial effects, but it is not always clear why or in what way. The first difficulty lies in defining how to measure a successful design. Is it one that merely houses inmates and staff in tolerable conditions, or should there be higher aspirations towards encouraging prisoners to lead better and more useful lives within the prison and when they leave it?

Or, should the main aim be to ensure that inmates never re-offend, or at least don't get caught and suffer a further period of incarceration? In this case, it has been argued, the more brutal the conditions the more effective prisons will become. This is certainly the view held by some in the American justice system and, one suspects, the belief of many ordinary people in this country. But as Tim Willocks, former prison psychologist, has pointed out, the more society applies institutional brutality, the more brutal that society becomes. However, Professor Holtsman of Holland believes that 'the criminal justice system is basically a suffering system: it produces suffering'. Should it therefore produce a suffering style of architecture?

Penal systems in most countries hover uneasily between the two extremes of paternalistic humanity and malign indifference. We have to decide, as a nation, towards which extreme our collective will is tending.

Is there an ideal prison design?

The plain truth is that we don't actually know the answers to these problems with any degree of certainty. There is no research to show convincingly the effects of different prison designs on the attitudes and behaviour of inmates and staff.

In Victorian times, the design perfectly matched the penal and social aims of the day. They may have been wrong and misguided aims,

but the architecture was their true interpreter and servant.

Now we have no such certainty.

It is not always easy to discern the logic behind changes in design policy since the turn of the century. For example, what is the justification for 50 as the ideal cell group size?

It could well be right, but we have no proof.

Why do some prisons appear to 'work' and others do not?

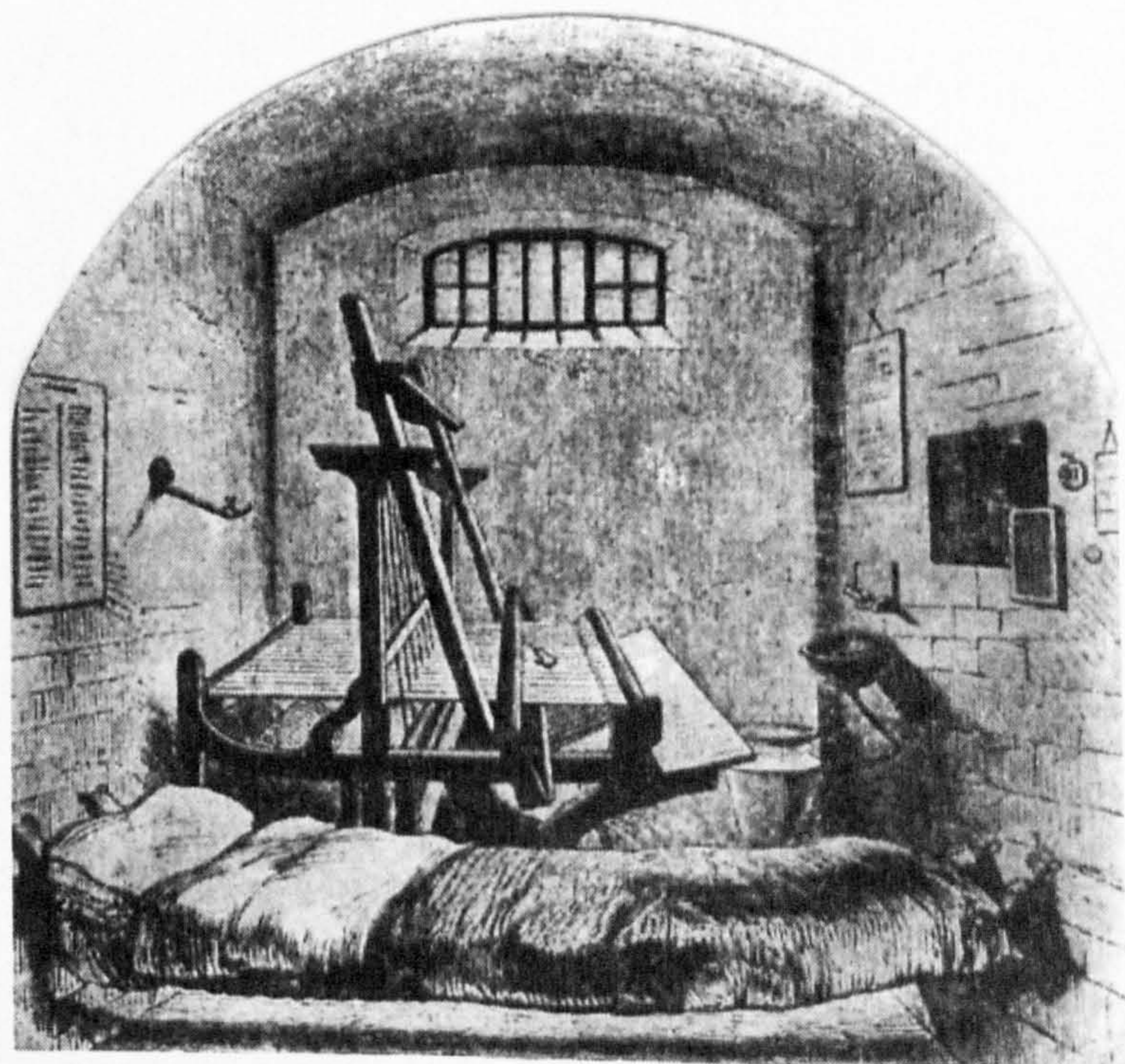
And do we measure 'work' by whether they have had any riots or drug problems or staff agitation?

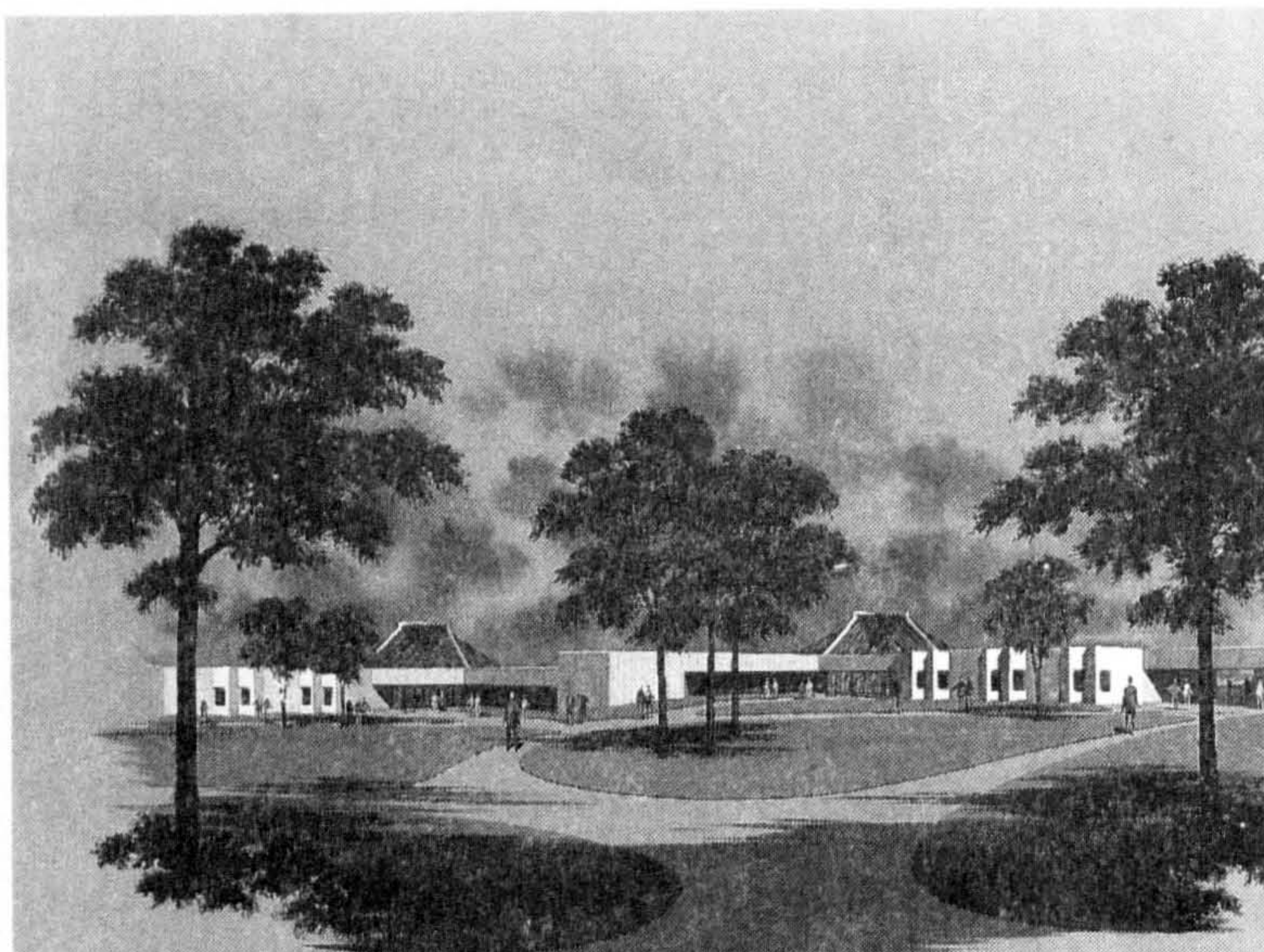
Is there a relationship between prison design and recidivism, or reconviction not involving a custodial sentence?

A lot of monitoring and research has to be done before we could guarantee producing the 'ideal' prison.

But even if such a utopian dream were realisable, the design would only hold true for a fairly short time until ideas about imprisonment

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shifted yet again in the wake of new political dogma, social sanctions and hard economics. Look at the changes during the past few hundred years: from revenge and punishment in the Middle Ages, through deterrence and reformation in the 19th century, therapy and rehabilitation in the 1960s, leading to the negative policy of humane containment (human warehouses and penal dustbins) a decade later. All implied quite different design solutions: dungeons and castle keeps, galleried radial prisons, and corridor blocks in 'T' shapes and courtyards.

Now we have 'New Generation', a combination of design and management, imported from America and incorporated in the Prison Design Briefing System (PDBS), where groups of cells wrap around a central association space, with no closed corridors.

Will that provide the solution we are looking for?

American opinion is deeply divided on the issue. Removing the paraphernalia of security grilles and remote locking systems, and exposing staff and inmates to a greater intimacy have proved psychologically demanding.

Design is not a panacea

Design is not marginal but neither can it solve all the problems. Architects have to struggle to produce the right sorts of buildings in a very difficult climate of opinion, amid conflicting advice and not a little confusion. They have to balance functional and environmental needs against the demands of security and increasingly vengeful and worried public opinion. Andrew Rutherford reckons that you can't design the

prison until you have designed the criminal justice system. He is right of course, but where does that leave architects who have to design for the here and now? The late Sir Alexander Paterson, speaking of youth prisons and borstals, summed up where he thought responsibility lay: 'It's men and not buildings who will change the hearts and ways of misguided lads'.

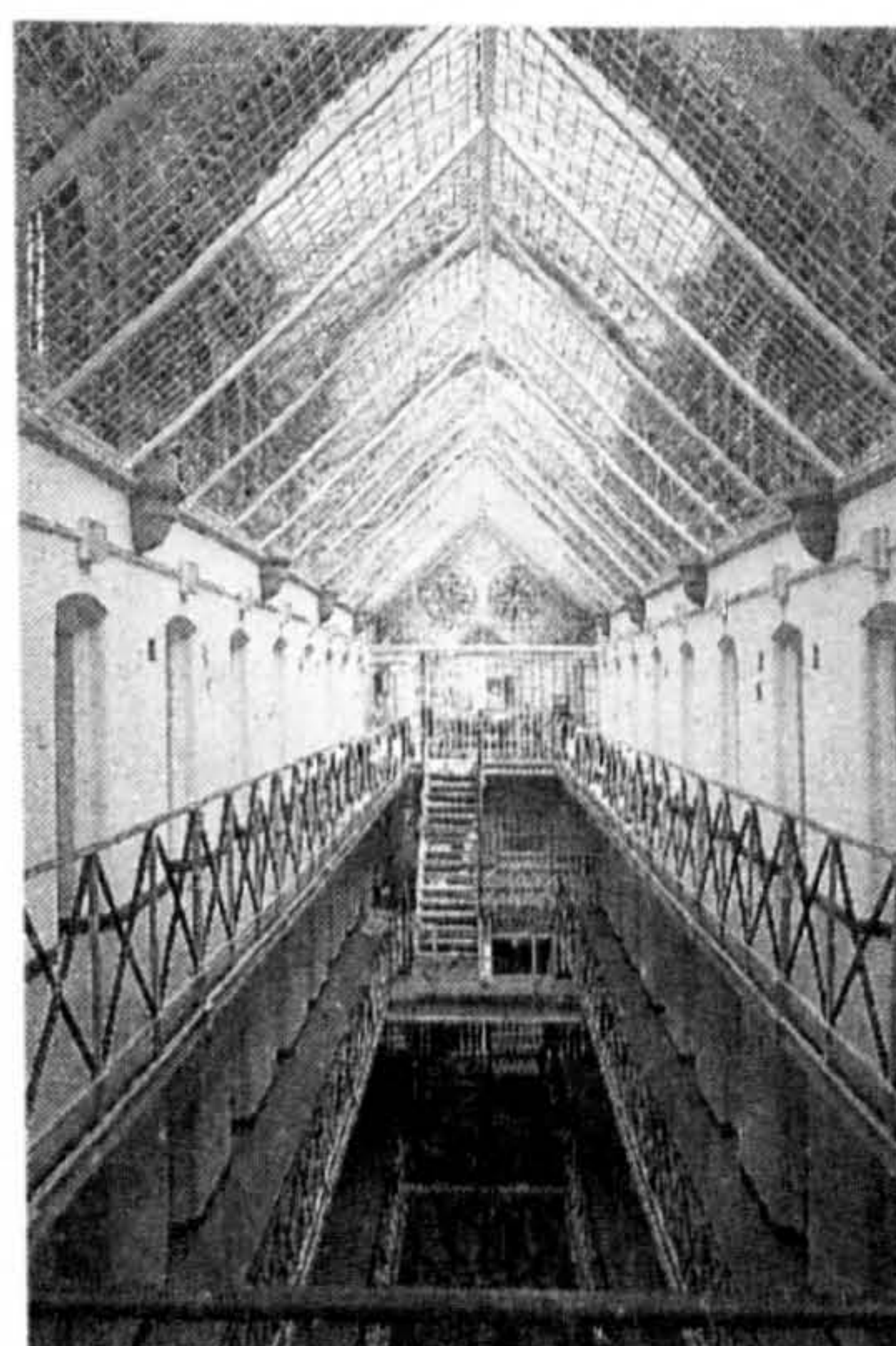
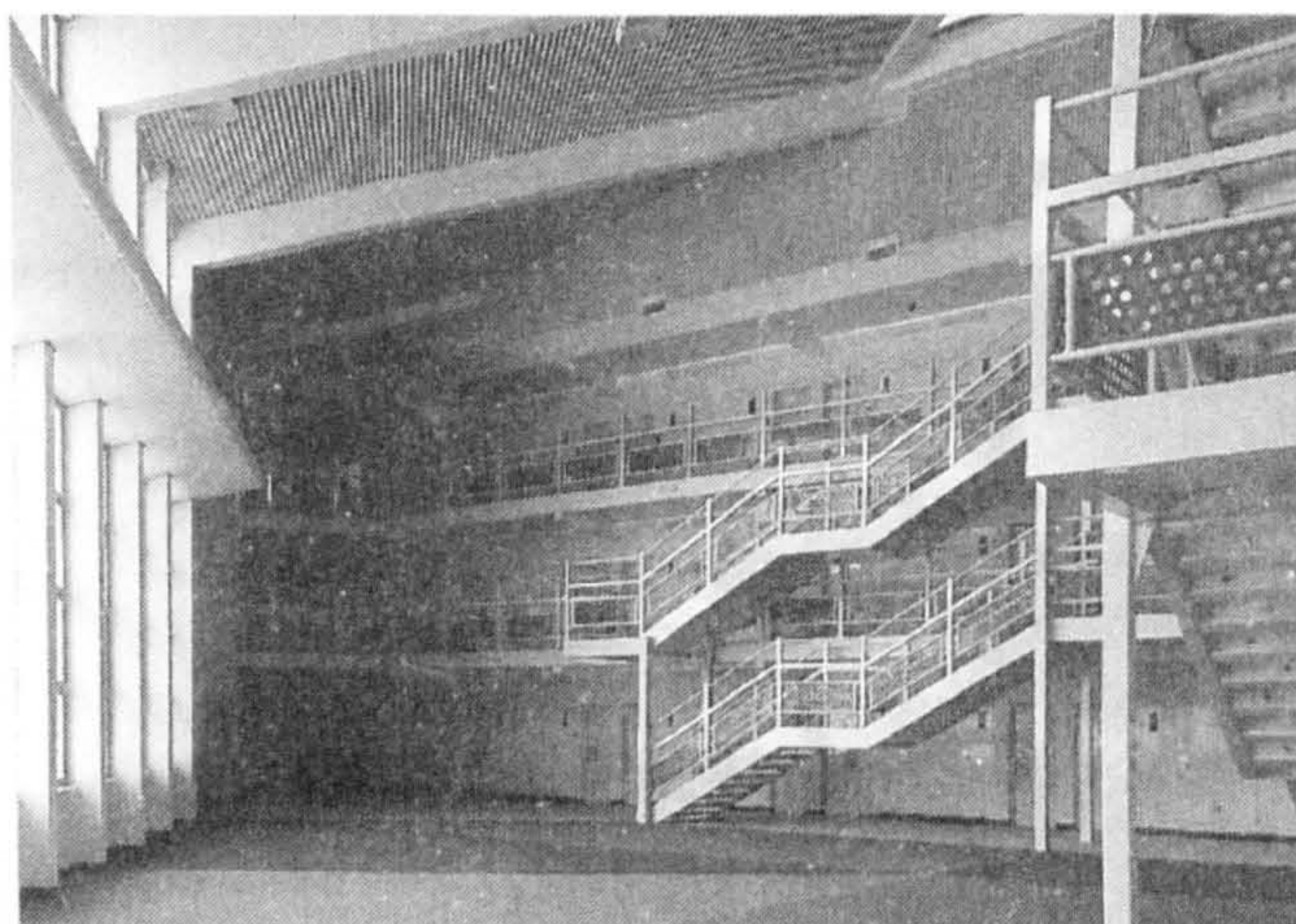
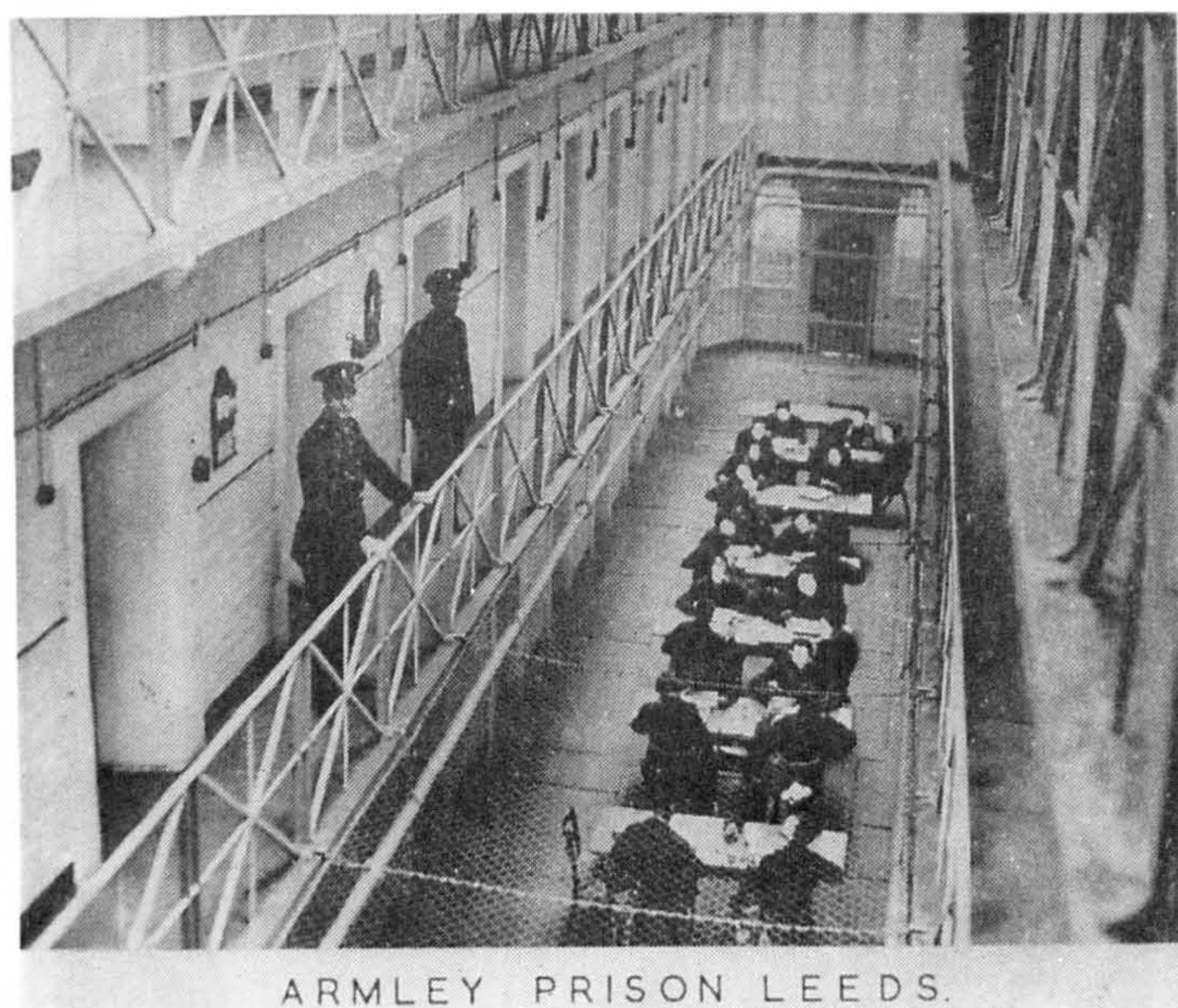
Architects can certainly design the most appropriate buildings given a well-researched brief but, as Paterson points out, it is the governors and prison officers who have to use them wisely and well, and achieve results. We have to guard against prescriptive solutions and the worst sort of architectural determinism. We are still in the stage of exploration, not infallibility.

Design does not operate in a vacuum: it is part of a much larger system. There are many other internal and external influences at work.

Overcrowding, bad sanitation, decaying buildings (and not only in the Victorian prisons) prisoner unrest, low staff morale, alleged maladministration and loss of control.... it doesn't need me to tell those who work in the prison service what the problems are.

Outside influences are equally strong. Public opinion is firmly of the view that prisons are too soft, that prisoners have taken control of many prisons and are living a life of luxury while running their criminal activities from the freephones in their cells, high on drugs and watching pornographic videos.

Society is as confused as the politicians about the purpose of prison and therefore what they should be like. It is a great temptation for malcontents among both inmates and staff to exploit this confusion for their own ends.



Is there a role for design?

Can design really make an impression on the intractable problems being faced by the prison service, which seemingly have nothing to do with design?

I think it can, if the design process is interpreted more widely than for other more conventional building types.

The disaster of the riots which erupted in April 1990 at Strangeways and five other prisons, produced an exemplary report from Lord Justice Woolf and Judge Stephen Tumim.

They endorsed the published guidance in the Prison Design Briefing System and reiterated its key principles:

- new prisons should hold no more than 400 inmates in small groups of between 50 and 70 accommodated in self-contained living units, each with integral sanitation. Existing prisons should be sub-divided accordingly, and overcrowding reduced;
- prisons should be community based and more family orientated: location is of the greatest importance;
- there must be a careful balance between security and oppression: secure but humane;
- better staff/prisoner relationships should be encouraged within a more relaxed but safe atmosphere.

Strangeways itself has undergone this treatment with, it would seem, beneficial results.

Certainly the architectural treatment of the radial prison, and all its associated new accommodation, appears very successful. Lighter, brighter cells with integral sanitation and larger windows, and subdivision into smaller groups, have transformed the original shabby hulk into a more acceptable environment for inmates and allowed better working conditions for staff.

There can be no justification for deliberately designing unwholesome accommodation or choosing dowdy colours, dim lighting and excessively harsh materials in the forlorn hope that this will somehow deter wrongdoers.

Not that this is the policy of the Home Office: rather the opposite.

New designs and the rehabilitation of older prisons are aimed at freshening up the interiors, making exterior spaces more attractive and giving a more hopeful image to the institution as a whole.

Different people react to their environment in different ways. Some are extremely sensitive to it, others hardly notice their surroundings. While most cannot analyse their reactions, it is at least arguable that high design quality must have, overall, a more benign influence than grim fortress-like conditions. And this, in turn, will affect the way people behave.

At the very least prisons must be clean,

without smell or echo, well lit, warmed and ventilated.

Above all they must be healthy.

As a working environment for prison staff and visitors, bright, attractive spaces have many obvious advantages. As living enclosures for inmates where their dignity is respected and where they are encouraged to improve as a result of their own efforts, more space and better conditions can only have a beneficial effect.

There will always be a small hardcore of prisoners for whom decent standards will signal weakness and laxity by the authorities which they will seek to exploit and undermine.

The rest - the vast majority - should not have to suffer for the few who should perhaps be incarcerated elsewhere.

Can we be sure of anything?

Given the huge current uncertainties and complexities in designing prisons, are there a few guidelines which seem incontrovertible?

Designing smaller institutions subdivided into smaller groups makes good sense, from various points of view: environmental, security and control, classification, and (it is claimed) better staff/inmate relationships.

But if smaller units are used for classifying

different types of prisoner, there will have to be an over-supply of cells or rooms so that there will always be space for newcomers. In the present straitened times that seems a most unlikely proposition.

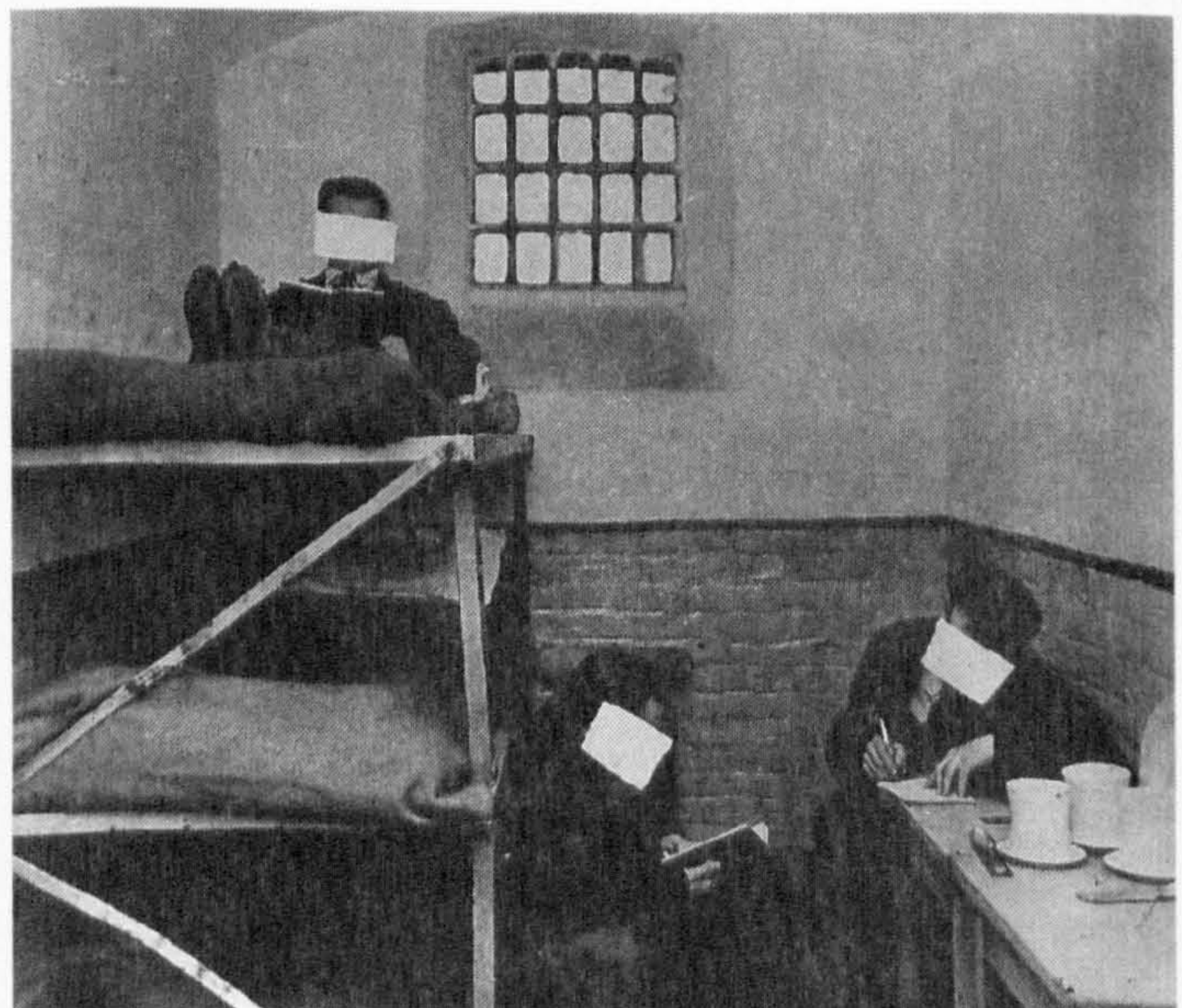
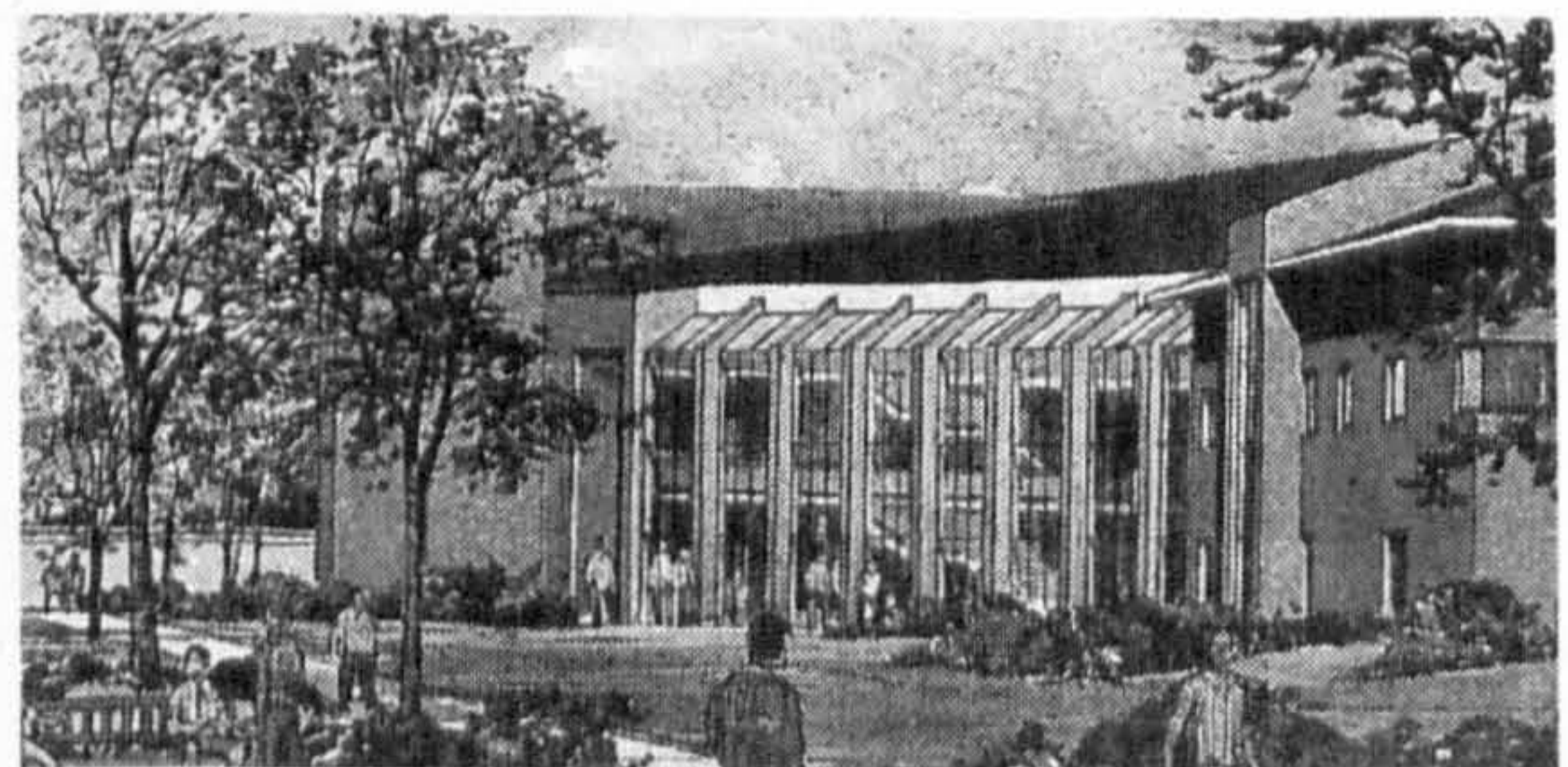
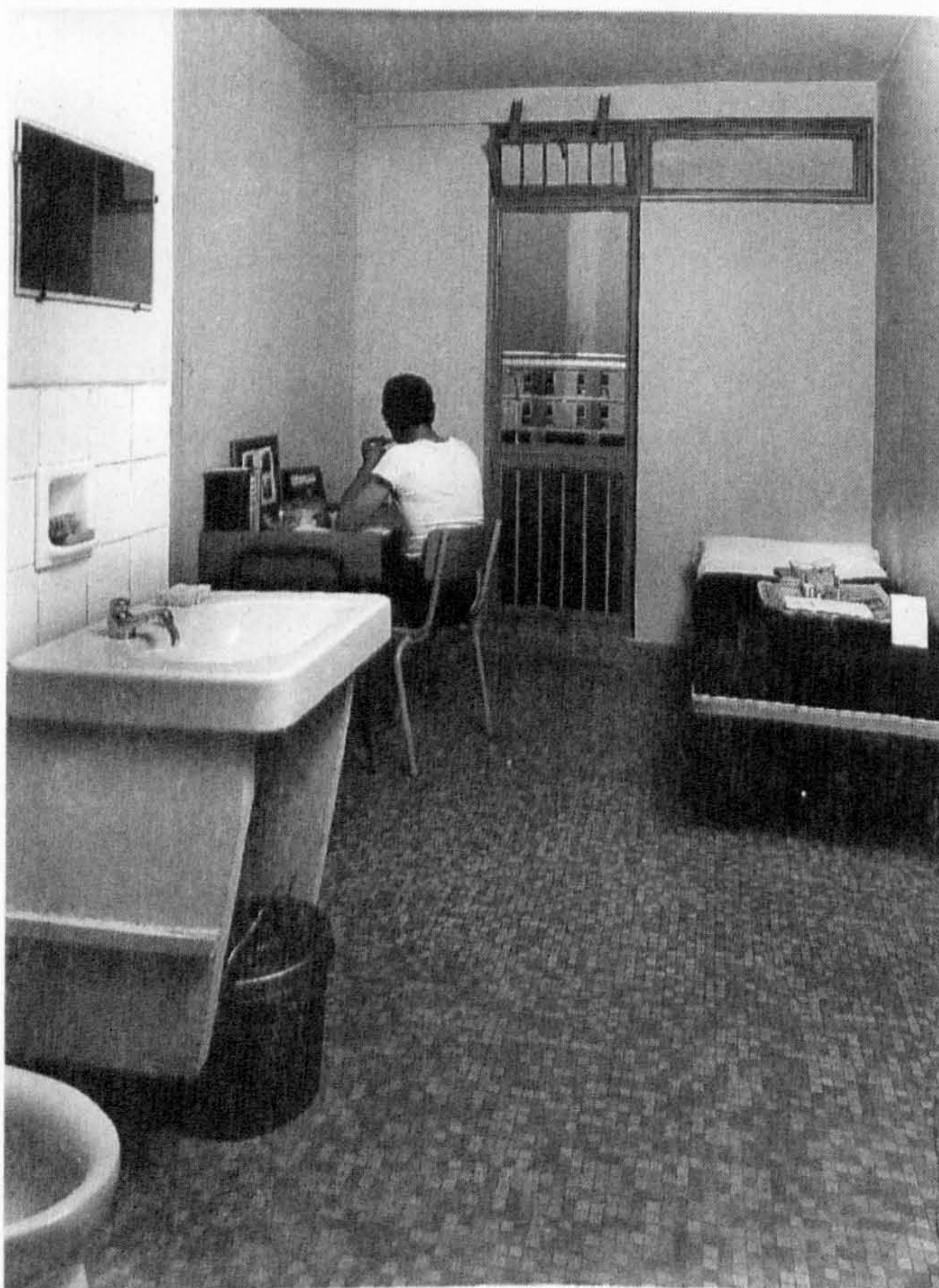
Substituting a radial cell block layout for one where smaller numbers of cells are grouped around a central association space helps to reduce scale and diminishes the threat of the building overwhelming and dehumanising the individuals within. It also improves supervision and provides more attractive interior spaces.

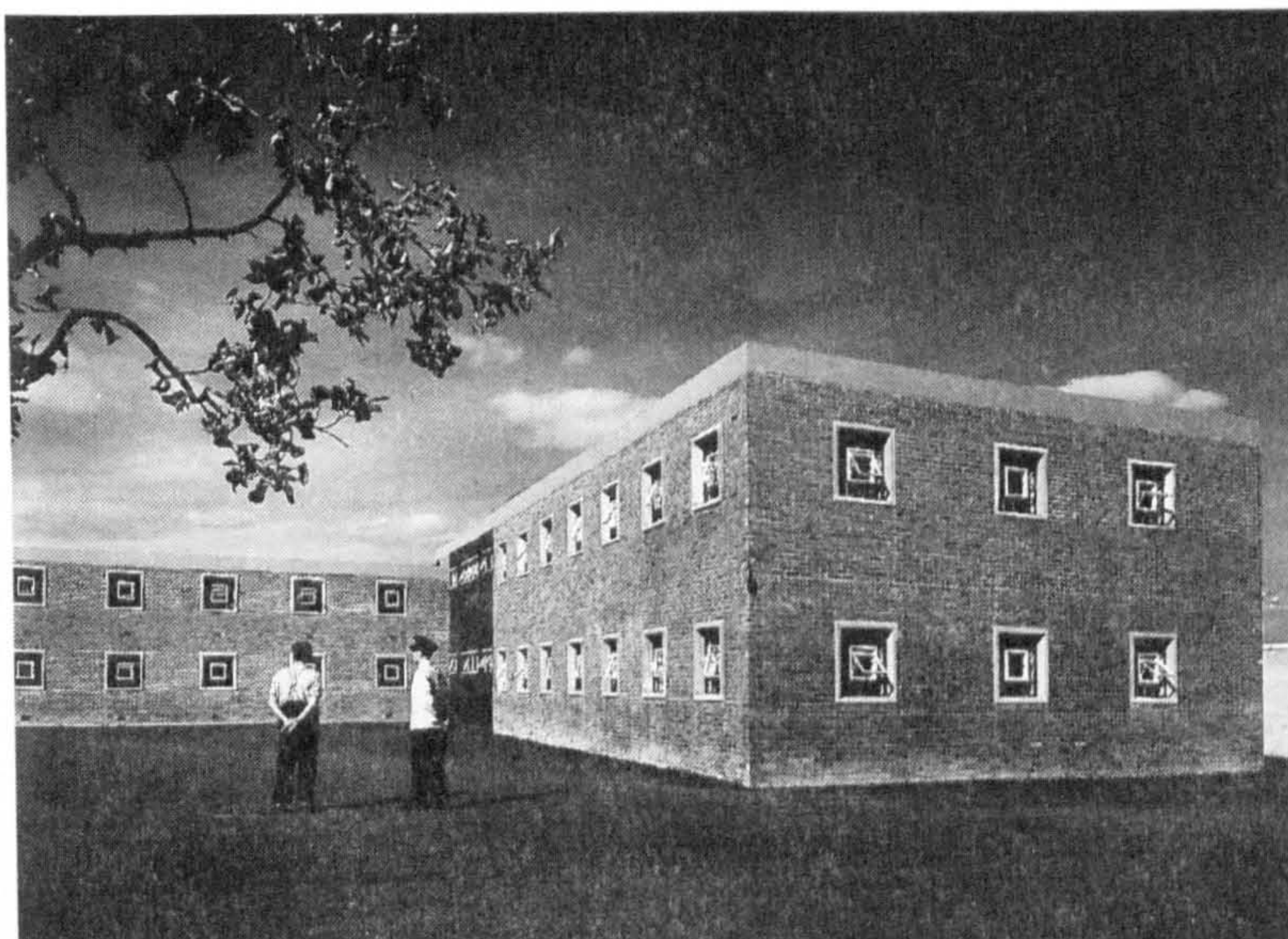
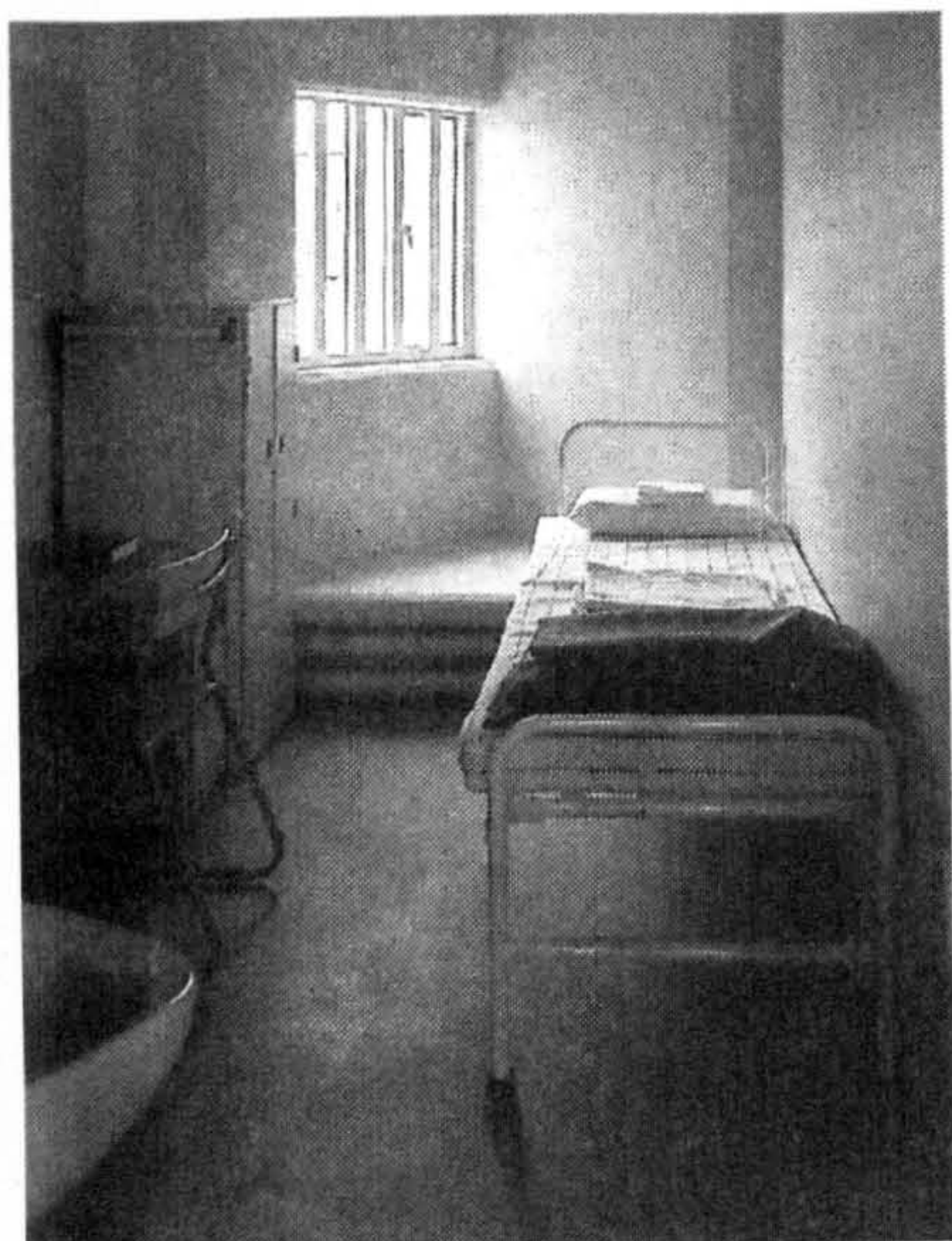
But, in America where this 'New Generation' idea took root, some staff and inmates find the more relaxed design physically threatening and the closer relationships intimidating.

The perceived degree of control is crucial to the safety and reassurance of both staff and inmates. Officers in some American prisons are now retreating to the more protective and comforting environment of remote control that they know and are more at ease with.

It is imperative, in any design, that staff and inmates can relax within a secure environment which they trust. Some of their anxiety and anger might thus be channelled more constructively.

Furnishings should be robust but attractive and functional. Great care has to be taken over the design of cell prototypes. Multiplied by hundreds,





they will have almost more effect on the inmates' personal environment than any other part of the prison. It is not enough to design a box and stuff some furniture in.

Creating a more 'normal' environment is easier to talk about than to achieve. What is 'normal' under such circumstances and on such a scale?

It is doubtful that unrelieved claustrophobic corridors and galleries could be considered normal, nor designs which fail to allow for normal human behaviour.

Plans should not encourage surprise: for example, a sharp bend in a corridor or spaces incapable of observation. Inmates and staff should be able to identify with their surroundings and to have occasional views to the outside. There is also the problem of understanding what should be the symbolism and image of a prison in this day and age. The old massive stone castle walls and pinpoint windows so beloved of the Victorians are

no longer appropriate. It is a challenge today to offer a meaningful substitute, using modern materials and techniques. These must signify the majesty of the law combined with deterrence, social justice and the desire to promote moral improvement, all without forfeiting the confidence of the public.

What style can match these new aspirations?

Whatever it turns out to be, prisons must express their functions honestly and without disguise. They must not mimic other forms but discover and develop their own appropriate architectural language.

Prisons should attempt to fit within the context of their locality, at least by conforming so far as possible to the scale, materials, textures and colours of other buildings around. But the task becomes almost impossible when designing the perimeter security walls unless they can be somehow incorporated as part of the buildings. Welcoming families into prisons and integrating

the local community are all parts of the design process. In too many prisons the visiting facilities are, at best, inadequate and, at worst, a disgrace.

Apart from the cell blocks or housing units, most other buildings within the prison campus are not much different from similar buildings elsewhere, except for additional security. The design of sports buildings, workshops, classrooms, medical units, kitchens, offices are all well documented and form a major part of any prison complex. The physical manifestations of security are obvious and accepted. But the more insidious intrusion of electronic devices have a profound influence on the overall design and the effect they have on everybody using the prison. Complicated security apparatus is an admission of design and administrative failure.

Back to where we started?

In an article as brief as this it is only possible to give broad indications. But one thing is crystal clear. Any new designs have to be flexible enough to accommodate changes of policy, different types

of crime and criminal, a hardening of public attitudes to the treatment of offenders, and the potential effects of privatisation. All these could have a great impact on design and management, especially privatisation where low operating costs, in particular, will be vital to financial success. This may mean that staffing levels could be reduced to save money, possibly resulting in more rigid designs. Could we even see a return to radial or cruciform layouts where fewer staff are needed for supervision?

This is where we came in.

What is without dispute is the need for constant enquiry and monitoring and research, not only in connection with our own establishments, new and old, but also in the large number of prisons being constructed throughout the world. They all have something to teach us. We should not have to make the same mistakes all over again.

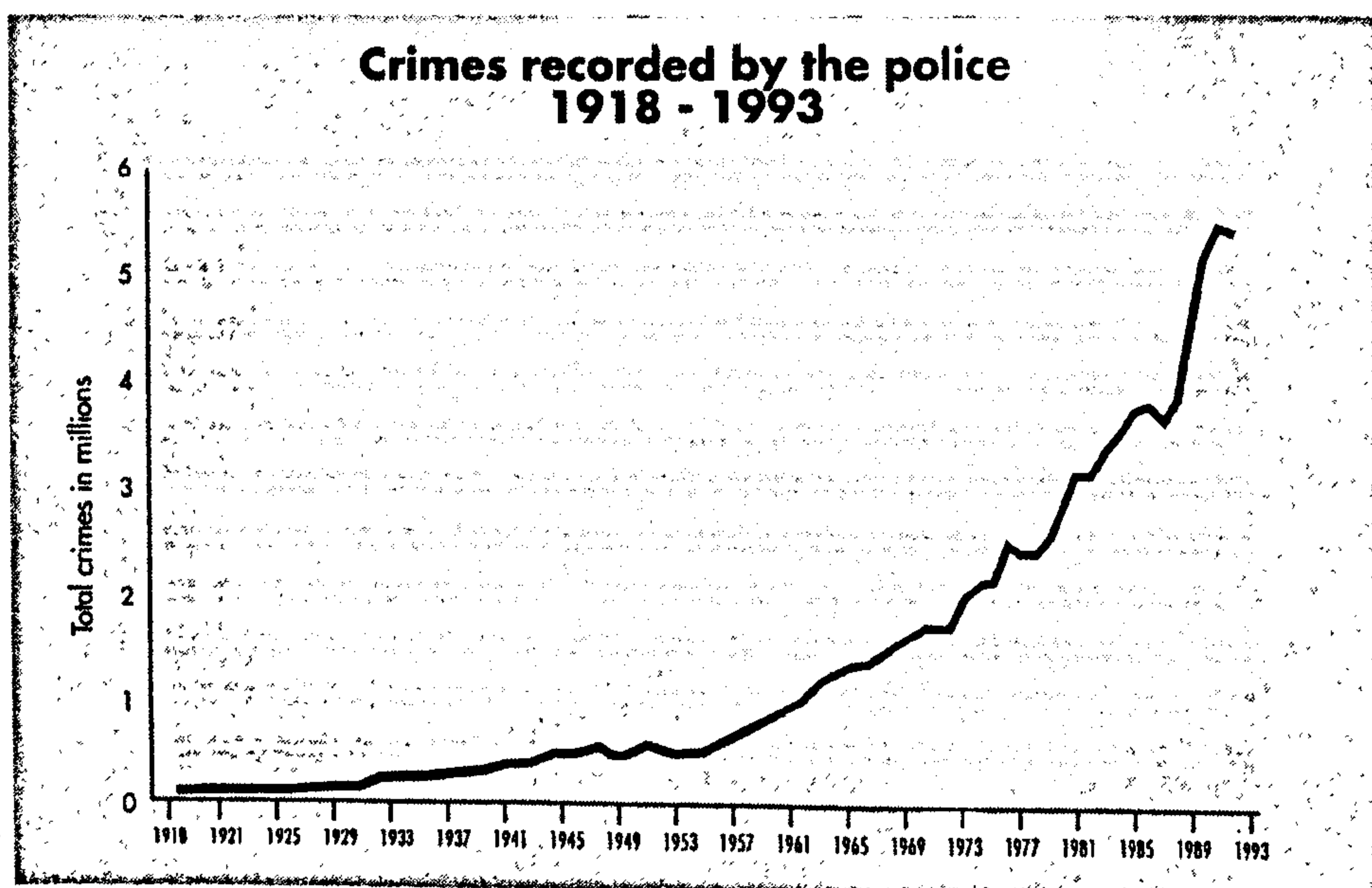
In our current uncertainties, we somehow have to strike a balance between what Dr Sean McConville calls 'responsible humanity and irresponsible expediency'. And that will be a major challenge for us all ■

Verbals

"The initiative to allow sentenced prisoners to wear their-own clothing has continued and expanded. We welcome this move as it helps prisoners maintain their personal identity and self respect. We hope that encouragement will continue to be given to governors to allow prisoners, wherever practical, to wear their own clothing."

Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons, April 1993-March 1994

Home Office Statistics



Sociologists everywhere!!

... offenders explain their crimes in one of two ways ... accept responsibility ... (or) fatalistic ... crime just happens."

'Causation is everywhere assumed and forever disputed. Causation is a tangled notion, but one we seem unable to do without.' (G. Nettler, *Explaining Criminals*, 1982). When considering criminal activity, an oft-asked question is *'why do they do it?'* That there are causes of crime is assumed, and society demands that such causes be identified to facilitate effective intervention in escalating crime rates. Subsequently, a variety of theories have been proposed by biologists, economists, sociologists and psychologists, and relevant crime-addressing policies justified. But it seems that prisoners' opinions are rarely considered, except for autobiographies and the occasional study. For my University Psychology Project I decided to investigate what a group of criminals perceived to be the causes of their criminal behaviour.

In July and August of 1991, I spent five weeks at H.M. Prison Grendon - the only prison mainly devoted to a therapeutic regime. Although located mainly on 'C' Wing under the supervision and guidance of the probation officer, I was able to visit the other wings. I attended their group therapy sessions and wing meetings, individual appointments with staff, drama classes, staff meetings and inmate assessments. (In short, everything except psychodrama and exercise in the yard.) It seemed appropriate, therefore, to return to Grendon for my project. Only a limited study was possible within my time and resources, so to simplify the variables I focused on a group of ten men convicted for robbery or burglary.

My main aim was to test my proposition that offenders explain their crimes in one of two ways. I speculated that one group would claim control over their lives and accept responsibility for their offending. The second group would be fatalistic, claiming that external factors determined their lives and that crime *'just happens'*. I labelled these two types as voluntaristic and deterministic, respectively. All the interviews were recorded on tape, transcribed, and then analysed in detail. Causal statements were then collated, that is statements that assumed responsibility for, laid blame elsewhere, or rationalised criminal

behaviour. These statements were then categorised as voluntaristic or deterministic. As with most aspects of human behaviour, distinctions were not always clear, although a general orientation was evident.

When identifying *'Voluntaristic Attributions'* in a prisoner I included references to personal desire (for example money, friendship, status, excitement) or reference to an evaluation of rewards and punishment, with crime being chosen. To categorise *'Deterministic Attributions'* I included references to factors of a historical or contemporary nature. Historical factors included upbringing (broken homes, institutional care, parental crime), social, demographic and economic factors (sex, class and neighbourhood). Contemporary factors (i.e. those present at the time the crime was committed) included influencing agents such as friends, boredom, drugs and opportunity. When interviewing the prisoners I tried to elicit their own thoughts rather than explicitly question their opinions on existing theories.

The deterministic group was the easier to identify. This group argued that family criminality, drink and drugs, lack of parental love and bad luck led to their thieving, with individual choice having little relevance. They frequently gave detailed accounts of the criminal mores that were ever present in their upbringing, and claimed that they learned about thieving and acquired anti-authority attitudes from their parents. It was their fatalistic attitudes that gave them, I felt, mainly deterministic attributions of responsibility for their criminal behaviour.

'My old school teacher ... the way he summed me up - he knew it all. He said, "although I don't condone what you done I also don't hold you totally responsible for what's happened here" ... Me mother was very broad-minded. She didn't give a shit. She can't see that she's been a part of what I am now ... I was living the life that I was brought up ... Police always at the door. I

Katy Webley is a teacher who researched this article as part of a psychology project with Southampton University.

didn't know any different. And it's a true old saying that you bring your kid up in any environment and he will live that environment ... I think it's also the intelligence level from the genetic side as well, it's all a process ... You're trapped ... But it doesn't mean to say that you like it. I didn't like it one bit. And I still don't. I did what I learned. Because that was the only thing I knew ... You'd think "Oh, I want that". And your mum and dad were pinching ... You know it's wrong, but it must be half okay. So you carry on.'

(Mr. H)

This man clearly saw his history of theft, robbery and burglary as a natural and inevitable consequence of his upbringing and family. Similarly, Mr. B actively searched for fatalism:

'I think with me it's just not being able to deal with the problems in my life very well ... But it's a lot more complex than that. It might be hereditary ... You think to yourself "well, why am I anti-this or anti-that?" You know something started it ... A lot of it is moulded in your adolescent years'.

A fascinating aspect of all of the interviews was the men's analysis of their criminal behaviour. There are, however, obvious reasons for their ready reflection and micro analysis. Grendon is a unique prison and its inmates are accustomed to talking about their past and their offences, and they are also in the process of seeking an understanding of their behaviour. Furthermore, although they are essentially 'volunteers' in therapy (in that they can choose to return to their sending institution) Grendon does have selection criteria that requires inmates to have average or above intelligence, a desire to change and a belief in therapy. This combination has obviously led, in some men, to a complicated sociological understanding of their past.

'My dad been a thief all his life, a criminal, alcoholic, and a gambler, a bad gambler ... It's like a criminal house. Me mum's the only straight 'un, she's never done a thing wrong, but me dad had been in trouble all his life ... My dad used to take me out thieving when I was little ... And I started when I was five, and it was just natural to me, just a way of life ... I got no habits, like drinking, drugs ... But because I've always been in jail it keeps you immature not having to make serious, rational decisions ... I'm just a thief and that's it. But there's no malice in it or anything like that ... It was just a line of

work ... I've gone in at 9 o'clock in the morning and I've been home at half past ten, with like £10,000. And when you got money like that you just can't go and work for like £200 a week. Now I know that's selfish but honestly, you just can't do it ... To tell the truth now, I honestly, honestly don't want to [get into trouble again]. And I honestly am going to try my hardest. I want to get away from all that. But it's all I know. It's like driving a car. If someone said to you, 'you can never drive again'. Or if you could never walk again, you'd feel, "well, I can. Because I've always walked". It's hard to break now'.

Not only is this man's rationalisation of his past fatalistic, but he also sees no alternative to crime in his future. When criminality in the family is seen as inevitably inherited, and giving it up likened to giving up walking, then we have a desperate situation. But they weren't all so deterministic. Other men explained their criminal behaviour in a very different way.

'I suppose I started offending when I was about seven. I was stealing school stock - things I didn't really need. This then progressed into High School. I was a gangster in school, and this then progressed to burgling houses. Sometimes three or four a night, different houses. I found it was easy money, and I also found it pretty exciting. Got the adrenalin going you know. I found exploring other peoples' homes fascinating, a bit of adventure ... My parents have always said to me it's the wrong people I've got involved with. But I recognise now I had the choice ... I'd say from the age of ten I recognised I was doing wrong ... I found there was a kind of living out of it. I could survive ... I suppose I was always trying to do my best, always trying to please me parents no matter what I did. Even though a lot of the things I did were criminal. I think a lot of times I was just trying to please them, make them sort of proud, because I'm the only son that wasn't born handicapped, and me mum and dad have always said to me that if I wanted to I could make a go of life - and I chose crime. I obviously chose it because I wouldn't say someone was holding me arm behind me back and saying, "you will do this and you will do that". I made the decision, I had the responsibility, and I accept responsibility for my actions'

(Mr. A).

The difference between this man's analysis and that of most of the other men I interviewed (and, no doubt, that of most of the prison

population) is dramatic. Mr.A had spent a considerable length of time in Grendon and, credit to himself and to Grendon, had obviously reached a level of understanding where he had accepted responsibility for his past. Surely this recognition of personal control will predict greater future success than someone who is fatalistic.

Another explanation given was of a psychological nature, with crime promoting self-esteem. Mr. C:

'I wasn't comfortable with myself and it was just kind of an escape ... I'd always thought of doing an armed robbery. It was something that I'd had in my head. An ego-trip sort of thing that I thought I'd get something out of, and I did ... I did all of them, bar the last one, which we got caught for. That one was because I got greedy really, and I was sort of getting a bit angry that I was doing it all the time, and I pushed him (my co-accused) into doing one ... I thought I was Jack-the-Lad. It'd all gone to my head ... I'd feel good, you know, pointing the gun at someone. And I felt secure whereas really on me own I'm insecure and I'm unstable, but that gave me something'.

This notion of crime filling an otherwise inadequate life seems to be a common theme amongst those who claim they 'chose' crime.

'I first broke into a house when I was 13 years old ... Once I stole a car, went home, threw my life away basically, and I haven't stopped getting into trouble since then ... Crime? Oh, I chose to do it. There's no two ways about it. I chose to do it. Because of all my medical problems as a kid I never had many friends, I didn't go to school much. I used to get my schooling in a hospital. And then when I did turn up at school, I was the "boy with the disease", and when you've got a disease you know what kids are like ... after the first time I got in trouble, I found a criminal fraternity and that was great. Somebody would accept me for what I am'

(Mr.F).

There were only three men (of the ten interviewed), however, that I considered to be largely voluntaristic in their attitudes. Although they may have described drink problems or an unstable family life, they clearly acknowledged that they had a choice which they had freely exercised. They also appeared aware that they had chosen crime as a preferred lifestyle. It was the recognition of their free will that gave them, I felt, mainly voluntaristic attributions of responsibility for their criminal behaviour.

My initial premise - that robbers and burglars would explain their criminal backgrounds in one of two ways - was partially substantiated. Although a clear distinction between the two patterns of reasoning was not always possible, it was possible to identify in which category each man generally fell. The second stage of my project was to examine the prisoners' opinions and attitudes on certain criminal justice matters. Although no a-priori connection was assumed, I was interested to explore whether there was any relation between how a prisoner explained crime (i.e. voluntaristic or deterministic) and his views on related matters. Accordingly, I asked questions to elicit their views on

- (i) Prison and the prison system
- (ii) HMP Grendon and its therapeutic regime and
- (iii) Crime prevention policies.

The prisoners' views on Grendon and its therapeutic regime was an area in which I was particularly interested. The way the men explained their criminal behaviour would be expected to affect their attitude towards therapy. Those that wanted to change their behaviour would be expected to commend therapy and the Grendon regime. But how would inmates who blamed crime or drugs or their neighbourhood view therapy? There was, in fact, general approval of Grendon by both groups - although there were some obvious differences.

The voluntaristic group was positive and extremely enthusiastic. One man exclaimed: *'I've no regrets about coming to Grendon. I would wish it for anyone, any offender, any day'* (Mr A); another said: *'therapy? I like it. It's working for me. I've come a long, long way ... It's not until you start talking that you realise there's a lot wrong with you ... Grendon's made me realise that I'm sick, and I'm sick of it, and I'm sick of what I've done. And I want a future'* (Mr.F).

These men believed that Grendon could 'prevent crime', and statements such as *'the things I've learnt in here, you know it's given me a handful of tools to deal with situations, actually recognising and cross examining myself'* (Mr.A) and *'I couldn't bear to come back in again now because I'm more aware of things within myself and I know what I've got to do now'* (Mr.C) reflect a positive attitude towards therapy.

An important characteristic of the voluntaristic group was that, although they acknowledged the importance of Grendon, they also believed that active participation of the individual was essential for 'success'. In other words, Grendon did not present some magical cure for criminal tendencies, the inmate must also play his part. As detailed by Mr.C, *'I have made a lot of*

efforts and I know I've got to make a lot more, but if you want to change you can change. All this about "Grendon changes you" - it don't. It's just a place where you can change if you want to. But when people say "it doesn't do anything for you" that's because people aren't doing anything for themselves.' Just as these men acknowledged their 'free will' in becoming involved in crime, so they recognised the individual's role in changing behaviour.

The deterministic group generally had positive views about Grendon although they were more qualified or ambiguous. For example, 'It's false in here ... Yea, I think Grendon is [a good idea]. It's got good and bad in it' (Mr.I) and 'I like Grendon, I can't knock it. Some of its ideas are kind of strange, and some of the people in Grendon are kind of strange, and they take a lot of getting used to, and it's very difficult in here ... But on the whole I think Grendon's quite good' (Mr.G).

In respect of the therapeutic regime, they were equally ambivalent. Some felt that therapy 'depends on each individual' (Mr.D) and 'works for some more than others' (Hr.H). Therapy had 'done a lot' for one inmate, whereas another claimed that therapy was a 'word that was misused a lot'; therapy for him was 'space', allowing him to do what he chose (Mr.H). Such ambiguity was well expressed by Mr.B, 'I mean, there are times when you sit here and you think, "well, is this doing me any good? Is it worth it?" You don't feel like you're changing - but then you don't seem to notice the changes in yourself but other people seem to notice them'. This illustrates their uncertainty as to the respective roles of Grendon and the prisoner - should Grendon and therapy change the individual or should the individual strive to change?

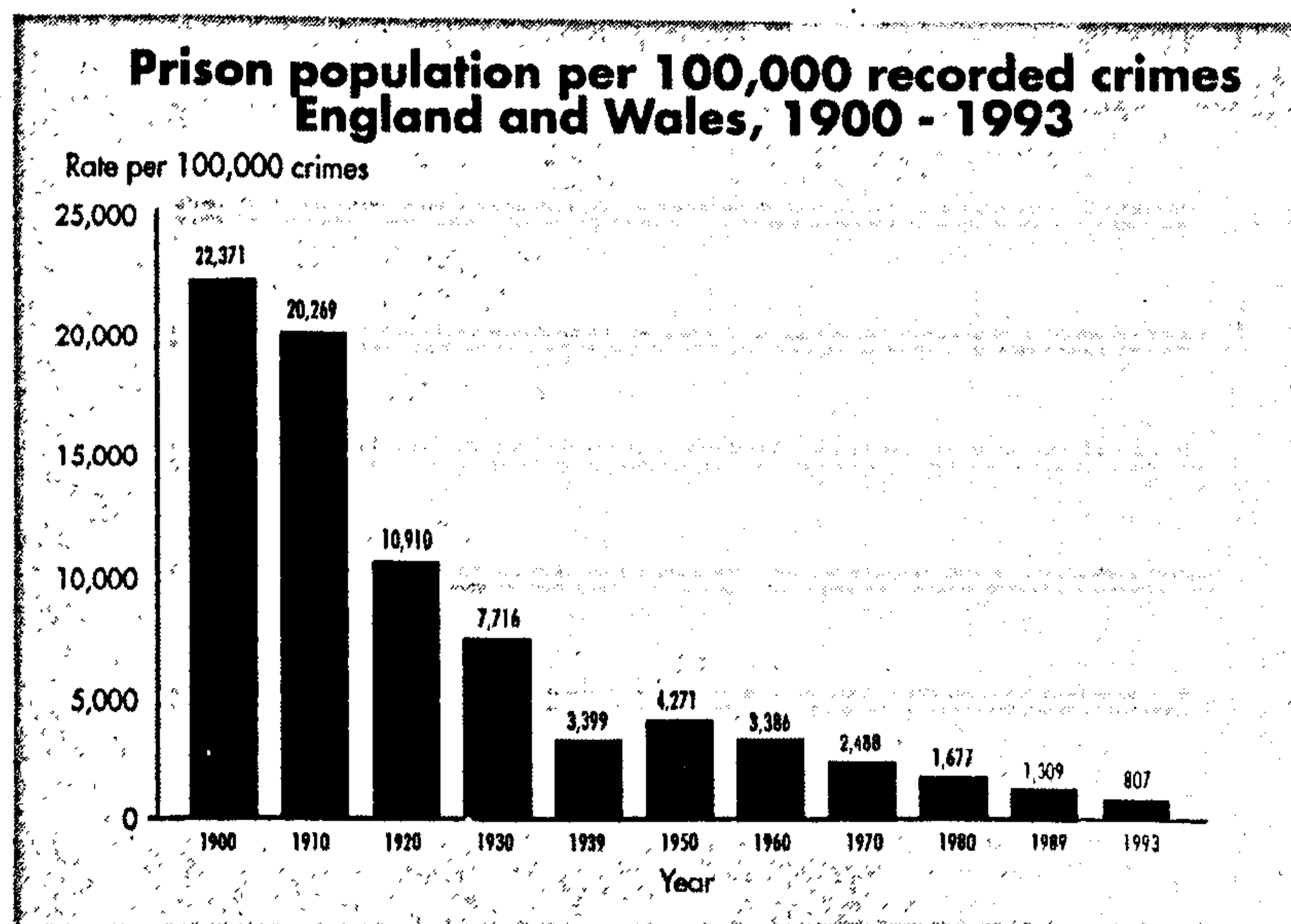
For the two groups Grendon and therapy were perceived in different ways. This suggests that therapy should be structured accordingly. An individual who lays blame within himself needs

help to identify his inadequacies and to choose lawful courses. An individual who sees himself as a victim of his environment needs help in breaking away from, or overcoming, such influences and recognising his responsibilities. Ultimately both approaches focus on changing behaviour, but an individual's perceived causes of criminality could lead to more effective therapy.

Any conclusions drawn in this article are made only on the basis of results gleaned from my project. Such conclusions and any related implications ought to be regarded cautiously since the number of subjects used was not sufficiently large for general conclusions to be drawn. The results, although not remarkable and probably not surprising to the staff at Grendon, are nonetheless useful as they reveal certain patterns in the prisoners' attitudes and opinions.

The interviews contained an overwhelming amount of information, so much so that it was not possible to examine all aspects within the scope of my project. More detailed questioning of prisoners regarding their opinions on the causes of crime, prison, Grendon and crime prevention certainly deserve further exploration. In particular, further study should be undertaken on the relation between explanations given for criminal behaviour and attitudes to therapy. The men explained their pasts and the reasons they committed crimes in a variety of ways. The effect of this on rehabilitation is unknown. Is one type of attitude to the causes of crime more receptive to therapy than others? Do their attitudes change whilst in therapy? Do they benefit from therapy in different ways? How do the staff view this issue - should they take it into consideration? Is there any difference in recidivism between the two groups? Each of these questions could produce interesting results and would benefit from a longitudinal study ■

Home Office Statistics



To be laid before Parliament:

Some observations on Annual Reports from Commission to Agency

Parliament requires

When the *Prison Act 1877* established the Prison Commission and introduced the central administration of local prisons, section 10 provided that the Commissioners, in addition to providing the Secretary of State with ad hoc reports on the conditions of the prisons and prisoners under their control, should make an annual report with respect to every prison within their jurisdiction to be laid before both Houses of Parliament. Under DuCane's energetic leadership, the Commissioners were quick to take advantage of this: indeed it might even be argued that they beat the gun! The Act did not come into operation until 1 April 1878. But the Commissioners were appointed in the previous April and met for the first time in July 1877. They therefore felt able to publish their first report in July 1878. This recorded the state of the prison estate which they took over and the action they had put in hand by the end of March 1878. Their second report covered the first full year of the operation of the Act. Since then annual reports have continued to appear except during World War II. (The years 1939-41 and 1942-44 were subsequently covered in two reports published after the war.) Within this monolithic flow there have, of course, been a number of variations in content and presentation and the purpose of this article is to explore some of these.

The first 17 annual reports were numbered. Then came the first significant change. When the Commissioners began their reports, the Directors of Convict Prisons had been publishing their annual reports (also laid before Parliament) on establishments holding convict prisoners (i.e. at that time those under sentence of transportation) since 1850, and, at first, the two annual reports continued in parallel. But the Departmental Committee on Criminal Judicial Statistics (which gave birth to criminal statistics in their modern form) declared their intention of amalgamating their tables relating to local and convict prisons;

and the Gladstone Committee made a strong recommendation that general information and statistics relating to each class of prison should be published as one report in a single volume. The Commissioners' 1894/5 report - the first under Ruggles-Brise's chairmanship - accepted this, and the 1895/6 report appeared as that of the Commissioners of Prisons and the Directors of Convict Prisons. This continued until penal servitude was abolished by the *Criminal Justice Act 1948*. They then became the reports of the Commissioners of Prisons until 1962. With the abolition of the Prison Commission in March 1963 they became reports on the work of the Prison Department until this was changed to reports on the work of the Prison Service in 1986/7. The first (retrospective) report issued under agency status (for 1992/3) was simply headed Prison Service Annual Report and Accounts.

The annual report continued to cover the financial year until 1924/5. The 1926 report (the first published under Alexander Maxwell's chairmanship) explained that it and subsequent reports would cover the calendar year following the example of the Criminal Statistics. (This might be regarded as a form of latter-day repentance since the Departmental Committee on Criminal Judicial Statistics had recommended in 1895 that police, prison and other relevant statistics should be submitted on a calendar year basis). I was interested to find that in 1984/5 the report reverted to the financial year to enable performance to be judged more accurately against resources - a comment on current management philosophy.

The reports appeared in normal command paper format - though the printing was rather easier on the eye in later years - until 1985/6. They then moved to what I hope it is not unfair to describe as a 'glossy magazine' or 'company annual report' format. Pictures on the cover came in the following year and have continued since. The first report from the Agency was marked by a subtle change of colour (as well as title).

T. G. Weiler

*Member of Prisons Board
1962-66 and 1971-80*

From Heavy Read to Glossy Magazine

The early reports made no concessions by way of identification of points of interest or ease of subsequent reference. They ran in a continuous narrative with no chapter headings or breakdown into sections. Paragraphs were simply numbered consecutively and the reader was clearly expected to plough his way through. The first combined report (1895/6) had headings for the local and convict prison sections, and the following report added a 'General' heading and side-headings to the paragraphs - a significant improvement. These side-headings were at first retained after the local, convict, and general headings were dropped in 1902/03, but also ceased with effect from the 1907/08 report being replaced by a lesser number of paragraph headings. This layout continued until the 1920/21 report, though the number of headings continued to be reduced almost to the point of invisibility.

The 1920/21 report - the second under Waller's chairmanship - achieved the feat of dropping paragraph numbers altogether but restoring a wider range of paragraph headings and one or two section headings. (It was also in significantly larger print). The absence of paragraph numbers continued until the 1938 report, but the report began to be split into sections (the equivalent of the later chapters) in 1926 and these sections included many sub-headings and paragraph side-headings. But for the whole of this period only page references are possible.

The first of the World War II reports (1939/41) - the first under Lionel Fox's chairmanship - began the practice of formal chapters with subject headings and reintroduced paragraph numbers running consecutively throughout the report. The practice of each chapter having its self-contained paragraph numbering began with the 1947 report, but was dropped in favour of continuous paragraphing from the 1970 report onwards.

Incidentally the first attempt to enliven the text with photographs came in 1954 but these only continued until the 1959 report. With an odd exception in the 1963 report they did not resume until the 1970 report and have continued since then. They were in black and white - even in the first 'glossy magazine' format - until colour burst on the scene in the 1986/87 report.

Until 1963 the Commissioners tended to plunge in medias res with statistics on the local (and before 1948) convict prison population leaving general comments until later in their reports.

Introduction of an Annual Review

The 1963 report - the first under Arthur Peterson's chairmanship of the Prisons Board - introduced the practice of a review of the year as the first chapter in the report. This had the advantage of focusing attention on what appeared to the Prison Department to be significant issues. It had the disadvantage that the media and a number of readers clearly never got beyond this! Sometimes this overall review was omitted. In 1968, for example, there had been a White Paper *People in Prison* which had provided an up-to-date account of developments in the penal system. The opening chapter of the 1969 report focused on the (first of many!) reorganisation of Prison Department Headquarters and the introduction of regionalisation. In the 1974 to 1978 reports the review of the year was replaced by an introduction which focused on the main problems confronting the service (pressures on staff, overcrowding, subversive prisoners and cuts in capital expenditure being prominent). The opening chapter of the 1979 report focused on the outcome of the May enquiry. The 1980 report contained the first of the reviews of the year by the Director General (Dennis Trevelyan) and a report on the year in establishments by the Deputy Director General (Gordon Fowler). This pattern of parallel surveys (sometimes described as reviews, sometimes as 'introductions' continued until the 1985 report when they became a joint production. From the 1989/90 report onwards only the Director General contributed the introduction, his photograph being included from 1990/91 onwards - no doubt reflecting the modern management emphasis on personal and identifiable management. (The 1992/93 report also contained pictures of each of the members of the Prisons Board).

It would be wrong to leave this aspect without referring to one introduction which, so far as I am aware, is still unique. The first report of the Prison Department (following the demise of the Commission) in 1963 contained a foreword contributed by the Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Brooke, himself. It was eight pages long (with 36 paragraphs) and reflected Mr. Brooke's undoubted interest in the problems and potential of the prison system. I cannot help wondering, as a former Home Office administrator, whether it also reflected a lesser degree of pressure on other sides of the Department which permitted him to pay this attention to prison matters - and to visit 30 establishments. (The office rumour that the foreword was actually drafted by his wife, the formidable Dame Barbara, was purely mischievous!)

Leaving aside the ancillary material on which

I shall be commenting in due course, the actual reports of the Commissioners were, for many years, surprisingly short - under 20 pages and one as short as seven pages. They began to increase in length under Ruggles-Brise's chairmanship (when they also had to cover convict prisons) but were still normally under 30 pages until the mid-1930s when they again increased to between 40 and 50 pages under Harold Scott's chairmanship. After World War II there was a steady build up from the pre-war level. Most reports in the 1950s ran to over a 100 pages after which 70 odd pages became the norm. This increase was not, perhaps, surprising. The enormous expansion of the service after World War II meant there was more to cover and the enlarged headquarters meant there were more administrators and professionals with a contribution to record. Although the 1986/87 report introduced bold headings and side headings, the material continued to be presented in narrative style and very much *in extenso*. The first of the reports produced by the Agency has made bold use of in-text diagrams and photographs with a more eye-catching layout and covers its topics more succinctly.

Voluminous tables of statistics

So far my comments have related only to the main text of the report. But for many years the appendices to the report covered much more space than the report itself. There were, in the first instance, voluminous tables of statistics. There was a modest reduction in these from 1895/96 onwards after the Departmental Committee on Criminal Judicial Statistics had recommended the transfer to the revised Criminal Statistics of certain tables which had previously appeared in the annual reports. But the remaining statistical tables continued to loom large until 1964 when their gradual transfer to a separate publication subsidiary to the report began. From 1977 onwards this became a statistical publication quite separate from the report in the form of an annual command paper *Prison Statistics England and Wales*.

But in addition to these statistical tables the Commissioners felt it appropriate from the outset to include various instructions to governors, reports from internal reviews, notes on the problem of setting up uniform accounting procedures and, if not the kitchen stove itself, three pages of instructions for operating hot water circulating boilers! It is difficult to assess whether the Commissioners were early converts to open government; or were anxious to demonstrate the breadth of their efforts; or had a possible eye to the effects of blinding with science. But the practice of including instructions to the field,

accounts of administrative action and other miscellaneous matters continued for many years, even to the reproduction of two letters (in French) from the Belgian Ministry of Justice answering an enquiry about their practice of calling in outside specialists to examine disturbed prisoners. It would have been a Herculean task to attempt an analysis of all this supplementary material and its eventual erosion, but I hope it may be of some interest to focus on four areas relating to statutory requirements, beginning with the history of reports on individual establishments.

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, section 10 of the 1877 Act referred to 'an annual report with respect to every [local] prison'. This undoubtedly took account of the fact that in 1835, section 7 of 5 and 6 William IV c 38 had provided for the appointment by the Secretary of State of inspectors of prisons with authority to inspect all penal establishments (other than prisons for convicts), and required them to submit an annual report on each of them, such reports to be laid before both Houses of Parliament. This in its turn reflected the increasing penchant for reports and statistical returns which marked 19th century administration. By 1877 over 40 sets of annual reports by the inspectors had been published.

The 1877 Act provided for the continued appointment of inspectors by the Secretary of State (as against the remaining staff of the Commission who were to be appointed by the Commissioners), and for the continuance in office of the existing inspectors. From 1887/88 to 1894/95 the annual report appeared in two parts, published as separate command papers. The second part consisted of reports by the inspectors (hereinafter referred to as 'operational inspectors') on each local prison (together with a report by the governor on employment to which I shall be returning).

Local Reports

The 1895/96 report - the first covering convict as well as local prisons - saw a change of practice. Part II of the report - still in a separate command paper - consisted of a two-page overall review by the operational inspectors (together with a ten-page report by the surveyor on works completed or in progress during the year). These were followed by extracts from the reports of the governor, chaplain and medical officer of every local and convict prison (hereinafter referred to as 'the local reports'). I shall first discuss the history of the operational inspectors' reports and then that of the local reports. In subsequent years while the overall reviews by the operational inspectors (and the surveyor) continued the gradual development of headquarters organisation was reflected in

addition of reports by the comptroller of industries (whose appointment had been recommended by the Gladstone Committee) from 1896/97; by the 'visiting chaplain' (subsequently to become the senior chaplain, the chaplain-inspector and eventually, despite the protests of the War Office, the chaplain-general) from 1897/98; and by the first Lady Inspector from 1908/09. (She proved to be rather a controversial figure and when she retired in 1921/22 she was not replaced until Lilian Barker was appointed an assistant commissioner in 1934). I shall be commenting later on the rather special arrangements applying to the medical inspector's reports.

From 1896/97 the report reverted to a single volume. The various specialist reports I have described appeared first as appendices and then (1899/1900) as separate sections of the main text following the Commissioners' report. This continued until the World War I years when the specialist reports were dropped in the interests of economy.

When the specialist reports were resumed in the 1921/22 report, only those of the operational inspectors and the chaplain inspector appeared. The latter's was dropped after three years. The last report by the operational inspectors appeared in the 1926 report.

They became assistant commissioners in 1930 and assistant directors from 1946. Provision for their appointment had been preserved in the *Prison Act 1952* but was deleted by the *Prison Commission Dissolution Order*. (Assistant Directors, of course, continued to visit and report on establishments until regionalisation in 1970). Since the provision made in section 57(1) of the *Criminal Justice Act 1982* for the appointment of a Chief Inspector of Prisons the history of the inspectorate has followed a different course - perhaps foretold by the Gladstone Committee which pointed out that although the intention of the 1877 Act had been that the Inspectors appointed by the Secretary of State should be altogether independent of the Commissioners this appeared to have 'fallen into desuetude' and that the inspectors had by practice come to be looked upon as representing the Commissioners and were reporting to them.

The local reports also appeared as appendices to the main report until 1907/08 when they again appeared as a separate volume. This continued until they too were omitted from the World War I reports in the interests of economy.

The publication of the local reports was also resumed as one of the appendices to the 1921/22 report but on a more selective basis both in respect of the establishments covered, and in not necessarily quoting from all three of the officers. This continued (with one or two inexplicable

variations which it would be tedious to list) until the 1938 report. When the two reports covering World War II were resumed the stringent restrictions on paper made it impossible to resume the extracts. Again with a number of inexplicable variations, they were resumed in the 1945 report but from 1949 onwards ceased to be related to individual establishments, being grouped under subject headings and types of establishments (reflecting the development of various forms of training prisons). This continued until the 1963 report, after which they disappeared. I should add that this did not, as some cynics in the field might suppose, reflect a reduction of headquarter's interest in the annual reports by governors, chaplains and medical officers which continued to be submitted from establishments. It is more likely to have been related to Arthur Peterson's view as chairman that as many extracts as possible should be woven into the main text.

I have examined the area of local reports in some detail because section 10 of the 1977 Act was drafted in terms of an annual report in respect of every prison, rather than an annual report on the work of the Commissioners and section 5(1) of the *Prison Act 1952* (which replaced section 10) was drafted in the same terms. It is true that Article 3(1) of the *Prison Commissioners Dissolution Order 1963* provided for annual reports to be made and issued by the Secretary of State but Schedule I still provided for an annual report on every prison to be issued and laid before Parliament. While annual reports have always included some statistics on every establishment it is open to question whether a report on every establishment has been published since 1894/95 or, if one accepts extracts as adequate compliance, since 1913.

Having discussed the history of the operational and specialist inspectors and their reports, I should mention the position about medical reports and statistics. The importance which the Commissioners attached to these is reflected in the fact that, although they did not relate to any statutory requirement, they were, in the early reports, given an intermediate position between the Commissioners' own report and the main body of specialist reports.

Medical Officers, Health and Hygiene

The *Prison Act 1865* had provided for the visiting justices for each prison to receive quarterly reports from the 'surgeon' (the term which preceded 'medical officer') on sickness and deaths among the prisoners, as well as on general matters affecting the health of the prison such as the state of the accommodation, dietary, water supply and clothing; and two at least of the inspectors

appointed under the 1835 Act appear to have been medically qualified. The inspectors appointed under the 1877 Act also included a medical inspector - Dr. R. D. Gover. Five of his successors (as recommended by the Gladstone Committee) were appointed Commissioners, including Dr. Methven who retired in July 1950 as Deputy Chairman of the Prison Commission, and was the last Medical Commissioner - though later Directors of Prison Medical Services eventually became members of the Prisons Board.

Dr. Gover took immediate steps to ensure the submission of quarterly returns from all medical officers on providing the same information as under the 1865 Act. The 1879/80 annual report included a nine-page report by him as an appendix together with a table summarising the number of prisoners treated in each prison's 'infirmary' during the year, together with figures for deaths (and their causes). From 1881/82 the statistical tables were expanded to include full particulars (under ten headings) of every case of death, and (under seven headings) of every case of release on medical grounds. From the 1887/88 report onwards full particulars of each case of insanity were added and the medical appendices were running to 20 pages. There was a further expansion from 1901/02 onward to cover the Medical Director's responsibilities in respect of the state inebriate reformatories established under the Inebriates Act 1898. It is difficult at this point of time to accept the need for, or public interest in, such detailed information - which ran to 56 pages in the 1887/88 report - but it continued to be provided until it was among the wide range of statistical tables dropped from the beginning of World War I.

The publication of these statistics was not resumed in the post-war reports (by which time, incidentally, the state inebriate reformatories had finally closed). But the provision of a report by the Medical Commissioner (which summarised the numbers treated and - without going into individual details - the figures for deaths, insanity and release on medical grounds) was among those resumed in the 1922/23 report and continued until the 1938 report. The Medical Commissioner's report was not continued in the two World War II reports or afterwards. But 'Health and Hygiene' became the subject of a separate chapter in the main report and this had an attached table of statistics similar to those in the pre-war reports. Medical statistics again began to appear as a separate Appendix with effect from the 1972 report. The relevant table (with a more detailed analysis of some of the headings) was transferred to the Prison Department Statistical Tables in 1975, and to the Statistical series in 1977. It continued in that publication until 1983. In the

meantime the publication of an appendix on medical statistics had been resumed in the 1980 annual report, providing a good deal of information not contained in the Statistical volume (with some apparent duplication of the information in respect of action under the *Mental Health Act 1959*). From the 1984/85 report onwards this appendix incorporated the information previously appearing in the Statistical volume with minor variations in content and presentation. This appendix held the field until the Director of Health Care for Prisoners began to produce separate annual reports - not in the form of a command paper - with effect from 1991/92. Even then figures for the deaths of prisoners also appeared in Volume II of the 1992/93 Prison Service Annual Report.

Prisoner Industry

I must now return to the areas relating to statutory requirements. Section 11 of the 1877 Act required the Commissioners' annual report on every prison to state the manufacturing processes carried out in each, including the kind and quantities, the commercial value of the labour on the manufactures and the number of prisoners employed (together with any other details which the Secretary of State thought best calculated to afford information to Parliament). The opening part of the section explained that it was important for prisoners to contribute to the cost of their maintenance by their labour and that it was also important for prisoners to be taught useful trades and manufactures. But this had to be consistent with the maintenance of prison discipline and the avoidance of undue pressure on, or competition with, any particular trade or industry. One cannot imagine expository detail of this kind appearing in a modern Statute! (The latter consideration will have struck a familiar note with subsequent Directors of Prison Industries!)

I cannot find that the Commissioners ever attempted to tabulate the quantities involved in the various processes and the 1879/80 report explained the impossibility of providing accurate estimates of the commercial value of prisoners' labour against the government accounting procedures (e.g. goods provided for other departments - then as now major customers - had to be charged at basic cost without any profit). What they therefore arranged in the early reports was that the operational inspector's report on each establishment included a table provided by the governor showing the daily average number of prisoners employed in each type of work (and of the sick and unemployed) together with a figure for the value of the work done in terms of what outside labour would have cost. These tables

continued until the 1911/12 report. In the meantime from the 1895/96 report onwards an appendix to the main report showed the daily average number of prisoners employed in each prison, and the value of their labour under each broad heading of employment e.g. manufactures, farms, translated into average earnings per prisoner. The 1912/13 report eventually combined the two forms of return so providing an analysis for each prison of the daily average number of prisoners in each type of work with the value of the labour for each, and overall figures for average earnings. This form of table was continued until 1938. Information about the value of labour and average earnings was dropped during World War II, and continued to be omitted until the *Criminal Justice Act 1948* regularised the position by repealing the reference to the commercial value of the labour in Section 11. The table now took the simple form of a list of types of individual employment (e.g. metal recovery, woodwork, tailoring etc.) with the number of prisoners employed in each, broken down into type of establishment.

The *Prison Act 1952* further rationalised the position by repealing Section 11 and requiring the annual report to contain such particulars of the work done by prisoners in each prison, including the kind and quantities of articles produced and the number of prisoners employed as might, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, give the best information to Parliament. This no doubt recognised that much of the relevant information about prison industries and prisoners' employment was contained in the main text of the report. At any rate the appendix continued in the form described above until 1974 when it was transferred to the separate volume of statistical tables, and after 1977 to the Statistical series.

The full analysis described above had to be dropped after 1982, as the annual census of employment (on which the table had depended) ceased to be carried out. After one year's gap the 1984 Prison Statistics replaced the previous table by a more limited one showing a breakdown by types of establishment and broad headings e.g. industrial, farms and gardens work (one heading), vocational training, education, etc.

The last time the employment statistics appeared in the Statistical series was in 1988. The 1989 volume reported that information about the employment of inmates was now appearing in the annual report. It duly appeared in reports from 1988/89 onwards as a 'Profile of Inmate Occupation'. The 1992/93 report included a 'Profile of how prisoners' hours are spent' which provided a rather more detailed analysis including average weekly hours worked, a useful addition.

Discipline and Punishment

Section 12 of the 1877 Act required a yearly return to Parliament of all punishments of any kind whatsoever which might have been inflicted within each prison, and the offences for which such punishments were inflicted. The 1887/88 report duly included such a return as an appendix and it so continued, the convict prisons being included from 1895/96 onwards. Section S of the *Prison Act 1898*, in introducing restrictions on corporal punishment for prison offences provided that a report of each such sentence and the grounds on which it was passed should be embodied in the annual report. This information was duly included in a separate appendix.

Section 5(2)(c) of the *Prison Act 1952* provided that both types of information should continue to be included in the annual report. The information about corporal punishment ceased to be included when that punishment was abolished by Section 65 of the *Criminal Justice Act 1967*, but the information about offences and punishments continued until the 1974 report. Thereafter it was transferred to, and re-arranged in, the separate volume of statistical tables. After inclusion in the new Statistical Command Paper in 1977 it became the subject of a separate Command Paper in 1991.

Population Matters

The 1877 Act contained no requirement about recording accommodation and occupancy. But from the outset the annual reports contained an appendix listing for each establishment the daily average population and the highest and lowest number of prisoners held during the year. It did not, however, provide particulars of the accommodation actually available. Section 7(2) of the *Prison Act 1898* introduced the requirement of an annual return for each prison of the daily average and the highest number of prisoners held during the year, together with the accommodation available, to be included in the annual report. This was expressly linked to the requirement that the Secretary of State should satisfy himself from time to time that separate cell accommodation was provided for all prisoners. Provision for this return was preserved in Section 5(2)(a) of the *Prison Act 1952*. This information had obviously become increasingly important in the face of the overcrowding which has persisted since the end of World War II. It is of interest that this table has continued to appear as an appendix to the report itself (rather than in the separate volume of statistical tables) though the 1992/93 report provides the daily average population and accommodation for each establishment (in two

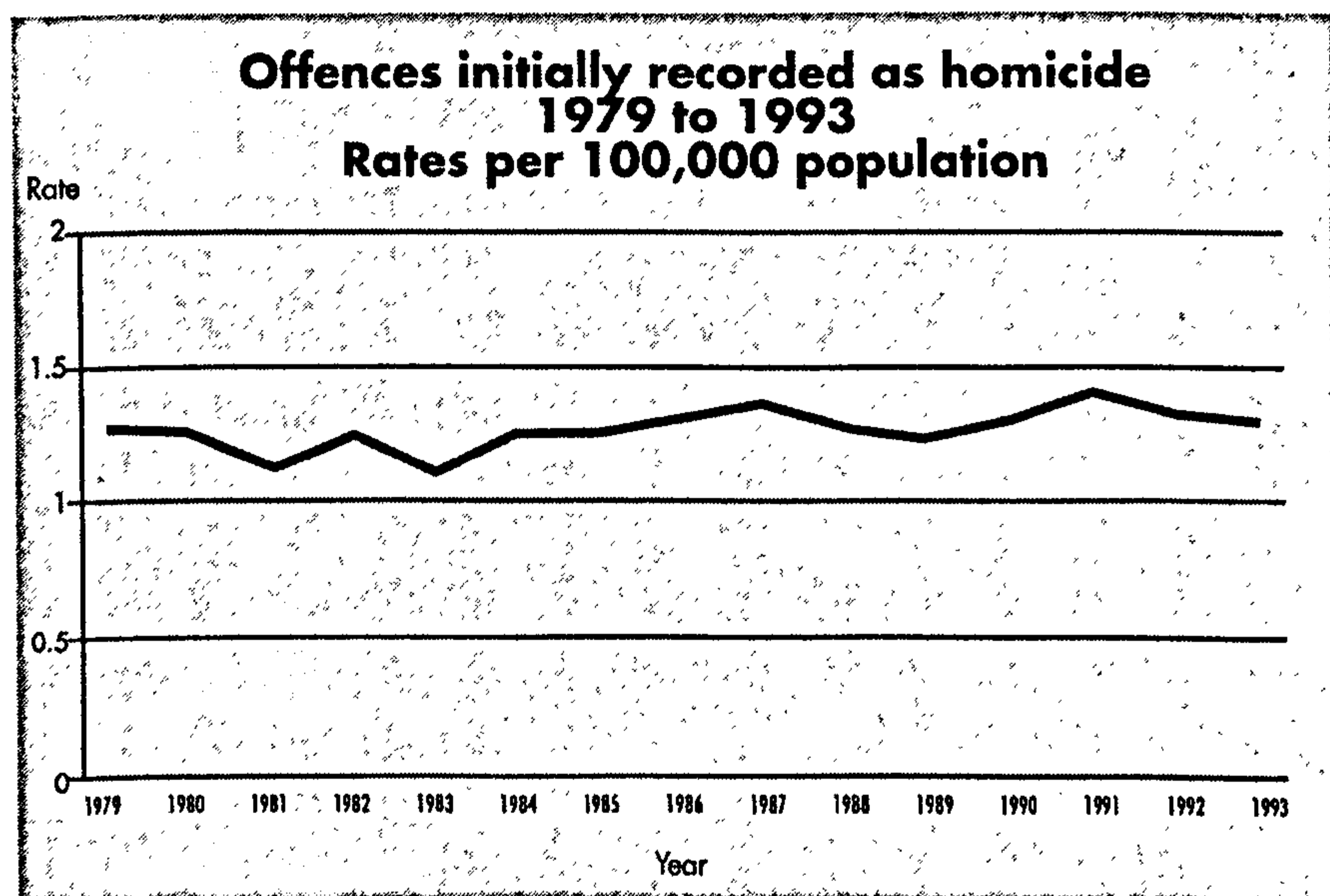
separate tables) without the highest number during the year.

The respect which the Commissioners had for the statistics required by Sections 11 and 12 of the 1877 Act and Section 7(2) of the 1898 Act can be inferred from the fact that they continued to be included in the World War I annual reports and the two World War II reports when the very wide range of other traditional statistical tables had to be omitted.

Perusal of this long series of reports has made me wonder precisely what the purpose of the annual reports is. They are to be laid before both Houses of Parliament. But I am not sure whether any of them has ever been the subject of a Parliamentary debate - certainly not in recent years. In fact one of the minor bureaucratic pleasures of my time was to be able to answer a Parliamentary Question seeking particular information by explaining that it was already available in the current annual report. Is it of great interest, or a source of encouragement to the

service in the field? It certainly enables trends to be examined and provides invaluable information as a work of reference for researchers, criminologists and voluntary organisations concerned with penal policy but this is a specialised use. (Moreover, as this article has explained, some of the information included in the original annual reports has now to be found in a variety of publications.) Its impact must to some extent have been conditioned by the fact that use of the earlier reports to expound the Commissioners' ideas and to argue vigorously for them has for many years given way to a more factual and objective approach. At the end of the day it presumably justifies its place (and its cost both in staff resources and production) as a demonstration of public accountability - though the media appear to take little real notice of it and prefer to offer knee-jerk reactions to current incidents rather than analysis of trends - and it is on that basis that it will continue ■

Home Office Statistics



Verbals

"It is no use teaching management studies to boys of 17 who may be streetwise but can barely read, but this I have found in prison"

"The bad prison is where the prisoner is in his cell and on his bed at midday. The good prison is one where the tests are not of niceness or nastiness, those sentimental qualities, but of how active the prisoner is during the day, in law-abiding and useful occupation."

Judge Stephen Tumim, Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons, April 1993-March 1994

Letters

Dear Editor

I decided early on not to write publicly about the chaos in our prison system, it was my intention to wait for the disciplinary hearing into the Parkhurst escape to have my say in the defence of the staff who our leaders and Government officials are trying so hard to make scapegoats, scapegoats for their own mismanagement of our prison system, however, I must give them a taste of what to expect.

Between 1978 and the present day, I served two tours at Parkhurst both as an Officer and Senior Officer. I served three tours in the ECR (Emergency Control Room), I know what should have happened on the night of the escape, I also know what did happen, similar things that have occurred at Parkhurst and no doubt countless other establishments over the years.

My outrage started on the day of the recapture when nobody from the prison service thanked my son in law for what he had done, or even bothered to check if he or my daughter needed help (my son in law is Colin Jones the Prison Officer who first spotted the escapees and alerted the Police), my outrage became worse when Michael Howard announced in the House of Commons that the Governor, John Marriott had been removed from his post and six of his staff had been transferred. A good Governor who had constantly requested security be upgraded, six good and dedicated officers who had to carry out their duties knowing

security was lax, also in the knowledge nobody in London could give a damn.

On 1 April 1995 I saw John Major on television, he was in Hampshire to fete and heap praise on the police dog that tracked down the last of the escapees, I would like to thank John Major and Senior Prison officials for thanking my son in law for what he did to enable the recapture of three highly dangerous inmates, I would like to, the truth is nobody has bothered to thank him, does that come under the Prison Service banner 'Caring for Colleagues'?

Michael Howard has informed the Hampshire Police Authority, the Government will not assist with the police bill for the escape £265,500 (Isle of Wight County Press 31.3.95) claiming the manhunt had been necessary through no fault of its own.

The Home Office has already indicated it would not be chipping in claiming the bill was one that should be met by the authority. Obviously Michael Howard is unaware of his obligations, let me remind him: publicly displayed in all Prison Service establishments and on the back of all Prison Service employees ID card is the following message 'Her Majesty's Prison Service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed by the courts. Our duty is to look after them with humanity and to help them live law abiding and useful lives in custody and after release'. I would also like to point out that, it is a criminal offence to escape

from lawful custody, therefore how can this bill £265,500 lie at the door of the Hampshire tax payers? The Prison Service failed the residents of Hampshire by NOT keeping in custody those committed by the courts, they (the Prison Service) did not fulfil their duty, to help them (inmates) to live law abiding lives in custody, for to escape from custody is unlawful.

S. ELLIS

**Principal Officer
HMP Camphill
Newport
Isle of Wight**

Dear Editor

I am sorry that Mr Russell (PSJ 99) has obviously been upset by my review. I do not doubt that the Parole Board expend a great deal of care and effort to ensure the system is fair and consistent. However, the fact remains that many staff and prisoners do not think it is.

Yours sincerely

**P Midgley (Mrs)
Governor
HM Kirklevington
Grange**

Experimenting with Incentives at Woodhill

It was with great interest that I read the recent article by Alison Liebling and Mary Bosworth on Incentives in Prison Regimes.¹ As a review of literature on the subject the article reminded the reader of the many differing experiences, and findings discovered during past attempts to introduce an incentive approach to the management of prison regimes. The article goes on to draw a series of conclusions about the failures of such schemes in the past and the difficulties faced when introducing them.

Working at HMP Woodhill, where over the last 18 months we have experimented with various incentive schemes, I can unquestionably concur with a number of the conclusions made by Liebling and Bosworth. However, my abiding impression of the article was of the emphasis on the difficulty in introducing such schemes, their propensity to failure, questions over their ability to achieve the predicted results and the suggested requirement for complexity. Faced with that and more, one might legitimately be left considering, are incentives worth it?

Nonetheless our experience of incentives at Woodhill has, despite the problems, been a positive one.² Our application of incentives into various aspects of the regime has never been naive and we ourselves would acknowledge that there are definite limits to the extent and value of our schemes. However, our general impression since we began using incentives at Woodhill is that they have been well received by both staff and inmates, and that they have proved helpful in taking the work of the establishment forward.

HMP Woodhill itself is a relatively new establishment, having opened in July 1992. Holding up to 566 prisoners it performs the function of a local prison, serving the Counties of Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire and Northamp-

tonshire. As a 'new generation prison', there is no doubt Woodhill benefits from the advantages of excellent facilities and a positive environment. In addition, and for no particular effort on their part, prisoners enjoy a high quality regime. Examples of this would include 12 hours out of cell; free association on the Residential Units; own clothes; excellent visiting arrangements including three evening sessions per week and an extensive activity programme.³

It is in this context that we have sought to introduce an incentive scheme which has three main components:

- An enhanced privilege scheme (extra privileges granted for achieving certain standards of behaviour)
- An enhanced family or 'all day' visits scheme
- A 'Best Kept Wing Competition' (financial bonuses for the cleaning party with the cleanest wing after inspection).

The Enhanced Privilege element of our scheme provides prisoners with one of the following privileges on application:

- In Cell TV - the establishment has a handful of battery operated sets, given to prisoners who have performed exceptionally
- Enhanced Cell Facilities - eg personal crockery, towels, rugs, musical instruments etc. One or two items over and above our normal privilege entitlement
- Privilege Phone Calls - incoming calls, pre-booked by arrangement

Martin Lomas
Governor 4
Head of Residential
HMP Woodhill

1 Liebling A, Bosworth M (1995) Incentives in Prison Regimes: A Review of the Literature. Prison Service Journal.

2 Lomas M (1994) Prisoner Incentives at Woodhill: Prison Report - The Prison Reform Trust Magazine No 29.

3 For some general background on HMP Woodhill see Dr Wilson, 'A New Local - the Opening of Woodhill', in Perspectives on Prisons, pp 22-33 - An Addendum to the Annual Report of the Prison Service 1993.

- Extra Visits
- Personal Fitness programmes.

None of these elements is currently intrinsic to our regime, in the manner of a tiered approach or a 'differential regime'. They are very much 'add-ons' and additions to our basic regime. A momentum in their implementation has, however, been achieved and they are now firmly established amongst both staff and prisoners.

Liebling and Bosworth criticised the over simplistic approach of past schemes. This is somewhat disconcerting from the point of view of Woodhill as we would readily accept that our approach to incentives has thus far been simplistic, particularly in terms of application, and in the systems which we use to manage our arrangements. This simplistic approach does have some merits. Our emphasis so far has been to stress an uncomplicated, straightforward approach which has allowed us certain advantages. First of all it has enabled us to deliver quickly in this area. In particular, we could start using incentives instead of just talking about them. Also, it allowed us to easily explain and sell our schemes to staff and prisoners, and it has further allowed administrative processes to evolve which facilitated the sustained delivery of our schemes. Indeed, from the outset, a major concern of ours was that arrangements that were too sophisticated and too complex that drew too many distinctions between categories of prisoner, etc, would become so burdensome as to be unsustainable. We think it is important to remember that the use of incentives are only a means to an end and not the end itself.

This said, probably the next step in the development of our use of incentives, will be the introduction of more focused and structured provision aimed specifically at Young Offenders and Vulnerable Prisoners. (These arrangements will be part of Woodhill's contribution to the piloting of National Guidelines on the use of incentives and not in-house schemes developed by the establishment).

Focusing on the original aims behind the introduction of our schemes, we were broadly in line with the main aims identified by Liebling and Bosworth. These are to do with prisoner performance, improved regime and the achievement of order. I would concur with their view that very clear aims are essential to the successful introduction of such schemes and their subsequent evaluation. More specifically, and not surprisingly, in applying this principle, the aims of the Woodhill scheme were linked to initiatives to

deliver our key performance indicators, most notably assaults (KP12) and inmate activity hours (KP15).⁴

In addition, our application of incentives was aimed at helping tackle very specific local problems. For example, Local Prisons are traditionally difficult to keep clean, a problem not eradicated by the introduction of integral sanitation! Creating competition between cleaning parties by the introduction of a simple financial incentive was an important element of a series of initiatives aimed at maintaining standards in the establishment. Similarly and linked to our delivery of inmate activity hours (KP15), Local Prisons hold large numbers of unconvicted prisoners who have traditionally been difficult to motivate to work. Hence our emphasis on trying to reward prisoners who engage in purposeful activity.⁵

Having said this, it is perhaps fair to acknowledge that the original impetus for our decision to experiment with an incentives based approach was less clearly defined. It stemmed from no more than a desire on the part of certain managers to use rewards as well as punishments in our efforts to control prisoners. As an establishment, the regime we offered prisoners was good, our application of the traditional methods of control: the prison disciplinary code and segregation, whilst fair was also vigorous and decisive. The use of incentives, we felt, filled an important gap in our efforts to control and motivate the prisoner population. In short, prisons have been good at developing 'sticks', and less imaginative in finding 'carrots'. I would argue that a clear motivation on the part of key managers to use rewards as well as punishments, coupled of course, with clear aims, is crucial to the success of an incentives approach.

Once we had clarified why we wanted to use incentives, the next step was to establish clear criteria for their introduction. Leaving aside our Best Kept Wing Competition, the criteria we applied were as follows:

- The applicant has been at Woodhill for at least six weeks
- No disciplinary reports for at least six weeks
- Employed in purposeful activity for at least six weeks (sick absence to be taken into account)
- Acceptable reports from Wing Staff
- No Category A or E List prisoners
- Clear evidence of exemplary behaviour or examples of positive contributions individuals have made to life at Woodhill.

4 HM Prison Service (1994), HMP Service Business Plan 1994-1995, London: HMSO.

5 For example, KP15 (where as a local prison - high number of remands etc) we have 25.4 hrs per inmate. (A training prison's target).

(Merely keeping out of trouble or maintaining a low profile will not be sufficient to attain an extra privilege).

Prisoners are considered for the Enhanced Privilege Scheme and the Enhanced Family Visits Scheme following an application. Having achieved the basic criteria, they are then subject to staff reports which in turn are submitted to the Privilege Board for a final decision.

When deciding the incentives offered and the criteria to be set, clearly the establishment had to take into account its own particular set of circumstances. For example, the six-week threshold seemed appropriate in the context of a Local Prison with its transient population. These criteria themselves were for the most part, intended to define a minimum standard and be in keeping with our overall aims. Our last criteria dealing with evidence of exemplary behaviour or examples of the positive contribution prisoners have made to life at Woodhill, is perhaps an exception and has proved the most controversial criteria. In a sense it defines an additional aim. Put simply, we had no intention of rewarding those who did just the bare minimum or who mainly kept a low profile. Inevitably, looking for more than the minimum involves making value judgements which have not always been understood by prisoners. They for the most part, have sought the security of the more simplistic criteria.

The question of fair procedures and the prisoners' perception (we believe a wrong perception) of being treated unjustly, an issue highlighted by Liebling and Bosworth, has therefore been an issue for us. Our defence when dealing with prisoners who argue that they have achieved the basic criteria and therefore are entitled to a privilege, has been in the extra opportunities we offer. As already suggested, incentives at Woodhill have been applied in the context of a very good basic regime provision. In addition to work opportunities and, of course, keeping out of trouble, prisoners can for example, join an organised and pro-active Inmate Regimes Committee or join the Catering Committee; they can become part of our Race Relations Management Team; The Charity Committee or our 'Listener' Scheme (suicide prevention). They can be a part of, or contribute to, the Prison's Monthly Inmate Magazine, they can be members of prison sports teams; or they can contribute to the Prison's Community Work Programme. All this and of course the chance of individual acts of exemplary behaviour which may be achieved from time to time.

All these activities and examples are

important parts of the Prison's regime. They are well established and often organised and supported by senior members of the management team. Crucially, they retain a high degree of credibility amongst both staff and prisoners. This being the case and with the opportunity available, we have felt that we have had the right to expect more than just the norm for our privileges, a fact we have been prepared to defend in the face of criticism from the occasional disgruntled prisoner.

Since our schemes began in August 1993, 310 prisoners have been considered for enhanced privileges half of whom have been successful. This is a figure that excludes all those who have applied for the extended Visits Scheme and all those involved in the Monthly Cleaning Competition.

Throughout this time, and crucial to the development of the programme has been the very active role of senior managers in promoting, administering and monitoring the scheme, very much retaining 'hands on' control. Added to this is the very active and widespread participation of staff, supported by all levels of management, a factor again highlighted by Liebling and Bosworth as important to the success of an incentives based approach. Our experience has been that staff engage in the programme in numerous ways including the administration arrangements, the completion of reports in support of applications, the processing of applications, the actioning of board decisions, the supervision of incentives that have been granted and the motivating of prisoners to participate. It must be stressed, however, that it has been the impetus of management time and support that has kept the 'show on the road'.

With regard to the success of our approach clear evidence about the impact of incentives is difficult to assess. An evaluation of our schemes by the prison's Psychology Department was generally positive, with most criticisms confined to administrative and procedural issues. We are, however, unable to say specifically what particular effect incentives have had as against other initiatives, for example on activity hours (KPI5). At the moment, it has to be said that this sort of question doesn't particularly worry us and our measurement of success is perhaps gauged in more indefinable ways.

As already mentioned, our use of incentives is not naive and the prison does not see them as a panacea. We have never used incentives in isolation and have never relied on them alone to deliver a particular initiative whatever the issue. Incentives have always only been one component, usually in a series of initiatives designed to tackle a problem.

In a sense, and using phrases used by Liebling and Bosworth, we are trying to create a 'positive peer culture' where 'it is OK to comply'

and where there are rewards for doing so. The use of incentives has been a mechanism by which we have been able to engage positively with prisoners and give a very tangible indication that we are serious about trying to include them as we take the establishment forward.

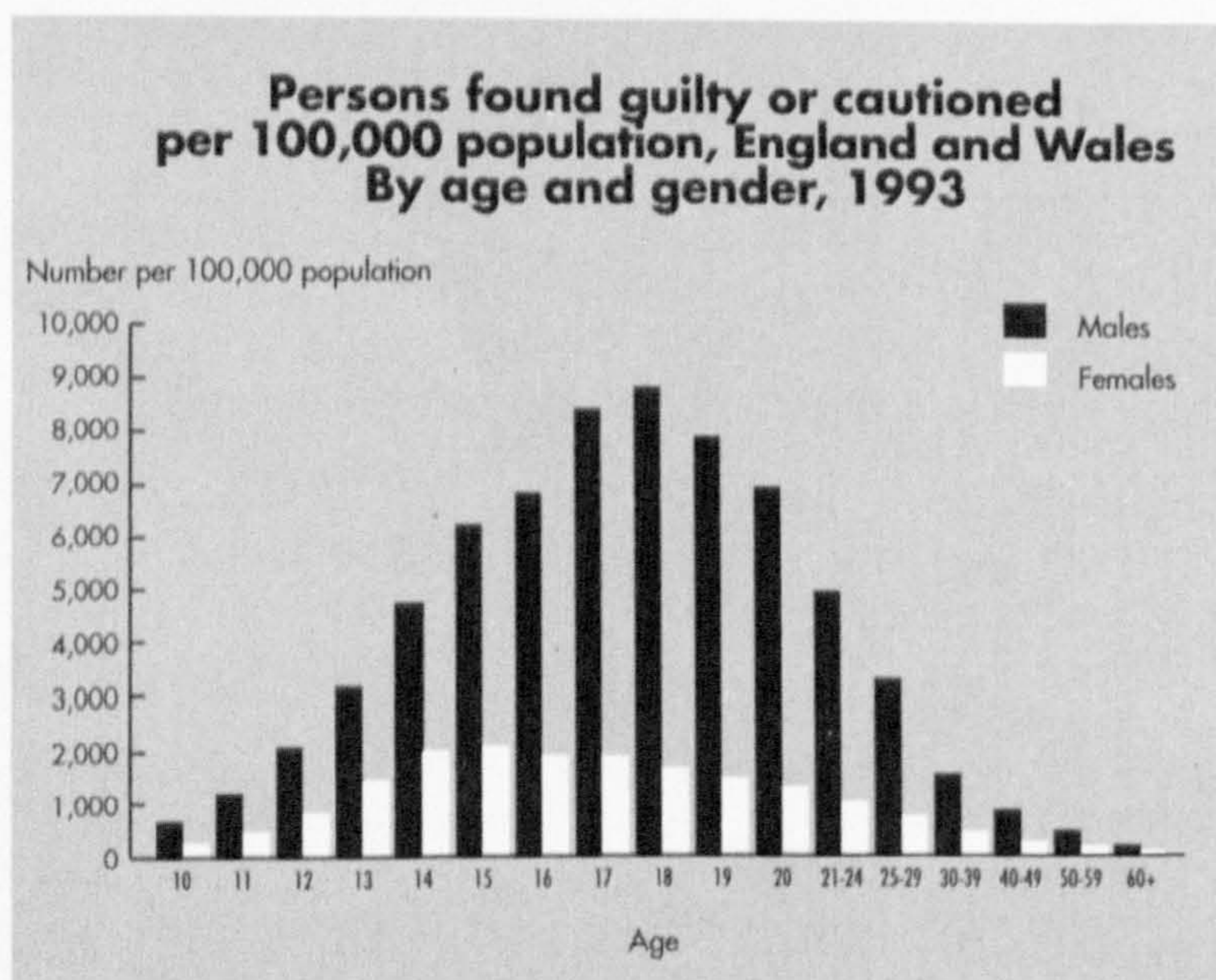
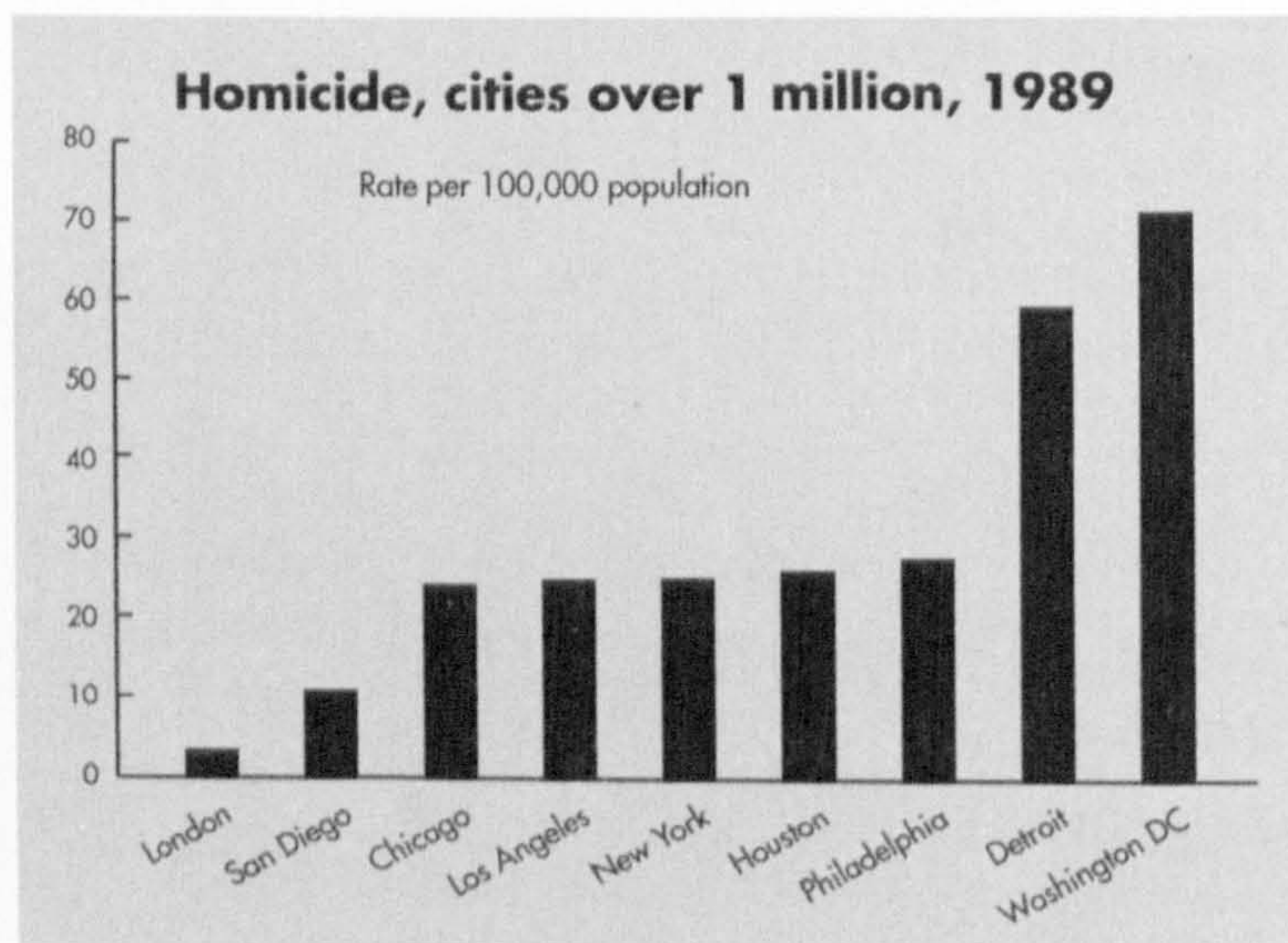
As Judge Tumim (HM Inspector of Prisons)

put it in his recent inspection of Woodhill ⁶

'Incentives for good behaviour and enhanced privileges, as well as prizes for cleanliness, were attempting to change the traditional culture of prisoner behaviour' ■

6 HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (1994), Report on HMP Woodhill, London: HMSO.

Home Office Statistics



Quality means - 'You get more than you expected'

RW —
Zwite to
Network?

To be able to boast that we are nationally recognised as an investor in our people we need to show an independent auditor, from the Training Enterprise Council, that we have achieved all 24 of the required standards that constitute the Award.

The first step was an independent assessment of our systems against the Standards, which resulted in a comprehensive action plan. We estimated that it would take three years to achieve.

In brief to be an Investor in People we have to increase the amount of training we do and make our training more effective.

To be effective means that training has to help us achieve our Business targets. This requires us to have a written plan of this year's targets, a longer term, Strategic Plan and a Vision of where our Job is going.

The Vision, Strategic and Business Plans need to be communicated to every member of staff, so they can know how they contribute to that Vision, and feel the real value and importance of their work. Increased contribution means better quality work.

Identifying Training Needs

To increase people's contribution we need to assess what training, if any, they need to achieve the Service's targets.

The most effective system of assessing training needs is where the individual's Line Manager is directly responsible for the assessment. A person's Line Manager should be in the best position to know the individual's targets, their skills, knowledge, experience, attitude and potential.

The same Line Manager is also in the best position to enable that individual to participate in training by managing their attendance. The ability of managers to increase their staff's training is enormously enhanced with the knowledge that most training is done ON THE JOB. Training can involve everything from job swaps to a buddy scheme for staff, and is only limited by a Line

Manager's imagination. When we consider our own experience only a small percentage of what we know about our job has actually been gained through formal training, the vast majority has been learnt on the job.

The potential for local training to mushroom is enormous, and should be encouraged, however, it is essential that the skills learnt are recorded so that training done can be measured and evaluated against targets, costs and past performance.

Given support Line Managers can learn how to carry out their own training analysis and produce their own written training plan, this can be monitored by the training department. These local plans will also identify what training is required by line management that cannot be done on the job. Therefore giving the training department a list of courses to put into a central training plan that is relevant to meeting Line Managers' goals.

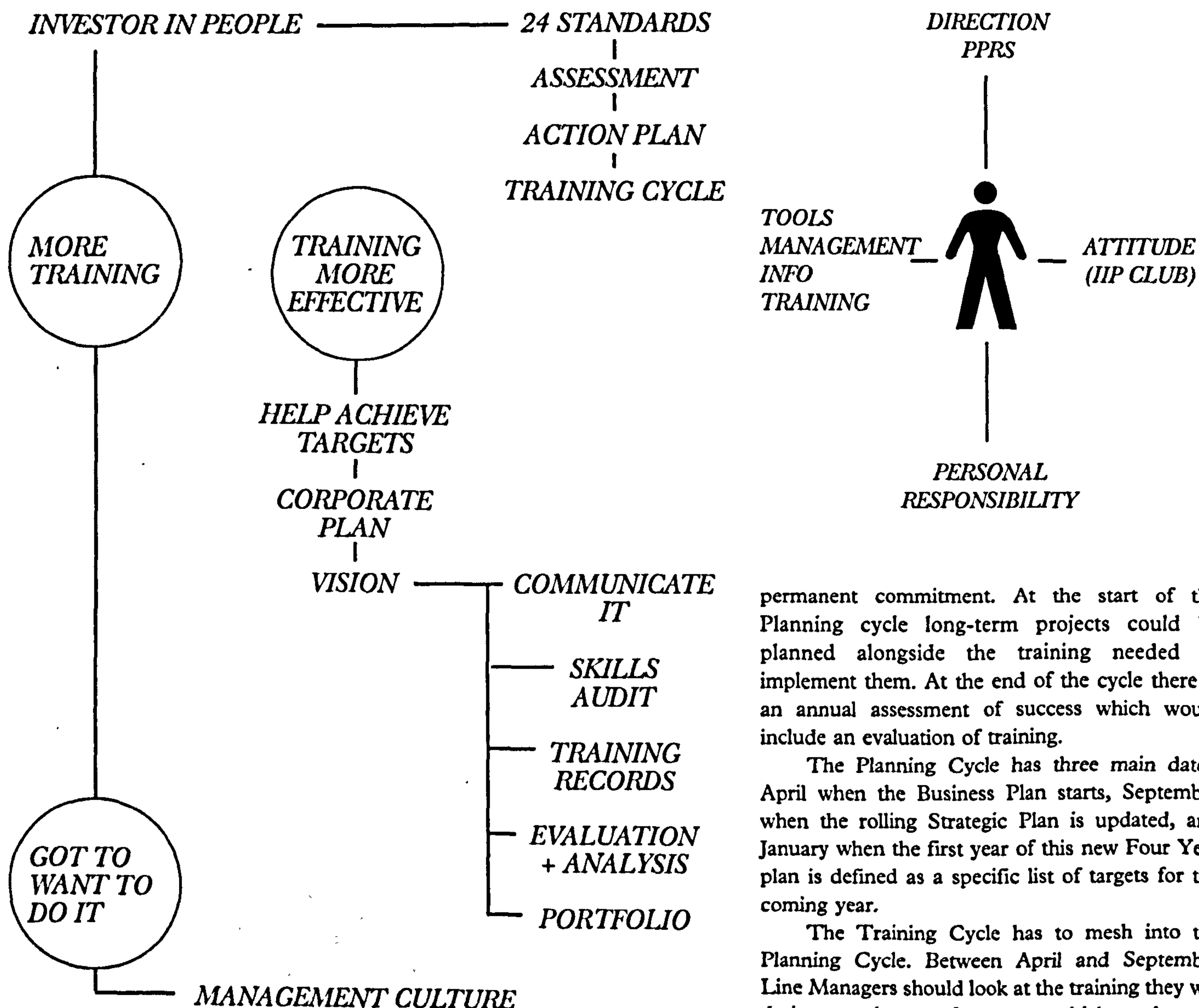
Line Managers may see an advantage in training being part of their PPRS process, which allows individual training targets to be set, to be recorded, and linked to Business goals. The PPRS process also allows managers to discuss the benefits of training before it takes place and to record the results afterwards.

Training is also effective where it can be shown to help individuals meet their own personal and career development needs. This requires a definition of what different grades of managers' responsibilities are, and a clear 'PERSON SPECIFICATION' stating the relevant knowledge, skills, experience and attitude required to successfully manage prison business at different levels.

Career and personal development also needs to be an integral part of the PPRS system. A recognised training and management Development Policy endorsed by the Senior Team is a useful bit of evidence to show the Auditors.

Senior Managers also need to show that training is cost-effective. By listing everyone's skills at day one and repeating this SKILLS AUDIT as a regular part of the planning cycle 'senior

Barry Greenberry is Head of Personnel and Training at HMP Belmarsh and in this article he explains the 'Investors in People' process together with the performance standards the establishment is expecting to achieve.



management could show what the training budget has purchased. By designing the training database so that skills acquired are linked to prison targets and by showing that targets were achieved because training had been done, the cost-effectiveness of development could be successfully audited. An Annual Report to the Senior Management Team will have to be made.

There is a need to convince staff and the auditors that this commitment to development is genuine, and not just for the duration of the award process. A public signing of the CERTIFICATE OF COMMITMENT by the Governor, and the attendance of Senior Staff on training are acceptable pieces of immediate evidence.

Planning Effective Training

Building training assessment into the Business Planning Cycle is the best way to show

permanent commitment. At the start of the Planning cycle long-term projects could be planned alongside the training needed to implement them. At the end of the cycle there is an annual assessment of success which would include an evaluation of training.

The Planning Cycle has three main dates, April when the Business Plan starts, September when the rolling Strategic Plan is updated, and January when the first year of this new Four Year plan is defined as a specific list of targets for the coming year.

The Training Cycle has to mesh into the Planning Cycle. Between April and September Line Managers should look at the training they will desire over the next four years, which needs to be co-ordinated into a single development needs section of the new Strategic plan.

Between September and January Line Managers should prepare their own individual training programmes, letting the training Department co-ordinate them every December, co-ordinate staff trainers required for central training every January, produce a central training programme every February, and concentrate on training the trainers every March.

Changing the Culture

Being a cycle means that each subsequent year the process can become part of the Prison's CULTURE, plans can be made earlier and practice makes perfect.

Changing the Culture is ultimately the test and prize of the Investors in People process. The Prison's culture is defined as 'THIS IS THE WAY WE DO THINGS HERE....'

Traditionally we start with a culture that sees training as an expendable luxury getting in the way

PERSONNEL AND TRAINING - PERFORMANCE STANDARDS

1. All work shall strive to achieve our Vision of QUALITY.
2. We exist as a support organisation to get the RIGHT PEOPLE, in the RIGHT NUMBERS, in the RIGHT PLACE, at the RIGHT TIME, doing the RIGHT THINGS, with the RIGHT TRAINING in the RIGHT ENVIRONMENT:
 - 2.1 RIGHT PEOPLE
 - 2.1.1 Recruitment will be carried out following the Headquarters Recruitment Manual procedures, based on fair and open competition.
 - 2.1.2 Selection will be carried out by suitably trained and qualified people.
 - 2.1.3 Our aim will be to fill vacant posts with quality people matching person specifications.
 - 2.1.4 Requirements for person specifications will include Qualifications, Aptitude, Skills, Attitude and Experience.
 - 2.1.5 Application forms received for recruitment exercises will be acknowledged within 48 hours.
 - 2.1.6 Comprehensive details of each recruitment exercise will be attached to a folder to allow each member of the team to identify the stage reached in any particular exercise.
 - 2.1.7 Candidates for interview will receive written confirmation of their success/failure within 72 hours of the conclusion of a recruitment exercise.
 - 2.1.8 Successful candidates will be given a written contract of employment including pay details within seven days of taking up duty.
 - 2.1.9 Results of promotion boards will be forwarded to Line Managers for simultaneous issue to individuals at a date and time specified by the Board Chairman.
 - 2.2 RIGHT NUMBERS
 - 2.2.1 A Funded Posts position agreed at the start of each Business Plan Year detailing grade and location will be circulated and will only be amended by the written agreement of the SMT.
 - 2.2.2 There will be an accurate daily record of staff in post maintained.
 - 2.2.3 There will be an accurate prediction chart of PSG grade requirements maintained.
 - 2.2.4 Transfer requests will be acknowledged within 48 hours of receipt.
 - 2.2.5 A central diary of staff leaving and joining will be maintained.
 - 2.2.6 The current position of long-term sick leave cases will be circulated to managers weekly.
 - 2.2.7 Ad Hoc sick leave will be monitored in accordance with the sick leave management guidelines. Line managers will be informed of action to be taken within 24 hours of the receipt of a monitoring warning form being received from the Pay Office.
 - 2.2.8 Staff who resign will be exit interviewed within seven days of receipt of their notice.
 - 2.2.9 Age reviews will be carried out within seven days of the relevant target date.
 - 2.2.10 SPAR will be produced by Friday of every week, ensuring accuracy in liaison with Group Managers.
 - 2.3 RIGHT PLACE/TIME
 - 2.3.1 Line managers and individuals will be informed of staff changes within 72 hours of move authorisation.
 - 2.3.2 There will be a written induction programme for all new staff.
 - 2.3.3 All new staff shall have a formal induction during their first week. Arrangements will be made for existing staff joining on transfer to receive guidance during their first week following initial induction.
 - 2.3.4 All new staff and staff joining on transfer will have Belmarsh's Vision explained to them on Day 1 and be provided with a personal copy of the Strategic Plan and a 'Welcome' pack.
 - 2.3.5 There will be a recognised manpower planning/deployment system based on the operational needs of the establishment and the aspirations of individuals.
 - 2.3.6 All employees who have worked in one job for three years will be called up for a mandatory career interview.
 - 2.3.7 Any person requesting an ad hoc career interview will be seen within seven days of submitting a request.
 - 2.3.8 There will be a published Management Development policy.
 - 2.4 RIGHT THINGS
 - 2.4.1 Personnel will ensure that Line Managers have issued new staff with a relevant job description within seven days of taking up duty, a copy of which will be held by Personnel.
 - 2.4.2 All new staff will have a PPRR Probationary report opened within seven days of starting work setting out targets on how they will successfully achieve the completion of their probationary period. Staff arriving on transfer will have a PPRR opened within seven days of joining the establishment setting out their group and individual targets.
 - 2.4.3 All staff in the establishment will have a new PPRR form opened within 28 days of the start of the Business Plan year.
 - 2.4.4 Each manager will be briefed on the PPRR system, Sick Monitoring system, Conduct and Discipline procedures and the Staff Deployment system.
 - 2.4.5 Staff will answer the telephone within five rings and respond courteously by saying 'Hello, this is [name] in Personnel/Training, how may I help you?'
 - 2.4.6 Telephone queries will be dealt with within 24 hours and the individual informed of progress on their query. The individual will be asked their duty times so that their availability is known when a reply is ready.
 - 2.4.7 To have a plan of Personnel/Training staff (with photograph) situated outside the relevant office detailing specific duties.
 - 2.4.8 To have name plaques on individual desks.
 - 2.4.9 To set up a 'surgery' period each day when individual queries can be dealt with on a person to person basis.
 - 2.4.10 To file documents in personal files within 24 hours and attach policy papers to the relevant file so that other members of the team have up to date information readily available.
 - 2.4.11 To update the staff database and Strafoplan board within 24 hours of a staff change taking place.
 - 2.4.12 Superannuation requests will be dealt with within 48 hours of receipt.
 - 2.4.13 Pay enquiries will be dealt with within 48 hours of receipt.
 - 2.4.14 To action claims received relating to an individual's pay within 48 hours.
 - 2.4.15 To provide staff with a list of Personnel Services available.
 - 2.5 RIGHT TRAINING
 - 2.5.1 An Annual Training plan will be published.
 - 2.5.2 In liaison with Managers, Training department will identify training needs for staff and provide required training.
 - 2.5.3 In liaison with Managers, Training department will ensure sufficient numbers of trained tutors are available for the provision of in-house training.
 - 2.5.4 Requests for training will be acknowledged within 72 hours.
 - 2.5.5 To ensure authority for Travel and Subsistence committed for training is forwarded to Finance department for action within 48 hours of approval being given.
 - 2.5.6 To ensure Personnel and Training staff are themselves suitably trained to perform their duties effectively.
 - 2.6 RIGHT ENVIRONMENT
 - 2.6.1 The Health and Safety Committee will meet bi-monthly to ensure correct procedures in line with current legislation are being followed to maintain a safe environment.
 - 2.6.2 To ensure Health and Safety Audit programmes and risk assessments are carried out promptly.
 - 2.6.2 Claims for compensation from staff and third parties will be actioned promptly.
 - 2.6.2 The Merit Award scheme will be co-ordinated and regularly publicised.
 - 2.6.3 All visits will be co-ordinated efficiently in order to enhance the profile of the establishment in both the official and public eye.

of operational realities. For this reason the IIP process will fail unless people WANT training to take place. Experience indicates that whatever the prevailing circumstances things happen if people want them to happen. This is especially true if it is the people nearer the coal face who want it. Human nature dictates that people want things that benefit them.

IIP will only be successful if the implementation process involves strategies to show how training benefits individuals and Line Managers.

Offering rewards in the training programme for the most training in the year is an easy method, building a recognition that training assessments are an important part of an individual's own career progression is more subtle. Making sure all candidates for promotion are asked what our Vision and Strategic Plans are ensures that they are taken as important, setting clear skill requirements for Management jobs that include training needs assessment is another way to institutionalise training's relevance to individuals.

Being at the start of the PPRS process provides a further opportunity as many managers are looking for smart targets to set, and telling them about setting training objectives gives them a straightforward solution to their problem.

A lesson can be learnt from the National strategy for IIP, and our 'NATIONAL PRISON CULTURE' where it is joked that making IIP an official initiative would be a kiss of death. There has been a coordination by Phillipa Lowe and the Better Jobs Team of interested prisons into an IIP CLUB. Everyone who attends does so because they want to and enjoys the benefits of a 'Club Culture'. Symbols of membership, a sense of competition, a bond of common activity and objectives, a genuine sharing of good practice and a healthy sense of elitism.

Part of Belmarsh's strategy has been to emulate this method, by establishing a managers' IIP Club to pass on good practice and help improve managers' skills resulting in the mushrooming of practical results around the Prison. Following this course it may take a lot longer to develop IIP than by being directive, but it works on the principle that Investing in People will only happen if people want to do it.

Ultimately Investing in People will help develop the prison into a Learning Organisation, where people are encouraged to learn because it is our culture that success is based entirely on the sum of individuals' skills, knowledge, experience and realised potential.

Unleashing this potential means that every individual has to know what the job is that we do, and how they can contribute towards its objectives.

Quality Means

AT BELMARSH WE BELIEVE THAT OUR JOB IS TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC, AND WE WANT TO DO A QUALITY JOB. QUALITY MEANS YOU GET MORE THAN YOU EXPECTED.

This is a good definition of our job because no one has to ask Why. It is simple, and everyone already knows if they think about it how they contribute to that job. It incorporates short-term security and long-term rehabilitation.

At a time of great change the only way we can successfully prepare for uncertainty is to know exactly where we are now. IIP is also about good simple communication. A communications policy should be a further piece of auditable evidence.

The IIP Strategy should help the Service as a whole to unleash all of our potential by communicating our Purpose, Vision, Goals and Values into a simple definition of what our job is and that our Vision is to do a Quality Job.

'GETTING MORE THAN YOU EXPECTED' is a good definition of quality because it personalises quality. Every member of staff knows what they have to do to achieve Quality. It is not limiting by specifying Quality against certain specific points. It implies continuous improvement as all good quality definitions should. Lastly it helps clearly prioritise our work, in that it makes us think about what is expected first. In this regard IIP provides managers with a final advantage, in that for the first time it provides Human resources management with a list of recognised, measurable standards that fit the same role as Operating Standards do for Security and regime Planning.

To further institutionalise IIP the 24 standards should be added to the operating standards, and therefore into each Prison's Business Plan.

Just as the secret of IIP is to repeatedly institutionalise training into the planning cycle, so this strategy repeats itself. The first revolution is to work towards getting the award.

As each individual element of the process is developed we can tick off one of the 24 IIP Standards. At the same time a Portfolio of evidence has to be collected to support our award application, and audited every two months. As a Head of Personnel and Training IIP gives me a ready made strategic plan ■

Interview

**HOLLY WELSH INTERVIEWS
ALAN WALKER, DIRECTOR
OF OPERATIONS-SOUTH
JUNE 1995**

Holly Welsh: Could you describe your present job to me?

Alan Walker: *The Director General has made it clear to me that the major part of my job is to function at an operational level and to spend most of my time out in establishments working with and helping Governors in terms of the operational part of their job. The post that existed before I arrived had a mixture of operations and policy, but because the emphasis is in getting out more, in terms of supporting governors and staff, then the policy element was taken away from the post to create more freedom, more space, more time.*

I didn't arrive to be either a super governor or a super area manager. I am aware of the debate about reducing the number of levels and keeping the management structure as lean and as flat as possible. I actually think everyone is doing different jobs, area managers are not governors. They have a number of governors they have to take responsibility for. It is then split up into, two operational directorates. If we didn't have that kind of structure it would mean that the Director General was having fed into him fifteen Area Managers. Now that just would not work, it would be too much of an operational overload for the Director General. It is nothing to do with the Director General's background or anything else. It doesn't matter who the Director General would be or is, in fact it is just too many to feed in so it is split up into an eight and a seven, and I think that makes it manageable.

I see my task is to absorb as much as I can of the headquarters stuff which is going out and to give the Area Managers and the

Governors the freedom to get on and to run their prisons, so I should be able to help them to take a number of things which could go down there and deal with them myself and to free them up.

I see my function there is to support and to offer advice and guidance when it is required but most of all not to second guess Governors. But having said all of that, having indicated I see my role as being very supportive and to offer that kind of assistance to Governors, again for me it would not be honest of me, to make it clear, that there will be occasions, and hopefully they will be few and far between when I do have to indicate to Governors and Area Managers that that is not the way it has to be done, it will have to be done a different way. Now if you say well that means you will have to issue instructions to Governors, Area Managers, the bottom line is yes if it is necessary then I will, but we pick our Governors and Area Managers carefully, we pay them a lot of money, I really ought not to have to do that, no Operational Director should. But if it is necessary then it will have to be done, but I do see the 99 per cent of my time being here to help, encourage, support and all of those things, the positive element. I would rather dwell on those rather than the very rare negative elements.

H.W. Could you describe your career previously?

A.W. *I joined the Scottish Prison Service in 1968. Before that I had spent some seven years in Police Forces in Central Africa and in the South Pacific Ocean. I joined the Scottish Service in 1968 as an Assistant Governor, a House Master in a Borstal. I transferred after a year to a maximum security prison at Peterhead - I spent three years there. At the time, because the Scottish Prison Service was so small,*

the Assistant Governors were trained along with the English Assistant Governors but there was no Scottish input, so I was appointed as tutor and field training supervisor for the first of the two year modular course in 1973, I was transferred there on promotion and spent three years there which took me through two courses.

I went back to Scotland as the Governor of an open prison in a place called Penningham which is near Dumfries. I spent about a year there and was then transferred to a headquarters casework post (prisoners casework). I was then transferred to an industrial prison, similar to Coldingly, on promotion, where I ran the industrial side of the prison.

I was taken away from there at the end of 1979 to work with Sir Derek Rayner's efficiency scrutiny team. I worked for just over one and a half years at the Cabinet Office looking at UK Prison Services and looking at efficiency economies and effectiveness.

I went back to be the Deputy Governor at Perth Prison, that was still as a Governor 3, then I was transferred to Grennock Prison on the west coast. It had been a female prison but it had been moth-balled and we re-opened it as a long-term adult male establishment. I was there a year and promoted to Governor 2 and I opened a brand new policy post at headquarters. I spent about a year and a bit there and I was promoted to Governor 1 and given command of Barlinnie Prison in Glasgow. I spent two and a half years there and I was transferred to headquarters as a Director of Personnel which was a post that had not been held by a Governor before. I did that post for about one and a half years and then transferred to Deputy Director of Operations. When Agency Status came along I was appointed as Director of Prisons and Deputy Chief Executive. I think that is about thirteen moves in twenty one years.

H.W. Do you have any international prison experience?

A.W. I have over the last couple of

years spent an increasing amount of time working with Prison Services in Europe, particularly in East Europe. Latvia, Estonia and one or two others. I have also worked with the Cypriot Prison Service. They asked me to carry out an Operational Review in helping them reorganise their prison service as indeed had the Latvians. I've worked with the Swedes, with the Republic of Ireland and the Isle of Man.

I enjoyed that work enormously. The East Europeans have so many problems and we all need to help them, so I decided to leave my former Service early and go and work for the Director of Legal Affairs which has responsibility for East European Prison Services. At the same time I had been asked if I would also work with the Directorate of Human Rights with the Committee for

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Prevention of Torture. So I was merrily heading off there to Strasbourg when about four weeks before I was due to leave Derek Lewis telephoned me and asked me if I would like to come and work for him.

People keep asking me why I said yes at that particular stage and I really don't have a very professional answer except to say that it was such an enormous challenge that I just couldn't say no to it, so I just said yes. I think my wife is still

puzzled what exactly we are doing down here and why we have come but in fact we have made a commitment by transferring our home so we have moved from Scotland to Crawley and I have every intention of staying here until I retire and that will be in 1999 - then I will probably go to Europe.

H.W. Is there anything in particular that you think the English Service could learn from Scotland?

This Service is well behind the Scottish Prison Service in terms of information technology. I was very surprised how backward we are in the English Prison Service in IT ...

A.W. For obvious reasons I am being very careful not to thrust the Scottish Prison Service down people's throats. I think the last thing the English Prison Service needed to hear is the wonderful things it does or in fact doesn't do. I think my first comment is to say that it is a matter of some sadness that we don't have more UK co-operation. The Scottish Prison Service knows all about the East European Prison Services and the Cypriot Prison Service but they don't actually know a lot about the English Prison Service. The English Prison Service seems to know an awful lot about the States, they don't know a lot about the Scottish Prison Service. I am not sure what either of us know about the Irish Prison Service and visa-versa, and I don't know why we insist on this - it is

never said formally - we have always got the attitude in the UK that is someone else is doing it or has thought about it, then really we need to go and do it differently or do it again and so we actually reinvent the wheel on so many occasions, and that is sad.

This Service is well behind the Scottish Prison Service in terms of information technology. I was very surprised how backward we are in the English Prison Service in IT and indeed information strategies we need to make much faster progress because the establishments need it, the operational side need it and we will all benefit from it.

I think we can learn from everyone. Whenever I went to East European Countries, when I went to Cyprus, when I went to other places, I have never ever said to them 'this is a Scottish system, this is what you must do'. I have always said to them 'look this is what happened in Scotland. If I were you I would look around as many places as possible and take the best from each of the systems and I would then mould it into the Cypriot way'. I don't think we should thrust, I mean, yes I know we do talk about exporting our excellence to other places. I think we need to be a little bit careful because I don't think any Service has got a monopoly on wisdom and best operational practice.

The first thing I learned from the Latvians was poverty is terrible. They're underfunded, we talk about being underfunded but when you have a country which has just regained its independence, then the Government priorities are health, education and recreating the economic structure, certainly not prisons. They get insufficient money to feed the prisoners and life is very difficult. Yet I saw a relationship between staff and prisoners, and one might say it was a relationship which is created because they both face adverse conditions. The staff are not much better off than the prisoners are. They are very bravely going into some difficult times tackling them in a very imaginative way, but they just don't have the money. That is not their

fault. They have not taken over a treasury which is full of gold bars and therefore they have to eke out every single penny. But the relationship is excellent. It is not a relationship which was built on fear or rifle butts or bayonets, because in fact the staff inside the prisons contrary to belief are not armed. They have armed perimeters but of course in the Western part of the world there are some countries with armed perimeter guards too.

In the Cypriot Prison Service the aftercare which is run, on a very personal level, by the Director of the Prison and his staff and is magnificent. The prison staff will go out and find them jobs, if they know the family has problems they will try to sort them out. So there is so much we can learn.

One of our Services' strengths is the handling of the media. It is a very professional organisation here. The way this is organised - I know I have heard repeatedly from establishments staff saying why don't we stand up more frequently and say that is not true, this is our version - but of course we all know that somebody will make an outrageous statement, we will then have a judgment call to make. Do we then stand up and say that's nonsense, because if we do they will then come back and answer that. Now at what stage do we stop. Every occasions is a judgment on whether we actually stand up and say that is nonsense or not and I think we do pick and choose quite correctly.

I have been impressed of course in all services with a level of dedication and commitment. I mean all the Services are facing a tremendous agenda of change, everything is being changed, the rules are being changed, regulations are being changed. There is Market Testing and the overcrowding problems. There is Woodcock and there is Learmont. If the Prison Board had been given a brief, a silly brief to do what they could to disrupt the Service one couldn't have had a better agenda. In fact all of these things have just happened and what the Board is having to do is to

- we need to pick ourselves up and dust ourselves down and get on with doing our business that we do well and professionally.

manage these in the best way possible and assist Governors and staff to wade their way through this because it is not optional, it is not a question that anyone has volunteered for these things, we know why Woodcock and Learmont happened - that was very bad and very sad but we need to do what we are quite good at - we need to pick ourselves up and dust ourselves down and get on with doing our business that we do well and professionally.

The commitment and enthusiasm in the places I have visited is really quite remarkable. I always make it a point as quickly as possible to go up to the top landings in the wings because I feel that those are the staff that actually need to see that people care about them. And you meet people up there and they have a very difficult job often on overcrowded landings a lot of prisoners, a lot of change and yet they're bright and cheerful in the main and they are positive. There are some exceptions, of course there are some exceptions, we don't have a perfect service but the best majority of our staff do have enthusiasm and we have to manage that, we have to appreciate that, we have to value that and we have to use it positively and I really am very optimistic that we will come through all these

difficult times and come to a much better service.

H.W. Do you feel constrained by the work of implementing the reports of others?

A.W. *I don't feel at all constrained, I mean yes, Ministers had accepted Woodcock and therefore that is not optional, that has to be done. I don't think only Woodcock has to be done. I have never apologised for the fact that I see security and control to be of very great importance. I am proud of the fact that I have come from the Service where I was the first person in the UK to put in telephones for prisoners. So I believe in assisting prisoners, I believe in positive programmes, I believe in programmes which address offending behaviour and I will do as much as I can to encourage family contact between prisoners and their families. I think that is critical to their success. I don't feel the need to apologise when I say that none of that can be done unless we work from a baseline of security and control. If we don't have security then that means prisoners escape, so they are not in our custody, so we cannot do anything in terms of helping and encouraging them. If we don't have control in our prisons then we can't do the positive things.*

As far as I am concerned the

vast majority of prisoners, are not particularly good citizens. Actually they are not bad prisoners. They don't spend every day of their life trying to cause trouble in prisons. We have a relatively small number of prisoners who are actually very good who we could release tomorrow without any risk to the public. We have a small number of prisoners who are actually difficult and some are dangerous and violent and they have control problems and the vast majority of prisoners really want to get on with their sentence. Most of them want to get something out of it so they will take the programmes with encouragement and they will try to work towards a more constructive lifestyle.

There is no question that we will not allow a small number of disruptive prisoners to spoil the conditions and the programmes for the vast majority of prisoners.

Now I am not saying that we confine them to a dark, dank place and just ignore them. I have no problems with saying we should haul them out of circulation where they can do no damage for as long as necessary. Now that does mean that every day the staff should go to them and they should encourage them. They should try to find out what the problem is. It might be a psychiatric problem, it might be a relationship problem, it might be a medical problem. We have got to address that problem and every day we have got to encourage them to come back and join the vast majority of prisoners who are doing something positive and trying to sort their lives out, and we should try to get them back. If they don't want to come back then that is their choice. And if they don't want to come back then the rules are fairly simple, yes we have got lots of administrative rules, but there are only three basic rules: you don't lay your hands on staff, you don't lay your hands on prisoners, you don't lay your hands on the fabric of the building. Now yes we have got administrative rules about getting people on A to B on things they can and can't do. But the three basic rules are the three fundamental rules.

... there are only three basic rules: you don't lay your hands on staff, you don't lay your hands on prisoners, you don't lay your hands on the fabric of the building.

I am very much in favour of small units. I really do believe that small is beautiful.

I actually don't believe that that is asking too much of people. If they don't want to do that then they can stay locked away until they can demonstrate that they are prepared to come out and behave in a civilised way. And my definition of a civilised way doesn't mean that they have to stand to attention, call everyone sir and tug their forelock respectfully, I'm not asking that, I'm just asking that they behave in a civilised way and leave the rest of the prisoners to get on with their sentence.

Now even if they don't want to take part in the positive programmes, so long as they don't hinder them and disrupt the whole then that is up to them. I would be sad about that, I would rather they took the advantage but some prisoners don't want to do it. So be it. We are not going to force them to do it. We will offer the opportunities, if they don't want to accept it that is their choice. That's acceptable. What isn't acceptable is the bad and destructive behaviour.

I am very much in favour of small units. I really do believe that small is beautiful. If you break up your prison into small units then first of all they are easy to manage and easy to control. So any chance of trouble has got less chance of spreading throughout the whole prison. Set against the wings which hold, one, two, or three hundred people. So small is beautiful in a

security sense.

Small is beautiful in a regime sense, because if I have a large wing which is then divided into six it means I have actually got the opportunity to run six kinds of regimes. Now one of these might be an induction. It might be a fairly spartan regime for those who don't want to come forward.

The other end of that is a very much enhanced regime where I could deliver much more in the way of exciting programmes and much more in the way of 'freedom' in the sense they can do more things for themselves.

H.W. You mentioned earlier your relationship with Governors, how do you see the role of Headquarters generally?

A.W. We talk about devolving the power and responsibility to staff. I mean the whole emphasis is that we should get power from the centre, and authority, as much as we can down to governors. I mean let's not do in headquarters what governors can do. Let's give them the authority, because with the authority also goes the responsibility.

I must make it very clear that when I talk about giving them responsibility and authority what goes with that also goes the finance. We can't keep financing headquarters and say you have all the authority but come to us when it is time to spend money, so we have got to have the right systems. Obviously we need monitoring procedures and we need good systems so we can make sure it's done properly, but we must make sure we can get as much of that out as we can. In my world of the headquarters structure, it is relatively small and it deals with things like major policy, for example, if we have to agree a policy for the transfer of prisoners between EEC countries we can't have a hundred governors agreeing under separate policies. So that would be silly. So we need to keep the kind of macro policy. We need to keep economies of scale if we have a marketing section, and we have three marketing managers, if we

... my personal view is that the public don't actually appreciate the Prison Service and members of the Prison Service that they have got, and I wish they did appreciate them more.

devolve that, really we don't want a hundred governors with a hundred marketing managers all driving around the country chasing the same contracts. So that needs to stay inside and we need to look at that very carefully. And we also need to make sure that we do have in here some quality assurance function. I suppose for me again, the best example would be if we devolve, promotion boards we can't afford to have someone in the North saying if I had a board in the South I'd have passed because it was easy. So you need a personnel person to quality assure that.

Apart from those three very broad areas most of the work we should be thinking about getting it out there. I would like each job that we do in headquarters to be looked at with a refutable presumption. The presumption is that the people in establishments can do it more efficiently than people in headquarters can do it, and you have to argue a case to keep it in headquarters rather than send it out of headquarters. Now that does mean that we need to take care of the headquarters staff, because I mean they will have worries and concerns about their future. It does mean that the establishments must not see this as a dumping exercise where we simply get rid of all our work without providing the training and resources. So that exercise must be managed very

carefully, but I think we have got to do it, but having done it I would hate to think that all the work we are moving from the Centre is actually moved to the Governor's desk and his senior management team, because they are busy people. So I would like to see the Governor and his team doing the same exercise that we should do, let's look at all the jobs he is doing and let's start with the argument that this should all go down to basis grade officer level. Now if it can't then we will make it S.O., but let's start with the presumption that we will go as low as possible.

And my final stage is that as a landing officer having got all of this work, let me see how much I can get this down to prisoners. I mean how much am I doing for prisoners that they can really do for themselves. Let risk not custody, let us not risk security and control all of the things, but not withstanding that let's see if the prisoners cannot do more for themselves.

So that is my simple hope and view of devolution and empowerment.

H.W. *I'm not sure we are always good at 'simple'?*

A.W. *We are all so busy sometimes we just survive from day to day. There are times when we have just got to take a breath and we have got to be brave and stand up and say yes we do need to manage our day to day business. We need a bit of time out to see what everyone else is doing and we just need to assess it.*

We need to continually review our own best practice because we can get better. We are not doing badly. We have got enormous problems and yet I have to say you don't pick up your newspaper and every day read about all the troubles and all the turmoils, all the assaults and all the escapes. You just don't, an escape is very bad news, it means we have failed our duty to the public. We have a responsibility to protect the public, keep prisoners in secure custody so we failed. But the point is, it is a newspaper article when somebody escapes. It doesn't actually

say the other 51,991 prisoners have actually been kept in custody, that is not a news story and that is sad because our staff are doing wonderfully well in terms of security and control. They are doing so well in terms of encouraging prisoners but sadly that's not news and sadly my personal view is that the public don't actually appreciate the Prison Service and members of the Prison Service that they have got, and I wish they did appreciate them more.

And that leads me to my final point if there is one other thing I would like to use this opportunity of this article to do, then it is what I sometimes try to do at conferences and it is to say, in a non-patronising non-trite way just thank you' to

everybody. We are so busy, we have so much to do, that sometimes quite frequently we forget to say thank you to people. Thank you to people, yes I know it's for doing their job, but I don't think we say thank you often. It doesn't cost you anything, it doesn't cost money. I like people to say thank you to me when I do things so really I mean it is a question of saying thank you. It's thank you to Boards of Visitors as to Governors and their staff. To everyone who works with us and for us. They are appreciated and I am just very sorry that the agenda is such that we don't express our appreciation frequently enough.

H.W. Mr Walker, thank you ■

Verbals

“... a secure bail hostel is a better model than a prison for a remand centre. There is no reason why a hostel, well run, should not have rules which encourage an active life.”

“In far too many establishments the young are largely warehoused and discharged without the skills or the self-respect which are likely to protect society from further villainy. The recidivism rates for the young remain in the area of 80 per cent reconvicted within two years of discharge.”

“... a very high percentage of prisoners needed psychiatric treatment which they were unable to get in prison. It is not so much a change in the provisions of the Mental Health Act 1983 which is now needed, as the improvement of attitudes to insist on transfers where medically necessary.”

“Education must remain the essential occupation for the reduction of crime. The curriculum must be apt for the different categories of prisoner. It should include art therapy, in particular the provision of the “enabling space” and quiet, where amid the ceaseless clank of prison sounds the prisoner can learn to develop himself of herself.”

Judge Stephen Tumim, Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Prisons, April 1993-March 1994