

J PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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DartMOOR

Camp HILL

Hollesley BAY

THORN Cross

Winson GREEN

WakeFIELD

**WORMWOOD
Scrubs**

WhiteMOOR

**Finnamore
WOOD**

**Cookham
WOOD**

Spring HILL

The MOUNT

MOORland

Stoke HEATH

**Environmental
issues within
the service**



PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

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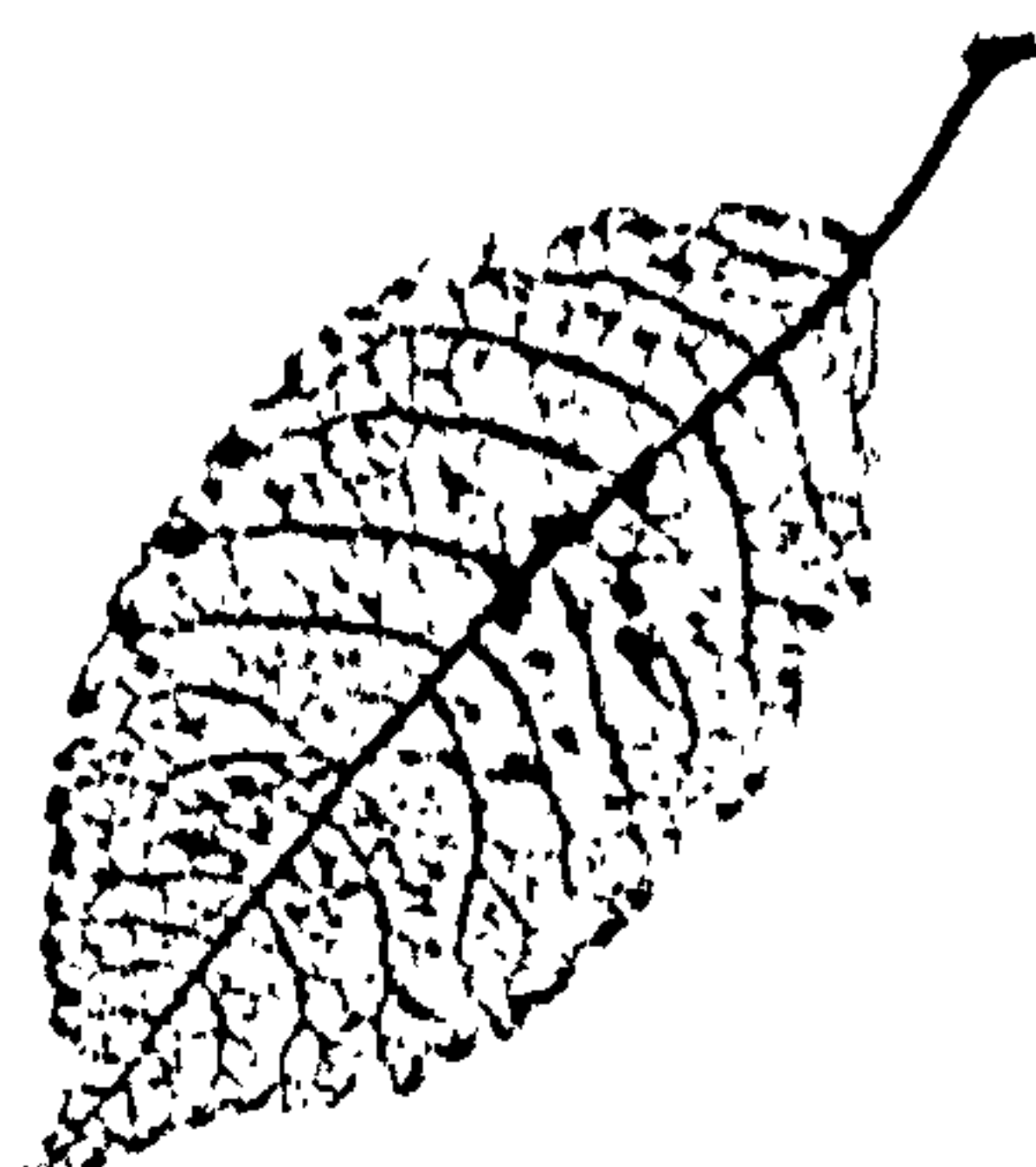
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Comment

A Necessary Evil?

When John Major was shown on prime time T.V. in the House of Commons nodding assent to a Conservative back-bencher bad-mouthing the P.O.A it gave vivid expression to the hostility towards that union from a range of sources. That hostility has been a factor in the accelerating privatisation programme for the Prison Service. For some, it would seem, the P.O.A can be blamed for all our ills.

But isn't that just too easy? Are we not simply making a scapegoat of that Union or Association as they prefer to be called? Some seem to separate the Union from the staff, condemning the one but praising the other. How then can we account for the very high membership figures of the Union and isn't it being forgotten that the P.O.A are an elected body.

In part the solidarity can be explained as an essential element of the job; when the alarm bell goes we just run - it's no time for asking questions. So, at Trades Union meetings the tendency is to go for unity, not division, in debate.

That may explain the loyalty to the Union but not necessarily the deep sense of distrust that has existed for so many years between the Union and Management at all levels. True, a Trades Union and any Management come at issues from

different standpoints and inevitably that means conflict, but the bitterness that is around in the Prison Service is both unweicome and defeating for both sides. Such an atmosphere does not make for good decision making nor for the effective carrying out of those decisions.

It is argued that with privatisation the power of the P.O.A has diminished, is diminishing and will be abolished. But if the P.O.A are simply an outward and visible sign of what most staff feel and think but don't always express, then all that will happen is that those tensions and conflicts in the workplace will have no outlet in the national forum but have to be expressed in any number of diverse ways within the institution. For whatever happens to the Union, those conditions of Service won't change.

The advent of Agency in April 1993 is meant to distance us from Ministers. If we can distance ourselves from that highly public condemnation of our staff expressed in Parliament, then maybe inroads can be made into a more positive industrial relations climate. The welcome reduction in the number of disputes in the past year is a good omen but to achieve a more lasting and constructive relationship between Staff, Management and the Union then action needs to be taken to:-

- Extend the involvement of A.C.A.S begun last year with six establishments as an experiment.
- Clear and explicit policies on postings and other personnel issues.
- Devolved personnel work to enable decision making to be closer to those affected.
- Personnel work integrated with the line so managers have to consider personnel issues when making decisions.
- Regular and routine consultation with all staff in decision making in their area of work.
- Local recruitment and locally managed promotion arrangements to minimise house moves and the added stress of domestic change on top of job change.
- Counselling and care services offered to all staff and families when facing abnormal stress.

Management and Unions deserve each other and their relationship is co-created. To compete with the private sector it will be necessary to work more closely together in a new framework of trust and sense of purpose.

Vulnerable Prisoners: The Risk In Long-Term Prisons

Paper to the British Criminology Conference University of York, 25 July 1991

INTRODUCTION

The Vulnerability of Prisoners

In this paper we propose to explore some features of contemporary prison life from the perspective of risk. To be confined in (or to work in) prison is to be subject to certain distinct kinds of risk. Prisoners are not unique in this. Most, maybe all, areas of social life have their attendant risks and many institutions' activities and occupations can be fruitfully discussed in these terms. Nor do we feel any need to show that prisons are necessarily quantitatively riskier than anywhere else – only that certain kinds and levels of risk are characteristic of them, and that understanding and seeking to change prisons demands knowing what these are and what effects they have. We will argue that 'vulnerability' and 'risk' are terms which can help us make sense of a number of otherwise apparently disparate and unconnected topics in the study of imprisonment, including some of those which are currently amongst the most controversial.

We begin with a brief reflection on the dimensions of risk in prisons. We then go on to reconsider some aspects of present penal policy in this light. Secondly, we offer some perspectives arising from research of our own on contrasting approaches to risk-management in two long-term adult male prisons. Thirdly, we ask what theoretical implications this carries for the understanding of imprisonment as a form of social life. Finally we identify dilemmas for penal reform which would arise from the discovery of the real parameters (i.e. both their true level and their full significance) of risk in prison.

We are mainly interested here in one kind of risk in particular, namely the risk to some prisoners of victimization by others.

(We are fully aware, of course, that this is far from being the only kind of risk which prisoners incur and we also wish to situate this risk in relation to others.) Indeed, we begin from the assumption that all prisoners share certain vulnerabilities and are exposed to certain risks by virtue of the very fact of their imprisonment. Such risks of harm are not identical in every prison, though we know of none where they could be said to have been entirely eliminated. Neither is every prisoner equally at risk, though none is entirely immune. These variations are very important. They suggest the possibility of avoiding further sterile discussions about whether there are harmful 'effects' or 'side-effects' of imprisonment by asking a better set of questions.' If we assume that prisoners inherently incur certain risks and forms of vulnerability but not uniformly so, then the relevant questions might include the following: What is the real distribution of risks to prisoners (and prison staff)? What factors explain the variations? How does the level of risk impinge upon the sense of security and well-being of staff and prisoners? What can be done to reduce unnecessary risks without harmful unintended consequences?

These no doubt sound like a familiar set of questions. This is perhaps because much of recent criminology (whether or not criminologists have used the term advisedly) has been preoccupied with questions of risk. Victim surveys (whether 'administrative', 'realist' or feminist); discussions of fear of crime and its public and private consequences; crime prevention initiatives – all of these concern the distribution, perception and management of risk. However 'the public', as defined for the purposes of victim surveys, has not in general so far included prisoners. With a very few pioneering exceptions' the dark figure of harms within the prison remains unilluminated, and we are asked to rely

*Will Hay (University of Hull)
and Richard Sparks (Open
University)*

upon the veracity of prison statistics as indicators of levels of risk (for example on assaults, drugs, AIDS, self-injury) with a leap of faith that no self-respecting criminologist would now apply to official statistics of crime. This is in spite of the fact that it is an open secret amongst prisoners and staff that the prison is deeply given to conspiracies of silence, exercises of discretion, negotiation, and haphazard record-keeping. What all this means is that the fact that prisoners are at risk of harm is a commonplace which is casually acknowledged yet largely unexplored and undocumented.

Our point is not that risk is some sort of master-concept or philosopher's stone that unlocks all the problems of imprisonment – still less in any singular or reductive way. We do contend, on the other hand, that many of the characteristic problems, conflicts and dilemmas produced by prisons have risk dimensions and that risk is conceptually and empirically important for the sociological analysis of prisons, in ways some of which we hope to go on to demonstrate.

Risk in Prisons: some definitions

Let us pause to consider what is meant here by risk, and what its dimensions are when applied to imprisonment. Brearley (1982) in his "Risk and Social Work" points out that problems of risk management and risk assessment can often be central to the daily activity of an organization without receiving much clear consideration or definition. Instead they are deployed and shared in the form of conventional wisdoms, wise saws and axioms, rules of thumb, intuitions. The word 'risk' has several possible implications. Its components include on the one hand notions of danger, hazard and harm; on the other of chance and uncertainty (Brearley 1982: 6). The notion of risk (and of behaviour under conditions of risk) is central to the definition of rational conduct, for example in game theory and economics (Douglas, 1986: 74; Elster, 1989: 26), in medicine and pharmacology (Fox, 1981; Pochin, 1981), in the control of new technology in engineering and energy (Okrent, 1981; Johnson and Covello, 1987). 'Risk' implies an attempt to fix parameters of probability for unwanted (versus desired) future events. For most

practical purposes, however, mathematical probabilities are not known. Risk-taking and risk-aversion are part of the 'practical consciousness' (Giddens, 1984: 281-2) of people acting in the world and therefore involve such things as induction from experience, the conventions of a given profession, institutional powers and constraints, the scale of harms and benefits involved, fear of the unknown, and so forth (Lee, 1981; Slovic et. al., 1981).

Mary Douglas (1986) has shown that the perception and assessment of risks is subject to cultural and situational variation and contingency. Some risks are 'catastrophic' (nuclear accidents; major prison riots), others are chronic or mundane (side effects of tranquillizers, smoking; occupational stress amongst prison staff). Outside of certain restricted spheres of activity where conventions of risk assessment may be more or less agreed (some investment decisions, insurance premiums) in general the social processes involved in the construction and apprehension of risk may be too complex and the quality of information too problematic to admit prescriptive definitions of which fears, anxieties and decisions in risky situations are rational and which are not. (The sometimes less than adequate debate about 'rational' and 'irrational' fears of crime, for example, has suffered from the assumption that this was something that could be easily decided – cf. Young, J.; 1987; Box et. al., 1988; Sparks, 1991)

Plainly, though, there are times when certain risks are elevated to positions of special prominence in public awareness (risks presented by dangerous dogs), whilst others may be systematically minimized (some of us earnestly believe that dentists are extremely dangerous but they have propaganda which says the reverse).

Risk is, then, a multi-dimensional concept: there are always many risks; some of which will, in any given setting, moment, institution (or seen through a particular ideological lens) receive more attention than others – in ways that may be highly consequential in shaping routine practices

In our view, then, this theme deserves greater development than it sometimes receives. Theoretically, one might conjecture that the combination of real risks to prisoners (whether of victimization or

exploitation by other prisoners, or of arbitrary or oppressive treatment by prison authorities: see for example, King and McDermott, 1990) and a diminished sense of personal power are conditions likely to produce a sense of dread (see Slovic et. al., 1981); and in our observation a degree of anxiety is part of the experience of most prisoners. At the same time it is increasingly apparent that neither risk nor fear is uniformly distributed either between prisons or between individuals and groups of prisoners and staff (King, 1991). The exploration of this unevenness is critically important. It bears upon the degree of hardship which a sentence imposes. (If in the Lord Justice Woolf's estimation the justice of a prison sentence is conditional on the operation of justice within the prisons in which it is served, by extension unfair exposure to risk or to continuous anxiety should also be regarded as compromising the justness of the sentence: see Woolf, 1991, paragraphs 10.18-10.23). Risk is part of what distinguishes indefensible from merely problematic prison environments.

Meanwhile, the concept of risk provides a common thread in a number of otherwise diverse recent studies (and single-issue studies, regarded as being unconnected, court the risk of being seen as having no bearing on the philosophy or rationale of imprisonment, on the structure of the system as such). Thus, work on health risks in prisons, on suicide and self-harm, on prisoners' vulnerability to arbitrary, oppressive or discriminatory treatment, on prisoners' post-release prospects in employment and family life, on their chances of returning to prison, all concern forms of jeopardy, danger and risk presented by imprisonment.³

It is also clear that risk assessment and risk reduction are central to prison administrators' and staffs' notions of what they are doing and how it is justified. The provision of safe custody is a basic commitment of those who govern and work in prison.⁴ Like other people, however, prison governors and staff may be very sensitive to some risks and relatively unconcerned about others. As we have noted, it is a widespread finding of studies of risk-perception that events which are unfamiliar or dramatic and which threaten to move outside one's control are frequently more salient in people's attention than those

which are chronic and hence relatively familiar (irrespective of the scale of the harm which each produces – see Slovic et. al., 1981; Douglas, 1986).

Prison governors are a professionally risk-averse group, but which risks do they prioritize? Is it the case that what Giddens (1991) has termed 'high consequence risks' (in a prison context this might mean the threat of a riot or an embarrassing escape) can dominate approaches to prison management at the expense of more mundane harms which, being routinely inflicted, are treated as inevitable? Do such anxieties induce a preoccupation with 'control' that has counter-productive effects (what Sykes calls 'that excess of caution which seeks to eliminate the very possibility of any 'incident' without regard to the inmate's fearful loss of self-determination' (1958: 133))? How then does one distinguish between the provision of (a certain degree of) safety and the imposition of tighter control? (See King and McDermott, 1990; King, 1991; Cooke, 1991.) What happens when certain prisoners are reckoned either especially dangerous or especially endangered? How does one respond without inflicting the harmful effects of the 'excess of caution'? If, again as Sykes and others have suggested, prison staff are basically oriented towards the conservation of order and routine (and tend to identify the two) and deeply conscious of the 'high consequence risks' such as an escape or a riot, is this an inertial tendency? Does it help explain the aversion of the prison system to change?

What is certain is that prison governors are obliged to make Solomonic judgements about individual and collective goods using utilitarian criteria and uncertain information. For as long as we must have prisons, those who run them will make decisions which involve tensions between the claims of institutional order and those of the equitable treatment of individuals. This being so, it is particularly important that their reasoning, the extent of their powers, their criteria of prudence and justification are openly, publicly and critically discussed.

Risk and the segregation and movement of prisoners

There have been an increasing number of studies of late which concur with our own

view that the extent of violence and victimization in prisons is highly circumstantially variable. Commentators have emphasized a number of possible kinds of variation, including the quality of provision of regime activities and services, staff training and morale, the consultation and participation of prisoners, the size of living units, and the physical layout (and hence supervision) of accommodation (e.g. Dunbar, 1985; Fitzgerald, 1987; Jenkins, 1987; Robson, 1989; Cooke, 1989, 1991; King and McDermott, 1990; King, 1991). Within these general concerns there remain two special kinds of difficulty. These involve (i) how a prison system responds to those whom it considers particularly dangerous or 'troublesome', and (ii) how it responds to those whom it considers (or who consider themselves) particularly at risk. We suggest that, looked at in terms of risk analysis, these issues raise essentially similar concerns. This is because, in any given case, the application of any 'special' procedure (especially when it is compulsory and done on a summary basis) can only begin to be justified if there is a demonstrable, serious and immediate risk at stake, which that measure deals with, and which cannot be dealt with in any other way. (Similarly, it seems unavoidable that special measures aimed at risk-reduction should not involve the imposition of subsidiary hardships, and decision-makers should be alive to the danger of unintended, counter-productive consequences.).

In British prisons these issues arise in their most acute form in relation to 'administrative' decisions to segregate prisoners under Rule 43 of the Prison Rules or to transfer them (e.g. from a dispersal prison to a local prison under Circular Instruction 37/90, which has now superseded the notorious Circular Instruction 10/74), though they also bear upon the development of 'special' units for disruptive or indeed vulnerable prisoners. The powers to segregate prisoners under Rule 43 or to remove them compulsorily to another prison on control grounds are amongst the most contentious that prison governors exercise.¹ These decisions are permeated by risks. They are future-oriented: they are designed to preempt possible harms. That is, they are inherently about what might happen if no action were taken. They are often based on limited information (rumour, 'intelligence' received, induction, impression, reputation). They are

highly discretionary, and hence open to multiple uses and ulterior motivations. They are therefore inspired by a sense of risk: they are emergency powers. These are also risk-laden decisions in themselves, however. For the prisoner who is regarded as presenting a 'control problem' there are risks of extended segregation, of stigmatization, of differential treatment, of repeated sudden transfer (often involving loss of personal property: see King and McDermott, 1990). There is also the risk that the decision to segregate or transfer may itself act as an incitement, producing violent consequences of its own. Yet, research suggests that the identification of which prisoners are most 'troublesome', and under what conditions, is by no means a foolproof matter (Williams and Longley, 1987; King and McDermott, 1990). By extension, therefore, there are real risks incurred in approaches which seek to individualize the question of trouble in prisons (see, for example Council of Europe, 1983; Scottish Prison Service, 1988), not only to the individuals concerned but also in their tendency to distract attention from the harder task of thinking through the 'normal' conditions of life in prison. Moreover, internationally, with certain salient exceptions (of which the special unit at Barlinnie is perhaps the best known), measures directed towards the 'special handling' of prisoners deemed dangerous or disruptive are often discouraging and sometimes frankly terrifying (Bidna, 1975; Ward, 1987; Thomas and Pooley, 1980; Vantour, 1991). Finally, deep confusion often surrounds the purposes of 'special' measures and the conditions of their implementation. Thornton (1987:438) in an otherwise well-informed paper views Rule (GOAD) as 'a punishment'. Lord Justice Woolf (1991, paragraph 14.434) censures the Home Office for describing Rule 43 and CI 37/90 as 'sanctions'; yet he recommends only slight additional restrictions on the extent of discretion surrounding their use. This is in spite of Woolf's general emphasis on 'justice in prisons' (1991, paragraph 10.16 - 10.22). This at least permits the interpretation that, when push comes to shove, control discourse will continue to have priority over the discourse of legality (cf. Adler and Longhurst, 1991).

For the prisoner in need of protection, meanwhile, there are several meanings of risk:

- (i) the risk of victimization on 'normal location', and the experience of living in fear; versus
- (ii) the risk of tedium, isolation, deprivation and possible discrimination whilst living 'on the rule';
- (iii) the risk that the measures taken for your protection are inadequate, whilst identifying you to your victimizers;
- (iv) the risk of being unable to come off 'the rule' if you want to.

The apparently permanent existence of a vulnerable population (albeit of variable size) in British and North American prisons poses difficult explanatory and practical problems. Functionalists are wont to argue that the persecution of sex offenders and others has latent benefits for prison authorities. They argue that it arises from the development of stable hierarchies of power amongst prisoners, that it permits face-saving 'neutralization' for the straight con, that it allows ideological affinity to be demonstrated between prisoners and guards and so forth (Bowker, 1980; Fox, 1982; Priestley, 1981). On this view, in its starkest form, the sex offenders get thrown to the lions (or else kept clearly in their view) as a form of penal bread and circuses. Others argue more simply that the increase in the number of prisoners seeking the protection of Rule 43 in recent years⁶ is the combined outcome of the increasing number and proportion of sex offenders in prison, the deepening frustration for many prisoners during the 1980s of living in deteriorating conditions which may intensify the demand for surrogates to blame and hate, plus sporadic improvements in provision for Rule 43 prisoners (hence the lesser marginal gain from trying to 'front it out' on 'normal location': Prison Reform Trust, 1990; Thornton, 1987). However it may be explained, there is now a developing consensus of informed opinion that the fates which have hitherto awaited sex offenders and other vulnerable prisoners in British prisons are intolerable (Prison Department, 1989; Prison Reform Trust, 1990; Woolf, 1991). The proffered choice has been between the insecurity of tenuous survival on normal location (lying about the offence, waiting to be recognized) and the numbing tedium and deprivation which has been the experience of most prisoners on Rule 43.⁷ There also seems to be widespread agreement that 'the Rule' itself, which

imposes this stark choice between ordinary location and complete sequestration, must go. This is Lord Justice Woolf's view (1991, paragraphs 12.195-12.208). Woolf also argues (see also Prison Reform Trust, 1990: 22-23) that given appropriate conditions and careful management and supervision it should be possible for most of those prisoners currently considered vulnerable to be re-integrated into the general prison population (Woolf, 1991, paragraphs 12.210-12.220). Experience at Grendon and at Littlehey is widely cited in support of this view. We are by no means certain that such integration is imminently possible, and we suspect that a rationally-deciding vulnerable prisoner weighing up the costs and benefits and competing risks of his options would have reason for deep misgivings. We want now to offer field evidence from two dispersal prisons with contrasting approaches to risk management which we believe demonstrates the depth and complexity of the dilemmas involved.

Albany and Long Lartin

The illustrations which we want to present here are drawn from research which we carried out in collaboration with Tony Bottoms in 1988 and 1989 in two dispersal prisons: HM Prisons Albany and Long Lartin. This research (commissioned by the Home Office in response to some of the deliberations of the Research and Advisory Group (1987)) aimed 'to describe accurately and to explain the nature of control problems in long-term prisons and the conditions leading to their emergence, including an account of the circumstances under which prisoners are removed from normal locations.'⁸ Our main concern here will be to consider the nature and distribution of vulnerability in dispersal prisons, and in particular to draw attention to characteristic features of the vulnerable unit at Albany. First, however, we have to briefly contextualize that issue within a more general comparison.

Albany and Long Lartin were built at roughly the same time and to a similar (though not identical) architectural design. At the outset they shared the mission proposed for the dispersal system by Radzinowicz (Advisory Council on the Penal System, 1968) to operate liberal regimes within secure perimeters. However, the

subsequent histories of the two prisons have been somewhat different. Long Lartin has not experienced a transformative crisis of control. Staff have therefore been able to lay claim to a largely unbroken liberal tradition. Albany, on the other hand, has experienced a number of major disturbances (1972, 1983, 1985) and some radical changes to the regime have ensued. These points of departure therefore provided us with an opportunity to compare and contrast two distinct approaches to managing a long term prison (Bottoms, Hay and Sparks, 1990: 83-4)

Despite being members of the same, ostensibly integrated dispersal system, the two prisons operate contrasting regimes which are predicated upon a number of divergent views and assumptions. Whereas staff at both prisons share similar aims and objectives revolving around notions of the primacy of the need to maintain 'order' and 'control', they disagree on a number of dimensions about the means to achieve those ends and arguably also on the definition of the aims themselves (cf. Young, P. 1987). Long Lartin staff stress the need to establish an ethos within the prison based upon notions of flexibility and a low-key, discreet mode of regulation which recognises the need for prisoners to have some form of conditional autonomy and privacy. According to this view there is a need to balance the demands of surveillance and control on the one hand, and the achievement of a degree of assent and legitimacy on the other.

Many Albany staff, on the other hand, argue that any attempt to run a prison in the manner advocated by Long Lartin staff is both wrong in principle and from their own bitter experience doomed to fail in practice. Most notably, staff at Albany feel that power should lie with staff and not with those prisoners, or groups of prisoners, whom they assume would exert economic dominance or physical coercion over others under a relaxed regime. From this vantage point, the onus of responsibility is upon staff to protect those who are most at risk of exploitation or victimisation by restricting the opportunities available to the aggressors within the prison. Furthermore, as a buttress to their argument, staff assert that there is no contradiction between a policy of even-handed firmness and good staff-prisoner relations.

In essence this signifies a different prioritisation of risks, in terms of which each prison claims to have been 'successful'. Long Lartin's practice is predicated on the view that the stablest regime in the long-term (the one which avoids the 'high-consequence risk') is a relatively flexible one, even at the cost of accepting a higher level of mundane, subsidiary risks. Albany staff, on the other hand see a more definite relationship between mundane and catastrophic problems: 'power' and 'control' are indivisible and therefore both must be retained.

These comparisons are schematic and simplified for purposes of brevity and exposition. Nevertheless these concerns are reflected in a number of ways in the nature and form of the regimes that are in operation in the two prisons. Movements in and around the prison are more stringently controlled at Albany than at Long Lartin. Prisoners at Long Lartin receive more time out of their cell, more hours of association (including 'cell association') and more access to the gym. Elsewhere, we have discussed more fully these diverse strategies and attempts at risk-reduction in prisons using an analogy with forms of crime prevention in other spheres (Bottoms, Hay and Sparks, 1990). We have argued that measures which correspond to situational crime prevention (opportunity reduction, 'target hardening') are inherently part of what prisons do, but that Albany's regime is more pronounced than some others in this direction. However, we also argue that such strategies alone are insufficient unless they are integrated with careful attention to the specifically social aspects of prison life which crucially bear upon individual well-being and institutional stability (the development of relationships, respect for persons and their rights, the removal of unnecessary provocations and deprivations, privacy, the provision of a sense of personal security).

A number of key questions emerge from this. Is there a 'correct' (or any defensible) regime for a dispersal prison? To what extent should regime delivery be consistent between prisons? If there is to be a consensus then how can this be achieved? What kind of synthesis of social and situational approaches is desirable? More specifically, given the crisis-prone nature of the long-term prison system, which approach would provide both staff and

prisoners with the sense of security that each group so urgently seeks?

Clearly, there are no easy answers to these questions. The greater scope and autonomy at Long Lartin tends to permit the development of more complex and extensive trading and other networks of influence. This can be seen as a benefit (cf. Sykes, 1958) in alleviating the pains of imprisonment. Nevertheless, we should not gloss over or underestimate the degree of insecurity and fear that some prisoners who get into debt as a result of such dealings experience in Long Lartin. Indeed, in so far as we are able to generalise, incidents at Long Lartin involving the victimisation of sex offenders or people who are unable to discharge their debt seem more likely to be violent, to involve a weapon and to include more people than incidents involving similar categories of people at Albany. Yet equally importantly, most prisoners, including some of the vulnerable, rate Long Lartin as distinctly preferable to other prison locations to the point of accepting some increase in certain kinds of actual or felt risk. Conversely, some prisoners at Albany may agree with staff that various forms of risk to their emotional and physical well-being may indeed have been reduced by the Albany regime. However, most prisoners strongly regret the degree of restriction involved, particularly in relation to their loss of autonomy and privacy.

The vulnerable prisoner unit at Albany

An important recent strategy for tackling some of the moral and practical problems posed by vulnerability in long term – prisons has been the creation of separate units for vulnerable prisoners such as the one which currently occupies three of the five wings in Albany. It is quite likely that if Albany comes out of the dispersal system in the mid 1990s (as is now planned) it will become a prison devoted entirely to detaining those thought to be at risk within normal prison settings. If this is a trend in Home Office policy it seems particularly important to attempt some kind of critical assessment of conditions which prevail within a vulnerable unit. What then is day to day life like for prisoners and staff in the Albany unit? We found life within the vulnerable unit to be qualitatively different from that we encountered on the wings of Long Lartin

and the wings which constitute the 'main' prison in Albany. The hustle, bustle and noise so prevalent on other wings within the dispersal system, contrasts sharply with the slower pace, sense of aimlessness and the desultory character of many of the relationships which we observed within the vulnerable prisoner unit.

Perhaps this is not surprising. It is often held that the characteristics of the population and the degree of control that officers are able to exert within the unit means that a much more stable sense of order can be achieved than is possible in most long – term prison settings. This is in direct contrast to the every – day tensions which permeate relationships between prisoner and prisoner and prisoners and staff in the main prison. In empirical terms, our research confirms that fewer incidents of the kind which occur in the main prison occur in the vulnerable unit. The levels of assaults, the instances of disobedience, and the scale of illicit dealing and problems relating to debt are, both in terms of number and severity, all much lower (Hay, Sparks and Bottoms, 1990).

The renowned 'quietness' of the unit is generally explained with reference to distinctive characteristics of its captive population. Many prisoners adopt social isolation as retreat from potential social and psychological harms; for others social isolation, a poor self – image and lack of confidence in group settings have been features of their lives from childhood onwards. The unit also contains a number of prisoners who have committed the sort of crimes which attract headlines in the media. Some prisoners find great difficulty in coming to terms with their crime, and living it down, even in the eyes of those in a similar position, is far from being an easy task.

Though we do not want to diminish the importance of these features we nevertheless feel that there is no crude determinism in force here. Staff are in a position to reflexively monitor their attitudes and behaviour and are thus able to 'shape', albeit within certain constraints, much of the structure of the unit in particular ways. Both staff and prisoners agree that the unit has some positive features and that potentialities exist for both groups to improve the quality of their lives. For staff this includes their

having the scope to initiate and develop some innovative and creative work. For prisoners what is offered is a severance of the vicious circle of life on Rule 43, or the Catch 22 alternative of desperately seeking to keep afloat on 'normal location' elsewhere. Some of them also welcome the opportunity to tackle some of the problems underlying their offence. In this respect the unit is accorded a degree of legitimacy rarely found within the prison system.

It might seem then that a strong argument could be made for a relaxation of many of the features of the regime which operates in the vulnerable unit as compared with that in the main prison. Yet, paradoxically, the degree of surveillance and regulation in the vulnerable unit is as great (if not greater) than that in the other section of the prison. Reasons for this are threefold. First, staff assert that there is a need for parity in that prisoners in the vulnerable unit should not receive either more or less in the way of material provision or a more favourable regime than the population in the main prison. (In fact a formally identical regime becomes more stringent where it is less contested or negotiated.) Second, because of the Psychological make up and sexual orientation of many of the prisoners detained in the unit, staff believe that there is a need to reduce the scope for homosexual activity, particularly when this might involve coercion. Third, it is argued that a sub-set of vulnerable prisoners exist even within a vulnerable unit and that they have a right and a need to be protected from those who would seek to exploit or injure them.

Whereas prisoners in the unit may agree with staff that there is, in theory at least, a risk that people in the unit may be victimised or exploited, they by no means agree that they need or merit the full weight of the rigid forms of regulation that they receive; nor do they see Albany as a blueprint for other vulnerable prisoner units. Indeed nearly all of the prisoners we spoke to within the unit felt that they had cause for serious grievance in relation to the regime that was being operated.⁹ Given their previous abject experience in other prisons this is something that stands in need of explanation and we return to it in conclusion below.

Social Theory: Risk and Imprisonment

How can we locate these prison situations theoretically, and what implication does viewing them as responses to risk carry for the development of a sociology of prison life informed by recent social theory? What conceptual scheme best links the everyday transactions between staff and prisoners on a prison wing and the great institutional structures which surround and position them? In our recent writing (see especially Bottoms, Hay and Sparks, 1990:85) we have sought to utilise theoretical insights from the work of Anthony Giddens and to develop their implications for the study of prisons. Briefly, Giddens argues *inter alia* that social institutions do indeed have systemic features, but that nothing guarantees their existence beyond their continual reproduction through the situated and knowledgeable actions and interactions of people. Actors require routines. Routines are the condition of 'trust' in the reliability of the continuity of the world, hence also of 'ontological security'. The reverse of routinization is a 'critical situation' in which the disruption of expectations threatens to 'swamp' the actor with anxiety (Giddens, 1984: 60-70). We have attempted to understand a number of features of prison life in these terms – the preoccupation with routines, the strength of response to the interruption of routine, the definition of control problems. Hence also our insistence that insecurity must be counted independently as a form of risk. Giddens (1991) views risk as an integral part of the environment in which action takes place and in many settings the practices of the actors are directed towards minimising the inherent risks. This is surely characteristic of prisons and their continual struggle to secure routine reproduction in the face of chronic conflict and problems of legitimacy (cf. Sykes, 1985). If a prison can produce a sufficient level of trust, minimise critical situations and gain a sufficient degree of legitimacy in the eyes of its captive population then that might represent some form of sustainable order. Whether prisons can ever achieve this is for us an open question.

Dilemmas for Reform

If it is taken as axiomatic that prisons are inherently risk-prone environments then de

facto great (if not insurmountable) difficulties exist in devising an overall long-term prison strategy or a set of principles which will cover every risk or prevent each and every harm. Not least because the long-term prison system is not rigid and static but constantly developing and changing.¹⁰ Within this context strategies for tackling issues of vulnerability seem to be emerging in a pragmatic and ad hoc fashion. Perhaps two broad strands of policy in relation to vulnerability can be determined: the growth of specialist vulnerable units such as the one at Albany; and the refinement and redrawing of the original boundaries of dispersing vulnerable prisoners within the long-term prison system. Strong arguments can be made for both approaches. Adherents of refining the dispersal model are attempting to overturn many of the ways of thinking about Rule 43 and to put an end to the miserable experiences that prisoners so frequently have under this system (Prison Reform Trust 1990). In this, they have two related aims in mind. First they are endeavouring to encourage those who consider themselves to be vulnerable to live as normal a life as possible under standard prison conditions, whilst simultaneously providing would-be aggressors with incentives to live as harmoniously as possible with those whom they have traditionally despised and harassed. Meanwhile arguments involving subtle calculations of cost-benefit analysis in balancing one set of risks against others has led some people (and we may be among them) to the belief that those at most risk should have the option of being separated from those who would exploit, physically harm or continually harass them.

Yet our endorsement of such a model is not unequivocal in that we have a number of areas of disquiet about vulnerable units. These mainly concern the nature of the power relationships within them. Vulnerable prisoners are almost by definition in an insecure position vis-a-vis staff. In such circumstances what Giddens has called the 'dialectic of control' (1984:16) is more than usually weighted against them. Even at its most benign this may mean that staff are less attentive than in other long-term prison settings. More seriously it can produce a tendency to exercise authority in an overbearing manner. Sometimes this involves using crude, and disparaging comments of the kind which prisoners have commonly

received throughout their sentence: 'nonce', 'beast' and other terms of abuse. Frequently staff presume too much in their relations with prisoners. This latter point perhaps finds its greatest expression in the use of racist and other demeaning forms of humour. All too often staff assume, mistakenly, that prisoners enjoy the cut and thrust of such encounters without recognising the imbalance of power that exists, the harm that is being done, and perhaps more seriously, the potential threat of retaliation.

We acknowledge that much of what we have discussed and have begun to advocate is relatively abstract and that difficulties exist in converting such theoretical issues into concrete forms of practice. Without wishing either to lessen the degree of complexity involved, or to offer unrealistic and utopian solutions to the scale of the problem, we wish to pose the following interrelated questions. What moral and practical implications will the current dual strategy of tackling issues relating to the vulnerable prisoner have for the notion of an integrated prison system? Is there a 'correct' way of tackling issues of vulnerability? Is it necessary to have mutually exclusive agendas or is a synthesis possible and / or desirable? What constitutes an 'acceptable' or 'fair risk'? What can be said about the legitimacy of prison administrations if they cannot guarantee prisoners' safety? And finally, what follows for rationales for sentencing (especially on grounds of harm reduction through incapacitation) if it can be shown that the prison itself is not a place of safety?

What is clear in our work is that there are no cost-free, risk-free solutions to the endemic problems of vulnerability in long-term prisons. What is less certain is whether there are any acceptable solutions at all. Our central contention is that risk is not an adjunct to fundamental features of the social organisation of the prison, manifested in occasional, individual and sporadic ways. Certainly, the incidence of visible trouble is variable and episodic. But risk is endemic, and the consciousness and avoidance of risk is a structuring principle of prison practice. It is an important task for the sociological study of imprisonment to tease out the full weight and complexity of the consequences of this.

Notes

1. Much of the literature on 'side-effects' of incarceration has restricted itself to psychological, including cognitive, changes at the individual level: e.g. Bolton et.al., 1976; Bukstel and Kilmann, 1980. The notions that such 'effects' are the primary matter, that they need to be more prevalent in prison than elsewhere in order to be significant, and that they must be shown to be lasting (cf. Walker, 1983; 1987) may have acted as discouragement to attempts at discussion of much that goes on in prisons. Yet such criteria are very dubious. Considered in terms of risk, it is only necessary to show that a risk really exists. One can then go on to discuss whether it is acceptable or reducible and whether it results in (or from) an injustice. That we might be more at risk on the street than in a prison (even if it were true) is of subsidiary interest. Besides, although as we go about in the world various agencies undertake some responsibility for our safety (bus companies for example), this is much more temporary and conditional than the responsibility which the state undertakes to provide for the safe custody of its prisoners. The dependency of prisoners and the state's liability for their well-being are the necessary counterparts of the great powers wielded by prison administrators.

2. The paucity of attempts to get anywhere near quantifying the dark figure of harms in prisons is odd given that the literature hammers on endlessly about sub-cultures and sub-rosa economic activity. Some of the attempts which suggest that it is possible include Davies (1982) (attempting to estimate the real level of violence in Birmingham Prison using hospital records), Kalinich (1980) (taking account of the scale of a prison economy) and Liebling (1991) (on suicide and self-harm amongst young offenders in custody).

3. What would a reasonably complete typology of prison risks look like? Tentatively we offer the following:

1. Risks to life and health from
 - i) victimization
 - ii) disease, especially HIV and Hepatitis B
 - iii) exacerbated risk of suicide/self-harm (cf. Dooley, 1990)

2. Risk of oppressive/arbitrary treatment; legal vulnerability (cf. Richardson, 1985; Light and Matfield, 1988; Carlen, 1990; King and McDermott, 1990)

3. Risks to 'social being'
 - i) employment, earning capacity
 - ii) family relations, social ties, housing
 - iii) probability of returning to prison.

4. Consider in this light the various attempts at 'mission statements' by the English and Scottish Prison Services during the 1980s, as discussed by Bottoms (1990: 17-33). Consider the relation to safety of all the primary terms used: secure, custody, order, care, respect, humanity, look after, help, ensure. (Custody n.: a watching or guarding; care: security; imprisonment - adj. custodial - ns. custodian one who has care... (Chambers English Dictionary)).

5. The terms governing the uses of Rule 43, CI 37/90 and allocation to special units are discussed by Woolf (1991, para 12.240-12.296).

6. The number of persons imprisoned for sexual offences nearly doubled during the 1980s, whilst the number of adult sentenced males on Rule 43 may have quadrupled between 1983 and 1988, excluding the further 660 prisoners held in vulnerable prisoner units (Prison Reform Trust, 1990). Woolf reports that in April 1990 some 8% of the total prison population of England and Wales were in on Rule 43 (and 46) or were in VPU's (1991, paragraphs 12.199-200).

7. Although he knows about the deep unpleasantness of

Rule 43 Thornton reports an experiment in which 'the actual experience of being on Rule 43 is characterized simply as absence of threat' (1987:438). He goes on to divide decisions to apply for Rule 43 into 'correct' and 'incorrect' on the basis of whether the individual would have been assaulted or not. Surely this is not the whole point: even though they know that it is wretched people who go on Rule 43 to escape insecurity of the threat of assault and other miseries. The point about correctness scarcely arises.

8. We later elaborated on this brief in a variety of ways including: attempting to deepen theoretical understanding of the conditions of order in dispersal prisons; understanding managerial decision-making in the definition and handling of control incidents; describing the emergence of specific incidents and how they were subsequently dealt with; and contextualising these events in relation to underlying conditions favouring conflict or cooperation. Though the research was primarily qualitative indices of control problems have also been collected and analysed. We paid close ethnographic attention to the lived experience of both prisoners and staff and the nature of the relationships between them. Above all, we offer a comparative analysis of how social order is constituted, negotiated and maintained in two dispersal prisons; and how critical situations are managed when order is under threat or breached. This analysis is being translated into a book: for present purposes, therefore, we can only deal with many of the issues that our research raises in a shorthand way.

9. In due course we will publish a more vivid account of the nature of staff-prisoner relations in the vulnerable unit. In the interim, interested readers are referred to chapter Six in W. Hay, J.R Sparks, and A.E Bottoms (1990)

10. One feature of long-term imprisonment which has received little attention is the way in which some of the central concepts underpinning the dispersal system are becoming eroded. At one level this finds a degree of expression in the reclassification of the Category A System. Other threats to the system seem to be happening more by default than design; for example in the sporadic growth of vulnerable units and the interest in special units for specific groups of prisoners labelled 'difficult', 'disruptive' or 'troublesome'. More specifically, the Lakes-Hadfield enquiry (set up by the Home Secretary following the escape of the Category A remand prisoners) into the policy of dispersal maximum-security prisoners around the English penal system has permission 'to question the whole area of policy as well as practice' (see the Guardian 17 July 1991).

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Operational Psychology

Making Best Use of 'Our Most Valuable Resource'

*Cynthia McDougall, Head of
Prison Service Psychology.*

An oft-quoted statement in the Prison Service in recent years declares that staff are our most valuable resource. Although this is said, however, actions do not always appear to support the statement. Staff are often criticised for attitudes to prisoners and to management; the difficult work they do at times appears to be undervalued by Government, management and the public; and their job security is threatened by the reality of Agency Status, market testing, pay and grading reviews, and by the likelihood of further privatisation and possible governing trust status. This gives a rather mixed message to staff.

As with management of change in most large organisations, any recommendations resulting from the above proposals will in all probability involve advice from external consultants and be introduced using a 'top-down' style of management. Although staff will be 'consulted' before plans are implemented, their views will have minimal impact when compared with the weight given to the consultants' views. Unfortunately the opinions, background experience and skills brought from a wide range of previous employments and training existing within our work force will not be tapped. Indeed it will be feared that these views and experiences might be used to obstruct implementation of some of the ideas being promoted by the external consultants. Organisations at this stage usually develop strategies to counter the expected opposition; the suspicions of staff are raised by these; and consequently the anticipated staff resistance is made a reality.

Psychologists who are frequently cast in the role of consultant will do well to remember how generally unpopular with staff consultants are. Part of the reason is alluded to above, ie,

recommendations of consultants are generally imposed rather than developed with the co-operation and ownership of staff. On the managers' part, if a great deal of money has been spent on the consultancy, there is much self-imposed pressure to declare the money well-spent and follow the recommendations, whether or not they seem to meet precisely the needs of the organisation. One of the most frustrating aspects of consultancy is, however, the fact that sooner or later, one is left to make the changes oneself and live with the consequences.

In order to avoid the negative attitudes promoted by this 'top-down' approach, ideas must originate at the ground floor or be spawned and nourished there. Psychologists have for some time been committed to multi-disciplinary team work in establishments, but I am particularly keen to develop what I have chosen to call 'operational psychology', that is, psychologists working with other disciplines to develop psychological approaches to improving the organisation and working alongside other staff in delivering these developments. This approach is subtly different from the 'top-down' psychological approach, ie, developing a psychological skill and passing it on to others to carry out, and different from the 'specialist expert' approach where difficult problems/prisoners are referred to the psychologist to apply his/her specialist expertise.

There are two good examples of operational psychology currently being developed: lifer risk assessment and inmate treatment groups, and I will say something about each of them because they emphasise the important qualities of operational psychology.

Lifer Risk Assessment

The Lifer Sentence Plans being introduced as part of the Criminal Justice Act implementation have a risk assessment component which was developed at establishment level as a consequence of staff requesting guidance on inmate report-writing, and psychologist development of a risk assessment process dependent on officer observation of inmates' behaviour. Both sides needed each other to make the risk assessment process work. A system was developed jointly by psychologists and staff on a small scale, but this soon spread across the prison when staff on other wings realised how the system drew on their skills and necessary contributions and improved the quality of their assessments. This form of operational psychology is run jointly by psychologists and staff, and because of its success at local level, now forms the basis for assessment of risk and identification of treatment needs in the national lifer sentence plan programme, with staff in other locations being trained and working with psychologists on risk assessment. Operational psychology is not therefore a system where psychologists hand on their skills to officers. In this example they have drawn on the skills of officers for the benefit of the team. Neither is it the case of specialists advising staff on what they should do; it is a consultation between professional groups — a partnership of equals. In this way staff have ownership of the scheme and it is hoped that this ethos will spread to other parts of the organisation, with the wider implementation of the risk assessment model.

Inmate Treatment Groups

Inmate treatment group programmes have developed in a similar way. The best of the programmes which have been developed at local levels have been incorporated in a national programme. Although programmes have been developed by psychologists, again an operational psychology approach has been adopted, where all staff play an equal part; there are not, in the main, any specialist roles. Everyone including psychologists took part in the same training programme and have gone on to administer the same treatment programmes as members of tutor teams. There are therefore no specialist experts — all are implementing psychologically sound programmes as equals. Again this leads to staff ownership.

I have always been of the view that officers should not try to be pseudo-psychiatrists, psychologists, or -probation officers. They have their own equally important professional skills. The important thing is that not only do psychologists think and say that staff are our most valuable resource, they demonstrate it by sharing their role with other staff.

I am aware that there are many Governors who will say that they would be delighted to have an opportunity to introduce operational psychology into their establishments, and have indeed been asking for a psychologist contribution. Prison Service Psychology is on something of an upsurge and we are recruiting many new and excellent staff, but have suffered from the loss of many experienced staff during the 80s to more lucrative and high opportunity careers. Our good new psychologists are coming through and are being trained in an operational psychology approach which will put the Prison Service ahead of other branches of the profession. For that we need the opportunities and encouragement for our psychologists to stay after their experience has been gained.

Psychologists in the Prison Service are relatively few in number and I am acutely aware that operational psychology offers a most cost-effective means of introducing improvements to the organisation, through psychologists working in co-operation with staff, and sharing and developing skills jointly. This has been facilitated by the recent organisational re-structuring which firmly placed psychologists within the line management structure. Psychologists have no doubts that staff are our most valuable resource, and with mutual support and co-operation we can develop the resource to the full.

THE PREPARATION OF INMATES FOR RELEASE

AN OBJECTIVE WORTH THE EFFORT?

A.P. Plumb is seconded to HMP Highpoint from the Suffolk Probation Service.

In this article, the author challenges the "nothing works" view put forward by academics in the past and suggests that programmes professionally presented and appropriately targeted can reduce recidivism.

Long gone it seems, are the days of rehabilitating offenders, particularly in the prison setting. But does that mean that we can do nothing in working with prison inmates to make them less likely to return to crime in the future?

The research of Lipton Martinson and Wilks (1975) in the United States and Brody (1976) in this country led those of us working with offenders both in and out of prison to reflect on the true value of our work. 'Nothing works' became a slogan of its time and reinforced the existing doubts of prison staff who saw offenders return to prison time and time again. The May Committee (1979) concluded that as a result prison staff had tended to '... lose faith in any positive justification for the inherently unpleasant tasks which are their job'. In arguing against the concept of 'humane containment' it warned that prison staff could find themselves working in a 'moral vacuum'. Certainly, in working as a probation officer in prison, one feels, not so much a 'moral vacuum' but the lack of a convincing and broadly accepted vision of how we can work constructively with prison inmates to positively influence their successful resettlement.

Whilst the Government White Paper 'Custody, Care & Justice' (1991) does make some constructive proposals, previous statements and Circular Instructions from the Home Office do not seem to have given the inspired leadership which would have helped. The Prison Board's Statement of Task (1984) lists four functions, the last one of which rather weakly states 'to enable prisoners to retain links with the community and where possible assist them to prepare for their return to it'. However, the Chief Inspector of Prisons study on the subject of 'The Preparation of Prisoners for Release'

(1987) found the 'there was a large gap between aims and performance' and Lord Carlisle's review into 'The Parole System in England and Wales' (1988) concluded that 'there is much more that could and should be done within prisons to prepare inmates for their eventual release'. The following passages from the Lord Justice Woolf's inquiry (1991) seems to make the case more forcefully:

It is also clear from the evidence which the Inquiry has received from prisoners that the conditions which exist at present in our prisons causes a substantial number of prisoners to leave prison more embittered and hostile towards society than when they arrived. They leave prison therefore in a state of mind where they are more likely to re-offend.

(Prison Disturbances: April 1990. Woolf 1991. HMSO)

The implications of this statement are indeed serious for it goes far beyond suggesting that prisons are ineffective: it implies that prisons are positively contributing to the problem of crime in our society. Not only should this statement cause us once again to reflect on our sentencing policy, but it also requires us to consider the regimes within our prisons and the way that we engage with inmates. Indeed the report proposes that we do precisely that as outlined in the following passage:

...(the Prison Service) must seek to minimise the negative effects which make offending more likely. It must require the offender to confront and take responsibility for the wrong doing ... and provide prisoners with the opportunities to obtain skills. It must above all ensure that through these and other means the prisoner is properly prepared for his return to society.

(Prison Disturbances: April 1990. Woolf 1991. HMSO)

So if we are seeking to work with inmates in preparing them for release what issues do we need to be addressing or to put it another way what factors can be an obstacle to successful resettlement?

There have been a number of studies on the needs of prison inmates on release. Williams et al in their survey of 273 male prisoners in training prisons reported the following concerns:

Finding employment	52%
Re-offending	36%
Handling money	34%
Accommodation	18%
Bad company	23%
Temper control	22%
Drinking	23%
Gambling	8%
Drug-taking	6%

(Williams, Nooney and Ray. *Social Work Needs of Prisoners. Applying Psychology to Imprisonment*. HMSO 1987)

Much of the field work for this study was undertaken in the early 1980's and more recent studies have shown no less significant, but slightly different rates of concern with, in particular, a much greater proportion being concerned about drug-taking. What is clear however is that a significant proportion of inmates are concerned about issues which could seriously affect their chances of resettlement.

The research by Williams et al refers to the concerns of inmates prior to their release. Other research has looked in more detail at the incidence of particular factors.

In a study of 107 men released from prison into the Leeds area who would not have been subject to any statutory supervision, Corden, Kuipers and Wilson (1978) found that 49.5% had no definite release address and 75% were unemployed prior to their arrest.

In their study of petty short term prisoners (serving eighteen months or less) in the South East of England, Banks and Fairhead (1976) found a higher incidence of resettlement problems amongst short term prisoners than with longer sentence prisoners. 38% of the sample were homeless on release compared with 14.5% of the longer sentence prisoners. 34% were rated as

being 'inadequate' and 'unable to settle' compared with 16% of the longer sentenced prisoners and 38% were described as heavy drinkers or 'alcoholics' compared with just under 20% of the rest.

In a separate study Fairhead (1981) looked at a group of fifty persistent petty offenders at Pentonville Prison. She identified a core set of four common problems – accommodation, employment, drink and lack of social ties and found that 64% of the sample had a severe problem in at least three out of the four areas.

The last two studies referred to remind us that inmates serving short sentences can often have the most pressing resettlement needs and inmates will often have a multitude of needs. In considering this issue we then need to ask ourselves whether there are clear links between the type of social problems experienced by inmates on release and further offending.

The work of Farrington in his Cambridge study in Delinquent Development (1988) is particularly significant in relation to social factors and offending. This is a long term survey of 400 London men born in 1953 who have been interviewed at regular intervals, most recently in 1985 when there were 32 years of age. The sample was divided into the 'unconvicted', the 'desisters' (who had convictions prior to the age of 21 but not after), the 'late-comers' (who were not convicted until after the age of 21), the 'persisters' whose convictions continued throughout and the 'chronic offenders' who had especially long criminal records. The following shows the incidents of various social factors in the groupings indicated.

	Unconvicted	Latecomers	Desisters	Persisters	Chronic
Unsatisfactory Accom. History	25.8	31.8	29.1	52.5	52.6
Unsatisfactory Employment. History	18.3	28.6	22.2	46.7	83.3
Heavy Drinkers	10.1	36.4	27.3	46	66.7
Taken Drugs (Other than cannabis)	4.6	4.5	12.7	28.3	44.4

The research clearly indicated that compared with the 'unconvicted' group, the 'persisters' were more than twice as likely to have unsatisfactory accommodation and employment histories; more than four times as likely to be heavy drinkers and more than five times as likely to have taken drugs other than cannabis. The study also indicated that the 'persisters' were far more likely to have had serious marital difficulties.

In unpublished research carried out by the Cambridgeshire Probation Service, probation offices, when preparing Social Inquiry Reports were asked to indicate the factors which they believed related to an individuals offending. The sample included 354 offenders who had received immediate custodial sentence and the factors perceived as significant were as follows:

1	Alcohol	36%
2	Financial	35%
3	Employment	23%
4	Drugs	19%
5	Other family	17%
6	Relationships	16%
7	Accommodation	15%
8	Authority	14%
9	Marital	10%
10	Isolation	6%
11	Gambling	3%
12	Literacy	2%

So it is clear from this research that probation officers who are working closely with offenders feel that these social factors are related to offending in a significant proportion of circumstances.

There has also been much research about the relationship between offending and particular factors.

In studying a lodging scheme for offenders in South Yorkshire, McWilliams (1977) found that 55% of those with prior records of homelessness were reconvicted within six months.

In their study of 10,000 inmates in correction at institutions in the United States, Ross and Lightfoot (1977) found that the following proportions of inmates said that they had been drinking at the time of the offence:

arson	67%
assault	58%
burglary	47%

car thefts	46%
robbery	39%
larceny	38%
forgery	38%

Roizen & Schnerberk (1977) in a review of other studies found that alcohol was implicated in between 53%-64% of homicides and between 34%-72% of rapes.

Recent research in Merseyside by Parker et al (1986) '... established beyond any reasonable doubt that the local heroin epidemic has led to a substantial increase in property crime'.

In a review of the literature related to Aftercare Services for Released Prisoners, Haines (1990) concludes that 'possibly one of the most significant findings ... is the importance of a released prisoner's family and wider social networks for his subsequent resettlement ... Research results tend to show that those people who do best on release from prison are those with the strongest links with the outside community'.

Whilst there are therefore obvious links between certain key factors and offending the link is so often not simply a causative one and the work is therefore unlikely to be fully curative in its effectiveness. This brings us on to how effective it is likely to be.

As outlined earlier, if we are to accept the research findings of Lipton, Martinson & Wilks (1975), Brody (1976) and others then effectiveness in terms of reconviction rates is likely to be limited. However, the situation is far from clear and even Martinson himself revised his view in 1979 stating that 'contrary to my previous position, some treatment programmes do have an appreciable effect on recidivism'. Thornton (1987) looked again at the same material used by Martinson in his original studies and came to much more positive conclusions. Blackburn (1980), in reviewing the research of various intervention programmes in the 1970's, found that various forms of intervention had been successful in terms of reducing rates of conviction and proposed that focussing our efforts directly on offence behaviour might furnish yet more encouraging results.

Whilst not entirely conclusive, Soothills (1981) study of the APEX employment placing service is worthy of mention. His

research showed that 'only 9.7% of white collar workers who had been placed in work were reconvicted within the first year. After five years the figure rose to 22%. Whilst no effective control group was used the reconviction rate is clearly lower than would otherwise be expected. Perhaps more significant is that of those with three or more convictions who stayed in work for at least one year not one person was reconvicted whereas 41% of those who stayed in work for less than a year were reconvicted. After five years of study Soothill came to the conclusion that 'concentrating on the particular issue of finding employment for ex-prisoners without considering any other factor is likely to have limited economic returns'.

In looking at the particular issue of 'Preparation of Inmates for Release' three pieces of research, as outlined in Haines — *Aftercare Services for Released Prisoners: A Review of the Literature*, (1990) are worthy of further consideration.

The first is the research of Berntsen and Christiansen (1965) into 'A Resocialisation Experiment with Short Term Offenders'. This involves 126 offenders serving less than five months in Danish prisons and the intervention involved an individual in-depth interview to understand the prisoner and his situation, personality testing by a psychologist followed by a treatment plan. The individual was then given assistance with such matters as finding work and accommodation, negotiations with public authorities, relationship difficulties and help with drink and drug problems. The offenders were then supervised for up to two years after release. Reconviction rates were 41% for the treatment group compared with 58% for the control group. It also reported that the effect of the attempts at resocialisation is particularly strong during the second and third year after release.

In this country Shaw (1974) carried out similar research on the 'Midland Experiment in Social Work in Prisons'. A sample of 176 men in the last six months of their sentence (which was at least 12 months) at Gartree and Ashwell Prisons were interviewed on a weekly basis by a prison based probation officer. 57.3% of the treatment groups were reconvicted compared with 76% of the control group. Although the content of these weekly sessions was not analysed it does

seem that these offenders responded positively to the individual attention. The research also emphasised the importance of effective liaison with the home probation officer.

The research of le Clair (1985 and 1988) and Fair (1988) into the effects of the State of Massachusetts 'Correction and Reform Act 1972' appears particularly relevant at this time as it was a radical reaction to prison disturbance and unrest. The thrust of the Massachusetts experiment was 'reintegration' and it involved extension of home leaves and temporary release for work and education, pre-release centres, more liberal visiting arrangements and attendance at community based projects for drug and alcohol therapy. Significantly the reintegration programmes ran throughout the sentence and were individually planned. Reconviction rates were measured for different elements of the programme but generally appeared to be anywhere between 1/3 and 2/3 lower than the reconviction rates for those who had not taken part in the programme. This research does seem particularly significant as it was carried out over a fourteen year period.

All three studies therefore showed a significantly lower rate of reconviction than for a similar control group. It is worth looking at how these approaches may have been different from others where the effects in terms of reconviction has been inconclusive. Although each was rather different in its approach they were all individually planned, they attempted to deal with the variety of resettlement needs of the individual (as opposed to dealing with one particular issue) and in varying ways attempted to relate the work to the inmate's own community. This was particularly the case in the Massachusetts study where temporary release and home leaves were considerably extended and much of the resettlement work was undertaken at projects in the inmate's own community.

The Home Office itself had not been blind to some of the more positive research findings and appeared to accept the basic case for the preparation of inmates for release. In the mid 1970's the Home Office sponsored the development and research of pilot prison officer led pre-release courses at Cardiff, Ashwell and Ranby based on a social skills approach (see Release Courses:

A new venture for Prison Officers, Priestly PSJ April 1978). The findings of the research were encouraging, the Prison Service College at Wakefield commenced two week training programmes for prison officers and such courses were established in very many prisons. It is however also significant to note that the original courses, as described by Priestly, which operated at Ranby and Ashwell (and on which the rest was based) ran for eight weeks. At Ashwell they were reduced to four weeks and 'it proved to be the minimum time required ...' Where courses do exist they normally last one or two weeks.

So it seems that preparation for release work can be effective in terms of aiding resettlement and reducing levels of reconviction in certain circumstances and it is possible to draw from the research some basic principles which seem important. These would seem to be:

- (i) Each inmate will have his own individual resettlement needs and any programme for preparing him for release needs to be individually planned and agreed with the inmate.
- (ii) Help should be provided in a professional and coordinated way.
- (iii) The process should commence at the outset of custody when immediate and long term resettlement needs can be identified. The work undertaken should be reviewed at regular intervals.
- (iv) Any help given should be carefully related to the inmate's home circumstances and the constructive use of temporary release should be encouraged.
- (v) Particular attention should be paid to factors which have been related to offending.
- (vi) Particular attention should be given at key times, ie, onset of custody/sentence, home leaves, times of crisis and pre-release.
- (vii) Any programme of work should, wherever possible be agreed with the home probation officer and the work should be undertaken following release should also be agreed.
- (viii) Outside agencies should wherever possible be used to offer the type of help that they would offer in the community.
- (ix) An inmates resettlement needs should be borne in mind when making any decision about him within the prison.
- (x) Preparation for release programmes should form an integral part of the regime.

There is therefore a strong case for preparation for release work and it is likely to be effective provided that the work is planned and undertaken in a professional way. It cannot be seen simply as an added extra which we tag on in the month before discharge in an institutional way that gives no thought to the individual needs of each inmate.

There exist within our prisons considerable facilities which can be used to prepare inmates for release, eg, Education and Employment training courses, but there is a tendency for these to be used simply as 'activities', to keep inmates occupied. If preparation for release is to be effective then there is a clear need for all the facilities and staff expertise within a prison to be used in a coordinated way to this end.

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THE PREPARATION OF INMATES FOR RELEASE

What do Staff Really Think?

A. P. Plumb

In the second article on this theme the author explores staff attitudes to resettlement programmes and concludes that if these programmes are to be more effective then staff need more guidance.

This article is based on part of a wider study of the Preparation of Inmates for Release at three category C training prisons. These prisons were chosen because they did not have the problems of large remand populations or over-crowding and unlike category A and B prisons were discharging large numbers of inmates each year. As part of the study a questionnaire was given to all staff at each prison who had day-to-day contact with inmates. One hundred and thirty-eight staff in the three prisons completed the questionnaire including ninety-two wing based prison officers. This was not a random sample but the questionnaire was offered to staff who were on duty during the period of the field work at each establishment, ie, all wing based prison officers, education staff, workshop instructors (including CIT and VTC instructors) and Physical Education Instructors. The purpose of this questionnaire was to measure the extent to which staff felt they should be involved in this work and to obtain their views on whether such work was worthwhile, what form it should take and how it should be managed.

To look first at wing based prison officers 92 replies were received from approximately 150 officers and senior officers thought to be on duty during the periods of the field work at the prisons. The total number of wing based officers at the three prisons was in the region of 280. This seemed to have produced a generally representative sample although it is reasonable to assume that those who did not

complete the questionnaire were likely to have felt less positive about the issue than those who went to the trouble to do so.

Staff were asked 'To what extent does your job involve the preparation of inmates for release?' They were required to answer the question on a numerical scale ranging from '1' for 'not at all' to '5' for 'main purpose of job' as will be seen from Table 1, 31% of wing based prison officers questioned in Prison C felt that it was not at all part of their job compared with only 19% for Prison A and 12% for Prison B. Equally only 36% of officers in Prison C answered the question with a 3, 4, or 5 rating, indicating that they saw it as a significant part of their job whereas the figures for Prisons A and B were 62% and 65% respectively. This apparent difference in attitude towards their work may be explained to a large extent by the fact that Prisons A and B have established shared working schemes whereas Prison C does not.

Table 1

To what extent does your job involve the preparation of inmates for release

Main purpose of job	1	2	3	4	5	Not at all
PRISON						TOTAL
A	5 (19%)	5 (19%)	10 (37%)	6 (22%)	1 (3%)	27
B	3 (12%)	6 (23%)	11 (42%)	6 (23%)	-	26
C	12 (31%)	13 (33%)	12 (31%)	2 (5%)	-	39

Prison Officer Response

Staff were asked 'To what extent should your job involve the preparation of inmates for release?' Perhaps the most significant finding in relation to prison officers was that if one excluded those officers who already felt that preparation for release formed a major part of their job then 79% of prison officers felt that preparation for release work should form a greater part of their work than was already the case. As will be seen from Table 2 only a small minority of prison officers felt that it should form no part (1) or only a minimal part (2) of their job. Whereas the proportion of staff who felt that it should form a major part (4) or the main purpose of job (5) was 59% from Prison A, 62% for Prison B and 43% for Prison C.

Staff were then asked 'Do you feel that preparing inmates for release can be helpful in terms of reducing offending?' They were required to answer the question on a numerical scale of '1' for 'not at all helpful' to '5' 'extremely helpful'. As can be seen from Table 3 the most common answer to this difficult question was '3' with 32% giving that the answer which may be interpreted as 'may be' or 'quite helpful'. Interestingly officers from Prison C were most positive about this with 51% answering the question either '4' or '5' whereas the figures for Prisons A and B were 37% and 42% respectively.

Although the sample was very small, what one might call a 'wing culture' was apparent in that certain wings in certain prisons did take a particularly positive view about the preparation of inmates for release. This was apparent in Prison C and related to two wings, which for one reason or another, have been involved in shared working schemes and group work with staff from other disciplines.

With regard to the replies received from instructors and teaching staff at the three prisons in relation to the first three questions no figures have been produced due to the small number of staff involved. However, most staff clearly felt that their job did involve them in preparing inmates for release. They felt that they should be even more involved and also felt that it was very helpful in terms of reducing offending. Although instructors were not formally interviewed, there were informal interviews with many instructors during the course of leaving and collecting the questionnaires. A common theme of their comments was that they viewed the work that

Table 2

To what extent do you feel that your job should involve the preparation of inmates for release?

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	Main purpose of job
PRISON						TOTAL
A	3 (11%)	1 (4%)	7 (26%)	12 (44%)	4 (15%)	27
B	-	1 (4%)	9 (34%)	15 (58%)	1 (4%)	26
C	1 (3%)	4 (10%)	17 (44%)	13 (33%)	4 (10%)	39

Prison Officer Response

they were doing with inmates in positive terms. They felt that they were working with them for several hours per day, but they felt that they were rarely consulted or involved in decisions about inmates. Despite such comments there were schemes in place at each prison to consult them about an inmate's work performance and it may be that their sense of isolation was due to having little face to face contact with wing staff.

Staff were also asked what form they felt preparation for release should take and what issues should be covered. Many staff answered the question simply whilst others wrote at length. The most commonly referred to issues were employment, accommodation, pre-release courses, offending behaviour and drug and alcohol courses.

Table 3

Do you feel that preparing inmates for release can be helpful in terms of reducing offending?

Not at all	1	2	3	4	5	Extremely helpful
PRISON						TOTAL
A	4 (15%)	4 (15%)	9 (33%)	2 (7%)	8 (30%)	27
B	-	4 (15%)	11 (43%)	7 (27%)	4 (15%)	26
C	1 (3%)	8 (20%)	10 (26%)	13 (33%)	7 (18%)	39

Prison Officer Response

Question five asked staff 'which prison staff should have a major responsibility for the preparation of inmates for release?' Staff were able to suggest as many types of staff as they wanted. As can be seen from Table 4 of the 138 replies received, 11% thought that all staff should have a major responsibility. The most commonly referred to members of staff were pre-release course instructors (70%), probation officers (71%), wing prison officers (53%) and VTC/CTF instructors (31%).

Interestingly, only 42% of staff from Prison C felt that wing prison officers should have a major responsibility for the preparation of inmates for release compared with 54% in Prison A and 65% in Prison B.

Table 4 Which prison staff should have a major responsibility for the preparation of inmates for release?				
STAFF	Prison A	Prison B	Prison C	TOTAL
Wing Prison Officer	54%	65%	42%	53%
Pre Release Course Inst	54%	87%	73%	71%
Probation Officer	63%	72%	75%	71%
VTC/CIT/Instructors	32%	45%	40%	39%
All Staff	20%	8%	8%	11%
Response				

Interestingly 73% of staff in Prison C felt that pre-release course instructors should have a major responsibility for the task but no such course was operating in the prison at the time of the study. 87% of staff in Prison B felt that pre-release course instructors should have a major responsibility for this work. This is by far the highest proportion and is perhaps explained by the fact that pre-release courses were about to start in the prison after an absence of several years. Prison A, which had been operating pre-release courses for some time, clearly felt that the major responsibility should not be left with pre-release course instructors and 20% of staff felt that all staff should have a major responsibility. This is 2<unknown char> times as many as the other two prisons and perhaps reflects a different culture within the prison.

Finally staff were asked which staff should have the primary day-to-day responsibility for coordinating this area of work. Many staff suggested that it should be a shared responsibility including staff from different disciplines and Table 5 shows the number of times different staff were

Table 5 Which prison staff should have the primary day to day responsibility for co-ordinating this area of work?				
STAFF	Prison A	Prison B	Prison C	TOTAL
Wing Prison Officer	44%	18%	44%	34%
Probation Officers	15%	9%	18%	13%
Governors	17%	24%	12%	18%
Pre-Release Course Inst	5%	33%	15%	18%
Response				

mentioned. As can be seen from this table the majority of staff felt that prison officers should have primary responsibility for this work with Prison B once again feeling that the primary responsibility should be vested in the pre-release course instructor. Staff at Prison B also felt that Governors should have the primary responsibility and particular mention was made of the Head of Inmate Activities who is a key figure in the sentence planning scheme which operated at the prison.

What is clear from this study is that the majority of staff who completed the questionnaire felt that the preparation of inmates for release was worthwhile and they would like to have been more involved in the process. There was also a fair amount of agreement regarding the issues about which inmates may need help. However, prison staff from various prisons clearly saw their roles very differently in relation to this important area of work. The responses seemed not surprisingly to be strongly influenced by existing working practices. If staff are involved in shared working, personal officer and sentence planning schemes then they are clearly likely to feel much more involved in the process of the preparation of inmates for release and such schemes were much more in evidence in Prisons A and B. In these two prisons there were Governors Orders which spelt out the role of prison officers and other staff, in relation to the throughcare role much more clearly. However, in these two prisons the shared working and sentence planning schemes were very different in many ways which clearly influenced how staff felt about which staff should have involvement and responsibility. There appears to have been no clear detailed guidance from the Prison Service to staff in adult prisons about the nature of preparation for release work and staff involvement in it and it is therefore not surprising that without local guidance staff will be confused as to their respective roles. This study therefore points to the need for such guidance from the Prison Service if they are serious in their intention to involve staff in such issues.

Letters

Dear Sir,

The recent issue of the Prison Service Journal (no. 87) proved most enlightening. Alison Gomme's article on "The Management of HIV in the Correctional Setting" deserves a Pulitzer prize. Her insights and knowledge of American corrections goes far beyond that of most Americans and I feel her conclusions about HIV disease in the correctional setting are right on the mark. The comments below are not intended to be a criticism of anything she wrote, but merely to amplify and expand the reader's knowledge about the American jail system.

As Alison Gomme explained in her article, there are three main systems of imprisonment in the United states. In a general sense they operated autonomously; however, there are six state jail systems in which the remand operation is integrated with the prison operation similar to the way it is in the UK. These states are:

Vermont
Connecticut
Rhode Island
Delaware
Hawaii
Alaska

Alaska is a hybrid system in that some of the jails are local operations and others fall under the control of the state government of Alaska. West Virginia will be a state operated system of regional jails by the end of this decade.

Her report mentions the

city jails of New York (Riker's Island) and Chicago's Cook County Jail. These jails fall into the mega category. The Los Angeles county jails system is the largest with nearly 24,000 inmates. The American Jail Association's Who's Who in Jail Management lists the jails by rated capacity.

US Jails by Size

3,001 - 6,000	6
1,001 - 3,000	49
501 - 1,000	111
251 - 500	161
51 - 250	1,038
1 - 50	1,988

Total 3,353

County jails in the US total over 3,000; city jails around 300, the majority of which house under 50 inmates.

The comment in the article about the prisoners being unable to get substance abuse treatment is true. The American Jail Association had a grant from the Bureau of Justice Assistance to establish several model jail drug treatment programs for use in training personnel from other jails in replicating those models. In a survey of 1,687 jails, only about 7 per cent of the average daily inmate population of 192,461 were enrolled in drug treatment programs. Even for jails with drug treatment programs, only 12,894 of 100,389 inmates (13%) received daily treatment. (Source: *American Jails*, Sept/Oct. 1990, page 32)

Most jails still hold

sentenced prisoners a year or less, but a disturbing trend is the number of states where jails now hold prisoners for more than a year. In certain jails in Pennsylvania (called county prisons) inmates can be held up to 5 years. In Texas, Massachusetts, and Michigan, jails hold some prisoners up to three years; in Colorado up to two years. A number of jails hold both state and federal inmates who have long prison sentences to alleviate the crowding at the prison level. According to a report from the Bureau of Justice Statistics and estimated 426, 479 men and women were held in the nation's local jails as of mid-1991. Prisoners held in jails for other authorities totalled 39, 917; of this number 23,495 were being held because of crowding in other facilities, principally in state prisons.

There is a jail census every five years in the US and an annual Bureau of Justice Statistics sample update based on information from 1,124 jails in 799 jurisdictions. Of this number 27 per cent of the jurisdictions had at least one jail under court order to limit populations. Thirty per cent were under court order to improve one or more confinement conditions. During the 12 months ending June 28, 1991, there were more than 20 million jail admissions and releases.

continued

Letters

continued

Aids and Tuberculosis

HIV infection (AIDS virus infection) is the greatest known risk factor for developing active TB ever identified. It weakens the body's immune system and appears to allow tuberculosis infection to progress to active disease with little or no opposition. Another dimension of this problem is drug-resistant tuberculosis due in part to haphazard drug taking which seems to have accelerated development of multiple drug-resistant organisms.

This year the American Jail Association has become actively involved in the National Coalition to Eliminate Tuberculosis. Physicians for the Centres for Disease Control (federal government agency) emphasize that the TB rate is three to four times higher in the jails and prisons than it is in the general population. I have attended two meetings in Washington, D.C. this year called by the Centres for Disease Control and it may yet prove a far more serious threat than prisoners with AIDS. That is, when a person's immune system breaks down from the progress of the HIV virus and he contracts TB, the correctional institution suddenly has a major problem. TB can quickly spread in a cell block due to close living conditions and a poor ventilation system.

In the May/June 1992 issue, an article was published which made the point that some of the persons who are infected with the AIDS virus and the tuberculosis bacteria will have

negative TB skin test (27 per cent of the time). This means that individuals can slip undetected and co-infected into the jail and be a potential time bomb for the development of active communicable TB in jail. (American Jails, MAY/June 1992, page 13)

Privatization

The Wolds management has sent several requests to the American Jail Association in regard to more information about direct supervision jails and this new form of management. I hope to have the opportunity to visit Wolds once it is up and running, as well as any other institution in the UK doing direct supervision.

The American Jail Association has by resolution taken a stand against the privatization of jails. I concur with this position. Since I was in part responsible for the appearance of Wackenhut article in the Prison Service Journal, I wish to call to the readers' attention an item which appeared in the May/June 1991 issue of American Jails.

The Miami Herald reported that Wackenhut Corrections Corporation broke its contract to run the Monroe County Jail and for the first time in Florida returned this privately run institution to government control.

The Monroe Board of County Commissioners directed the Monroe County Sheriff to resume control of the overcrowded jail in Key West on March 1, 1991. This terminated Wackenhut's dispute with the county which began in December when the

company demanded an additional \$2.6 million from the county over the life of its four-year contract which began in February 1990.

Monroe County is obligated under a long-standing court order to alleviate crowding in its Key West jail. Monroe County, along with two other North Florida counties, had hired private companies to operate the local jails.

Wackenhut maintained that the county did not disclose the state rules which required more jail personnel than it guaranteed in the contract, but the County Administrator of Monroe County stated that it was Wackenhut's obligation to know as a bidder what the state law required and there was no obligation on the county's part to pay for additional staffing. It could, if it chose, reimburse Wackenhut for extra costs incurred by rules imposed after the contract was signed which included transport and utility costs.

An editorial in the Miami Herald concluded that it was fair for the county to pay for additional costs after the contract was signed. What isn't fair, the writer concluded, was "Wackenhut's cynical use of the bidding system. It's one thing to bid lower rates knowing that you can keep them. It's quite another to offer an unrealistic price, then blame someone else for not being able to do the impossible."

Ken Kerle, Ph.D.
Managing Editor
American Jail
Association.

Letters

Dear Sir,

In response to comment in Issue No. 85 of the Prison Service Journal on the topic of 'Mum's the Word'.

When I joined the Service I signed the Official Secrets Act and was told in no uncertain terms, by a Governor, not to repeat to people and the media outside the Service what goes on.

Now it appears you are giving civil servants carte blanche to tell partners, family and friends, etc, our experiences of what actually happens and discuss it.

Have the rules changed? Please let me know soon, before I end up like Peter Wright living off the earnings from a best seller.

**L. Martin,
Instructor Officer 1.
HMP Thorp Arch**

The Official Secrets Act 1911 in relation to which you signed a declaration has been replaced. The new Act came into force in March 1990. This Act is much less restrictive and there is no reason for you not to talk about your work provided you recognise the obvious constraints of confidentiality.

Read Home Office Notes 147/1990.

Editor.

Dear Sir,

I read with interest the article 'Black Workers in Prison Service' by Mr. Robin Alfred (Prison Service Journal Issue No. 86) and also the response by Mr. David Waplington.

Mr. Waplington opens by saying, he thinks the article is biased. I would suggest it is

downright inflammatory, furthermore, I believe it insults the Prison Service, Prison Officers and the Prison Officers' Association.

It is interesting to note whilst conducting his survey Mr. Alfred's research included 12 interviews with serving black and white prison officers, considering we have in excess of 25,000 prison officers, I ask was it worth it? Racial prejudice is no worse in the Prison Service than it is in the rest of society, people are entitled to their views, articles such as Mr. Alfred's which continue to rub the noses of decent people into the dirt will only serve to keep racial prejudice in the headlines, and eventually lead to people previously untouched by prejudice being dragged down to the level of the minority, furthermore, it will only escalate a problem that currently does not exist.

As for Mr. Alfred's comments about the Prison Officer's Association I would like to point out, the POA has its own Race Relations Policy, also articles and/or cartoons in the POA magazine submitted by members are not necessarily the views of the Association or its membership.

Finally Mr. Alfred, am I qualified to make the above statements? Judge for yourself:

I have been in the Prison Service for 18 years.

I am coloured (you say black or ethnic minority).

I am a Principal Officer.

I am Branch Secretary, Camp Hill Prison Officer's Association.

I am Race Relations Liaison Officer for Camp Hill.

Any racial prejudice shown to me I deal with in my own way, ie, I IGNORE IT.

**S. Ellis, P.O.
HMP Camp Hill**

Dear Sir,

On a recent visit to Woodhill Prison, Milton Keynes, I obtained a copy of the Prison Service Journal. The Journal contained some useful and interesting articles.

As an outsider though, I was left wondering as to the intended readership of the Journal? Was it for outsiders, academics, etc, or to inform the prison staff of current developments. If the intention was the latter than I would be pleasantly surprised if the majority of prison staff read it. Bearing in mind one candidate who was highlighted for promotion thought the Governor of Prisons was Mike TYSON. I wonder what he would have made of Elaine PLAYER's article which featured these words, all in a few lines:

POSITIVISM
PHILANTHROPIC
UBIQUITOUS
HETEROGENEOUS
IDIOSYNCRATIC
HUMANITARIANISM
COERCIVE
DEVIANT AROUSAL
HERETICAL QUESTIONING

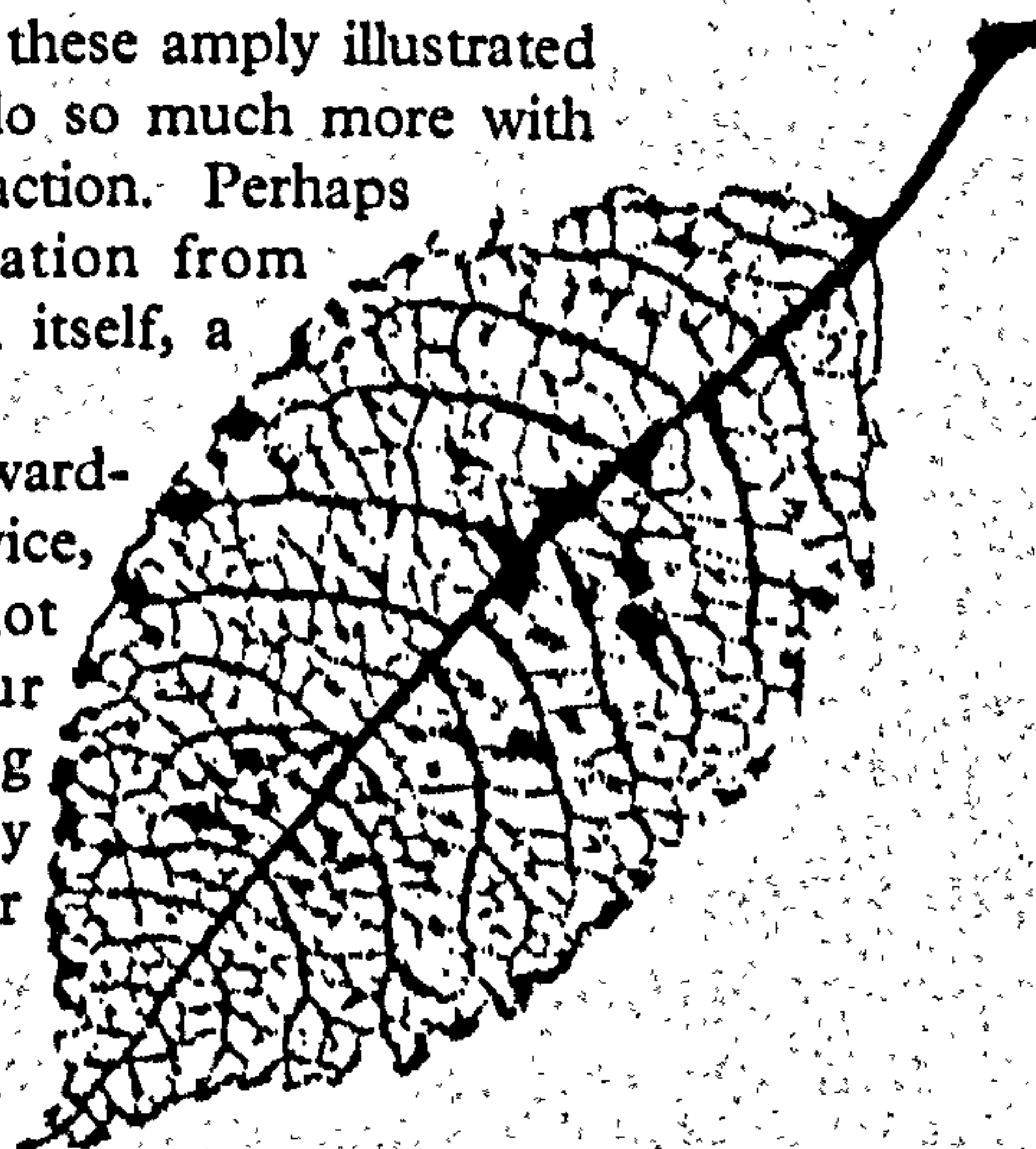
A little heavy eh?

I think the test of a good article is 'can it be easily read'? It may be interesting to take a straw poll within the service to obtain readers views.

**G. R. Deacon,
A/Superintendent
(Operations), Thames
Valley Police - Milton
Keynes.**

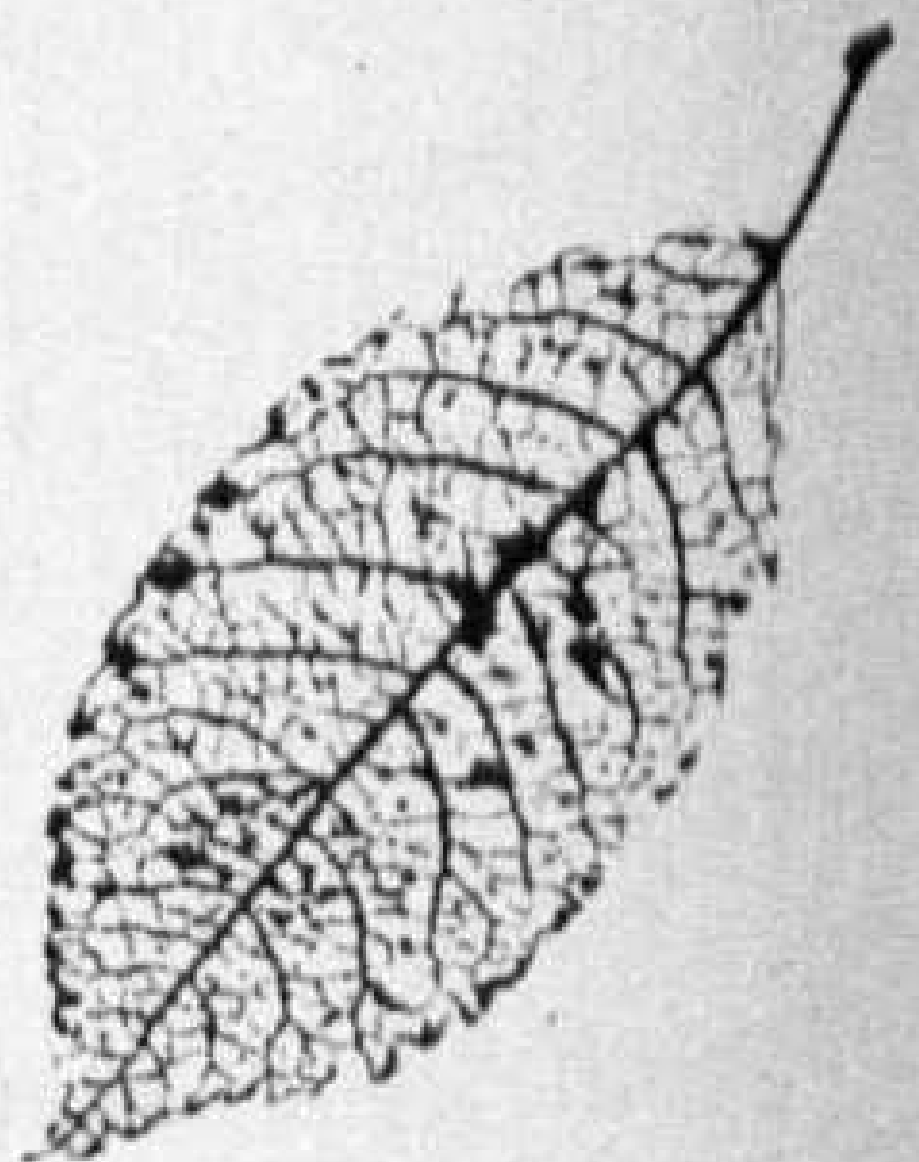
The prison estate totals some 20,000 acres (approximately) in size, some 9,000 acres of which are farmed by the Farms and Gardens Department. To an extent, this represents a vast reserve of unrealised potential in environmental terms. The following selection of short articles provides a 'snapshot' of the current status of environmental issues within the service, ranging from statements of department policy, through proposals for improving our environmental awareness and environmentally sympathetic use of land, to accounts of local initiatives largely promoted and supported by a small band of dedicated individuals. What does this indicate to the reader? Probably that the current state of play with regard to environmental concerns within the prison service is very much a reflection of that within society as a whole, of which we appear to be the proverbial microcosm. There are central statements of policy which, in many respects, pay lip-service to the theory of environmental awareness, but in reality provide little cohesive central planning or practical support for the estate as a whole. Where initiatives work they tend to be small-scale local operations, often bound up in the history and culture of the individual establishments, and kept alive by the efforts, often beyond the call of duty, of individuals with more than a modicum of personal interest. We should not decry these amply illustrated efforts, but on the other hand we could do so much more with co-ordinated central policy and concerted action. Perhaps the very difficulty of obtaining information from anything other than local sources was, in itself, a true reflection of our failing in this area.

Is there any reason why, in a forward-looking and progressive modern prison service, such environmental considerations cannot happily and fruitfully co-exist with our primary objective of humanely containing those sentenced by the courts? Hopefully this selection of articles provides food for thought for the reader.



Wild Flowers

Behind the Prison Wall



Landlife's first interest in Prison landscapes arose from a letter we received from a prisoner called Geoffrey Mellis at Rudgate in Yorkshire in November 1990, requesting advice on creating a nature reserve and involving the local community. We subsequently arranged a visit and were greatly impressed at what had been achieved by Trevor Williams and his staff at Rudgate, and became instantly aware of the enormous potential for environmental management that could occur on prison land. It also

became very obvious that until Trevor's interest there had never been a serious appraisal of the environmental potential of prison land.

In many ways the problem of prison land mirrors Landlife's work in inner city Liverpool, where Landlife was first able to demonstrate the advantages of natural landscaping. There were considerable cost and social benefits attached to bringing a flavour of the countryside into the town,

Richard Scott of Landlife offers to help any Prison Service establishment develop a nice little earner and at the same time improve the environment.

Wildflower harvesting



Wild Flowers Behind the Prison Wall

replacing dereliction with some feel for the forgotten countryside. Indeed, Landlife's 'mission statement' is 'To take action for a better environment by creating new opportunities for wildlife and encouraging people to enjoy them'. And as a point of topical interest our sister branch Landlife Ghana, was represented at the World Environment Summit in Rio De Janeiro.

The Flowering of the Inner City

Landlife was one of the first urban wildlife groups in this country, and was a pioneer in the field of naturalistic landscaping, showing the benefit of bringing nature to people's doorsteps rather than expecting them to find inaccessible nature reserves. Something that is often very difficult for inner city dwellers to do; and as the world becomes more urban, an issue that becomes increasingly more important, if the majority of people are to have any contact with nature.

Landlife did many of its first projects on derelict land on street corner sites in Liverpool, and won a gold medal for the wild area at the Liverpool Festival in 1984. Since then our work has evolved into a host of environmental education and habitat creation work, and most notably Landlife has successfully become a producer of wildflower seed (the sale of which supports Landlife's charitable work) utilising derelict land.

Our most recent work in Knowsley is taking wildflower production to a larger scale utilising derelict and waste sites. This brings large drifts of colour into usually drab situations and brings a positive feel to a depressed area, making it a much more attractive prospect for economic regeneration. We are thus able to utilise temporarily vacant sites on industrial estates.

Knowsley Borough Council have a dearth of sites that are simply neglected and unmanaged and present a poor image to anyone passing through the borough, and a disincentive for economic regeneration. The Council are therefore eager to find a solution to this problem, and will thus give Landlife annual leases on sites for a peppercorn rent, in return Landlife can transform the area by managing it in an ecologically sensitive way.

On the Other Side of the Pond

In many ways our work parallels that undertaken in Texas in the United States, which has now been christened the wildflower state, here for 50 years they have sown and encouraged wildflowers on their state highways; and in 1982 established a National Wildflower Research Center (founded by Lady Bird Johnson) to promote the use of wildflowers in landscaping.

In relation to Landlife's project we contacted Alice Coleman at Kings College London, a long campaigner on urban land use issues. On a series of run-down housing estates there is a project called DICE which is looking at the related improvements between the local landscape on run-down housing estates and crime rates. There is of course no simple relationship but there is general claim that as the community perceives a better landscape there is a more positive image on the estate and hence less social problems like vandalism. A related study at the University of Delaware showed that purely urban landscape creates a sadder and more depressed response and significantly a more aggressive one.

The Greening of Liverpool

In 1984 Landlife opened a wildflower nursery on the site of an abandoned sewage farm in Gateacre, Liverpool, and now successfully markets wildflowers nationwide through our own mail-order catalogue. Seed is available in mixtures for wildflower landscaping projects or individually as colourfully packeted seed. A whole range of wildflowers are also available as pot grown plants — again these are distributed nationally.

Landlife has just (June 1992) received a highly commended award in a national competition organised by the Institute of Leisure Management (ILAM) and Horticulture week, which aimed to identify the most innovative use of open space nationally. For which we were congratulated by an Early Day Motion in the House of Commons. It was a demonstration of how unproductive mown grass could be converted to a colourful and productive wildflower landscape.

Some of Landlife's most colourful plots are of cornfield annuals, the types of wildflowers that were once so common in our agricultural countryside but which have now largely disappeared as a result of cleaned seed corn and the widespread use of herbicides. So we can almost instantly create images usually associated with a long gone era, in the paintings of Claude Monet. These can be cropped for seed for other sites, and can be maintained as a wildflower field by simply cutting the crop after the flowers have set seed and rotovating the soil. Alternatively perennial wildflowers can be sown in rows. Many of these species take a little longer to establish — perhaps two years before they produce a good crop of seed. Because of the high value of the seed it is economic to harvest by hand. An acre devoted to rows of cowslip for example could yield £5,000 worth of seed.

However, this process can be speeded up by buying in the wildflowers as plants just as market gardeners plant out lettuce and cabbage plants. The waiting time for seed may thus be just six months.

Obviously a little expertise is required to ensure that collection is made at the right time — seed needs to be collected when it is fully mature; but also before it drops from the plant and is lost. This can happen in a very short space of time. Over the last eight years Landlife has acquired this experience

A Money-Making Venture

It appears the Prison Service has recognised the benefit of conservation schemes like that undertaken at Whitemoor, particularly in how it attracts community interest in the site. However, there are innumerable benefits to the Prison Service, including the possible generation of income from formerly unproductive land. Landlife has demonstrated the option of using formerly 'wasted land' resources for productive use.

Interestingly there are some examples where the existing nature strategy of the local authority precedes the development of a new prison. In Liverpool part of the area designated as an ecology park in Fazakerley is actually owned by the Home Office, and

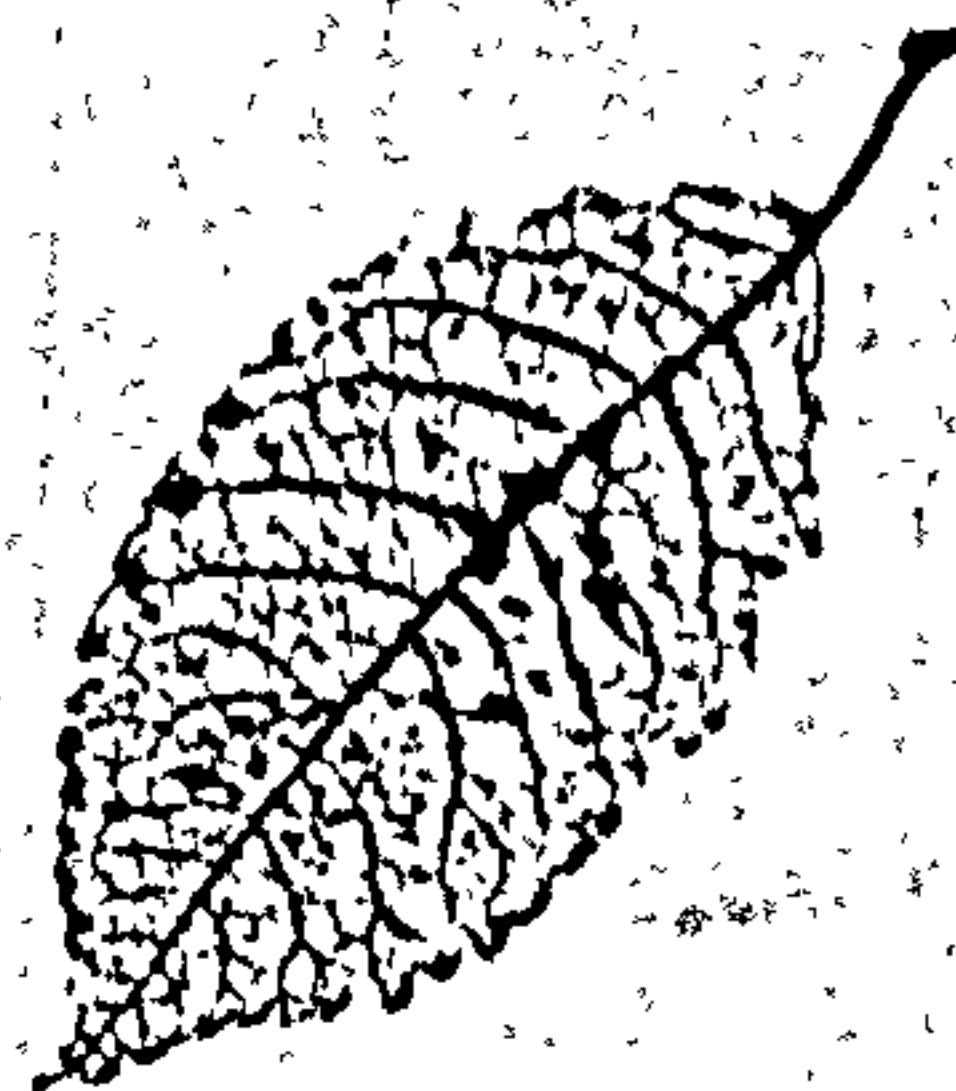
there is therefore an opportunity for the development of any new prison to reflect this.

Landlife would be very pleased to be involved with the transformation of a proportion of the prison land-holding, and be involved in a consultative process to bring this about. In January of this year after some consultation with The Prison Reform Trust, Landlife put in an application to the DOE's Environmental Grant Fund, to undertake the following:

- A national audit of prison land and buildings to assess the current status and quality of landscape management, and to establish a national steering group to promote conservation management in prisons
- secure contact with local wildlife groups and the community to contribute to long term site management
- to illustrate the productive potential of under-used prison land — eg, income generation from harvesting wildflower seed.

Other benefits to the prison service would include, increasing the range of activities for inmates, increasing job satisfaction for prison staff, and improving liaison and co-operation with the local community.

Unfortunately the project did not receive approval from the Department of Environment; but the project is not one which Landlife wishes to forget about, and we are eager to seek further discussions with all interested parties within the Prison Service.



Wildflowers Behind the Prison Wall

ENVIRONMENT & CONSERVATION within the Prison Service

Wildlife Habitat and the Prison Estate

R A Haslam

The author is a landscape manager working at Prison Service Headquarters (DSP3). He explains what the Prison Service is doing for conservation and improving the environment within and around prisons.

Wildlife conservation activities within the service are often local initiatives which attract the interest of the inmate populations. In recent times, as the political emphasis moves towards a more environmentally aware standpoint, the Prison Service keeps pace with these developments through central policy. DSP3 has contributed towards a service-wide Environmental Action Guide in which attempts have been made to identify the areas of concern in the way in which work is done, and the effects that our actions may exert upon the environment, either locally or globally, and more importantly what steps can be taken to keep, limit or cease these activities. Following in the wake of this initiative, DSP3 have implemented surveys across the prison estate to assess the variety of wildlife habitats in conjunction with the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds and Wye College (University of London). A similar exercise is currently being drafted to assess available unproductive land within the farming estate, to provide suitably sympathetic plant material to contend with the local conditions, and to provide wildlife support facilities through either supplementary food sources or nesting sites for a variety of bird species.

Establishments that have estates containing Sites of Special Scientific Interest usually plan and manage these sites locally, but the recent trend is the development of conservation areas and wetland habitats through either local groups or nationally based organisations.

Improvements to Amenities at New Prison Sites

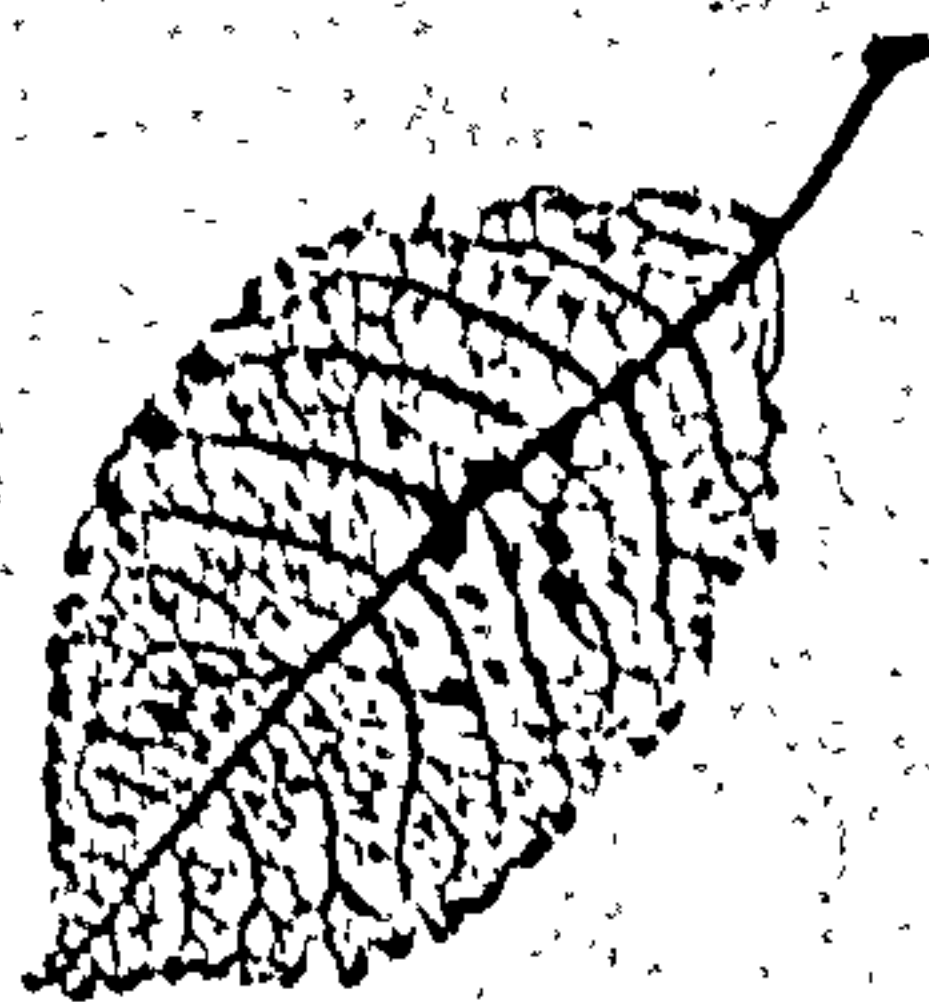
Much is being done to enhance the environment around new prison establishments. Perhaps the most imaginative scheme has been at Whitemoor Prison near March in Cambridgeshire. The prison has

been built on redundant British Rail marshalling yards. In the course of construction a natural area of some 60 acres has been established alongside the prison as a permanent and attractive landscape feature. The area, which contains large swales and ponds to drain the site, has been planted with many thousands of aquatic plants, trees and shrubs. This park-like area will be allowed to naturalise and will be available in perpetuity as an amenity area to visitors to the prison and the population of the Fenland town of March.

The waterways and much of the planting were established in the early stages of the construction scheme and the planting has already begun to mature. Birds now use the ponds in large numbers and have nested there over the last season or two. The grass and planted areas are becoming rich in natural life, and last summer saw an abundance of butterflies and dragonflies.

There is the prospect of establishing nature trails for school children over the 60 acre site, which has already been provided with footpaths to enable local people to enjoy walks over the area.

All this was achieved without significant extra expenditure falling on the taxpayer. Initially, it was planned to remove a large amount of surface waste material off-site to make the land suitable to develop as a prison. This would have involved heavy expenditure on haulage. An alternative economic proposal was developed to purchase additional redundant BR land adjacent to the prison site to accommodate the waste material, and to cover this to an appropriate depth with topsoil and develop the area as a natural park. The savings derived from this imaginative alternative which avoided handling, transport and disposal costs produced the resources for high quality of planting and landscaping over attractive undulating areas. The result has been this unusual and unique feature incorporated into the prison site.



Noteworthy schemes at other prison establishments include improvements to a site formerly occupied by a disused power station at Doncaster, where we are providing a riverside footpath and cycle way, and improving the riverbank, as well as planting 4,000 trees and 25,000 shrubs. At Everthorpe on Humberside, a woodland walk for residents has been developed with over 3,000 trees and shrubs to replace an area of trees which was lost when the establishment was built. When this area is established, the walk will offer both an amenity, and an area of equal or greater ecological importance. All new prisons are landscaped, and this can involve extensive planting of trees and shrubs to enhance the environment. For instance, at Milton Keynes, nearly 50,000 shrubs and 9,000 trees have been planted, as part of a comprehensive landscaping scheme. At Holme House Farm at Stockton-on Tees, over 17,000 trees and shrubs have been planted on the site, and improvements made to a bridle way.

Rare Breeds

During May of this year DSP3 (PSIF Central Services) Division in conjunction with the Rare Breeds Survival Trust staged an exhibition of farm animals, the largest number of breeds shown at a single event, at the ASDA Festival of Food and Farming in Hyde Park. The remarkable feature of this display was that all of the animals shown were reared within the Prison Service at various farms attached to establishments across England and Wales. This impressive assembly was not an exhaustive display by any means. It might be fair to state that those on display were some of the more ornamental breeds available.

Naturally, as a body dedicated to the rehabilitation of offenders, DSP3 have explored many ways to develop this basic theme, recognising that one of the most successful means of encouraging inmate participation is through working with livestock. In this respect the rare breeds initiative has particular potential for forthcoming work with inmates.

This aspect is not the only reason for raising and keeping these old strains of farm animals. The benefits for breeding purposes, for example, are considerable. Characteristics inherent in these old bloodlines may be called upon to improve the modern breeds, and their national and international importance should

not be underestimated. At a more local level the Governor of each establishment has a need to establish and maintain the confidence and occasionally co-operation of the local community. For those Governors with the benefit of a farm (with or without rare breeds) this rapport can be established through farm open days, the involvement of local schools and breed groups.

The public relations activities of the Farms and Gardens group serve as an opportunity to display some of the positive aspects of the service. These activities, which may be initiated through a single establishment or as a joint venture through Farms and Gardens Head Office, most frequently involve the rare breed animals.

Establishments where Rare Breeds are Located

HMP/YOI

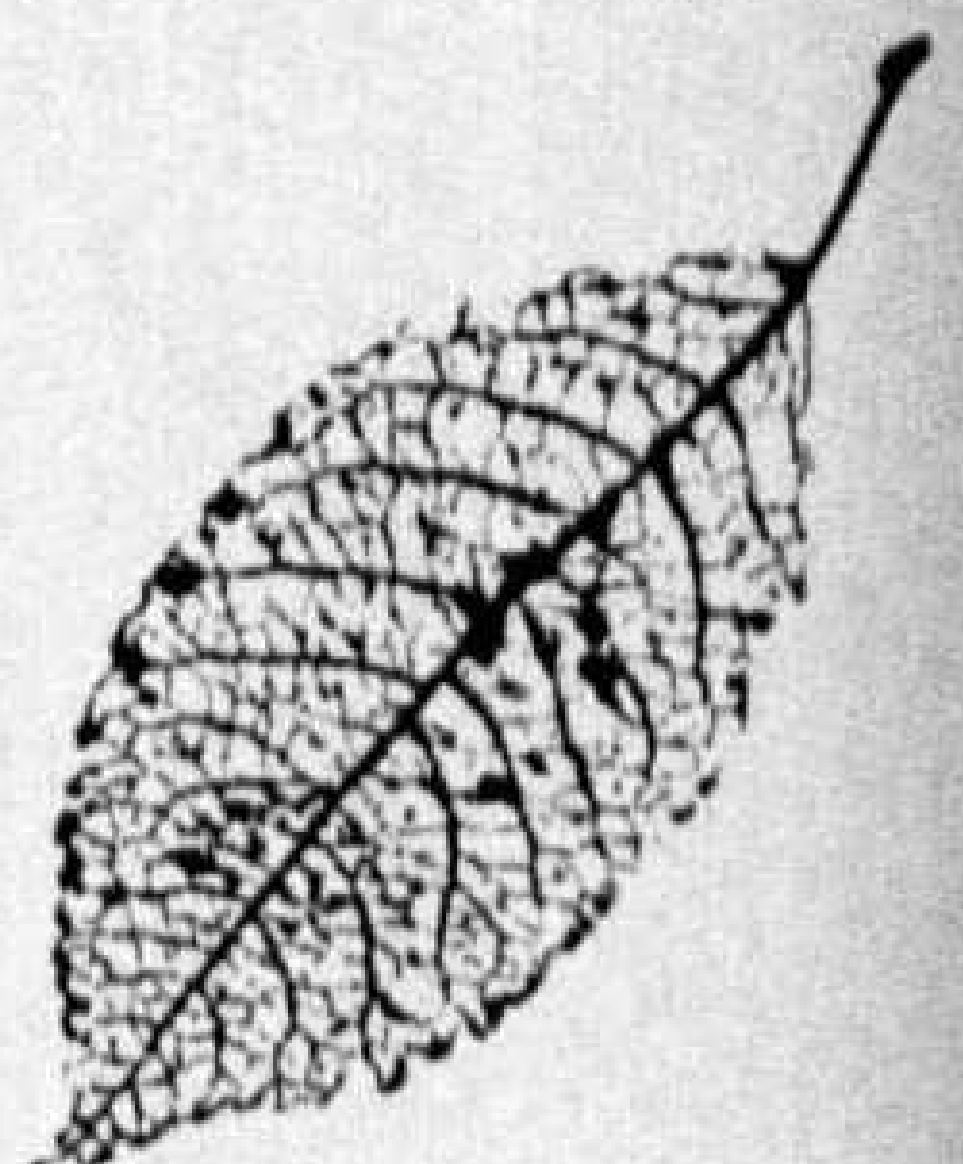
Stocken
Leyhill
Hewell Grange
Hewell Grange
Usk
North Sea Camp
Hewell Grange
Everthorpe
Portland
North Sea Camp
Drake Hall

BREED

White Park cattle
Gloucester Cattle
Kerry Cattle
Longhorn Cattle
Berkshire Pigs
Middle White Pigs
Tamworth Pigs
Gloucester Old Spot Pigs
Portland Sheep
Lincoln Longwool Sheep
Manx Loghtan Sheep

Environmental Action Plan

Earlier this year, DSP3, in common with other Prison Service Departments, was requested to prepare a submission for the Department of the Environment, outlining future plans within its sphere of control for the conservation of natural resources and the development of environmentally – sympathetic policies. To this end, the following Environmental Action Plan was formulated, giving a clear direction for DSP's future initiatives within the service.



Introduction

DSP3 (PSIF Central Services) Division recognises the need to protect the environment by ensuring the industrial and farming activities for which it shares responsibility with establishments do not result in any unnecessary or unacceptable damage. It needs to be noted that the recommendations in this plan take account of relevant current legislation, eg, COSHH, the Pesticides Act 1989, Health and Safety at Work Act. A DSP3 Committee has been established to draw together the various points which are either of general application or relevant to the work of particular groups under the following terms of reference:

'To examine the resource provision with DSP3 (PSIF Central Services) Division in order to address the contribution to the Director of Services and Paroles initiative: Environmental Action Guide in-line with the proposals and recommendations as issued by the DOE September 1991'.

The proposals in this plan are intended to ensure that PSIF activities play a full part in giving effect to the principles of the governments Environmental Action Guide.

General Principles

The Division has adopted the following Environmental Policy Statement.

This statement relates to all activities undertaken in connection with operations in the Prison Service which are controlled or supported by DSP3 (PSIF Central Services) these include manufacturing, farming, industrial and service support processes, procurement and training. In pursuing the objectives set for PSIF activities we acknowledge the need to prevent both pollution within the work place and in our commercial operations by the use of sympathetic practices and procedures, and to reduce waste and the use of non-renewable natural resources.

We acknowledge the need to improve in energy efficiency and in all respects our procurement procedures should take account of these needs through the constant review of our operational practices and management systems. Account should also be taken of the health and safety and other legislative

requirements which are directly or indirectly relevant to the work of PSIF.

A programme of staff awareness will be implemented, and the opportunity will be given for individual contributions, so as to foster a total commitment to the principles of the government's environmental policies.

DSP3 (PSIF Central Services) Division will also seek to influence:

- the provision of premises and accommodation services, and
- working practices – both for itself and more widely in order to promote environmentally-friendly practices.

Action Plan

1. Procurement

a) Contract documentation should contain a statement to cover the Division's approach to environmental protection:

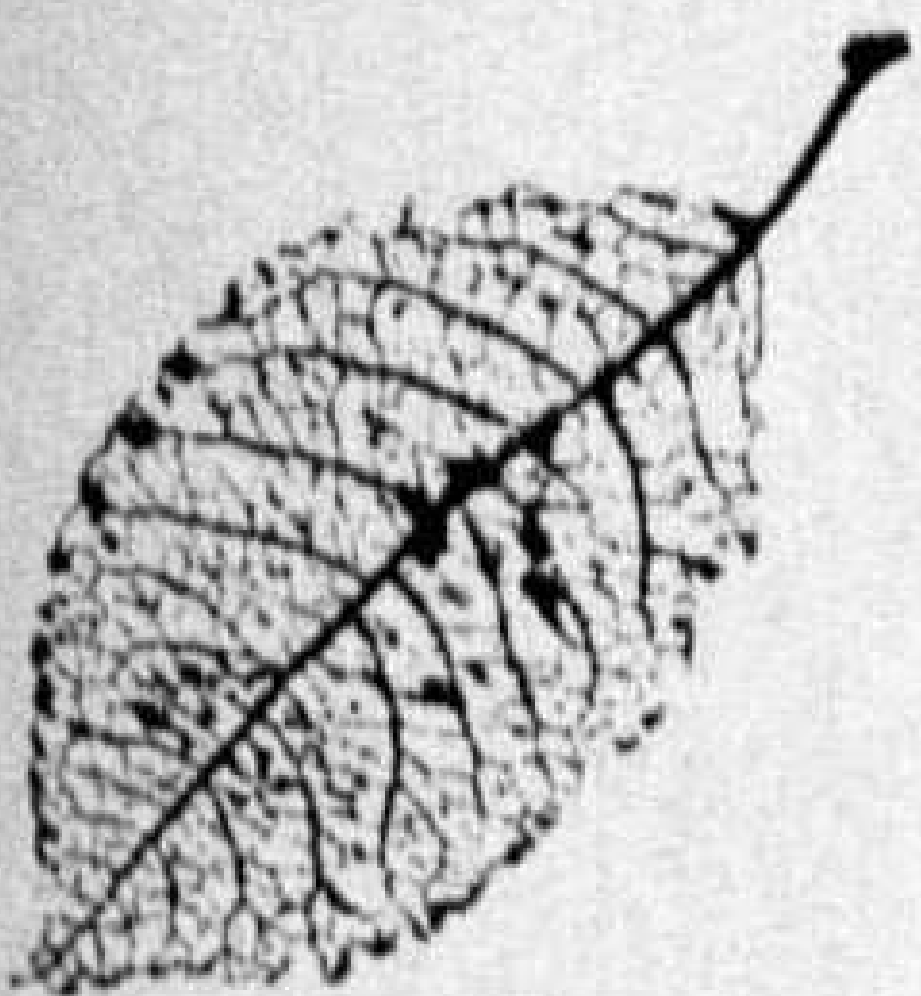
i. DPS3 (PSIF Central Services) Division will not consider companies who use manufacturing processes and/or supply products which are harmful to the environment, where suitable environmentally friendly alternatives exist.

ii. Tenderers are invited to state where they are making a positive contribution to environmental matters. This could include energy efficiency improvements, use of recycled products, minimal use of harmful substances, or minimum use of packaging. These are only a few examples of the ways companies can make a positive contribution to improving the environment.

b) Specifications, either domestic or contractual, for materials will be drawn up to eliminate or minimise the use of hazardous or pollutant materials including those used in:

- yarns and fibres for knitting or weaving
- leathers, fabrics and threads for make-up
- soaps and bleaches for laundering
- strings, twines and packaging materials
- sizes, dyestuffs, or any miscellaneous items

The specifications issued by the product groups will seek assurances via procurement that all metal, wood and print materials have been derived from renewable resources whilst plastic products specifications will seek



longevity, and where possible use the maximum percentage of re-cycled plastic granules. Similarly the groups will seek to ensure that the materials specified 'are fit for the purpose' with the objectives of being the lowest specification that will achieve the customer's requirement of quality and longevity.

2. Environmental Awareness

The training section of DSP3 recognises the need to incorporate environment awareness into courses designed for new entrant headquarters and outstationed staff, and the trainers will be seeking opportunities to highlight this.

3. Pollution

Across the wide range of activities in which DSP3 is involved pollution of our environment requires considerable attention.

a) The group will comply with the Environmental Protection Act. The division will issue work instructions to ensure that traps/filters are effective when used with extraction equipment and drains.

b) Workshop and laundry layouts to be designed to minimise and control all levels of emission exhaust, effluents and noise consistent with existing regulations. Within the design brief the division will specify that the wastage of materials is kept to the minimum by using standard material sizes.

c) Farm sewages, vegetable waste, farm effluent and silage have the potential for affecting water courses. Effective management of these agricultural by-products through the provision of containment ensures that the Farms and Gardens Group complies with current legislation to prevent uncontrolled run-off thereby achieving the objective of avoiding water course pollution. A programme of store construction is currently being implemented.

Current practice involving agricultural and horticultural fertilisers presents similar potential problems to water courses. The effective management of application rates to the appropriate crop ensures that there is no potential soil residue and therefore no potential for water course pollution. Not only does this action protect the environment, it keeps the cost down and conserves natural resources. Where consistent with current

policy lower nitrate usage is encouraged and the use of organic alternatives are employed where possible.

d) Chlorofluorocarbons, halons and the other refrigerant gases may also serve as propellants in aerosols to produce an atomised spray. These gases when used as refrigerants serve their purpose very well and only present a problem when they escape into the atmosphere through leakage or at the point when the unit is demolished.

The divisions should guard against the accidental release of these gases by frequent assessment of the cold store units in terms of their efficient use and to the overall condition. This will ensure that their life is extended to enable the safe removal of the coolant for permanent storage.

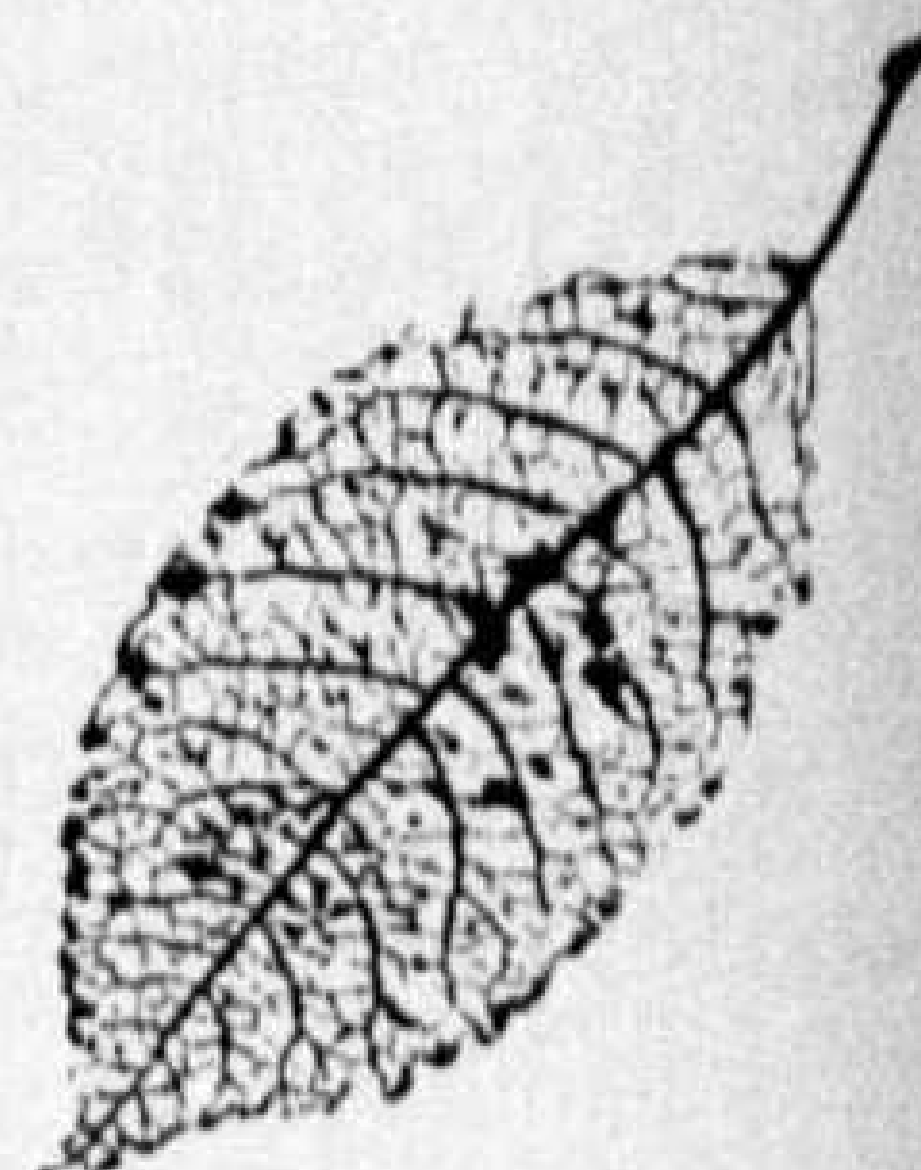
All future cold store developments will be required to be charged with ozone friendly coolants.

Operations for which the division has responsibility will use ozone friendly aerosols or achieve an atomised spray through alternative means when and where the need arises.

e) In the Farms and Gardens sphere of operations, chemicals usually refer to herbicides, (weedkillers) pesticides (bug killers) and fungicide (fungus eradication). The use of these are covered by the Use of Pesticides Regulations, in terms of safe use, handling and disposal. Similarly, the product information supplied by the manufacturers gives information in the safe use of the specific substance. Such regulations and instructions will be strictly followed.

Wherever possible, alternatives should be considered. Where chemical treatments are unavoidable, the least environmentally damaging material to address the problem in hand should be used.

An alternative method of control: particularly successful in the control of insect pests is biological control, which employs the pest's natural predators to curb the troublesome infestation without the risk of a chemical pollution in a glasshouse environment, and without giving rise to any potential knock-on effects upon either staff or the consumer of the produce.



f) Internal Combustion Engines

The theory of a well-maintained engine performing more easily and efficiently than one given scant attention is well established. The real benefits to the user and the environment in general are:

- To the environment, fuel is consumed more efficiently and the waste by-products are kept to the minimum possible.
- To the user the efficient running of a machine ensures the lowest possible running costs and a longer working life.

Farms and Gardens have a long-established practice of planned maintenance on the departments fleet of tractors. A similar practice on the small motorised implements within the group is promoted to achieve the same objectives.

All petrol and diesel engines within contractual responsibility of the E & W Group will have an annual check that all emissions comply with the statutory requirements.

Where possible, diesel should be used because it is lead-free and more economical. In petrol engine instances lead-free is preferred.

g) It is proposed to move toward a no smoking policy within DSP3. A questionnaire to establish the views of all staff and the provision of accommodation for those smokers who wish to continue is currently being explored.

4. Conservation of Energy and Materials

a) DSP3 (PSIF Central Services) Division is committed in all aspects of the operations in which it is involved to improving the environment by use of sympathetic practices and procedures to reduce waste, and the careful use of non-renewable natural resources. Where waste is unavoidable, secondary products should wherever possible be developed to make use of the off-cuts. The method of quality control and quality assurance employed by the division including BS 5750 will be rigorously applied to ensure that specifications and standards are strictly adhered to. This will limit the incidence of offending emissions and reducing the levels of material usage and reject or scrap items, thus increasing the potential for cost savings on energy.

b) Packaging should be either of a re-cyclable or a re-usable nature. The re-cycling of materials should conform to a locally based plan to satisfy the needs of each individual establishment.

c) Administration and Personnel has the responsibility for the ordering and distribution of stationery items to the Division and intend wherever possible to order from HMSO only items which are environmentally friendly and to raise staff awareness of ways of making the most economical and effective use of those items.

d) Awareness of the economical use of lighting in the Division will be promoted through distributed notices to staff and posters in rooms requesting that staff switch off lights, log out from computers, etc, when leaving offices and for any length of time. More liaison on this and other related matters with B5 Division which is ultimately responsible for the maintenance of the building, will be established.

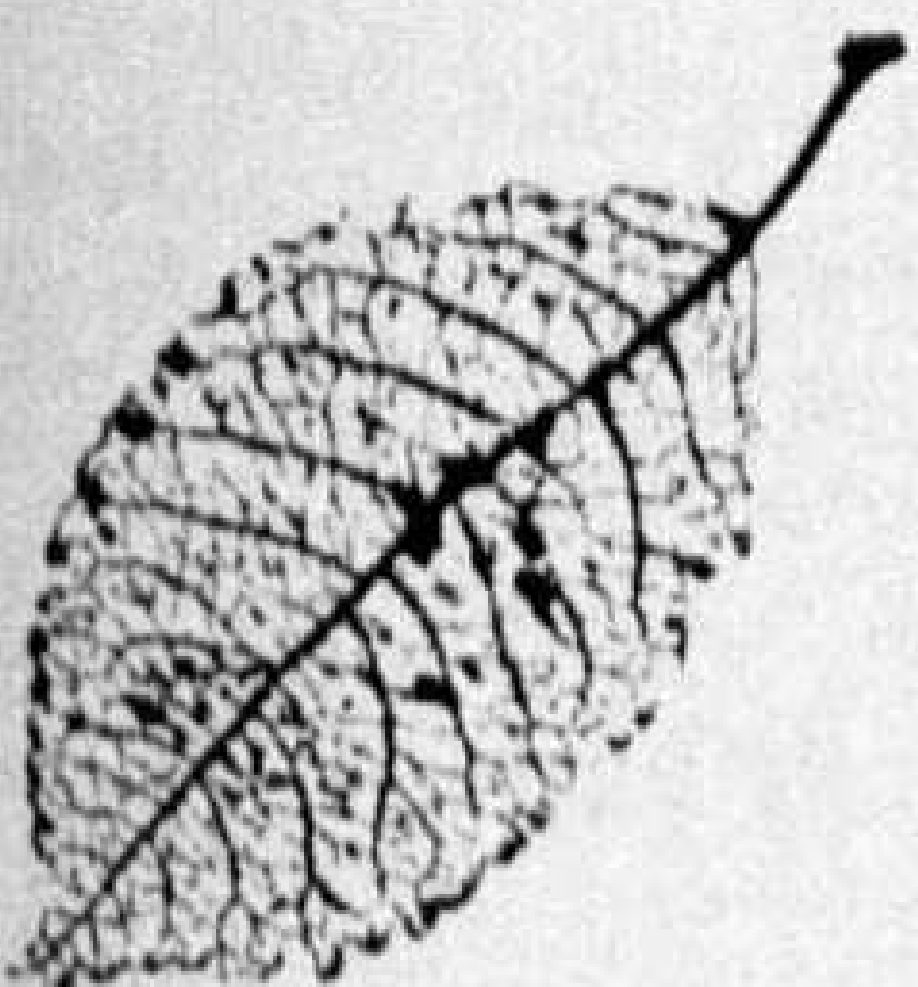
5. Wildlife Conservation

The Farms and Gardens aspect of the division promotes the provision of trees and shelter belts throughout the various land holdings. These are normally composed of native material which serve as supplementary food stocks and shelter areas for the indigenous fauna. These themes can be developed where situations dictate to provide conservation areas, which use agriculturally unproductive land.

In certain locations, areas registered as sites of Special Scientific Interest occur on the prison estate. In these circumstances the Farms and Gardens staff adopt a proprietorial role in the protection of the site. Local conservation groups activities on these and developing sites are welcomed and often considerable co-operation burgeons from these arrangements.

Over recent months a survey of birdlife has been initiated involving the local farm management, Wye College and the RSPB. The intention is to identify sites where an enhancement of the naturally occurring features will promote an increase in bird populations.

Woodland management plans are drawn up ensuring that any naturally occurring species of flora or faunas' needs are accommodated and hopefully encouraged.



A GREENER WORKPLACE

The author, Neil Verlander, is Information Officer for the environmental pressure group, 'Friends of the Earth'. In this article he emphasises the role all of us need to play if we are to prevent the earth becoming one large receptacle for rubbish. He spells out what each of us can do at work and home.

Over the last few years, more and more people are starting to realise that the environment is in a perilous state: climate change has brought the threat of rising sea levels and changes in weather patterns; the thinning of the ozone layer will lead to increases in skin cancer, and accidents such as the one at Chernobyl demonstrate that pollution is no respecter of national borders. Closer to home, ever more cars pollute the air we breathe, whilst the mountains of rubbish we bury each week leaves a legacy of pollution for future generations to deal with.

All this may seem a long way from the average prison, but it is important to realise that our fragile environment is under attack from many directions, and that ALL of us — governments, businesses, institutions and individuals — can make all the difference.

Every year we all generate mountains of waste, use vast amounts of energy, create pollution and use up natural resources. However, there are many things we can all do — many of them surprisingly simple — to help the Earth fight back.

Reduce, Re-use, Re-cycle

Like most establishments, prisons can generate vast quantities of waste, often needlessly, so cut down on unnecessary purchases, packaging and waste and re-use and re-cycle as much as possible.

The amount of paper we use is astonishing. In the UK alone 9.27 million tonnes is used each year — and over two thirds of that is simply thrown away. Try and get the most out of your paper; photocopy double-sided, circulate memos and reports instead of copying one for everybody, and use scraps of paper for notes and messages.

A large proportion of waste we throw away is packaging. You can use your influence as a purchaser to persuade suppliers to cut out wasteful packaging. Avoid the use of disposable cups, plates, cutlery and towels. Buy goods in re-usable containers (like milk bottles) where possible.

Another way of reducing waste is through re-cycling. With a bit of planning, you should be able to set up a re-cycling scheme for waste paper from the offices. There are many waste paper merchants who collect paper from businesses and institutions. Most high grade paper, such as stationery, computer and photocopy paper; some also collect low grade paper like newspapers, magazines and envelopes. Look in the Yellow Pages for a waste paper merchant who can collect paper from your prison.

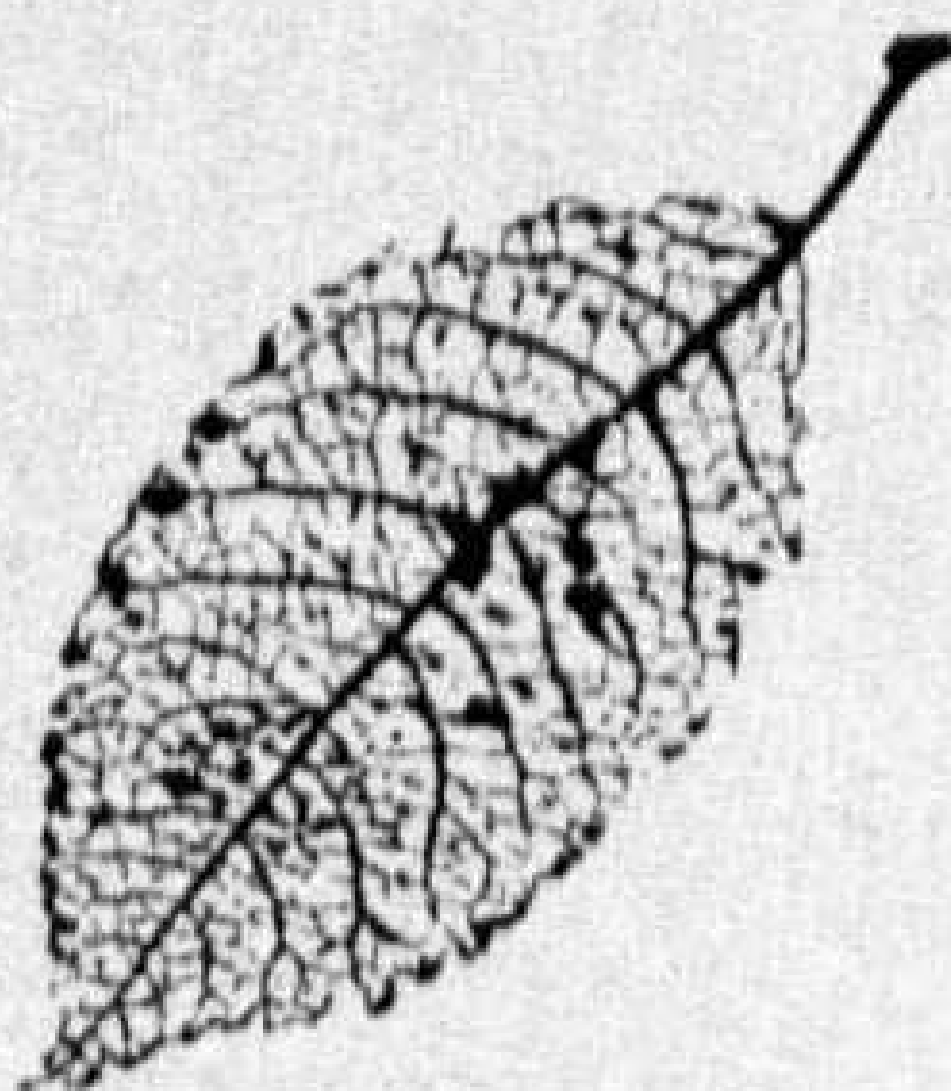
Ask your local Council whether it will make special collections of separated re-cyclables such as paper, glass, cans and plastics. And re-cycle kitchen waste using a compost heap. Bear in mind that collection is only half the answer. It is also important to increase the demand for re-cycled materials wherever possible.

Saving Energy

Few human activities affect the environment as much as our use of energy. Yet most of us use far more electricity, gas, coal or oil than is necessary. As a result we are causing unnecessary pollution, such as greenhouse gas emissions, acid rain and radioactive pollution from nuclear power stations and their waste.

By being more energy efficient it is possible to substantially reduce the amount of energy we use without affecting performance. It is also highly cost-effective, leading to great financial savings.

Lighting is a good example. A conventional 'incandescent' light bulb works by heating a tungsten filament until it glows white hot; not a very efficient way of producing light. Far



more efficient bulbs have been developed and are known as compact fluorescents – CFLs – or energy efficient light bulbs. These bulbs produce the same amount of light using just 20 per cent of the energy, thereby reducing pollution and running costs by 80 per cent. They also last up to eight times longer. Whilst these bulbs are more expensive to buy than standard bulbs, they will save money over the bulb's lifetime. Highly efficient lighting systems are also available, combining the latest fluorescent technology with 'smart' controls which switch off the lights when there is enough daylight or no-one is in the room. A report by the UK Government in 1990 showed that it would be practical and cost effective to more than halve electricity use for lighting in the UK through improvements in lighting efficiency.

What you can do:

- ✓ **When buying electrical equipment, look out for the most energy efficient models.**
- ✓ **Make sure buildings are properly insulated. Draughtproof windows and doors.**
- ✓ **Don't use more heating than you really need – keep thermostats set at a reasonable level.**
- ✓ **Switch off lights and electrical appliances when not in use.**
- ✓ **Use mains electricity rather than batteries. Batteries take up to 50 more times energy to manufacture than they produce, and also contain toxic metals which cause pollution problems when disposed of.**
- ✓ **Help improve awareness of energy wastage.**

Tropical Hardwood

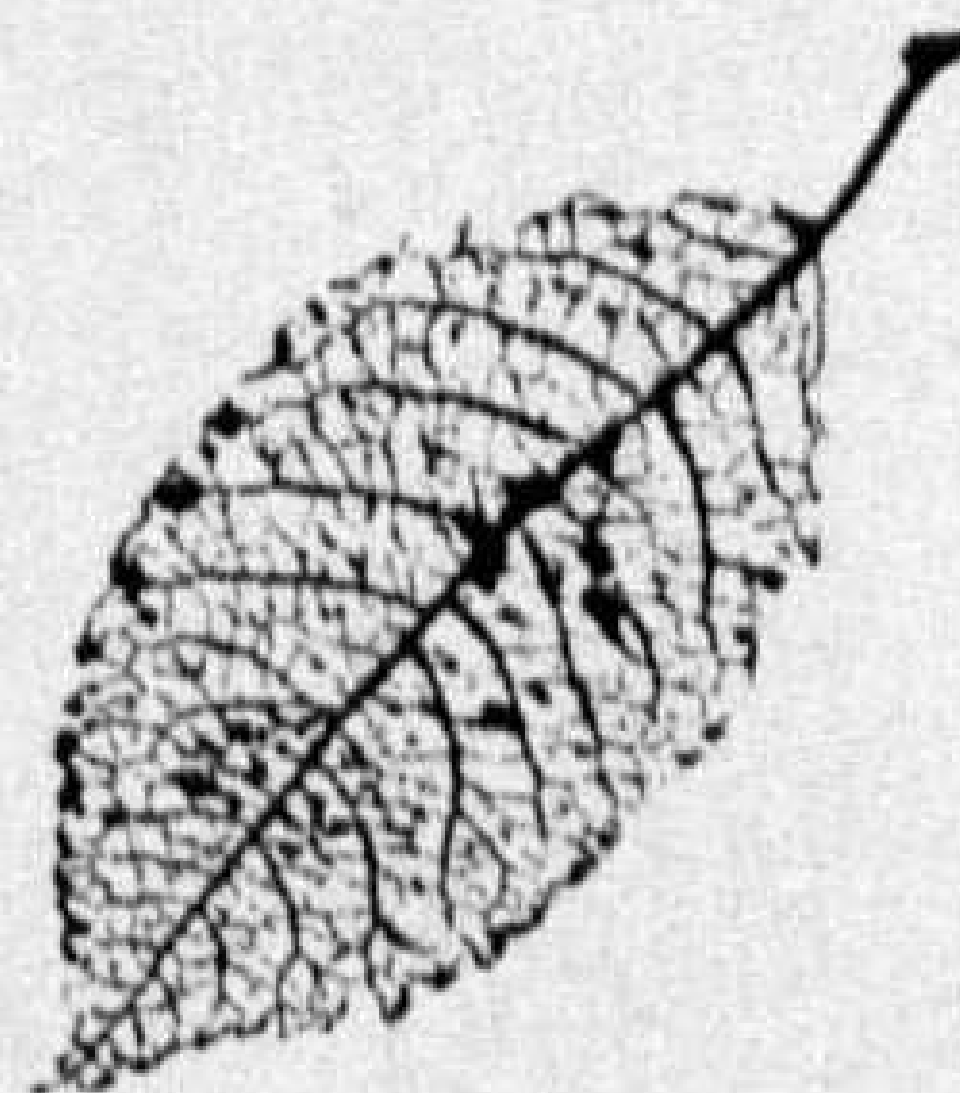
Be careful when buying new furniture, windows and doors. These are often made from tropical hardwoods. Rain-forests are currently being decimated at an alarming rate – every year an area the size of England and Wales is destroyed or seriously damaged. One of the causes is the trade in tropical timber. Only a tiny 0.2 per cent of tropical forests are managed in anything like a 'sustainable' fashion, so treat claims about 'sustainable management' with caution, and avoid buying tropical hardwoods such as mahogany, iroko and meranti.

Peatbogs

Closer to home, commercial peat-cutting for the horticultural industry is a major threat to some of our most important wildlife habitats – the lowland raised peat-bog. Yet the use of peat is unnecessary. If you still use peat, whether for growing indoor plants or in landscape gardening, you should ask your retailers to supply alternatives, which are readily available.

What you can do:

- ✓ **Try gardening organically. Avoid the use of chemicals.**
- ✓ **Start a compost heap. Vegetable peelings, waste food, grass cuttings and other organic materials are ideal.**
- ✓ **Plant native species of plants and trees in your garden.**
- ✓ **Plant species that attract wildlife.**
- ✓ **Try growing your own food.**



Green Products

Unfortunately, buying 'green' products is not as straight-forward as some people might assume. A recent survey revealed that 63 per cent were 'confused' about green claims. However, help should soon be at hand in the form of the Eco-label.

After much debate, the European Community Ministers have finally agreed to introduce a 'green label' for products that meet certain environmental standards. This is good news for the shopper because they will know that the product has been independently tested and shown to be better than competitor products. Friends of the Earth is disappointed that the scheme is not more stringent, but it is certainly better than nothing. The first labelled products should be on the shelves towards the end of the year.

There are a whole host of other things that can be done, most of them are common sense. If you would like more information about Friends of the Earth, or a full list of our publications please write to Publications Despatch, Friends of the Earth, 26-28 Underwood Street, London, N1 7JQ.

Further Information:

How to be a Friend of the Earth – Tips on how to go green. (£3.45)

Paper Chase – A Guide to Office Waste Paper Schemes. (50p)

Gardening Without Peat – Information on peat alternatives and advice on how to compost. (£5.95)

Please send payment with order to:

Publications Despatch,
Friends of the Earth,
26-28 Underwood Street,
London, N1 7JQ

For information leaflets on energy efficiency and management in offices,

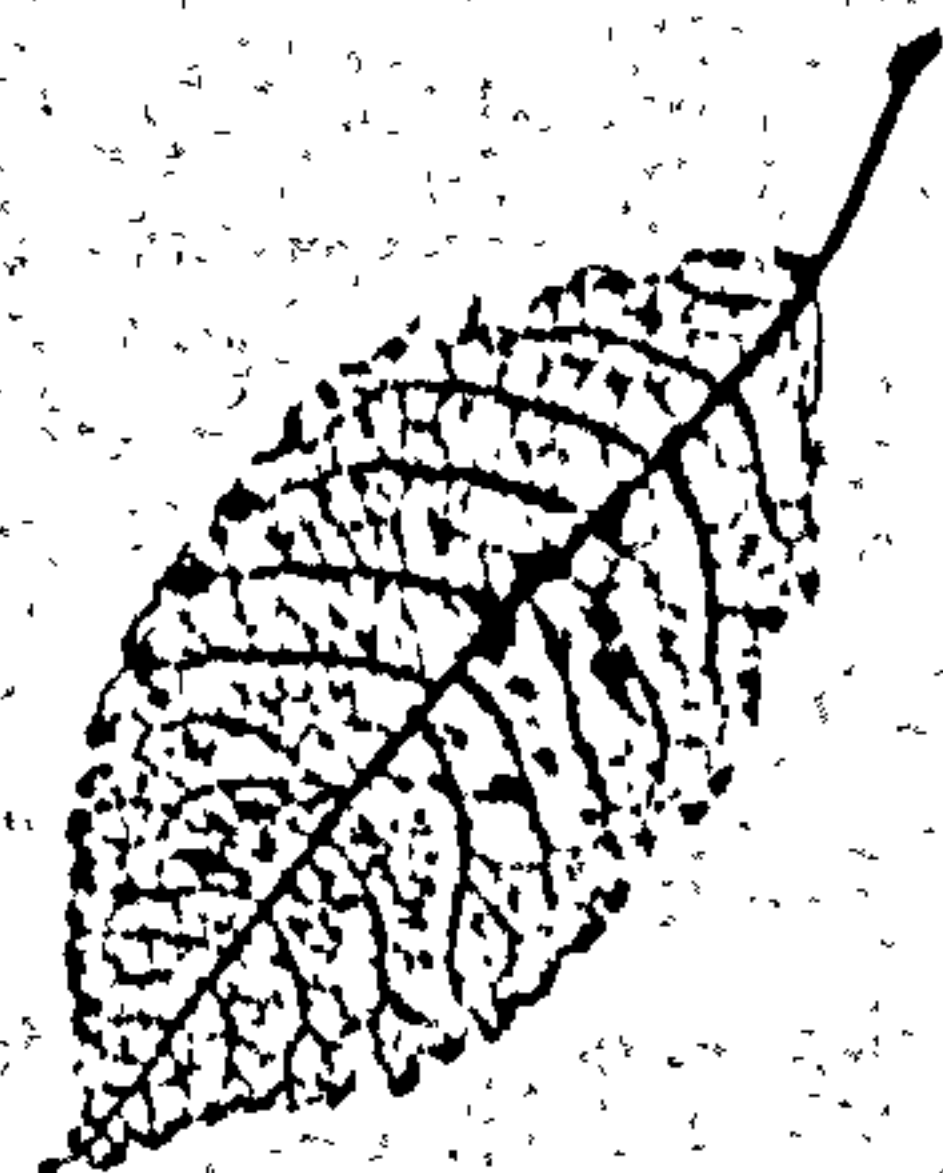
Contact:

The Enquiries Bureau,
Building Research Energy Conservation Unit,
Watford, WD 7JR
0923-664258.

For energy audits of offices, a list of energy management consultants should be available from your regional Energy Efficiency Office, which can also provide information on all aspects of energy efficiency.

Contact:

The Energy Efficiency Office,
Department of the Environment,
1 Palace Street,
London SW1E 1EG
071-238-3000.



Peter Bain
Education Officer,
North Sea Camp.

He has long standing interest in the conservation movement and is ex wildlife warden of Gibraltar Point on the shores of the Wash.

Harry Small
Head of Inmate Activities,
North Sea Camp.

Fifty

Years Of Reclamation

HM Prison

North Sea Camp

Concern for the environment is not new and in this article, the authors traces back to 1935 work at North Sea Camp in Lincolnshire where land reclamation has been a feature of the work of both inmates and staff.



One sunny morning in May 1935, a farm worker hoeing in a field near Boston, in Lincolnshire, paused in his work to observe an unusual sight — about thirty lads in their teens, uniformly dressed in dark blue shorts, grey open neck shirts and wearing sturdy boots, were marching vigorously in good order along the road which led to Freiston. At their head was a rather tall, thin man of slightly military appearance; his name was W W Llewellyn.

Freiston, towards which this party was marching, is a village situated a few miles from the River Witham, contained between the high banks in this low-lying land, which flows into the Wash. From the mouth of the Witham, an ancient wall of earth, sometimes referred to as the Roman Wall, extends for a few miles in a northerly direction towards Skegness, built no doubt to protect the farmland on the landward side of the wall from inundation by the sea. Between the Roman Wall and the shore of the Wash is a considerable area of salt marsh on which only sea lavender and other coarse vegetation would grow. These marshes, inundated by the sea at spring tide, were not suitable for any kind of agricultural purpose.

Gossip in the local area said the Government purchased the land for £3.00 an acre, and agricultural land was worth at least £100 per acre. Clearly there was a profit to be made if the proposed wall could be constructed economically without the use of expensive machinery, but the locals considered this would be an impossible task due to the high speed of water in the numerous creeks during spring tides.

In the winter of 1935, work began on the marsh and the living accommodation was completed. In charge of the work on the marsh was an engineer named Lands. The boys called him — not to his face — Stakey Land, for he had a thin, angular appearance and was frequently engaged in driving in the stakes to make the line of the wall of the limit from which the soil could be dug.

Housemaster and boys dug the land, which had been

marked and filled. Strongly made steel trolleys were lashed on rails up a ramp to the top of the wall, where the trucks were emptied. On occasion, the rails had to cross creeks; to accomplish this task, a bridge was made from stout barks of timber. Occasionally, a bridge would collapse or a truck would overturn, depositing all the earth into the creek. Such misadventures were annoying, but they added variety to the work.

The work was measured by the engineer each week and the gangs of inmates, of which there were three, were paid according to the gang's efforts. Wages ranged from sixpence (old money) to ninepence, which they could spend on sweets, cigarettes and hair cream, in the canteen.

It was a difficult task for the engineer to calculate the work completed by each gang. One could easily measure the amount of soil, but the engineer had other factors to take into account; for example, the distance from the wall to the area of digging, which of course may be covered by the tide in the early part of the day. Another gang may have been employed turving the side of the wall to prevent erosion. This, of course, led to inmates complaining about their wages. One boy stated 'Last week we had eightpence for an easy job; this week, sixpence for a hard one'. Nevertheless, inmates realised the harder they worked, the better the reward.

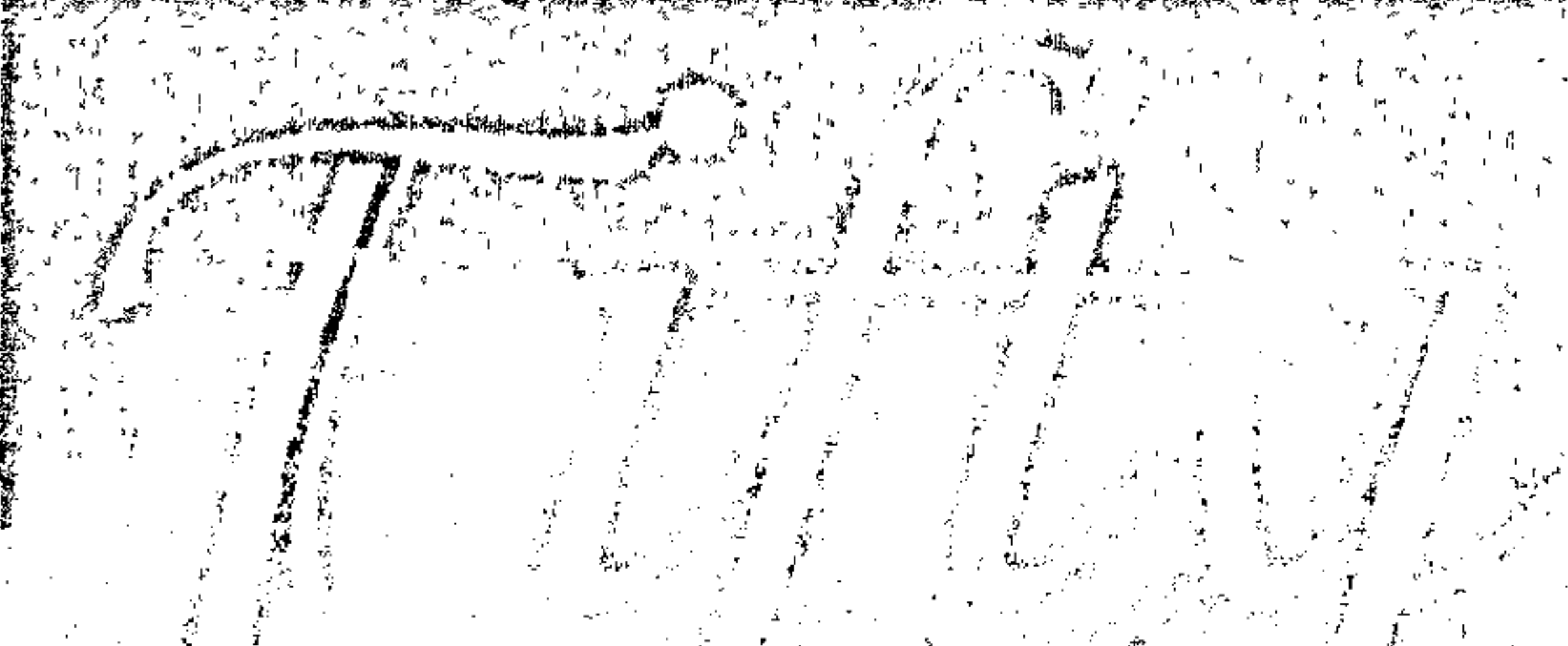
In March, there were often cold, wet winds blowing from the east, but the rule was work must go on as normal, irrespective of the weather. Only once in the early years did that tradition waver. The telephone rang in the Governor's office, the engineer stating the conditions were atrocious and the boys could stand it no longer; they were handing in their spades and going back to Camp. Llewellyn informed the engineer he would join them at work. No-one was dressed for work on the marsh, but they met the boys and Llewellyn simply said 'We have all come to join you'. The boys turned without saying a word and returned to their work. Later, the staff counted the damage to their clothes and footwear, but tradition had been upheld.

From time to time, special problems arose when the wall had to cross large creeks. Bundles of brushwood faggots were supplied by a local contractor. When the tide was out and the creek dry, the brushwood would be laid in the creek at great speed and treaded in. It was a race against time and tide to complete the filling of the creek before the tide flooded in.

In 1963 the Camp changed its role from Borstal to Detention Centre and the reclamation work continued; also introduced were draglines which would enable the bank to be built at a faster rate.

The Criminal Justice Act of 1982 introduced a variety of sentences of between three weeks and four months, this being a far cry from the stability of the thirties, when each inmate stayed at least one year. The short sentence laid extra pressure on staff who were not only concerned that tasks should be completed, but also the highest standards of health and safety at work were kept.

1985 saw the completion of reclamation, about 970 acres being enclosed. The sea is at bay over a quarter of a



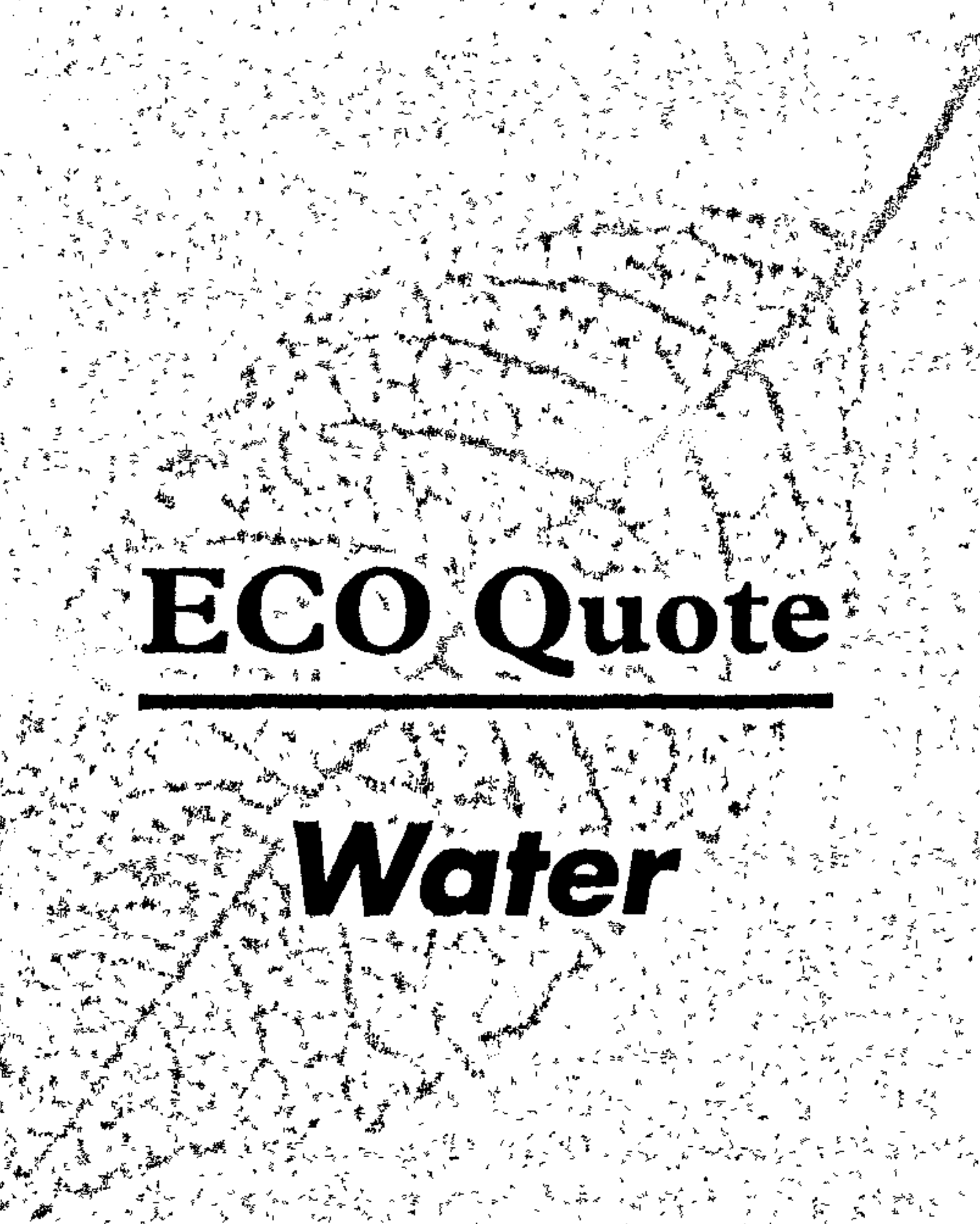
Years Of Reclamation HM Prison North Sea Camp

mile from its former boundary, the 'Roman Bank'.

At first, the land was drained, levelled and then put down to grass for a four year period. This was used for silage, hay and casual grazing. The grazing helps add valuable humus that in turn assists the upgrading of quality of the reclaimed land. The farm provides food for distribution through the Prison system, thus contributing to the easement of the financial burden to the taxpayer. The farm also has a large herd of sheep, over 500 pigs and rare breeds.

In 1992-93, the following crops will be grown: cauliflower, Brussels sprouts, onions and potatoes, plus several other varieties. The expected yield from the land in 1992 is: cabbage, five tons per acre, onions, six tons per acre, and potatoes will yield 15 tons per acre. In the present year, 200 acres will be allocated for potatoes.

In 1988, North Sea Camp became an open prison. Work on the sea bank remains; the Works Department have the task to maintain the bank, ensuring the sea cannot reclaim what once belonged to it.



ECO Quote

Water

The two main sources of water pollution are silt and oil pollution both of which can be mainly attributable to the construction industry and building management.

Silt runs off from the building, or is deposited when a water table is lowered in order to enable building foundations to be laid.

Oil pollution occurs largely from the spillage of fuel oil during the filling process and during the removal of redundant oil storage tanks.

Organic Farming at Thorn Cross

A Personal Perspective

Mr J Grant
Farms & Gardens
Manager,
HMYOI Thorn Cross

The author farms at a young offenders' institution in Yorkshire. There he has applied the principles of organic farming to the benefit of the inmates who get a better diet and canoeing on the newly created pond, the staff who enjoy the fishing on that pond and the Governor whose budget seems to go much further.

Organic farming at Thorn Cross was introduced four years ago to see if it was feasible. This is still being assessed. My own view is that with EEC and British regulations and restrictions concerning the use of chemicals, organic growing is the only way to go.

I have been at Thorn Cross for over two years now, and have increased the organic land from two to four and a half acres. To clean land up from chemicals takes at least three years, so it is a long-term project. To this end Headquarters have been very supportive with constructive ideas and assistance when asked. They have given me guidance, not directives. This made me feel it was my baby, although I must say Tony Paterson did start the organic farming, but then he has moved to higher places.

Principles of Organic Farming

We started with unclean ground, and that means plenty of weeds. Well, as some people say with wild flowers in the wrong place and heavy clay. Stop! — what are the principles of organic agriculture? It is something that extends beyond farming, to a safer world. If you look at the world from a space platform miles in the sky, there is a small globe surrounded by an atmosphere covered by a paper thin skin. That skin protects us. Should we upset this skin, our whole world would collapse into catastrophic change. Well, we are lucky at the moment, although we may have started to upset the balance with industrial pollution. Deforestation, over-use of pesticides and other phenomena are producing unsavoury ripples, as the effect of a stone in a pond spreads far beyond the initial circle. Organic farming should be in harmony, not conflict, with natural systems. We should adopt an approach that minimises the use of non-renewable forms of energy, such as fertilisers and pesticide that are synthesised from oil,

or which require vast amounts of oil to extract and process. Residual poisons that stay in circulation to the detriment of other living things, are not used by an organic farmer. Waste products that are a problem to conventional agriculture, but are the foundation on which we build, were taken from the soil and are returned as a complete cycle.

Some Basic Methods

We have used tonnes of farm yard manure every year, and this is increasing not only the supply of nutrients but also increasing the fertility of the soil. I have found that top dressings of farmure liquid fertiliser, basically farm yard manure steamed, liquefied and drained, are useful. Being liquid it is easy to spray where you want it. Mind you, it does smell a bit but still it can't be perfect, can it? At the same time crop rotation, companion planting, and conservation play a major part. Crop rotation means not planting crops in succession that take out the same type of nutrients and trace elements. Companion planting means using plants that will help other plants like beans, brassicas and celery with all types of greens, lettuce and cucumber. This is only a start; I have found, for example, that Tagettes help to keep away aphids.

Do caterers want organically grown food? Mine does, and is using the fresh herbs as much as possible. This helps in changing the inmates' outlook on food which hopefully will lead to a healthier diet. But that is another story.

We keep spraying for when nothing else will help. Biological controls are used for aphids, and are working well. We are running what I call a joint programme, trying to maintain a balance.

There are a good many organic fertilisers on offer now, but when you start costing the product and the benefits you hit snags with financial controls, as tight as they are, and value for money is a must. As I went deeper into the products I found that cost per acre ranged from £400 to £800 per acre but with local manure, spent hops and farmure as a top dressing, cost is far more realistic. So don't take the first product offered without costing and finding out the real benefits; use a trial pack first to evaluate it.

Now let's talk about conservation. I've made a start already because organic growing is conserving what we have and trying to use it to our advantage. We have three ponds under development. **Pond 1** is almost completed with fish, frogs, toads, newts a pair of wild ducks, fishing points plus PEIs practising canoeing with the inmates. **Ponds 2 and 3** are home to a pair of moor hens and great crested newts. There is quite a bit of work still to do, however.

A personal View

Why am I in favour of organic growing and conservation? Well, I have been in horticulture and agriculture for 30 years. and in that time there has been, in my view, a slide from good farming practice; removing hedgerows for bigger fields for example, thus reducing habitat for natural predators and necessitating the use of more sprays such as DDT. Likewise, burning off the straw instead of ploughing it in; no manure — direct drill, and if you have less yield, the answer from some 'experts' has been to use a higher rate of chemical fertiliser. Hence, the soil becomes sick and starts to lose its fertility.

Eventually this all leads to nitrate leaching and attendant problems with the water table. The UK ground and surface water resources have increased over the past four decades. The Department of the Environment claimed that 170 water sources were at some time in 1987 above the maximum acceptable concentration of 50mg of nitrates per litre. Currently, 74 sources serving at least 1.6 million people are affected by elevated nitrate levels.

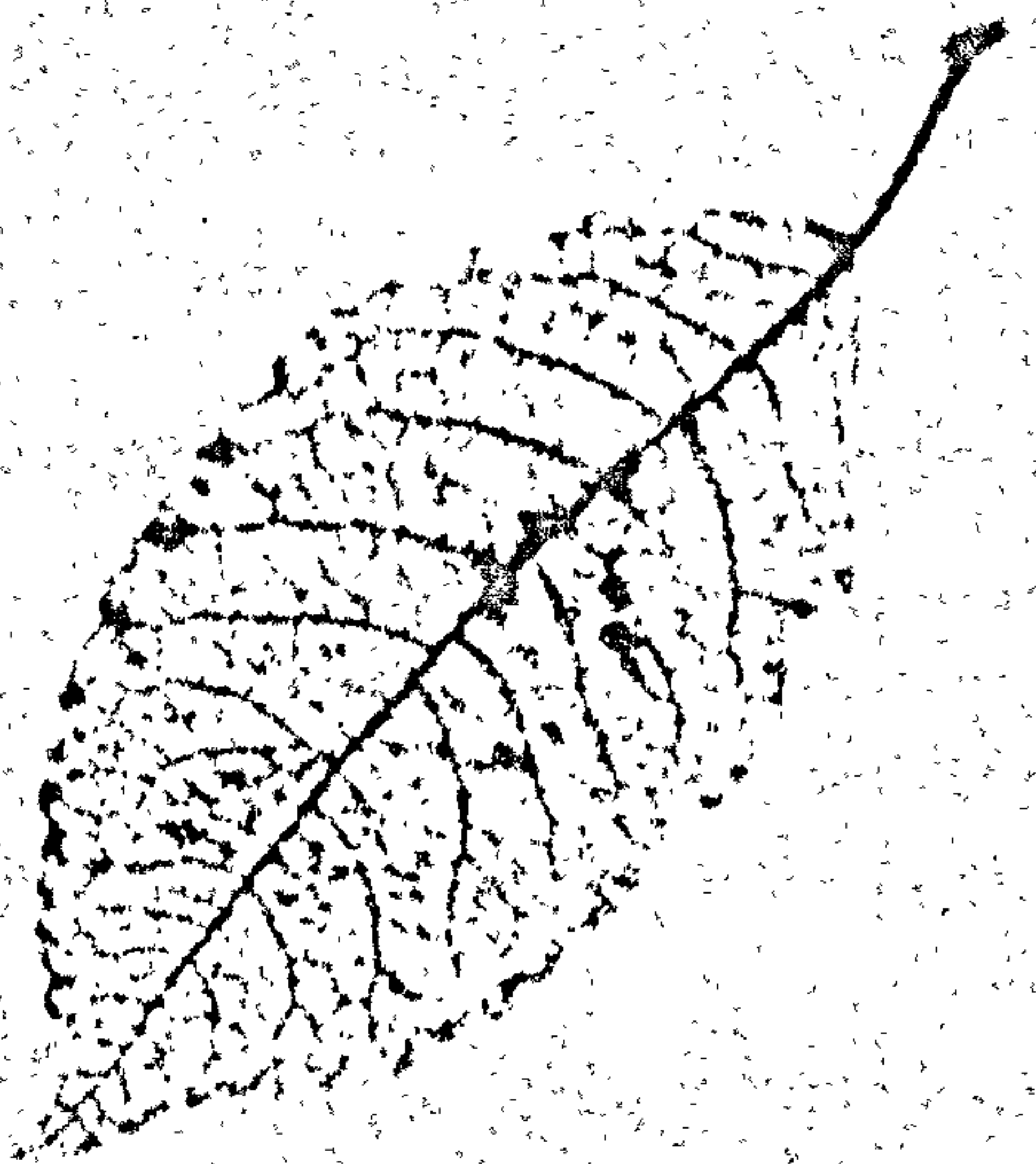
The public want a change now to better tasting, more wholesome, and healthier food, and a better way of life. The regulations and restrictions concerning this use of chemicals is such that it will not, eventually, be economical to follow the 'spray' path.

If you pollute and are caught then a £2,000 – £20,000 fine is possible. You can be fined for burning straw and causing smoke to drift across the road. You can be fined for burning plastic fertiliser bags and causing dark smoke in the air. By January 1993, new sprayers must have sealed chemical systems, and old sprayers must be converted later. And so it goes on. On cost grounds alone it is worth seriously thinking

about the benefits of organic farming.

Planning means tight management with a continuously moving horizon. If you have a problem, there is no easy 'fix', ie, this will cure it — bang — no problem. Instead, one has to ask oneself the question, why did I not see it coming, how do I treat it, and what do I do if I see it coming again? Every day I am thinking about this time next year. It's a headache, but it's worth it, and staff are happy growing in this way. There's no sitting back though; you have to keep at it, finding ways to improve by reading books, magazine articles etc. Do they have answers that will fit our system, and will our yields be up?

As I have said before, the principles of balance, not economics, sum up organic farming. It certainly is not for the faint-hearted, or for quick money, but it does require a far-sighted, profound commitment to this type of farming. The satisfaction of doing it outweighs the harder work.



Friends Of The Earth

We thrilled to prospects of the union
Of man and nature in communion,
Harvesting the winds and tides
And energy the sun provides,
With some more promising equation
Between our needs and conservation.

While even those whose vision ends
With forecasts of their dividends,
Were galvanised by leaping prices
To seek alternative devices,
And place, upon a changing scene,
Their money where their mouths had been.

The Bottom Line
B. Ramsbottom 1985

*Tony Oliver, Head of
Management Services,
HM Prison Service
College, Wakefield.*

Much media hype surrounded the recent 'Earth Summit' held in that green and pleasant South American country. It was reported that the summit photocopiers turned out 100 million sheets of unrecycled bumf. (Why don't they break down, like everybody else's???)

However laudable and well-intended the dialogue — see verse 2 above — it would appear that, if nothing else, mankind is expert at creating paper mountains.

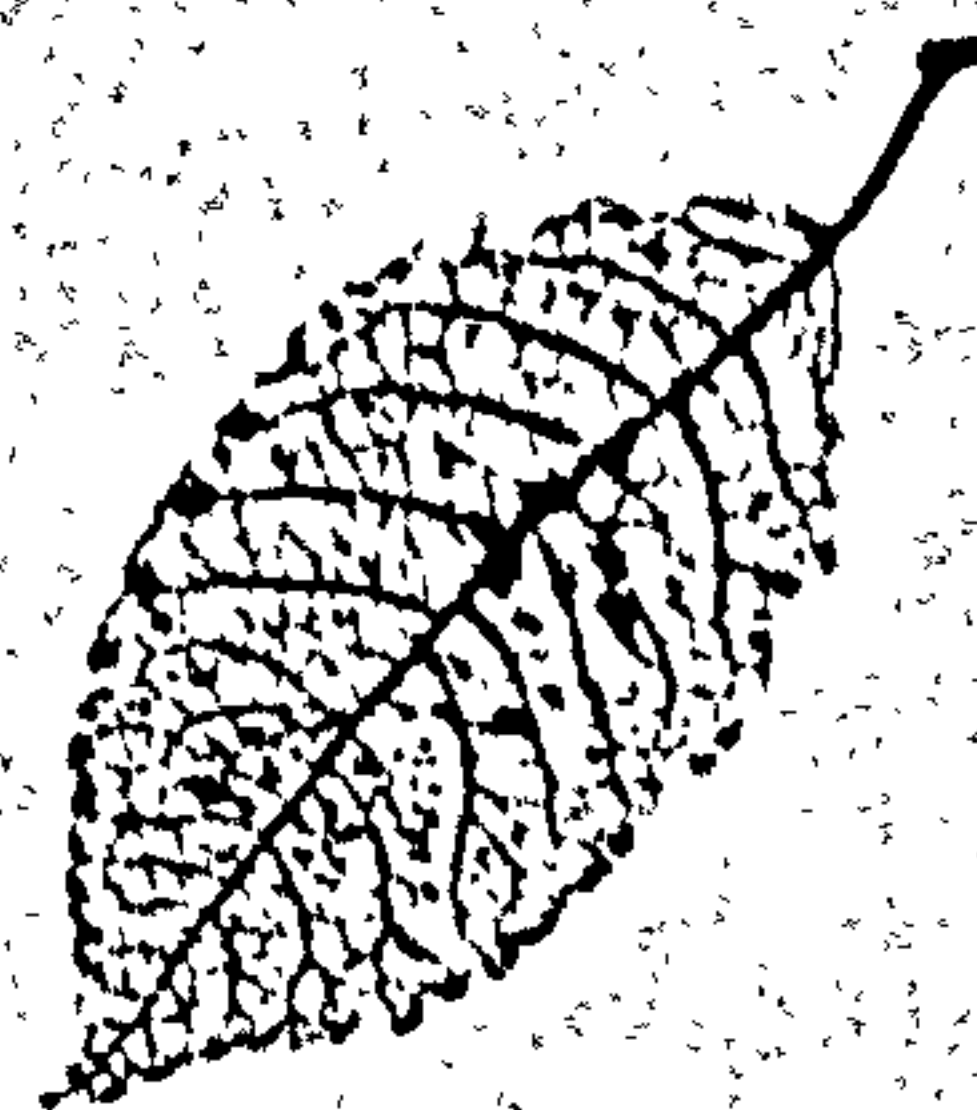
Coming back down to earth (if you'll excuse the pun!), I was asked to outline, in brief, some of the 'alternative devices' the Prison Service College have sought in an effort to provide quality, relevant and ecologically-friendly training.

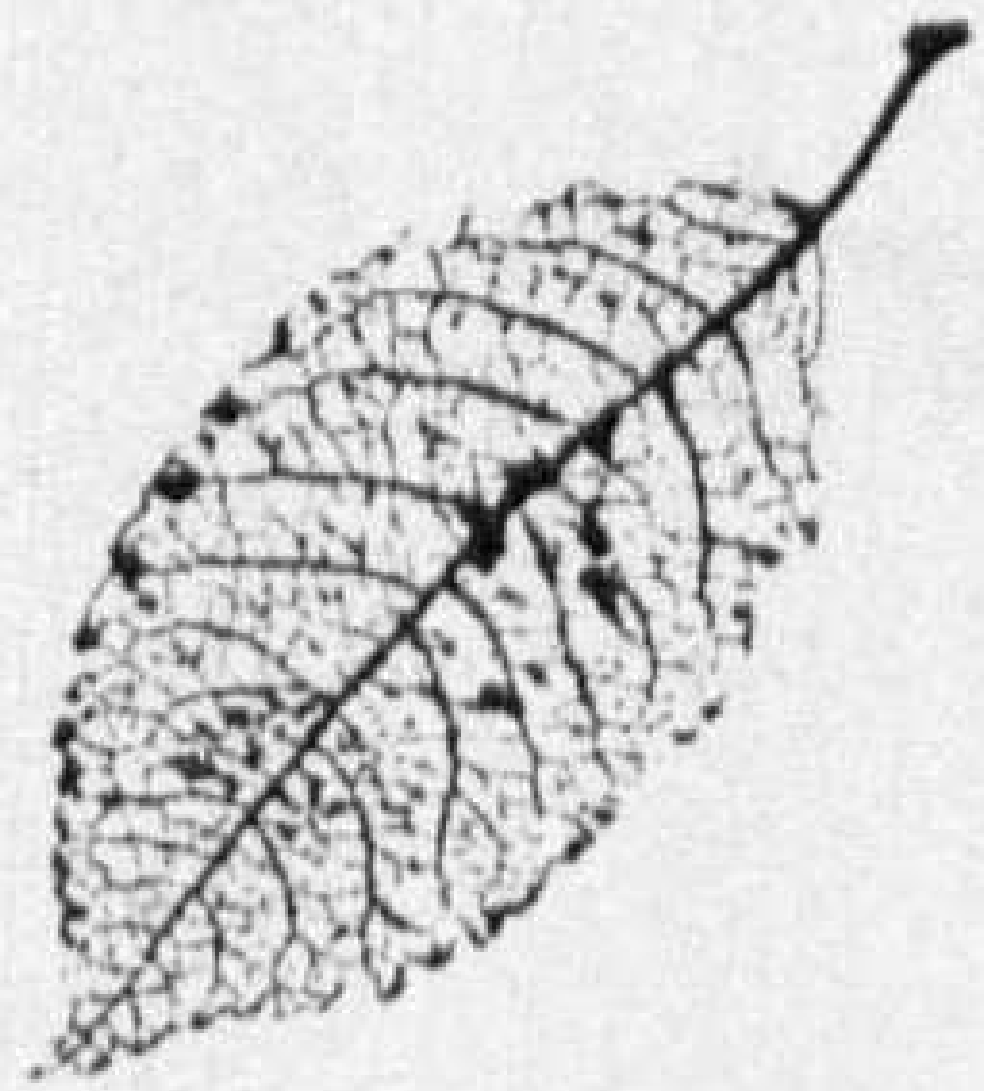
Paper doesn't grow on trees, you know!

It will be appreciated that most training functions consume vast quantities of paper, the Prison Service College is no exception:

- Course handouts
- Trainer guidenotes
- Exercises
- Student notes
- Computer printouts — does everything really need to go to hard copy?
- Flipchart pads (11p per sheet)
- Newsprint (3p per sheet)

All the above, once finished with, can be collected, shredded (where necessary) and stored locally. The difficult part, however, despite all the 'environmentally conscious' rhetoric (All the hot air from the summit could have heated Rio for months) is the





collection and re-cycling process. Where once paper companies would make regular collections and pay for the privilege, the usual responses of late have been:

'It'll cost you!'

or

'Collecting that wouldn't cover the cost of my diesel!'

or

'I'm not interested but I know a man who will be!'

After many telephone conversations, the college now have a local firm who will collect all the used paper for re-cycling — for a small charge. So next time you're on a course, be bold with the newsprint, it's going to a good home.

College and the Private Sector in Collaboration

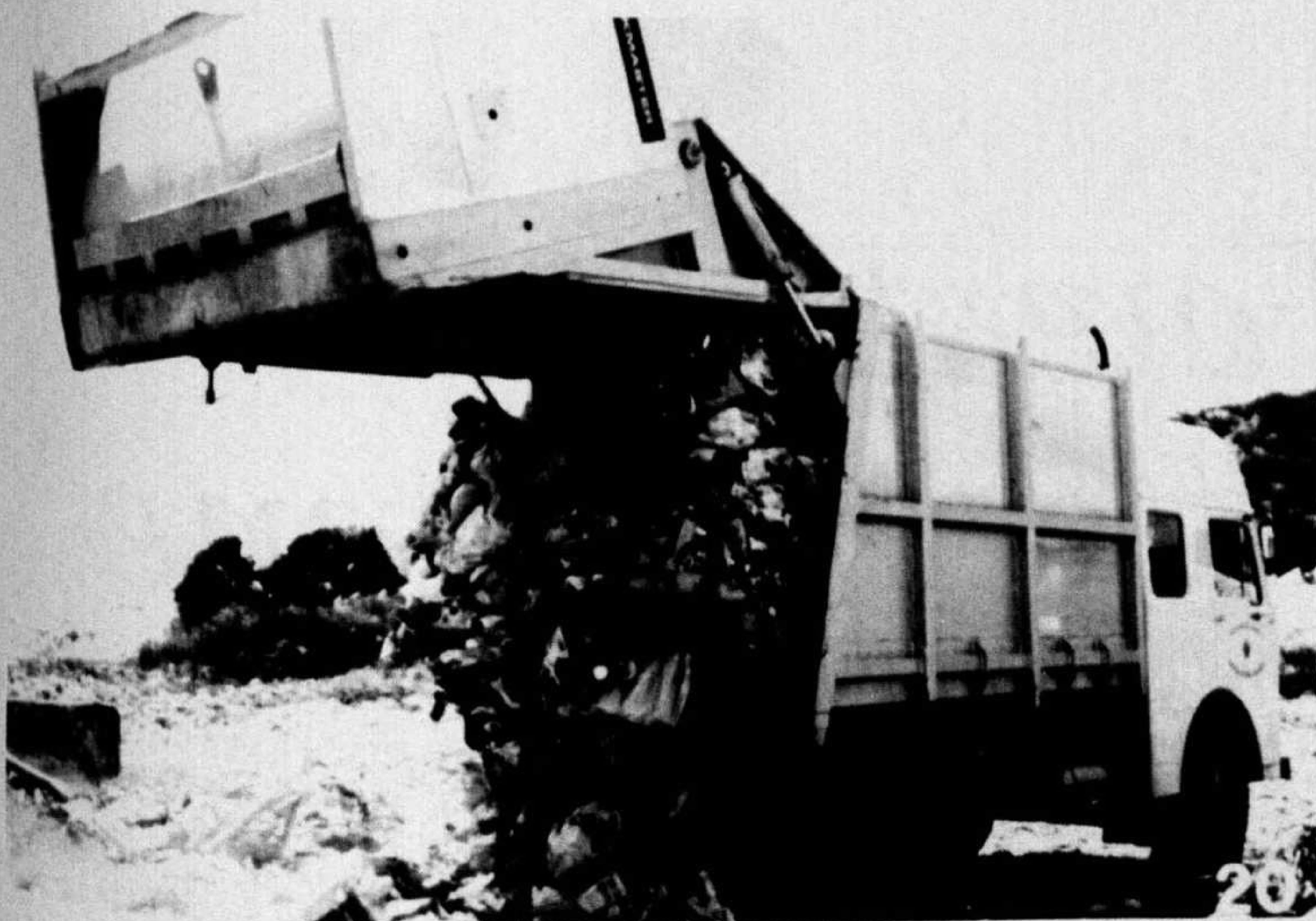
Many of the College re-cycling initiatives are supported by the Catering and Residential Services staff employed by Gardner

Merchant PLC, for instance, all drinks cans sold at the College are saved for re-cycling in aid of the Yorkshire TV 'Telethon' Appeal.

However, I would take this opportunity to list a number of other 'green' policies operated by the company:

- a) All company cars must run on unleaded fuel and all new cars must be fitted with catalytic converters.
- b) A Coca-Cola re-cycling project has been running for approximately two years.
- c) Sponsorship of the David Shepherd Conservation Foundation. Competitions in schools, promoting 'Young Friends of the Foundation'.
- d) Grant maintained Schools Bursaries. For the second year running, the company have sponsored Bursary awards, whereby selected schools are awarded a Bursary to undertake an environmental project.





- e) Sponsorship of an Education resource pack entitled 'Conserving our Marine Environment' — with the Whale and Dolphin Conservation Society.
- f) The company operate an 'Email' computer system to reduce the amount of paper used for internal mail.
- g) CFC recovery equipment purchased for use by the refrigeration maintenance teams. (This allows for CFC gases to be re-claimed and re-cycled rather than released into the environment).
- h) A working group has been established to look at the opportunities that arise in connection with waste disposal.

Energy Conservation

The College, through the efforts of the Prison Works Department, has also embarked on a number of energy conservation schemes including:

- Flush control systems in all toilets to reduce water usage, particularly at night — depending, of course, on the patronage of the College Bar!
- Lighting control systems in all student lounges, Bar and offices to reduce

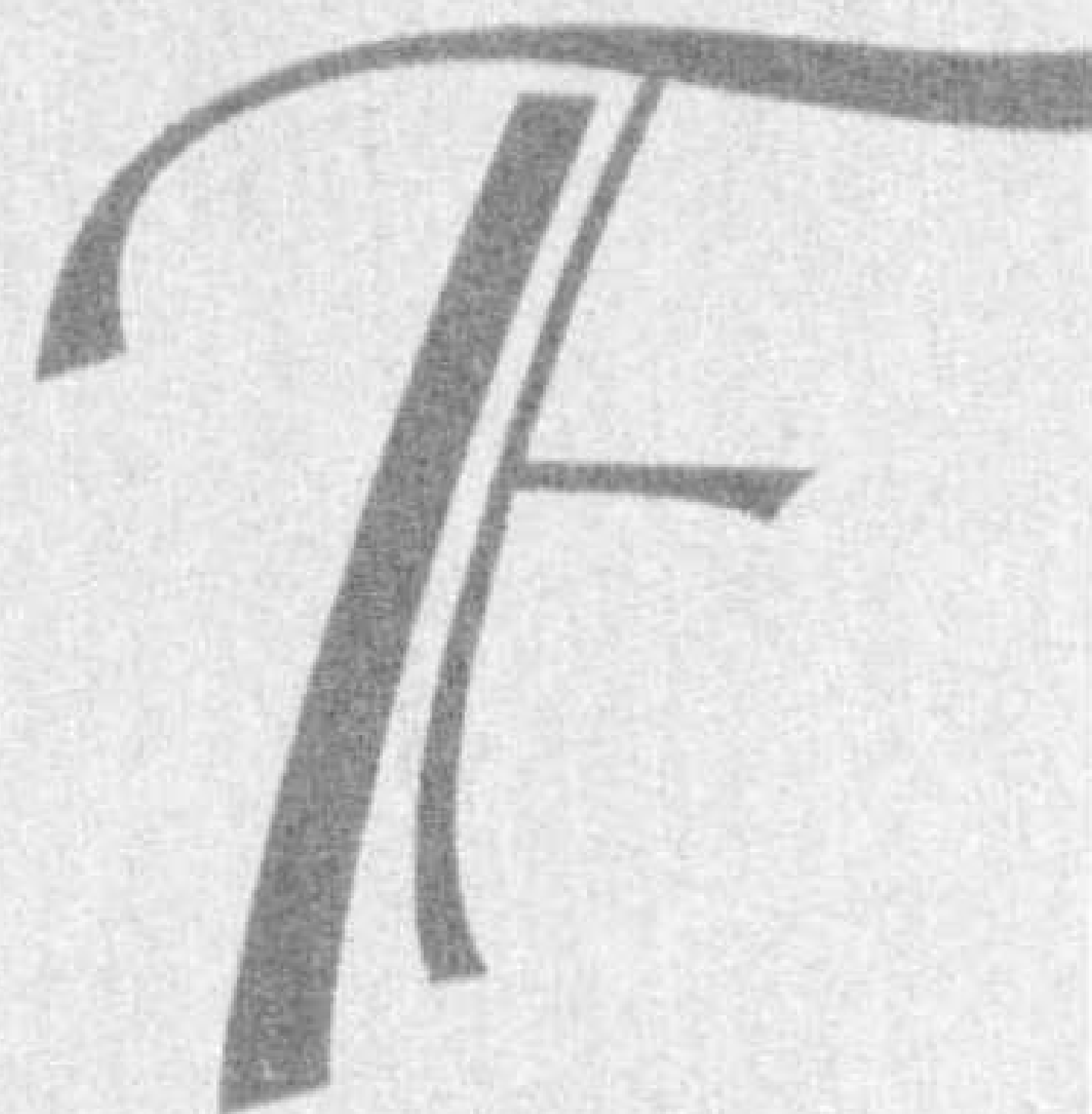
electricity consumption when rooms are not in use.

The Training Re-Cycle

I am not suggesting that the College has become the very model of a modern Major Environmentalist, however, the above initiatives, plus schemes such as re-chargeable laser printer cartridges (35% saving on new) represent a positive commitment.

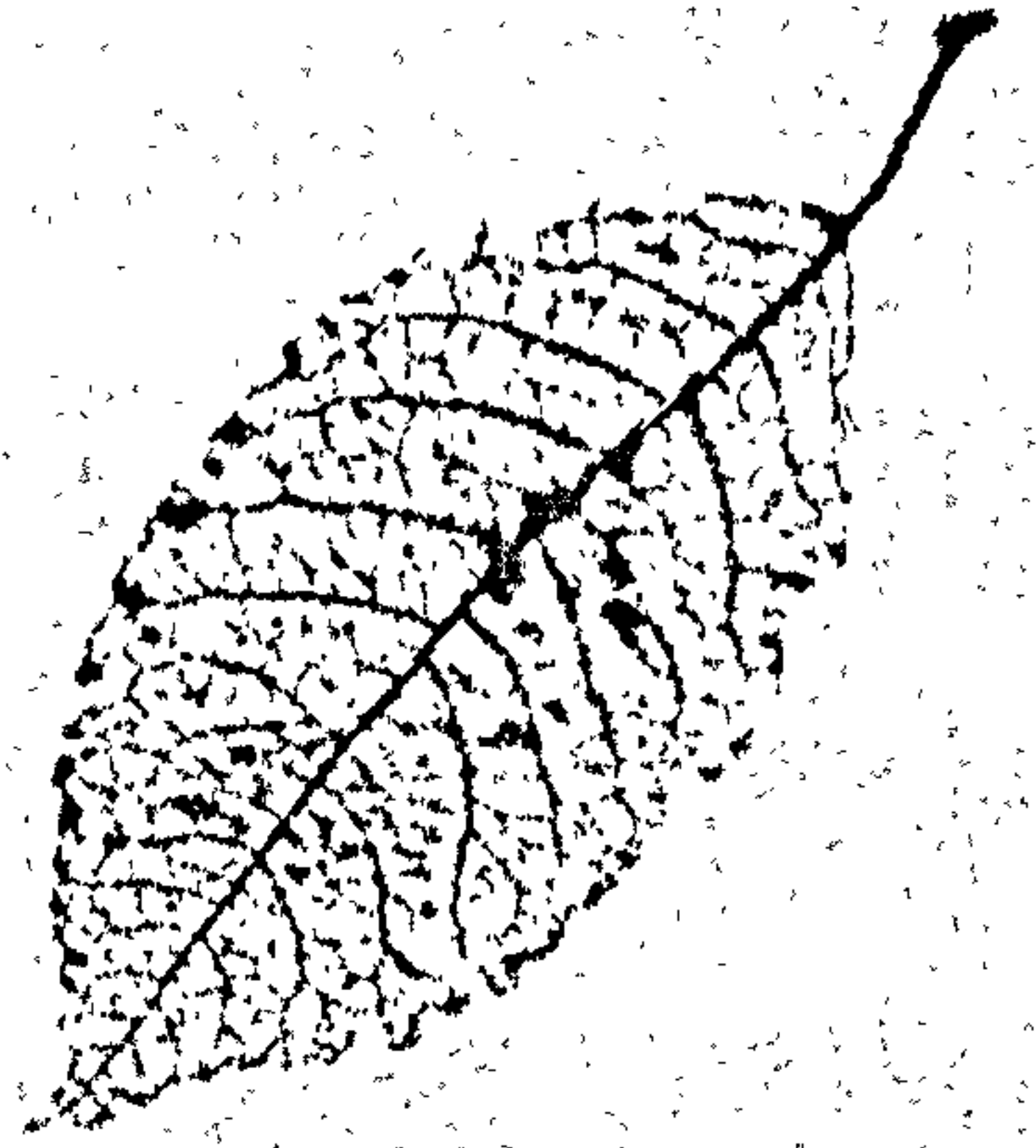
As a 60's musician once sang: 'The times they are a changing' (slowly but surely).

If any of the above prompts you into action, or there are any other schemes in which the College could play its part, please do not hesitate to write (on . . . yes, you've guessed it!) or ring (cheap rate of course!)



The

'Forest of Featherstone'



T. Huston
Farms and
Gardens Manager
at HMP Featherstone.

In a small area within Featherstone Prison there are currently some 4,000 young trees growing. These trees are destined to be planted out in the Forest of Mercia which is a new public forest covering an area from Cannock to Lichfield. How and why the trees came to be growing within the Prison is the subject of this article.

Some three years ago, the Lifer Group of the Prison, had, as one of their regular meetings, a talk on conservation. The talk was given by Mr John Quigley from a group known as Operation South Cannock. The talk covered general work on conservation and the particular project being undertaken to create the public Forest of Mercia.

The talk enthused several members of the Lifer Group to the extent that they wanted, if possible, to become involved with the work. Many discussions followed and it was agreed that an area within the Prison measuring approximately 40 feet by 90 feet could be prepared and used by the life prisoners as a tree nursery.

Young saplings are planted in the nursery and grown on for four years by which time they are big enough to survive in the forest and other conservation sites. (They are, however, at this stage, too small to compromise prison security). Four years is also the average stay for a life prisoner at Featherstone Prison!

Some of the plants to be grown in the Prison are collected by voluntary groups outside and other material has been bought by Operation South Cannock. Once in the Prison, the material is transplanted each year to help the plants produce a small but sturdy

root system to give each one the maximum chance of survival when planted out in the forest.

The area mentioned above will be able to hold between 8,000 and 10,000 trees when fully used. The varieties currently growing include cherry, sycamore, crab apple, beech, chestnut, lime laurel, hazel, poplar, maple, holly, Scots pine and wild rose.

The nursery is, as far as possible, looked after by members of the Lifer Group rather than being an additional task for Farms and Gardens. To this end, it is of course essential that a site is chosen to which Life Prisoners have access. The men plant, weed, check for disease and other problems and transplant the trees.

A local junior school was creating a conservation area in the school grounds and was provided with material from the Prison. As a result, the children wrote letters to the prisoners thanking them for their efforts and a small group visited the prison to see the nursery and to meet the prisoners. The school now also collect seeds for us to grow in the nursery.

We hope that, as our knowledge and expertise increases, we will be able to grow more trees from seed. Many of the seeds require extra treatments such as scraping or freezing before the seed will germinate. This type of work could well fill some winter evenings for the inmates.

We hope that several more links with the community will develop from the work in the nursery. This on top of the hours of interest which the inmates gain.

Site selection & appraisal

The following is an extract from an article by PSA on Prison Design and Construction, first published in 'Construction' magazine in September 1990.

It highlights the increasing importance of environmental considerations in the selection of a new prison site, and the priority given to the creation of a physically attractive and/or environmentally sensitive outer prison environment in the construction of a new prison.

At the beginning of the current programme, many of the sites under consideration were Ministry of Defence owned. They were frequently redundant airfields, which were ideal for the type of prisons then required. Later sites have gone through a more difficult site selection process.

The early sites were not environmentally sensitive or subject to rigorous examination by local planning authorities due to their military history, and were topographically suitable. They were physically and legally unencumbered and usually remote from local settlements. They could also be acquired by administrative transfer between Government departments at minimal or no cost.

Several parameters changed as the programme grew, the need for prison places became more acute, the supply of MOD sites ran out, and the Home Office and PSA had to address the problems not only of selecting and purchasing land on the open market, but also of entering into full negotiations with local and statutory authorities. Other problems were encountered, such as environmental impact and poor local road and service infrastructure. In some cases, proximity of sites to towns (since Local Prisons have by definition to serve the locality), led to considerable resistance to development proposals from local authorities and residents. By contrast, other localities positively welcomed a prison, because of the strong contribution made to the local economy by the institution and its staff living in the vicinity.

There were a number of factors which

govern the suitability of a site. Some of the important ones are:

Geographical location: to suit the Prison Dept's strategic needs for places.

Adequate area: ideally, at least 50 and preferably 70 acres are required.

Gently sloping: to facilitate drainage but avoiding problems of sloping sites (flatness is a desirable characteristic since a sloping site is more difficult for staff surveillance, allows inmate blocks to overlook each other and militates against easy movement of food delivery trolleys).

Overlooking: Not overlooked by buildings or surrounding land.

Adequate roads: though not a large traffic generator in traffic engineering terms, both construction and operational traffic have to be accommodated.

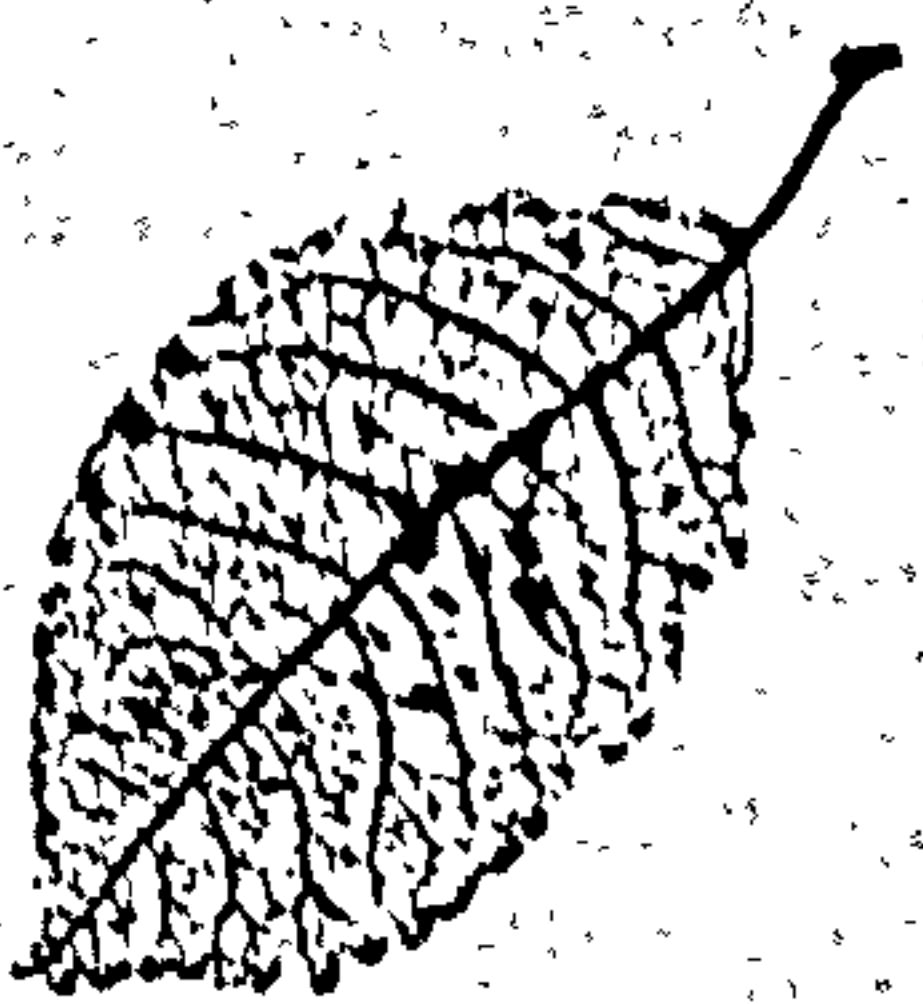
Communications: strategic road and public transport connections.

Adequate capacity in services: gas, electricity, water, foul and surface water drainage.

Planning authorities: the authorities' attitude is always taken into account.

Site availability: cost and ease of acquisition and legal encumbrances.

At first, PSA conducted full feasibility studies into potential sites, but the Home



Office's timetable increasingly required 'snap' assessments to inform their strategic planning. Difficulties and opportunities on one site were balanced against those of another in the light of the strategic needs for prison places in various localities. PSA responded to this change of client requirement and assembled an in-house multi-disciplinary team from its feasibility experts who already had the ability to make such rapid assessments. The appraisals take the form of a programme of intensive fact-finding visits to sites including preliminary negotiations with all strategic authorities. These included planning, highways, local authority technical services, gas, electricity and water authorities—in a very short timescale. On the basis of PSA's preliminary

report, the Project Sponsor then decides whether or not to pursue a site into a formal consultation stage with the local authority.

Besides the technical requirements of prison sites, fears of local politicians and residents often have to be addressed. Environmental and visual impact studies form an increasingly vital part of information required by local authorities. The PSA team works closely with the Home Office Project Sponsor in making presentations to local council officers, councillors, public meetings and exhibitions; even demonstrations and petitions have to be dealt with. When a prison has been established in an area, people generally recognise it as a good neighbour; indeed the Home Office have received a petition from residents protesting against a possible closure of their prison! However, initial reaction is often negative.

IMPROVEMENTS TO LOCAL INFRASTRUCTURE

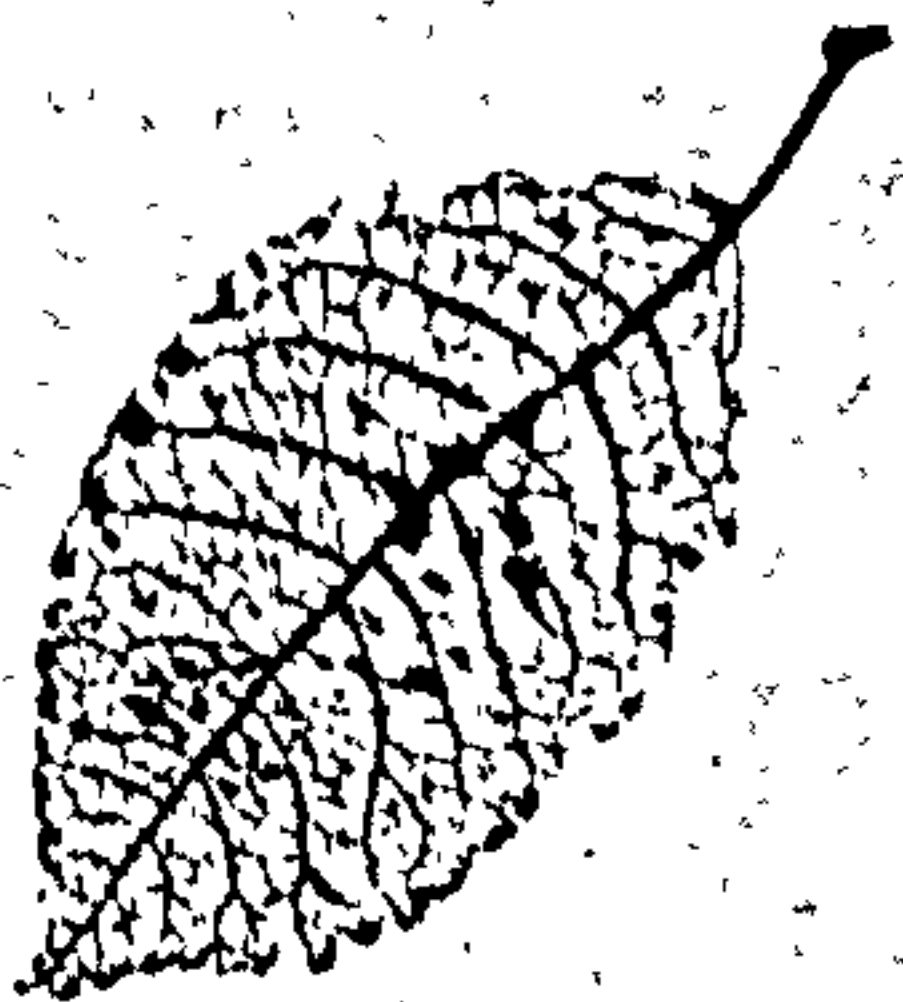
As part of the conditions for planning clearance under the Department of the Environment Circular 18/84, local authorities often require significant improvements to local infrastructure. These improvements have, of course, to fall within the DoE guidelines on planning gain. A major road interchange in the form of a gyratory traffic light controlled junction was required at Woolwich, and a village by-pass on the Isle of Sheppey. A new river bridge and public towpath have been built and incorporated in the overall landscape design for Doncaster, whilst at Whitemoor, the provision of extensive balancing ponds has given the opportunity to integrate a public footpath along the site's edge in the landscape proposals for the prison. The Milton Keynes Development Corporation required the landscape around the prison to be integrated with the town's exacting development plan. This led to the inclusion of earth mounding, a public footpath and bridleway linking to the adjacent long distance footpath, cycle tracks and a civic square in front of the prison, as well as 20,000 trees and brick facing to the perimeter wall.

LANDSCAPE

Landscape makes a most important contribution to the assimilation of these large



Photo courtesy of Roy Webster



scale developments into their surroundings. The Landscape Architect is involved from the early stages of site selection and appraisal.

Within the development itself, there are three major elements: the mounding and screen planting around the development, the civic frontage of the prison, and the secure zone itself. Very different criteria apply to each zone.

SCREEN PLANTING

Although great emphasis is placed on choosing visually unobtrusive sites, there is usually a need to provide ground modelling and planting of forestry belts, thickets, trees and ground cover. Existing woods, trees and hedgerows are retained wherever possible. Environmental and visual impact studies are employed on the more sensitive sites to determine and refine proposals. At Milton Keynes, advance contracts were let for mounding and the planting of 20,000 trees to the high standards of the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. Three sites have been adjacent to Sites of Special Scientific Interest and extensive consultation carried out with the Nature Conservancy Council, the RSPB and other such bodies. Where extensive engineering works are required, such as balancing reservoirs, integrated landscape schemes are prepared. At Doncaster, the adjacent river towpath has been carefully detailed and planted to provide public access.

CIVIC ZONE AND PRISON FRONTAGE

Outside the prison there are extensive car parks, an officers' social club, a visitors centre and a works maintenance depot and some projects also have been a central boiler house. These elements have been used to form a civic approach on three particularly sensitive schemes at Belmarsh, Milton Keynes and The Mount.

SECURE ZONE

Landscape design for the secure area has to meet very stringent security and surveillance restrictions. Integrated landscape proposals are an important part of the design of the prison. Essentially, the hard and soft landscape designs are kept simple and practical, both for ease of maintenance and to provide a framework in which

inmates may carry out horticulture. For security reasons, the following design features are not permitted:

- low retaining walls, banks and other features behind which inmates could hide
- protective fences and knee rails
- exposed aggregate paving, gravel and other loose material
- unit paving, e.g., pc slabs, pavements, setts
- water features
- ground cover or shrub planting over 400mm high
- plants with berries, thorns, spikes or fruit
- hedges
- herbaceous ground cover in large quantities
- ground cover planting under cell windows.

Trees are permitted, but must be clear-stemmed. Only short tree stakes are permitted and perishable ties used. The mature spread of the tree must not encroach within 15m of the perimeter fence or wall, or any buildings.

Provision for limited bedding out and herbaceous planting is made. Inmates carry out such work for outdoor exercise and for therapeutic or rehabilitative reasons. Areas are allocated for general horticulture and greenhouse culture to be carried out by the Prison Industries and Farms Department, PSIF. Ground cover is normally implemented by PSIF and liaison must take place between designers and PSIF at detailed design stage to determine the species available. All other work is implemented in the main contract. Maintenance of planting after handover is also carried out by PSIF and simplicity of maintenance must be incorporated.

SPORTS PITCHES

Briefing policy has changed over the years and the multiple grass pitches have been replaced by a single all-weather surface. Although higher in initial capital cost, the single pitch is more appropriate for intensive use, saves on land take and is cheaper to maintain. The pitch has a sand

infill carpet laid on a synthetic shock pad laid in turn on a fully engineered and drained base in accordance with Sports Council and British Standards. Beyond the safety margin, the carpet is secured to an in-situ concrete edging to prevent inmates digging up the carpet edge. Outside this edge is a 2.5m wide porous tarmac jogging track.

Smaller, porous tarmac pitches are provided in addition on some prisons. The all weather pitch is subject to competitive tender from specialist firms based on a performance specification. The first such pitch has been completed at Brinsford.

ECO Quote

Legionnaires disease

Legionnaires disease is caused by a bacterium which survives and multiplies in water.

It is widespread in natural fresh water such as rivers, lakes and ponds and may also be found in wet soil.

There is also a strong possibility of the bacteria existing in all open water systems including those used in building services.

ECO Quote

Tobacco smoke

The 'Independent Scientific Committee on Smoking and Health', concluded in 1988 that there is a 10-30% increase in the risk of contracting lung cancer for non-smokers habitually exposed to tobacco smoke.

ECO Quote

De-forestation

De-forestation is adding significantly to the level of CO₂ in the atmosphere and thereby contributing to the greenhouse effect.

Tree and plant life absorb CO₂ during their growth, hence the greater spread of de-forestation the larger the greenhouse effect and global warming.

Taking Charge:

Rose Washington and Spofford Juvenile Detention Center

As the 27th head in 25 years of Spofford Detention Centre in New York, expectations that she would stay, let alone change anything were slim but Rose Washington was determined to stick with it and bring about change. This article tells what happened.

Written by Anna M. Warrock at the direction of Olivia Golden, Lecturer in Public Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Funds were provided by the Ford Foundation and the Innovations in State and Local Government Program.

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Since her arrival in August 1983, Rose Washington, executive director of New York City's Spofford Juvenile Center, had worked to turn around a facility beset by problems. Spofford was the city's secure detention facility for juveniles accused of serious crimes. Over two decades it had developed a reputation as an unsavoury and dangerous holding pen. 'The name alone was ... synonymous with the worst in youth institutions - dilapidated and poorly staffed - a warehouse offering few services', recalls Barry Krisberg, president of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. Child abuse by staff, suicide attempts by children, runaways, staff burnout leading to chronic understaffing, a deteriorating building, all plagued the largest facility run by the city's Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ). Legal aid lawyers could convince judges to release accused delinquents to even the most tenuous of family situations rather than keep them in Spofford awaiting a court date.

The persistent problems had proved too much for a string of directors - Washington was the 27th director in Spofford's 25-year history. The revolving door for those at the top had contributed to a staff perception that management was, at best, a transient nuisance. Left largely to their own devices as director after director departed, Spofford's 300 juvenile counselors had come to feel that they ran the institution. They distrusted change, believing it would be only temporary. They resented the repeated attempts at reform by those who represented what they regarded as an aloof and indifferent central administration - which Spofford staff members referred to somewhat contemptuously as 'downtown'.

Washington was hired to fulfil a mandate for reform by DJJ Commissioner Ellen Schall, who herself had taken office in January 1983. Schall wanted to change Spofford from a warehouse to a facility that provided the services troubled youths needed to change the direction of their lives as they

made their way through the juvenile justice bureaucracy: the courts, detention centers and follow-up services. She had improved medical services and proposed educational reforms at Spofford but knew she need a strong leader to guide Spofford out of its problems.

Washington also believed in the reform agenda but had her hands full battling to get the Spofford staff to participate in more basic programs she believed essential to ending the facility's problems with security and care. As each problem at Spofford demanded attention, Washington began to walk a narrow line between forcing needed changes into the relatively fragile new environment she had created since she arrived at the facility, and stepping back from management reform lest she alienate those staff on whom she had to rely.

BACKGROUND: SPOFFORD

Spofford Juvenile Center is an eight-storey, white brick secure detention center for youths aged 10 through 15 (the really young children, 7 to 10 years old, are housed not in Spofford but elsewhere in DJJ's non-secure detention facilities; the median age at Spofford is 14.5 years). Built in 1958, the facility is located in Hunts Point, an industrial section of the South Bronx, across Long Island Sound from La Guardia Airport. Of the 12,000 youths arrested annually in New York City, about one-third pass through Spofford before court dates or on their way to long-term detention upstate. At any one time, the center houses between 150 and 200 kids; 75 percent are accused of violent crimes, including robbery, assault, rape and murder. More than 90 percent of the youths are black or Hispanic, 95 percent are male and virtually all of them are poor.¹

Spofford had started out in the 1960s and early 1970s as a secure facility but without bars on the windows. It housed both accused delinquents and children known as

PINS (persons in need of services), who had sometimes done nothing more than run away from home. 'We'd have kids who'd broken windows just to get picked up and brought in, so they'd have a warm bed,' recalls Cleophus Glass, a former juvenile counselor who later became a unit director. Those days were remembered fondly by long-term juvenile counselors. 'This job used to be fun,' recalls Shirley Lewis, for 30 years a juvenile counselor and unit director. 'When we had PINS kids we'd take them to the theatre – these kids had never seen a play – or we'd take them to the beach'.

But by the mid-1970's, more juveniles were being picked up for felonies, including armed robbery and murder. Escapes from detention were common, and although the character of the clients had changed over time, there was little consensus on how to treat youngsters who were accused of violent crimes. Many states, including New York, enacted laws to treat such juveniles more like adults. The Juvenile Offender Act, which took effect in New York in September 1978, required that juveniles accused of violent crimes be held in a secure detention facility – essentially a jail – while they waited for court dates. In New York City, Spofford was that jail.

As a secure facility, Spofford was a bleak place. It had bars on the windows and locked doors sectioning off corridors, stairwells, dormitory areas and each dorm room. Staff walked down the dim linoleum-and-brick hall accompanied by the jangle of keys as the heavy metal doors closed with a thud and the keys scraped in the locks. The dormitory rooms facing off a narrow corridor were also narrow, with a single metal bed frame, a small night table, and a window high up in the wall. Detainees wore coloured coveralls that indicated their dorm assignments; upon admission to Spofford, detainees were issued yellow coveralls which they called 'banana suits'. Their street clothes, used for their court appearances, were stored in a special room.

Problems at the facility were exacerbated by an ongoing administrative debate over whether Spofford should be closed. At different times, several proposals to close the building had been put forward, making directors wary of spending money on its upkeep. Maintenance during some administrations had been minimal, and by

1983 Spofford had only a skeletal maintenance staff – two of the three elevators didn't work – and a minimal cleaning schedule.

The transition from a facility for a mixture of youths to a jail holding only delinquents was fraught with problems, and overwhelmed, many Spofford directors apparently just gave up. No director had stayed long enough to follow through on programs that would help juvenile counselors handle the new population. Most of the new directors had stayed less than a year; one stayed less than a week after a background check proved unfavourable, a second simply walked out after a month at the facility. 'It was crisis atmosphere', Glass says. 'If there was a need, something was done. If not, nothing was done'. With no management stability, the balance of power had shifted to Spofford's long-time staff, who knew more about the facility's operation than many of the directors. Old-timers – by 1983, about 40 percent of the juvenile counselors and dorm managers had 10 to 25 years of experience – were the only source of continuity at the facility. 'This place was run from the bottom', says David Martin, a juvenile counselor for 17 years and later a unit director. 'The only fortunate part was that old-timers cared about the quality of care for the kids'.

They had a difficult population to serve. About 65 percent of the youths stayed less than ten days; others stayed a month or more. Given the transience of the majority of the population, it was very difficult to design a program. Also, because these children were accused but not yet judged delinquent nor convicted of a crime, some human service administrators felt that detention should be kept brief and that 'treatment' without a judge's decision was inappropriate.

In July 1979, in an effort to address some of the problems facing juvenile detention, New York City's Mayor Edward Koch removed detention services from the city's enormous Human Resources Administration and placed them in a new, autonomous department. The Department of Juvenile Justice would manage Spofford, which housed up to 215 youths and employed three-quarters of DJJ's 643 employees; non-secure detention, comprising five group homes and eight foster home placements for a total of 68 beds; court services, responsible

for taking children to and from their court dates and supervising them in the family court detention rooms; and Aftercare, which was at that time only an idea that after detention, children should be helped to re-enrol in school and connect to services in their community.

But the managerial transience continued. Commissioner Schall's predecessor was caught in a political snafu over a proposed decentralized system to replace Spofford and left in November 1982. Three other executives in the central office were also fired; Rose Washington's predecessor quit the week Schall took office.

Schall wanted to be careful with Spofford. 'There was a strange push-pull around Spofford', she recalls. 'The history of commissioners with a reform agenda for a major institution is that it's hard to stick to the agenda if you get swept up and pulled under by the enormous problems. At the same time, part of me, when I see something, wants to fix it. I knew that there was a set of operational issues that need to be fixed' - security, educational program, follow-up on the clients - 'and I knew that I wanted to do something for the kids'. Yet to remain an effective commissioner, 'I didn't want to get sucked in', she says.

'Every commissioner had been brought down by Spofford', says John Isaacson, a partner with Isaacson, Miller, Gilvar, Boulware, an executive search firm hired to help Commissioner Schall find a director for Spofford. 'Someone would come in, skim across the surface, make pronouncements, sound good, and then there was a scandal and you would fire the commissioner'. Or the Spofford director.

SURVIVING AT SPOFFORD

Rose Washington had heard that Spofford was out of control. Feeding off the palpable air of violence and tension, the youths delighted in keeping tension high. When eating, they'd drop their utensils or trays with a clatter, keeping everyone on edge. Fights were common; some counselors felt that the only way to control the youths was through equally physical tactics, which led to charges of child abuse. In April 1980, four juvenile counselors had been suspended and arrested on charges of beating up four

teenage boys. In November of that year, a 15-year old boy had hung himself. In May 1981, five youths, including a convicted murderer awaiting transfer, had escaped.

Given such an atmosphere, the staff had devised their own ways of surviving. 'Administrators came here with their bags packed', says Glass, so consequently, he, like other staff, 'was focusing on myself'. Because counselors were poorly paid - juvenile counselors (the entry-level counselor position) made \$17,000 in 1983, about \$4,000-\$5,000 less than city correction staff - many staff, including Glass, had two jobs. 'I probably didn't give [the Spofford job] all the attention I should have'. In some cases, a counselor would punch in to Spofford, go to a second job, and come back to punch out at the end of the shift, or have a friend punch out. Night-shift counselors would come in after a full day's work elsewhere and be prepared to sleep for the night. Others would not show up at all, availing themselves of the full extent of the variety of leaves permitted them. 'They would take sick leave, annual leave, death leave', says Washington. 'Sometimes they'd call in right before the shift and say they had something called "emergency personal business" and not show up.' As a result, says Washington, other employees would work extensive overtime hours, escalating costs.

The juvenile counselors had come to feel that they, not the commissioner downtown or the directors who came and went, were the front lines caring for increasingly violent clients in an atmosphere of constant transition. That attitude was compounded by an identification with their clients. Many felt they were a minority staff taking care of minority kids for a white bureaucracy. The staff was 75 percent black and 16 percent Hispanic. All had high school educations, some had college degrees. (To be hired as a juvenile counselor required a high school degree and four years of experience or a college degree and one year's experience.) Because of the problems, turnover among new staff was high. Those who stayed felt that the facility 'belonged to them', according to Washington.

Both out of distrust and a sense of power, the juvenile counselors had evolved a method of handling attempts at reform. 'We got real good at maybe doing something

[new] halfway the first time, then half-way again, and then half again, and so then you go and do it the old way', says Romaine Howard, formerly a unit manager and later in charge of Spofford's accreditation efforts. The staff also had become skeptical of any change. 'A new director would come in and want you to move your desk from the front to the back of the dorm', recalls Delores Wade, a juvenile counselor for 26 years. 'Moving your furniture was important to them. Well, okay, let them move the furniture around, and when they leave, you know, we'll just move it back'. Observes Washington: 'There was a "take care of each other" attitude, a distrust of outsiders and "downtowners". They felt they had to be protective against those who would disrupt the status quo'.

ROSE WASHINGTON

Rose Washington, 43 at the time she was hired as director of Spofford, was born in Daphne, Alabama (population 1,500). She was raised by her grandmother in a house with no electricity and no running water. Herself the daughter of slaves, the grandmother instilled in her children and grandchildren a respect for education and pride in their achievements, relying on the church and school to reinforce those values. 'She was so proud that she was able to send her son to Tuskegee Institute', Washington says. 'She told these stories about picking velvet beans to send him to college. So part of my upbringing was hard work, and the other part was, you did all of this and you did not let this interfere with your education'.

Washington, too, picked cotton, corn and beans for three cents a bushel to make school money. 'I had goals when I was out there, to make money to buy books and clothes, even though it wasn't enough to last a whole year'. In the fields Washington also faced racism. 'I'd pick 25 bushels in a day, but you know the person keeping count, who was white, would say I'd picked 10. But I'd continue to work, you know, I had set these goals.'

Washington dropped out of eleventh grade but eventually graduated and, after starting a family, started college. When she and her husband moved to Sidney, in upstate New York, so he could take a better job, she took night courses and worked part-

time as a teacher's aide at Camp Brace, a delinquent youth facility run by New York State's Department for Youth (DFY)² in nearby Masonville. She got her BS in early secondary education and English in 1968.

It was as a teacher's aide at Camp Brace (most of whose residents came from Spofford) that she began to understand the problems of New York's delinquent children. 'Our program consisted of English, science, maths and social studies', she says. 'But these kids couldn't read'. Washington along with other counselors lobbied for remedial reading classes, and then had to find innovative ways to motivate the youths. Her experiences taught her that 'if people want to work with kids, and they take the time to find a way, there is a key to that kid, I don't care how difficult he is'.

Washington decided she wanted to continue helping delinquent youths. When she was asked to become a senior youth division counselor, the first woman to be a counselor in one of DFY's male facilities, she took the job. She ran into resistance from some co-workers - 'There was a feeling, women couldn't make these boys work, you had to manhandle them, what if they didn't want to get up in the morning' - and to meet it, 'I was determined I was going to earn their respect. I can't say I overcompensated, but maybe I worked harder or something so it became a challenge for me, and then I got where I liked those challenges'.

By 1978 Washington was named assistant director under a new camp administrator and then became acting director three months later when the director became ill. 'At the time I didn't want [the job of director]; and also women had not been directors of facilities in the Division for Youth', Washington says. 'But after I had tried on some new things and had been very successful, I decided I would continue. I liked controlling the whole program of the Tryon School, also in upstate New York. Tryon was the division's largest facility at 100 beds, which, under Washington, increased to 200.

Even though she first interviewed for the Spofford director's position mostly out of curiosity, Washington impressed Commissioner Schall. Schall knew she needed someone who would lead Spofford,

who would not blame 'downtown' and would take authority for changes. Washington's experience indicated many positive points. 'I knew she was self-motivated, sane, mature and sensible', Schall says, 'that she was tough-minded and doesn't give up. I was less clear on who she relies on and what her relationship to bosses was. I knew she had a good ... theory about it, but I was less sure about how she carried it out'. Schall was also unsure about how much patience Washington had, but 'I knew she was a leader in the charismatic sense and had a very good sense of vision'.

For her part, in a second meeting with Schall, Washington tried to establish that it was she, and not the executive team or the planning department, who would run Spofford. Washington wanted to make sure she had the authority to make changes on her own. 'One of the things I had learned as I checked around about DJ was, people said that the agency was top-heavy and that maybe I would not be able to be involved in planning as much', she says. 'Everything was done as a team so I would not be able to function autonomously and that I needed to know what, as director was expected of me'. Schall's answers during interviewing satisfied Washington that 'I would be able to function and yes, I would be a team member but my contributions would be really valued and that I would run Spofford'. At that second meeting, the two women made a personal connection that convinced them they could share a vision of a new Spofford. It wasn't until after she had accepted the position, however, that Washington learned she was 27th in the line of Spofford's directors.

TAKING CONTROL

On her very first day as head of Spofford, the staff made clear to Washington both their distrust of their new manager and their resistance to change. At a ceremony in Spofford, Washington was sworn in as director and the man who had been acting as director (and applied unsuccessfully for the director's position) was sworn in as deputy director. 'The staff knew him, he'd been a juvenile counselor and come up through the facility, and they didn't know me', Washington recalls. Along with gifts came welcoming speeches. 'They told him, "We're so proud of you, we're glad you've come through, you're one of us, and we have these gifts", in fact it was two

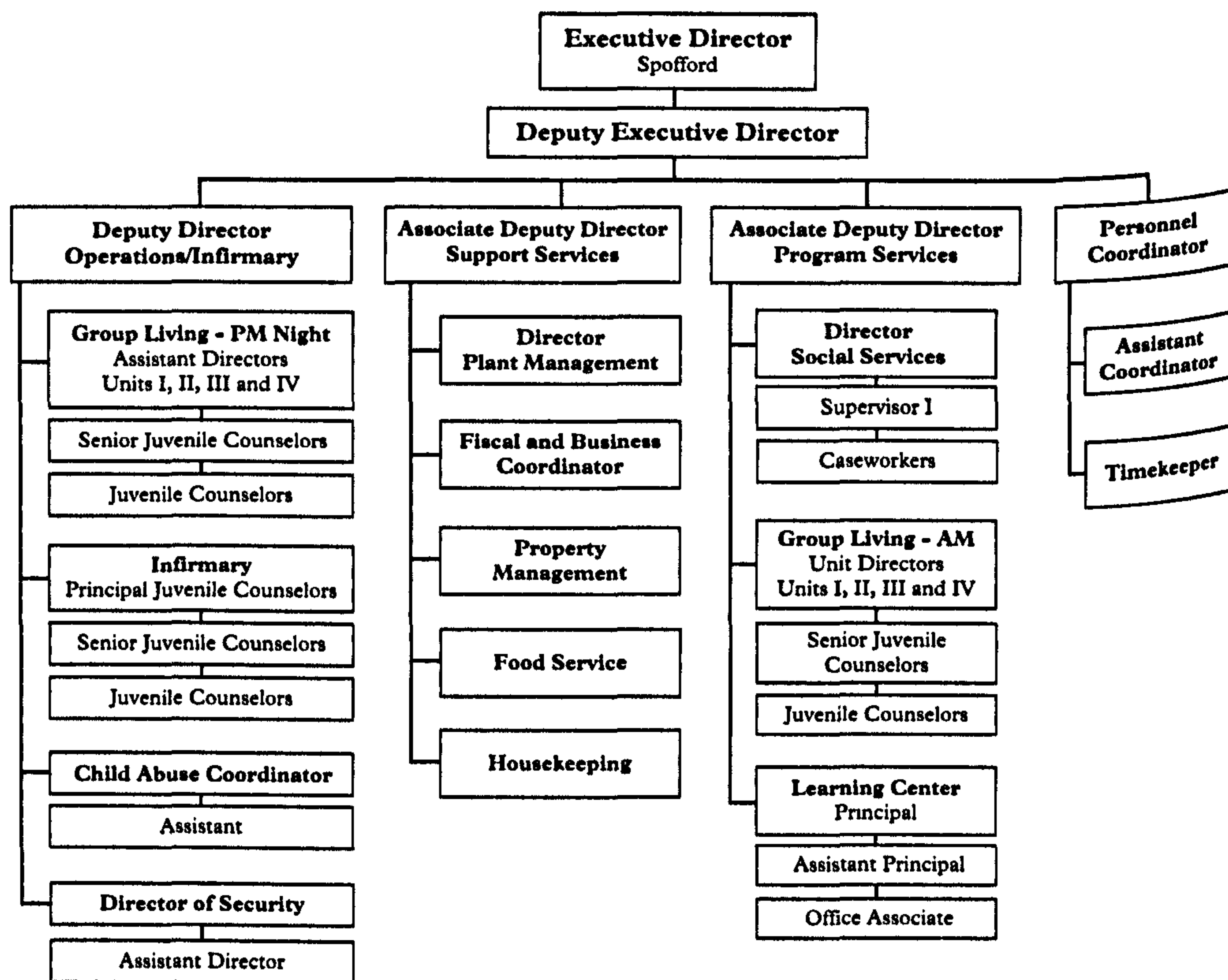
huge gifts. Then the director of social services gave me a gift and a plant and said, 'How happy we are that you are joining us, Miss Washington, and we are going to work you to death, but we're going to be right there working along beside you'."

When Washington went to her eighth floor office, she faced a second challenge from the former acting director. Her predecessor had worked his way up from juvenile counselor in 20 years at Spofford. Schall, impressed with his sense of caring for the youths, had appointed him acting director but told him she was going to conduct a national search for the strongest possible administrator. When he did not get the job, he was disappointed, but Schall felt that making him deputy executive director would help smooth relations between Washington and the staff and help Washington handle such difficult issues as union relations and staff management.

Right away, however, the deputy challenged Washington's position. 'I was sworn in on 15 August, and then the next morning, I came in, and he was sitting in my office behind the desk. And - here's my deputy you know, and I didn't want to come in confrontational - so I put my things on a little table in the office, and I started talking to him about what we were going to do, and so forth, and he kept sitting there. We must have sat like an hour or so, and I had to go to the personnel office, and different things that day, and then go back to the director's office. When the phone would ring he would answer it and hand the phone to me across the desk. We went on like this for about three days. I started coming in early, but at 7.30 he was there, 7.00 he was there, 6.30 he was there. So I finally said "Could I have my desk, please?" And he said, "Well, where am I going to go?" I said, "Well, we could look for an office for you, maybe (the director of programs') office". "Well where is he going to go?" I said, "I don't know, but I do have to have my desk". So he got up and walked out - he was angry then'.

That testing relationship was to continue. 'When I talked to [the deputy director] about why plaster was falling in the cafeteria, he talked to me about feeling castrated by me, and I wanted some accountability, I wanted things taken care of, addressed', she recalls. Those first few months, says Washington, 'I couldn't speak

Exhibit 1. Spofford Juvenile Center Organizational Chart, 1983



Source: Compiled from original documents provided by the Spofford Juvenile Detention Center

nice enough to (him)', she said. 'I needed to say, "Please, would you do this?" It's not, "I want this done", it is, "Could you please take care of this", and take any excuse for it not being done'.

Nonetheless, the deputy, who often accompanied Washington to meetings at the DJJ office downtown – where he sat on the executive committee of DJJ – portrayed Washington as a tool of the white commissioner. When the possibility of dismissing staff members was raised at senior management staff meetings, the deputy told Spofford's counselors, according to Washington, 'that I was about firing people, and didn't care about the staff, and I didn't know how to work with kids – all I wanted to do was fire staff'.

The accusations fed into broad resentment of Washington's position. The juvenile counselors often identified more with their charges than with anyone in management. Although she was black, Washington represented the white bureaucracy, the white administrators who were an hour away and far removed from the day-to-day reality of Spofford. Washington says staff had characterized

Schall as "this white woman up at the big house ... she hardly ever comes here'. Well, I said, 'I am in charge of Spofford. The commissioner doesn't have to come up here, she supports us through me'."

Conversely, the staff also charged that Washington was 'soft'. The Spofford style in the past used strong language and threats to keep the youths in line. Washington handled fights differently. 'If a kid was out of control, I'd begin to role model with the staff – pull the kid aside, talk to him, find out what was wrong, and if the kid needed discipline, he would be disciplined, but it would be handled in a fair way', Washington recalls. 'Many times you could defuse the situation by getting [with] the kid'. The staff felt she was coddling youths at the expense of their ability to discipline. 'So I was being portrayed as being this soft, coddling person, liking only the kids [and not the staff]'.

THE FIRST CRISIS

Despite the initial difficulties over her desk, Washington decided she had to try to work with her deputy. He was Schall's appointee, and Schall believed he had the experience that would help Washington get

acclimatized. Washington told him that for the first three months, she wanted him to be in charge of day-to-day business while she learned how things operated. The arrangement did not last long. Within a month after her arrival, Washington and a deputy were at a meeting in Schall's office when a call came in that there was a 'riot' going on in the Spofford cafeteria, where some 180 youths were gathered for dinner. Schall, Washington and her deputy drove to the Bronx with Washington leaning out a window, as they headed down FDR Drive, attaching an antenna to the car so she could use a two-way radio. At that moment, 'I made the decision that I needed to take over', Washington remembers, 'I couldn't wait'.

As they travelled, Washington made radio contact with the associate executive director. 'He said they had managed to get the majority of the kids into their dormitories, but there were still a few fighting', Washington said, 'And I wanted to know if he deemed it to be out of control. He said not, but the police were there. And so I said at that point, "You are not to allow the police to come into the facility. If you deem it to be under control, then I want the staff to get the kids into their rooms".' Washington called for a lock-down: the juvenile counselors were to lock the youths in their rooms.

After an hour's drive in heavy traffic — the trip normally took 40 minutes — the group arrived at a noisy facility; the youths in one dorm were beating on their doors 'so you could hear this noise ringing in the building'. She quickly called senior staff together to learn the details: 180 kids had been eating together in the cafeteria when an apparently pre-arranged fight broke out. Washington knew that during mealtimes 'the tension was so thick you could cut it with a knife'. The crisis made it clear that she had to act immediately. 'That night I said, "Never again will these 180 kids be programmed together." I made the decision — only three dormitories are going to eat in the cafeteria, and they're going to come down in shifts.'

At that point, Washington called a halt to her staff meeting because the noise was 'reverberating all over the building, and I'm sure it could be heard out in the community'. She headed to the dorm. Staff

didn't even want her to open the room doors, but she insisted on talking to each youth. 'I thought it was very important to establish with the staff that I could manage these kids, because I was the first female head of the facility, from upstate New York and from Alabama. So I went down to the dormitories where the kids were, I walked through the corridors and I said to the kids, "This is Ms. Washington. I run the place. I want to talk to you." And you know how kids yell: "Ms. Washington! They did this to us!" and so forth and so on. So I said, "I can't talk to you with all this noise. You're going to have to be quiet. I'm going to come into your rooms and talk to you".' The youths told her only a few were responsible for the disturbance, but because of the lock-up they didn't get their bedding and would be deprived of their night-time snacks. 'I told them that I run a fair facility, and they would get their snacks and to make up their beds, and that I would be back to talk with them'. In her position as executive director, she knew it was a violation of children's rights to withhold food as a punishment, despite the measures staff felt were necessary. Even then, Washington recalls, 'You see how I was set up in this situation? They'd told the kids, no snacks, and here I was, giving them snacks. It made me seem soft'. (The next day Washington put the principal culprits under restrictions and put mild restrictions on the two dorms most involved in the melee.)

Washington, Schall, and other senior staff worked all night to arrange a schedule for mealtimes. That night Washington learned the details of Spofford's organization. 'I knew there were 12 dormitories and there were people called unit coordinators, and I asked, well, what does that mean? "Well, we have unit coordinators, but they only manage the day shift,"' staff explained to her. 'The night shift is supervised by the deputy director for operations'. To Washington, it seemed needlessly complex and afforded little accountability or control. For the near-term, however, she focused her efforts on avoiding a repeat of the cafeteria problems. 'Three dormitories make up a unit. I said only three dormitories will eat at once. They will eat in a half-hour and the next three will come. Of course, that gave me the reputation of a person who made snap decisions without knowing what was going on'.

The juvenile counselors warned that it would take too long to move dorm groups in and out of the cafeteria, and that not only counselors but kitchen staff would waste time with this new attempt at organizing. Ultimately, however, they acquiesced. The first week the plan didn't work – the shifts moved too slowly through mealtimes and the schedule began to back up again. Then Washington, who had noticed Romaine Howard's drive and energy, put her in charge of calling the dorms. Howard wanted the mealtimes changed. 'I thought it sounded good to me', she says, 'because I felt it was crazy the way we were eating anyhow'. She circumvented any attempts to disrupt the schedule. By November, when the staff began to realize the difference staggered mealtimes made, Howard says, 'they said, "Hey, this isn't so bad".' At least the tension at mealtimes had been reduced.

Not that things went smoothly, even with people who began to support Washington. Howard became furious when she heard from another staff member that Washington was 'writing her up', compiling a report on her performance. She marched in to the cafeteria wearing union buttons and a union hat. At a hastily-called meeting in Washington's office, Howard vented her anger, only to learn that the staff person had evidently misinterpreted, perhaps deliberately, Washington's note-taking during a meeting. Further, Washington told Howard, if there ever was a question she should come to Washington directly, her door was open. 'That impressed me, you know', Howard says.

Another move Washington made almost immediately was to switch her office from the eighth floor to the third floor, where both the entrance level and the dining rooms for staff and for youths were located. Staff called the director's eighth-floor office 'the penthouse', recalls Washington. 'Beautiful view of the World Trade Center and the Empire State Building – through the bars you could see that. And they kept the floors up there spic-and-span'. Some staff were skeptical, telling Washington that the noise level on the third floor would be too loud. Others approved the move. 'She was saying, "I'm down here with you"', says Glass.

Washington took to walking the facility at any time of day or night, seeing how each shift operated, or coming in on holidays to

play cards with the kids. In this way she discovered that some of the night shift were coming in, 'rolling up their hair in curlers and going to bed', she says, instead of keeping watch on the dormitory. She also found out 'it was incest in here in terms of professional behaviour, people supervising their cousins and things like that'. She knew she would have to make some staff changes.

STAFF ISSUES: 'GETTING OVER'

As she began to take steps towards her goal of greater staff accountability, Rose Washington had to confront not only the shortcomings of individuals but her own mixed feelings in disciplining staff members. 'Part of what I had overcome in here, working with predominantly black staff, was my need to nurture', Washington recalls. 'I understand the circumstances under which ... well, how far our people have had to come, and so it was very hard to fire somebody'. Yet Washington perceived a conflict within the juvenile counselors also. 'They loved some of the kids', she says, but with no direction from management, many felt they were 'getting over', – taking advantage of a situation in which there was little direct supervision, enjoying the apparent security of their post but doing the minimum or little more.

'They called [Spofford] a "country club". They were really "getting over"'. People would come in, and they figured that they were black and this white administration in this city owed it to them ... and this was another way of getting back at the establishment, was to 'get over', to do a half-hearted job despite their concern for the youths. Although reluctant to confront staff members, she also believed that 'they had mixed emotions' about what they were doing. She hoped that if she held them more strictly accountable, they would 'grown in their respect for themselves'.

To get the best employees, however, Washington believed she had to take action – and she believed that would have to include firings. She began to dismiss provisional staff, who were not protected by civil service regulations, if they did not measure up to her new standards. Those fired were dismissed both for child abuse – 'They would take a kid in a dormitory and punch him out; one threw keys at kids and

cut their lips' – as well as the abuses of 'getting over', such as sleeping on the job or 'clocking in' but leaving the building. Her actions sparked concern, however, even among those with civil service protections – especially when Washington began to hold a series of general staff meetings at which she specified that such abuses would not be tolerated by long-term civil service staff either and would be documented in writing.

ORGANIZATION

Washington believed that long-term improvement hinged on reorganization and simplification of Spofford's multi-layered supervisory structure. When she arrived, management consisted of Washington herself, her deputy executive director, and the three deputies whom he – not she – supervised: one for programs, one for support services, one for operations. Everyone else at Spofford belonged to a union. (Even some of those who were in the small group of upper management had formerly been ranking union officials.) Each of four 'units' at the institution had, at its head, a 'unit coordinator' – not a management employee but a ranking (or 'principal') juvenile counselor. The unit coordinators reported to the deputy for programs. Ostensibly, the coordinators and program deputy were to decide policy matters – eg, what kind of clothing should be worn, how many should sleep in a dorm. In practice, however, the influence of this group was limited to the first of the three 8-hour shifts. A parallel organization, under the supervision of the deputy for operations, was responsible for evening and night shifts – and employed its own juvenile counselors of various ranks. (See Exhibit 1.) Each of the four units was divided into three dormitories, housing an average of 16 youths; two dorms on the intake unit might go up to 21 or 24, however, if there were an influx of youths. On an individual shift – in part because of chronic absenteeism – one counselor might be responsible for supervising all 16 or 24.

As she examined the organizational structure, she found that 'if I wanted to have any impact on the child, I needed to go the my deputy director first, who went to the deputy of programs, who went to the deputy of operations, who went to the unit coordinators, who went to the principal juvenile counselor, who went to the senior

counselor, who told the juvenile counselor, and [then] maybe that thing would get carried out', Washington recalls. She wanted to create accountability and to remove layers of command that she felt interfered with her knowledge of what was going on at the youth's level. She believed, moreover, that education and recreation programs were artificially separated from the housing and counseling functions of the dormitories. And she had learned, in dealing with the cafeteria riot, that unit coordinators were not given the ultimate responsibility for overseeing their units. All of this disturbed Washington. She particularly wanted to bring the unit coordinators into management and make each accountable for an individual unit.

In seeking to increase her ranks of managers, Washington ran the risk of alienating Spofford's unions. Under what had been transient management, the Spofford staff looked to its unions for continuity. Of 13 unions representing Spofford employees, the largest was District 37, Local 1457, of the American Federation of State and Municipal Employees, which represented 300 juvenile counselors. Some felt that the union wielded too much power because it seemed important to be 'in good' with the union to get ahead. To many of the staff, however, the union was the only organization that seemed to take the employees' welfare seriously. An adversarial relationship with transient management had developed. According to Andrew Holman, a senior juvenile counselor and president of the local, 'There [had been] a kind of hysteria on the part of management: "We don't want to give the union the upper hand".' Communications with directors had been so bad, 'the union didn't find anything out except through the grapevine'.

In planning any changes, however, Washington faced the constraints of union work rules. Specifically, a unit coordinator could not supervise recreation or social service staff members who reported directly to a deputy director. At a DJJ executive staff meeting, Washington proposed that unit coordinators become 'unit managers' – and take on 24-hour supervisory responsibility for their units. She was warned, however, that such a course was administratively difficult and would be resisted by union officials, who would object to losing a high-ranking position in their ranks. She faced further union complications if she attempted

to decentralize social service and recreation programs and make them part of the dorm structure. She was advised, though, that it might be possible for her to promote the unit coordinators to existing, unfilled civil service positions – as ‘head counselors’ – as which they would remain in the union but could be asked to take on more management-type responsibilities. They would also have to be paid more. It might also derail the long-term goal to which she continued to cling: making the coordinators part of the management team.

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

As she contemplated the overall organization of the institution, Washington had to consider, as well, the dingy, dirty and, at times, frightening conditions around her. She had enjoyed some ‘small wins’, such as the improvement in the cafeteria routine. But deep problems remained. The maintenance staff did not include a full-time, permanent plumber or electrician. The cleaning staff was inadequate. Dorms were dirty – and budget constraints made the hiring of additional cleaning crews unlikely. Possession of contraband – including weapons – was common, as were incidents such as the dorms’ metal furniture being thrown by angry youths. Counselors believed such conditions could trigger violent behaviour even in those who might otherwise not be given to it. ‘When a kid doesn’t feel safe, he starts to act out’, observes one counselor. Conditions for the staff left much to be desired as well. The staff dining room was austere and uncomfortable.

CENTRAL OFFICE

Finally, Washington found herself under pressure from the central DJJ office. She had already had one tussle with central office over Spofford’s education program. Schall’s deputy commissioner of planning, Kathy Feely, had two jobs, supervisor of aftercare and non-secure detention and department planner. She was told by Schall to ‘fix’ Spofford’s education program in the autumn and spring of 1983 and 1984, so she asked an education planner to look at Spofford’s program. This created immediate problems. The mere presence of the planner aroused the staff’s resentment. ‘We were tired of outside people coming in and telling us how to do the job we’d done for years’, Dolores

Wade says. Feely adds that ‘nobody in the school wanted to let the planner see the files ... I was from City Hall’. Also without realizing it, Feely had begun to undercut Washington. When the planner reported that there was no pretesting to check education level, for example, Feely told Schall, her boss. ‘But then Ellen had something that even Rose didn’t know about’, Feely says. Washington ‘straightened that out very fast’, Feely says, and insisted that she be told first what the planners found. Feely agreed.

But the dynamic continued. During the summer, Feely and Washington were discussing a program intended for children with developmental disabilities. Schall and Feely supported the program, but Washington felt her plate was full. From Washington’s point of view, simply bringing in more planners went against her team-building efforts. ‘Staff would reject something if they are not a part of its development’, she says. Feely as a counter-pressure felt that ‘Ellen want the work to get done and yet doesn’t want Rose to feel imposed upon’.

At times Washington did not feel imposed upon as much as misunderstood. ‘Sometimes for us black managers, working in an agency whose head is white, you wonder if there is really a realistic view of what you are dealing with’, Washington says. ‘Many times when I was downtown I talked about what was going on up here. That it was difficult, painful work for us, to see kids hurt or be afraid that a child was going to be hurt ... and how much pain we have to take in order to continue to be patient, continue to go back and be there for a kid who is constantly testing to see if you really are real, because so many people have not been there for them. It is really emotionally draining.’

References

1. *Actions of the courts, as well as the demographics of those arrested, may have reinforced Spofford’s client profile. Attorneys for white youths stressed that in addition to being violent, Spofford was viewed as a place for minority youths, and judges were reluctant to send white youths to the facility.*

2. *DFY provides 50 percent of Spofford’s detention-related expenses and sets up guidelines, such as staff-youth ratio, for detention centers state-wide.*

Albert Haddock Jnr.

The Home Secretary

Judgement in the High Court in a case of negligence.

*Mike Jenkins,
formerly Area Manager at
Prison Service Headquarters,
was our court correspondent in
this case.*

Albert Haddock, you left the United Kingdom to avoid your father's notoriety in Her Majesty's courts, settled in the United States of America (which appears to be divided from us not only by a common law) yet kept your British citizenship. You returned to this land of your birth endowed with your father's fertile imagination and experienced in our cousins' enthusiasm for the law. While it may be obiter to say so, your sentence of five years for contempt for perverse ingenuity at law made not only legal history but my day.

However, I am today giving judgement in your fourth case of negligence against the Home Secretary and I am mindful that you have won the previous three. You have kindly reminded me that *Raymond v Honey* is not a case about kerb crawling as I might have fondly imagined but enshrines a constitutional principle, per Lord Wilberforce: "...a convicted prisoner, in spite of his imprisonment, retains all civil rights which are not taken away expressly or by necessary implication."

You have also reminded me of the sad, sordid story of the decomposed Scottish snail at the bottom of the ginger beer bottle; I must confess that, as I was familiar with that landmark case of *Donoghue v Stevenson* (having made my mark at the bar many times through its ever expanding universality* and having bought my extensive lands in consequence), my mind strayed to wondering if in your adopted country the snail might have been a plaintiff as the first casualty. Your presence reminded me that we are fast reaching such a state.

However, I must concede the application of the principle that the Home Secretary need not have you personally in mind when making his decisions (though I suspect increasingly he will, even with sympathy or fellow feeling) but owes you a duty of care as the consumer of what he has to offer.

More to the point you have reminded me that you succeeded in your previous actions because you proved to the satisfaction of this court that:

First, The Home Secretary was negligent in providing too few prison places so that you had to suffer the discomfort and distress of police accommodation and I must agree that Lambeth Garage does not sound a salubrious address.

Second, The Home Secretary was negligent in causing you 'intolerable distress' by locking you up with two other men in Her Majesty's Prison at Brixton (until unaccountably they left, 'intuitively', I think you said) contrary to the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Third, the Home Secretary was negligent in failing to treat or train you in one of his training prisons as evidenced by your continuing proclivity to repeat your contempt.

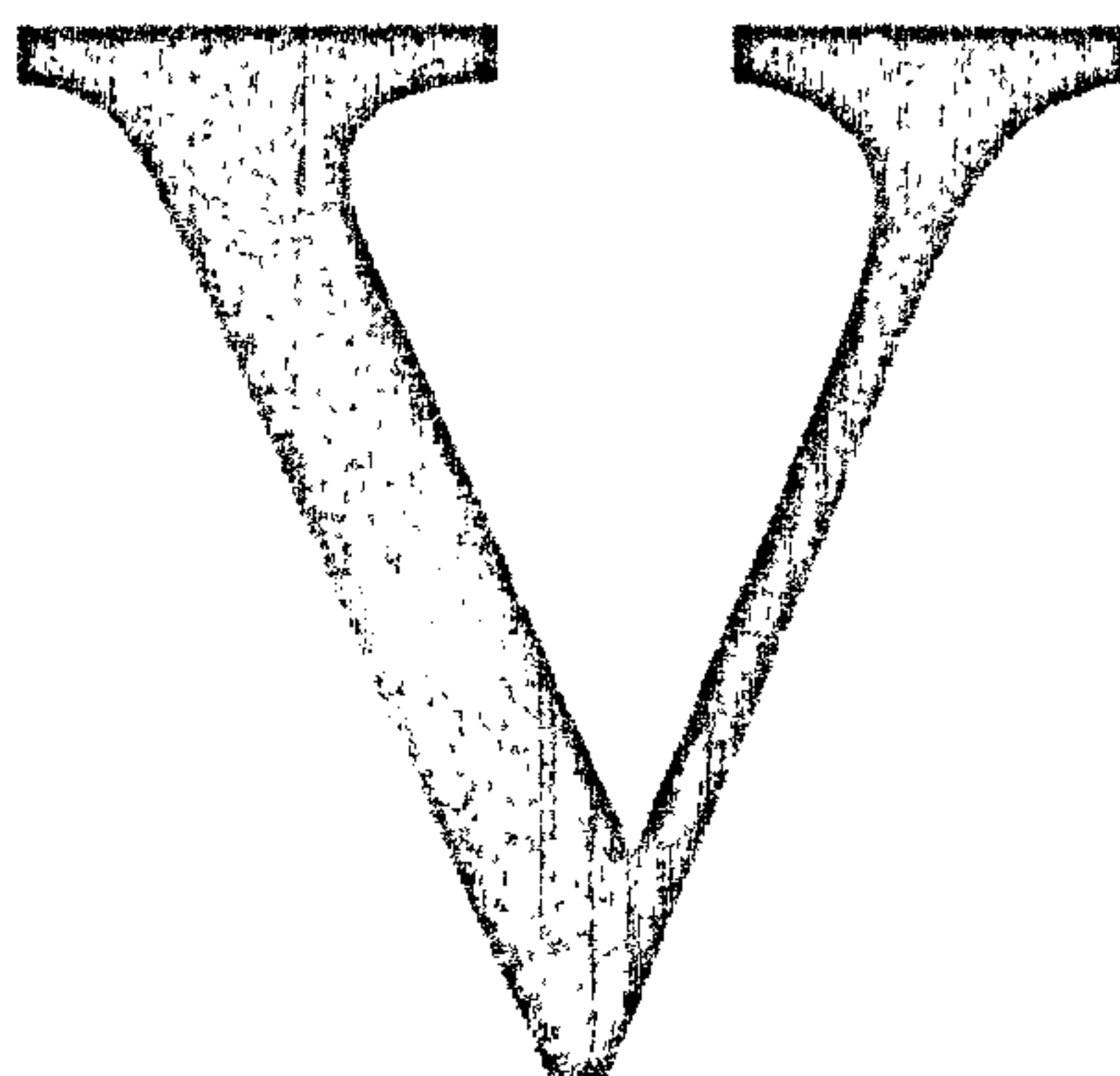
It is not part of your case, though, that the Home Secretary is accident prone. You have argued today that the Home Secretary was negligent in prescribing terms of

reference for Woolf, L.J. which excluded the length of prison sentences. You have reminded me that Woolf, L.J. was strong in his report on the disturbance at Strangeways about prisoners' sense of justice to which he gave a very broad meaning. It was perhaps fortunate that he gave this opinion in a book published in paper covers by HMSO rather than in a legal judgement. You urged that prisoners have been rightly outraged by the longer sentences given for some offences together with the Home Secretary's persistence with Mr Brittan's severe restriction on parole for such offences. It does indeed look like 'two-for-one' but that principle was already enshrined in prison tradition, at least for a majority of the staff. Counsel for the Home Secretary was forced to argue that the Home Secretary had gone to great trouble in producing a Green Paper, a White Paper and a Criminal Justice Act to get round Mr Brittan's policy, as endorsed so enthusiastically and democratically by that section of the great British public which attended the Conservative Party Conference in 1983. You countered by saying that this answer was as bifurcated as the policy it might replace as there was no assurance that sentences or the close supervision that should follow would be more just than before. You argued rather that the Home Secretary had compounded his negligence by minimising (as his predecessors had done) the wisdom of the Advisory Council on the Penal System which, had recommended at least a modest reduction in the maximum length of prison sentences. I must thank Mr Haddock, Junior, for his excursion into realms seldom explored by High Court Judges; it may fit me to chair the next inquiry into a prison disturbance, so that my name may be added to those of Woolf, L.J.

and Tumim, J., as men who sought to rescue English prisons from antediluvian squalor. However, despite your careful research and persuasive arguments you have failed to prove that you have suffered from the Home Secretary's alleged negligence; the longer you stay in prison the more you have benefited, Mr Haddock. In your adopted country your advocacy and example might have brought success in a 'class action' but such is not known in our individualistic society — of which you appear a singular example. I, therefore, find against you Mr Haddock — but with no order for costs.

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 With acknowledgements to A.P. Herbert's 'Uncommon Law', published in 1935 by Methuen. See also Tim Owen (1991) 'Prisoners' Rights' in the *New Law Journal*, 141, 1328-1342 (No. 6522).



Reviews

BOOKS

PUNISHMENT AND MODERN SOCIETY: A STUDY IN SOCIAL THEORY

David Garland, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1990

If you only want to read, or have to read, one book about criminology, read this one. From this you should not infer either that Garland's book is simple and undemanding – because it is neither – or that it merely carefully blends the various works of others without itself being original and arresting – because it is both. Quite simply, Garland has pushed criminological debate into the 1990s, moving the parameters of the various familiar arguments beyond the confines – albeit stimulating ones – of Durkheim, Marx and Foucault.

To present a complex analysis, rigorously pursued over 300 pages, in review form is an unenviable task. Thus, it is only from the necessity of the medium's sake, that I offer this inevitably crude condensation. Punishment, argues Garland, should not be seen as a simple form of 'crime control' (which after all, punishment rarely does), but as a 'complex social institution' which in its practice invokes a whole web of highly patterned social relations and cultural meanings. Drawing on the work of Norbert Elias, penal practice emerges having been shaped by changing forms of mentality and sensibility, resulting in punishment expressing, and sometimes determining, wider cultural issues. Sentencing, for

example, is not merely about the delivery of various sanctions available to the court, but is something which is understood within a broad social context, and thus can symbolise other specific meanings to the public at large. Thus, for Garland, 'penal practices exist within a specific penal culture which is itself supported and made meaningful by wider cultural forms, these, in turn, being grounded in society's patterns of material life and social action'. [p. 211]

The importance of this analysis – beyond its academic and theoretical significance for criminologists – is in its provision of a platform by which to judge punishment. Punishment should 'work' not simply in its ability to exclude, incapacitate, or extract retribution, at the 'instrumental' level as Garland puts it, but also at a deeper level, reflecting the type of society we belong to, or wish to establish. Put like this, all those who work within, or are responsible for the policy of prisons and punishment, would be charged with a moral and socially responsive undertaking, fundamentally connected to the development of the nature of our society. Thus the concepts of 'justice, tolerance, decency, humanity and civility should be part of any penal institution's self-consciousness – an intrinsic and constitutive aspect of its role [p. 292] Judged by these considerations, the escape of every Category A prisoner in the country would come a pretty poor second.

**Dr. David Wilson,
HMP Woodhill.**

B BEYOND CONTAINMENT.

The penal response to sex offending. Published by the Prison Reform Trust.

I must start this review by saying that I was profoundly disturbed by this book. It made me aware of an area of Prison policy in which I believe more should be done especially in throughcare and counselling. The book is in seven chapters, drawing on the experiences in this field of a number of highly qualified people.

In Chapter One Eddie Guy, who is responsible for programmes for inmates with problem behaviour at Prison Service Headquarters, outlines Service strategy and gives details of the programmes to deal with those who do not represent the greatest risk and an extended programme for those who do. He also identifies the Criminal Justice Act 1991 with its emphasis on tackling offending behaviour and the demands it will place on the Service.

I was very interested in his understanding of the co-operation required between outside agencies and the

involvement of the community but disagree that this will ensure the effective use of resources as most agencies are over-stretched already but he is careful to point out that public sensitivity is very important.

In Chapter Two Adam Sampson Deputy Director of the Prison Reform Trust looks at treatment programmes, theory into practice and welcomes the new initiatives as he believes that existing policies were failing to protect the public.

He draws our attention to the fact that some Prison establishments were unable to participate in treatment programmes on the grounds that resources were not available. However his comments on staff attitudes which he feels need to change. I would not agree with but a more defined policy along with identifying sensitive staff for these programmes.

I would however agree with Mr Sampson that we need to get it right first time as if we don't the price of failure will be paid by future generations of women and children; it is a frightening prospect.

Chapter Three, Liz Kelly, Sheila Burton and Linda Regan who comprise the Child Abuse Studies Unit at North London Polytechnic draw on published survivors

BOOKS

accounts of child sex abuse and argue that the needs of survivors must be central to the discussion of the response to sexual offenders. The accounts range from adult survivors of sexual abuse in childhood to assaults on adult women. It also recounts the feeling of survivors and the perceived failure of society to punish offenders and the inadequate sentencing policy.

In Part two of the chapter we hear accounts of the offenders and a disturbing and unorthodox study of asking offenders how they go about abusing children which gives an unusual insight into the offender's mind and must help in treatment.

Chapter Four by Colin Hawkes a Probation Officer who was involved in setting up the East London Sex Offenders Project writes about the changes that he feels will be required in the way Social Enquiry Reports are formulated if the Probation Service is to intervene effectively with child abusers and the need for training to establish a system to develop techniques for effective programmes and treatment and along with Liz Kelly, Sheila Burton and Linda Regan argues for a more consistent and informed sentencing policy.

I was greatly impressed with this statement that in the case of sexual offenders the client is the abused in the community, rather than the abuser.

Chapter Five—Pornography in Prison by Probation Officer Malcolm Cowburn, Nottingham Probation Service, discusses the vexed question of pornography in Prison and looks at any connection between the availability of pornography and anti-social behaviour and looks at the Service response to its usage in prisons. A very complex subject which again could be better dealt with by having a clearer policy.

The penultimate chapter by Dr David Saunders-Wilson, Head of Inmate Activities at HMP Woodhill argues, I believe, successfully that the treatment of sex offenders depends upon a fundamental re-examination of society's attitudes to sex and sexuality.

In his article he breaks down the barriers in dealing

with society's attitudes and that sex education in Prison should be in the forefront of any programmes for ALL offenders, he also identifies the problems in selecting staff for these programmes and the personal qualities required.

The final chapter is by Steve Twinn now the Director of The Wolds Remand Centre and in it he describes the strategy he adopted while Governor at HMP Littlehey to eliminate the reliance on Rule 43 of Prison Rules to protect sex offenders. Because he feels that the current policy of segregation has a number of undesirable practical consequences, some of which he points out as being poor conditions and loss of basic prison facilities. However, his comments on Prison staff turning a blind eye to attacks on those segregated by other inmates is unfounded, the staff commitment to Rule 43 prisoners during the Strangeways riot should bear this out.

Littlehey's policy of integration of sex offenders within the regime and to punish those who bully and intimidate is a sound idea (Portland Young Offenders has been doing this for many years). The work with the Gracewell Clinic in training and advice towards treatment programmes is an area which I would like to have seen expanded on.

In conclusion this book offers an excellent insight into sex offending and should be seen as the foundations of a sound treatment policy which hopefully should match our commitment in addressing alcohol abuse, drugs dependency, lack of education, developing social skills and throughcare.

To quote Dr David Wilson – 'We must learn to understand the offender for without understanding our prejudices, hypocrisy, fear and silence will conspire to create more victims and even greater numbers of sex offenders. Knowledge dispels fear'.

**Paul Biddle, Senior Officer,
HMYOI Guys Marsh.**

Future issues of the Journal are being considered on the following themes:

- **Evil**
- **Crime**
- **Education**
- **Agency and Organisation**

The editor welcome articles and correspondence on these or other ideas you see as important.

PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL

Write to the secretary to the Journal:

Hilary Pollak
HM Prison Service College,
Newbold Revel,
Rugby,
Warwickshire
CV23 0TN

F I L M S

ALIEN³

Alien³ concludes its trilogy on Fiorina 161—later shortened to 'Fury 161'—a penal work planet, onto which Sigourney Weaver crash-lands. (By now, unless you really have been stuck in space, you should also have guessed that the Alien crash-lands with her.) Fury 161 is the logical extension of the ideas of the transportation of prisoners, and the privatization of prisons, and as such is conscious in its use of penal history, and in its characterization of the leading protagonists. Thus, for example, the Victorian penal triumvirate of Governor, Medical Officer, and Chaplain, re-establishes itself, albeit that the Chaplain is symbolised by the prisoners themselves, who are all 'Born Again' Christians. Similarly, Sigourney Weaver manages to convince Charles Dance—playing the Medical Officer—in what is the film's most gruesome scene, to perform an autopsy on Newt, on the pretence that she may have died of cholera. This can be read as a direct reference back to the old 'gaol fever' of the transportation 'hulks'.

The narrative of the film is relentlessly obvious, and suffers because by now most of us know what the Alien actually looks like. It is thus difficult to sustain any tension in the plot, which was partly the reason for the success of Alien, and Aliens, and characters are eaten much too quickly for the viewer to become

involved with their fate. Similarly, given all her Press comments, it was fairly obvious that something final was going to have to happen to Ripley, as Sigourney Weaver made it plain that she wasn't going to act in any Alien 4. Her demise was therefore hardly surprising.

However, Alien³ is not as bad as many critics have made out, and in one particular respect was bold and imaginative. Fury 161 is inhabited by sex offenders, notorious media 'bogey men', who are initially presented as despicable, and useless. Yet the film empowers these inmates, and allows them to be heroic, and self-sacrificing, despite the awfulness of their reported offences, and attempted rape of Sigourney Weaver. It is to the inmates she turns when the Governor, and Medical Officer—formal representatives of authority on Fury 161—are eaten, and it is they who eventually help devise and implement a strategy which overcomes the Alien. This is very different from how inmates are normally presented when in control, as in say 'Escape from New York', and this is the most interesting aspect of the film. That this theme remains undeveloped is a pity, but it breaks cinematic ground in that it treats the inhabitants of prisons as complex, and multi-dimensional, as opposed to stereotypes and caricatures.

Dr David Wilson.
HMP Woodhill.

A KISS BEFORE DYING

A Kiss Before Dying is an above average suspense movie of four murders and 108 minutes.

Jonathan—our hunky serial killer sets out to get rich. Dorothy—a philosophy student, who ponders on 'the limits to man's spiritual programming' arranges to meet her secret husband-to-be (so she thinks!) in a tall building on the Pennsylvanian skyline. She is besotted with him, he with her family copper. As he pushes the pregnant Dorothy to her death he relinquishes his responsibility calmly protesting, 'I'm sorry, you only have yourself to blame'.

Three victims later and his thinly disguised new identity (Reggie Perrin style) begins to be exposed.

The storyline is just conceivably vaguely plausible. The acting is generally of a high standard, although the gratuitous sex scenes are unimaginatively shot. Maximum marks for corny one liners such as,

'What have you got in there Mr—a dead body? (Hotel doorman).

Much of the camera work is of the Psycho-Vertigo variety—airial shots and bathroom scenes, etc.

The movie ends with a trite glimpse into the motivations and mind of a murderer. And why not?

Graham Towl.
HMP Highpoint.

Coming soon . . .
'Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer'.
'Unforgiven'
'Illegal entry'

SPANISH PRISONS

(Penitenciarios)

*Anver Jeevanjee is a member
of the Board of Visitors,
at H.M. Prisons Winchester*

*We don't think of prison
reforms and Spain as going
together like bolts and bars but
Anver Jeevanjee on her visit to
Spanish penitenciarios thinks
we could learn a thing or two.*

The stereotyped complacency with which some of us regard Spain as a poor country with a laid back attitude whereby everything is put off till 'mañana' (tomorrow), and nothing is achieved either before or after 'siesta' appears to be a grossly misplaced conception particularly in this Expo/Olympic year. When one visits one gets the impression that the so-called recession has by-passed them and ordinary folk have become increasingly intolerant to any censure of their society. Hence, the capital expenditure and planning over the years to provide ultra-modern infrastructure of prisons, roads, airports, etc, is astounding. No doubt the country's ability to attract foreign and local investment has provided a catalyst.

I visited two prisons or penitenciarios as they are appropriately referred. The vast (59,758m²) new prison set in luscious countryside close to the idyllic village of Alhaurin de la Torre (1,400 cells — in spite of intense opposition by villagers) and a seven year old establishment of similar size located in rocky scrubland near Almeria (1,100 cells). All the penitenciarios in Spain are centrally administered by the Ministerio de Justicia under prison rules which remain unamended since 1981 — outdated one might think, yet from what I saw there, albeit at a cursory glance, other countries could easily benefit from it and some of their experiences. It is regrettable that some nations remain so insular to external ideas. There are no privately run penitenciarios. A figure of 1.5 million pesetas (approx. £9,000.00) was quoted as the average cost per year per inmate. The average staffing ratio was quoted as 400 to 1,000 inmates. Cell lock up times 9.30 p.m. to 8.30 a.m. Monthly conjugal/family visits lasting about three hours per inmate is a mandatory right equated to feeding, healthcare, etc, for all categories and irrespective of behaviour. An independent judge acts to monitor the rules as well as adjudicate on disciplinary matters and hears complaints within establishments. A TV aerial, an electric point, stainless steel toilet and wash basin is mandatory in all cells (8.48m²). Due to current overcrowding, cells are occupied by two or even three persons.

At first, the directors (governors) of these institutions were very apprehensive in their discussions with me. Naturally they were nervous about a visit by a 'tratamiento' (their watchdog board) from a rich country like Britain where they assumed all would be 'hunky dory'. Little did they know that in materially and militarily powerful UK we cannot even afford or neglect to feed our inmates properly, dehumanise them on arrival, indefinitely lock up mentally disturbed, young offenders, asylum seekers, etc, to the point of suicide in cells

unfit even for pigs. However, after some chit-chat over a glass of 'cerveza' in the staff restaurant, my hosts were satisfied that I was not there to spy or censure their penitenciaros but in fact to learn at first hand of their approach towards correction. Later the defences were removed and I was given absolute access to all sections of the institution, far more than I have ever experienced when visiting prisons or special hospitals in England either in a group or as an individual B.O.V. member. The staff were clearly unprepared but friendly and did not hesitate to escort me wherever I wanted to go.

Both the prisons I visited were divided in several self-contained modules of 50 cells each. Once prisoners of a certain category enter a locked module, they would remain segregated from all other modules except perhaps when a prisoner from a remand module is convicted and shifted to the convicted module. Within each module, there are clean dining halls, laundry for inmates' personal clothing, medical surgery, social welfare, education, workshops, unrestricted showering/bathing facilities, a large association hall with games, community television, subsidised pay phone (one phone call a month), an open courtyard for outdoor sports, a furnished family flatlet with shower available for private family re-unions, another room with ensuite bathroom for couples (condoms supplied but spouses are required to bring their own linen and towels). Cells are required to be kept clean by prisoners; it would I suppose be easy to inspect as they are open from 8.30 a.m. to 9.30 p.m. The rest of the module is also kept spotless by the free prison labour who also do some repairs and all decorations. I remarked on the brilliant white walls throughout and the Director replied, 'this place is like a rusty ship — when you finish painting you start all over again from the beginning'. In general, they also have the problem of graffiti and damage by inmates as everywhere even though residents rules require the fixing of posters, etc, only on bill boards provided in each cell.

In the women's modules, children up to six years of age are allowed to remain with their mothers in single cells. A baby/toddlers dining and play area is provided as an additional facility. Fathers could only visit their own family in the privacy of the conjugal flatlets provided. I found this freedom for unmarried people particularly surprising in a Catholic culture but I guess pragmatism prevails over religious dogma. The female staff I spoke to felt discriminated against as they were not allowed to work in men's modules or in responsible decision-making jobs. The directors did not seem to share their views and expressed some dismay with the growing strength of staff unions.

Remand prisoners spent between six months to four years in their modules. There was ample work for those who wanted to work and there were no problems with trade unions or staff unions to this use of free labour to subsidise prison funds. The segregation of sex offenders was not considered necessary — a handful of notorious child sex offenders were initially segregated for a few days till the press hounding stopped and were then transferred to normal location without any problems.

On the first day of arrival in the young offenders module, people are taken to an auditorium and shown videos aimed to deter them from criminality. Social workers begin their process of discussing individual problems with a view to provide guidance towards

alternative forms of occupation throughout their sentence. During my visit a video was being shown of the effect on victims of various crimes. I was told this was a fairly new project; the success rate on re-offending remains to be monitored. The system appreciated that these valuable youngsters were largely the victims of inadequate parenthood as well as the waning influence of the Roman Catholic Church and needed to be rescued.

Amongst the centralised services in the prison was a fully equipped kitchen where selected inmates assisted the staff to prepare a range of meals for delivery to each module in heated trolleys. The director explained, 'food quality and quantity eaten properly was crucial to correction of many evils'. I stopped at several dining halls and the meals served seemed appealing, fresh and plentiful. The staff were strictly prohibited from eating inmates' food although they were encouraged to sit and talk to them at meal times. Alcohol was prohibited but smoking was allowed everywhere including hospitals. The central library supplied an elaborate computer print out of all available books to each module every day. Prisoners could order books for delivery next day including some newspapers but they could not visit the library for special reference study without special permission. A fully equipped gymnasium with a viewing gallery is used by modules in turn and for match fixtures against visiting teams.

The large chapel with a full time priest only catered for Roman Catholics who were brought in from each module in turn for services, confessions, etc. Anglicans and other minority religions relied on visiting vicars to each module. Islam was the second most important religion. Hence Muslims were generally congregated in a separate module in order to cater for their special dietary and religious needs. An imam visited them periodically.

A fully equipped hospital and dental surgery was in operation where seriously ill, mentally disturbed and AIDS cases were referred from modules for further investigation or treatment by doctor, dentists, psychiatrists, etc. Some patients could then be transferred for specialised treatment to outside hospitals if necessary.

I asked to see the strip cells; they did not understand what I was talking about — it later transpired they do not have them and have never felt the need for them. Staff were not trained in any techniques to restrain violent prisoners as they said they were able to cope by normal persuasion. They maintained not to have had a serious suicide problem.

The encouragement and emphasis the system placed on cordial relationships between staff and inmates helped to neutralise many problems. I was shown jovial photographs of outings which included beach picnics with the director, senior staff and selected prisoners. I noticed a very small proportion of black men and women amongst the prison population. I expected more because of Southern Spain's vast coastline with Africa and perceptions amongst friends living in the area that criminals were generally black. I caused an uproar when I raised this with some staff, an Afro-Caribbean inmate from Britain and an ex-British Asian prisoner who had taken Spanish nationality. They remarked, 'Black? who are they? (laughter). We are all the same in Spain — The Spanish language is our bond and that includes the peoples of the old Spanish Empire in South and North

America never mind their colour . . . some North Europeans also get very black under our sunshine so who cares . . .' A very refreshing thought indeed!

On arrival at the large reception area, prisoners are detained for up to a maximum of 24 hours in separate cells for medical examination, categorisation, welfare and then posted to the respective modules. A quarter of sentences were remitted on arrival. All further remissions were automatically dependent on days remitted for days worked/education or credits for exceptionally good behaviour. Prisoners and staff wore their own clothes. Uniforms had been abolished in 1981. Those prisoners who could not afford clothes were provided either by their families or charities. No clothes or shoes are issued by the prison. On the whole, prisoners never receive any wages. Only the trained industrial workers and those inmates with specialised skills earn market rate salaries. Hence most people had to survive either on family contributions or charity for their tobacco and other necessities. This, I thought, must cause great disparity but it seemed it was taken for granted and accepted. Prison jobs were allocated, as far as practicable, by a sort of 'talent spotter' who assessed individual aptitudes. Kitchen jobs were not considered particularly attractive unless someone had a special affinity for catering. All visits (consular, solicitors or family) were boxed — a bullet proof glass partition separated them. This is where the greatest violence occurred as prisoners tried to break through while arguing with their visitors causing injury to themselves and causing some damage to the cubicles. The passing of any items through these barriers seemed impossible — yet drugs do find their way in somehow as everywhere.

I made a special effort to meet all the 18 British prisoners mainly in Almeria (there were no British females in both the institutions I visited). Amongst them were men who had previously been at HMP Strangeways, Pentonville and Winchester. As seasoned inmates, they agreed that compared to prison life they had experienced in the UK it was like being in heaven in Spain. They had worked hard not only to obtain an early release but for the first time they felt better equipped to lead a crime-free life style — that remains to be seen but at least they had become fluent in Spanish. I was told by the Director that the British contingent was the best behaved, hard working and had gained substantial remission of their sentences. The only grievance the Britons had was the extremely heavy sentencing in Spain compared to Britain or Holland. Yet another notorious Briton, who had already served three out of the 24 years-12 days, could not come to terms with his conviction and his first imprisonment. He continued to demand a retrial before a British jury and a weekly visit from the local British consul (who normally visited every two or three months). He felt the conditions were appalling but then I guess he had nothing else to compare with.

The positive role of the Spanish media had not only improved prison conditions and accountability but altered the public perception towards correction rather than the brutal retribution of the distant past. The Spanish government appears to rule by public consensus obtained regularly by opinion polls on several issues. Such polls taken from a politically vibrant public on prison reforms, civil liberty etc, and published by the media are said to influence politicians to act irrespective of the original policy.

Criminology is BUNK

*Peter M. Quinn,
read Law at Aberystwyth
and at Durham, and
Criminology at Cambridge.
He was, until recently
Governor of Askham
Grange Prison, York and
now works with the Prison
Service College.*

*We are grateful to the
"Justice of the Peace" where
this article first appeared
for permission to print it in
the Journal.*

**It is not often that one chances upon a Lord Justice of Appeal, albeit a retired one,
at the cheese counter in Tesco.**

It is even rarer to find one who is prepared to hold forth so publicly on a subject dear to one's heart. It was not so much that the pro-criminology lobby present was too busy scurrying about purchasing the week's supply of tissues, yoghurt and drawing pins that they were disinclined to engage in intellectual discourse. It was rather that, as the only one to have recognized him, I was also the only one who appeared interested in criminological debate at all. Many a defendant or appellant had quaked before the Lord Justice in their day. Now it was my turn. 'Well, criminology provides work for criminologists', I began, not too convincingly. I remembered some of the strange stuff that I had read in the past, though coming to criminology as a lawyer I did tend to dismiss much of it by placing it at the margins of other would-be disciplines. It was clear that, apart from criminal statistics, which the Lord Justice did recognize as having some value, he placed the rest of criminology at the margins, too.

What we had in common, the old gentleman and I, was prisons. I, the governor of the prison down the road and he, the son of a long deceased but much revered prison governor. I doubt that Larry Lawton was ever troubled overmuch by the findings of this research project or that, when governing his Wandsworth or his Pentonville — and who is to say that he governed them any the worse for that?

But could His Lordship be right? Does criminology have a 'bunk factor'? Much that passes for research these days can be seen as questionable in value, let alone in purpose or structure (my own research work, the reader will recognize, is a notable exception to all of this). If the Lord Justice only knew the kind of proposals for research that come across my desk. At one time last year, they were reaching me at three or four a month. There was the man from the northern polytechnic whose first approach was by telephone. 'I'm doing a survey on car crime and I have just realised I haven't got any women in my sample. I'll come along on Friday afternoon if that's all right to ask your prisoners some questions'. It was not 'all right'. There was the unsolicited questionnaire from the London

student (20 copies) which she asked me to distribute at random amongst my prisoners and assigned to me the right 'to censor the answers if they're a bit strong but please don't tell the prisoners if you do'. Another, from a new university of the '60s, wanted to write a dissertation on the theme of 'why women join such a beastly profession as that of prison officer'. Who is supervising these people? Is anybody? Had I said 'yes' to any one of them, would their meanderings have added in any way to the body of knowledge?

There are vogues in criminological research. A few years ago, it was all victim studies, then it was ethnic minorities, followed closely by women and crime. Now it seems to be sex offenders. I have, incidentally, recently received an approach from somebody wanting to study women sex offenders. Perhaps criminologists find out everything there is to know about something and then move on. Perhaps the computations of what can be studied are boundless, or the more obscure, the more readily they may be funded.

But back to the Tesco school of criminology; what was happening there? Like any other big store, Tesco suffers from 'shrinkage'. They are corporate victims not of shoplifting and of fraud but of the acceptable euphemism. As the Lord Justice of Appeal and the governor interested themselves in their worthy discussions, Jack the Lad, unnoticed by both, was ducking and diving and doing the business of shrinking the stock — only to be apprehended at the other side of the check-out. Intellectual cut and thrust over, the Lord Justice departed with his trolley, the governor sought out his bottle of Vouvray, Jack the Lad was taken to help the police with their inquiries and all was well with the world.

In the fullness of time, Jack will be sentenced by a Judge, a governor will lock him up and, very probably, some wretched criminologist will come along and interview him. Here's to crime and here's to Jack the Lad. Without him, we could talk criminology forever but also be out of a job. With him, bunk or not, criminology will survive.

Scene
from here

There is ANOTHER WAY

'Two roads diverged in a wood and I, I took the one less travelled by and that has made all the difference'.

R. Frost

Under this title the Journal invites someone who is not a member of the Service but who knows us well to contribute a reflection on some aspects of our work.

Alastair MacDonald is the Governor of Shotts Unit, a discrete part of Shotts Prison in Lanarkshire, Scotland where a collaborative approach with prisoners and staff was sought as a way of addressing the persistent violence in Scottish Prisons.

In the mid-1980's, like many other penal services, the Scottish Prison Service found itself bankrupt in terms of a motivating philosophy. Possibly one result of this was the Service had to face a challenge to control of unprecedented frequency and volume. Physical destruction of parts of the penal estate with its associated necessary diversion of limited capital resources from upgrading programmes; low staff morale symptomised by sickness rates; media castigation and political scrutiny, amongst other consequences, all followed in the wake of a series of threats and disturbances, many of which had involved the taking of both staff and prisoner hostages. Such physical challenges required a physical response and the Service entered into a period of 'battening down the hatches'.

A certain oriental language has the word 'crisis' built up of two symbols - one represents 'danger' and the other represents 'opportunity'. Following the initial physical response to the situation, the Service found itself also needing to create a breathing space for itself by holding certain prisoners in what became known as 'lock-down' conditions - inevitably in years to come, when the atmosphere of fear and danger is long evaporated, critics may harshly judge those who were the architects of such regimes; however, hindsight is not a scalpel to be placed in the hands of a butcher.

'Lock-down' regimes held certain prisoners in practical isolation and required staff to recognise that for a period of time normal interaction was not feasible. At all times certain prisoners were only approached by staff wearing full protection gear. One location chosen for such regimes was not purpose-built but an adapted, century old, remote prison. Personal

possessions were limited and the opportunity for individual expression and direction were minimised. Remoteness of location contributed to the requests for extra family contact being few. It was not impossible to move on from such regimes but the non-quantifiable aspects of human behaviour such as bravado, the need to prove that the system could be beat, etc, dictated that many men continued in such regimes for periods longer than most would have chosen. This became the 'danger' - that all involved began to believe that there was no other way.

Fortunately within the knowledge and experience of the Scottish Prison Service there were two realities that precipitated 'opportunity' and gave a confidence. One was the long running Barlinnie Special Unit and the other was the reopening of a refurbished prison in Greenock under the successive governorship of two men, distinctive in character, but both highly motivated and committed to acceptable change over and above the pragmatic. Within both locations it was proved that staff when given a clear lead were more than willing to demonstrate that 'there is another way' of achieving the task of the Service. It was also proved beyond reasonable doubt that prisoners responded to 'another way' in a most positive and reassuring manner. Out of both of these experiences, despite a significant difference in scale of operation, there was also to emerge the indisputable fact that aggression was exhibited in more manageable proportions and indeed reasonable behaviour was quickly established as a norm for all concerned.

As the Service sought to scatter the ashes of the burnt-out philosophies of the 70's and 80's, phoenix-like, there arose the way

forward for the Scottish Prison Service, a Service now committed to searching for 'organising for excellence' and finding 'another way'. This way was encapsulated in the document entitled 'Opportunity and Responsibility - Developing new approaches to the Management of the Long Term Prison System in Scotland', May 1990.

During this period of evolutionary thinking there was a further development in the 'pragmatic' approach to the Unit strategy that the Scottish Prison Service had deployed with Units since 1951 when the first one was opened in HMP Peterhead. The decision to re-locate the Barlinnie Special Unit in an alternative location within the campus of HMP Shotts, which is approximately half-way between the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, was reversed. Barlinnie Special Unit was allowed to remain open for the foreseeable future. A modern, purpose-built Unit with integral sanitation and 240 volt AC power available in each cell was suddenly available as an additional facility to the mainstream system as a national resource. The physical security of the new Unit was such that category 'A' and 'B' (two highest security levels) could be accommodated. Although located within the perimeter security of HMP Shotts, the Governor appointed was independent of the main prison Governor and the Unit was to be managed as a separate establishment.

A working group provided a launching regime for the Unit which was to have as its:

Aim

To provide an additional option for the secure location of difficult prisoners who present management problems, or those with such potential, away from the mainstream.

Objectives

To provide a range of opportunities in such control as is necessary to ensure access to such opportunities as:

- a) **increased family contact**
- b) **greater self-determination**
- c) **a supportive environment**
- d) **personal growth and development facilities**

The Unit opened in April 1990 with volunteer staff and prisoners. (Only the Governor and Deputy Governor are detailed as staff members). Amongst the initial intake of staff there were a number at different ranks from the prison that had previously held the prisoners, who came in the initial draft, in lock-down conditions for a number of years. Overnight the working and living environment for many staff and all prisoners was dramatically overturned from one of tight, imposed control to one that was participative.

Control was expected from within. Prisoners were allowed to wear their own clothing; be in circulation for most of the day; have three visits per week; allowed to design the fitments of their own cell; to make a commitment to a 20 hour per week personal development programme and have TV/video in their own cell. Staff were encouraged, by special training beforehand, to develop the role of being facilitators. At the outset the only specialist involved in the Unit was a visiting psychologist who attended for two half-day sessions per week. A few months after the Unit was up and running two female teachers, on a part-time basis, were invited to participate in the regime. There has been no direct social work input, nor has the psychiatric input extended beyond the provision of necessary statutory reports for parole purposes, etc.

Underlying the practice of the Unit was the concept of the responsible prisoner and if that was to be underpinned there had to be a consultative process that had credibility. No longer would it be possible to say 'We know what is wrong with you' or 'What is best for you'. It was decided to hear what the individual needs were, recognising that if given the status of a 'customer' then there has to be recognition that a certain degree of influence is legitimate and to be encouraged.

One prisoner in his early truculent days demanded for his personal development programme a log for carving. The dimensions had to be no more than 8' x 2'. Anything else was an imposition by management. A log with the prescribed dimensions was duly delivered despite the possible challenge to security it represented. (The risk factor was carefully measured - it was 8' x 2'). He did little with his log, despite the encouragement injected by the Governor about how Michelangelo took a while to

develop, but it certainly carved up his attitude when he came to terms with the fact that he was the only one who was really putting up the barriers to his progress. Not many months after being brought to this realisation it was possible for him to present himself as the first candidate for a positive move forward out of the Unit and he was accepted for an open prison at the extreme end of their tolerance of time still to serve before release – to date he has progressed well and has enjoyed more than one home leave period.

From the outset it was understood that normal Orderly Room procedures would not be followed if there was a breakdown in discipline. It came as a surprise to some that the guidelines for the maintenance of individual and group harmony was the borrowed distilled wisdom of the ages. Around 2000 years ago the Leader of all Christians, knowing the reality of the lives of His future disciples, set out the way forward. We have interpreted them as follows:

UNIT CONTROL PROCEDURES

'Moreover if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou hast gained a brother.'

'But if he will not hear ye, then take with thee one or two or more. That in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.'

'And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church: But if he neglects to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a 'publican'.'

Matthew 18:15-17 King James A V

The above has been pinned on the Unit main notice board for some time and knowing its origin a prisoner who has artistic skill and a sense of humour has pinned underneath it the following warning:

'Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves ...'

Since the Unit has opened there have been approximately 75 special meetings

called. Two thirds have been initiated by a prisoner and the remaining third by a staff member, including the Governor. When there is a one to one confrontation it may not come to the ears of management. When a four group is called two prisoners and two members of staff sit down and thrash out the matter in a confidential mode. It is not a requirement of management that a detailed report be furnished by every party. The only expectancy is that the point of aggravation is removed. If all else fails and tempers are at boiling point it is possible to move to a special meeting situation where everyone in the Unit at the time stops to assist in the resolution of the difficulty. Minutes are kept by both a prisoner and a member of staff and a composite minute is agreed at the end. The person who has the grievance generally chairs the meeting and intimates when he feels that his point has been well aired. Often a resolution takes place by scaling down the meeting to a four group situation, but it would be expected that they report back when a satisfactory conclusion is reached to another short special meeting.

Three prisoners have been asked to leave the Unit and have been transferred to their previous establishments. Each one has been escorted quietly out to be handed over to our mainstream colleagues next door. Given the nature of the task of the Unit it is argued that it should be expected that the degree of individual success will vary. Each one who has left has subsequently been followed up and all have responded in a conciliatory and apologetic manner without seriously pressing the point as to when they may re-apply for re-entry.

What has been achieved thus far has been the result of a team effort, including a dynamic female Deputy Governor. Not every member of staff can get involved closely with a prisoner in his personal development programme. Staff and prisoners are not matched up with each other. After a few weeks in the Unit natural selection generally takes place. Common interests or a willingness to explore new skills generally pull people together. Although a rank structure is still maintained, it is recognised by all concerned that the strength of personality wins on the day and everyone is prepared for the best person, irrespective of seniority or background, to step in and calm or lead a situation. Humility resolves more situations than status

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power. Although a concentrated course on inter-personal skills was given to the initial group of staff, it is now being gradually accepted that a good all-round officer, no matter his rank, will be able to serve in the Unit environment. As staff move on we are now able to draw on staff from other establishments who, as part of their initial training on entry to the Service, have received many of the basic skills required to handle the problems that arise within the pressurised Unit setting.

The philosophy and practice of the Unit captures the best of 'Dunbarism' as expounded in 'A Sense of Direction' (1985). Having a common aim and providing equal objectives for all who work and live in the Unit 'dynamic security' has been achieved so far. To date no members of staff have been threatened or injured. Two scuffles have resulted in minor cuts to two prisoners at different times. The key element in any penal setting, no matter the scale of operation, is the degree of trust the human beings living and working together generate with their environment.

On arrival most prisoners have a pessimistic outlook with regard to the future. Increased family contact and the opportunity to explore self-determination in different fronts does help to slowly dissolve the negative outlook. At the Unit lunch table, where it is a common occurrence for the Governor and members of staff to eat together with prisoners, there are frequent references to future plans and a checking out as to how realistic they are. Time alters everyone's perspective and prisoners are no exception. The Unit programme affords prisoners, who in the past had wished time to stand still and block out the future, the opportunity for hope to dawn upon them and also to find 'another way' for themselves.

Incorporated into the Unit programme is at least one major event per month involving outside visitors. This can be in the form of a musical evening, an outside community contact day, or group skill workshops. Last year one of the special events was the wedding reception for a prisoner who had decided to get married on St. Valentine's day. These events are interspersed with visits from outside football/volleyball teams, appropriate professional student groups and personnel from the international criminal

justice scene.

Unit members had it suggested to them that they had valuable experience of and insight into some of the major issues in the criminal justice system and if they could present themselves at all times in a reasonable manner, then they could attract interested significant key personnel and policy makers to the Unit. Thereby they could participate in the ever-ongoing debate about criminal justice issues and also contribute to the formulation of future policy. On both sides there are early hopeful signs in this direction.

Experience to date shows that the major influences for desirable change are a positive staff team and well-meaning support from families and relatives. Visits can take place three times per week and can last up to two hours per session. Sadly we are reminded that many prisoners can overcome their own personal problems but those of their family bear heavily upon them. Staff at times have to absorb aggression that is only an expression of the frustration of confinement and the inability to bear the pain of family distress from the outside. In such circumstances it is now gradually being accepted by all that when someone does 'go over the top' following a family incident, it is an indication of how safe they feel in the Unit setting and it is also seen on most occasions as a cry for a listening ear and emotional containment. Staff have grown in their counselling skills and the ability to deliver in this direction.

Prisoners in the Unit will move on - grass is always greener on the other side of the wall. Opportunities will develop in the mainstream that most will soon be equipped to rationally judge as more than hoops to jump through. Material comforts that pervade the Unit will not be a substitute for the ultimate desire - liberty. A number are already beginning to talk about their move and following the initial one that has taken place, and another soon to follow on, then moving on will soon be the norm. The task of creating 'meaningful progression' and accepting it is not under-estimated and the promises made in different contexts by the Service will have to be kept. Again the early signs are encouraging. Some prisoners have, in heated moments, asked to leave and been talked out of it because the time was not right and requires the mutual consent of the Governor and prisoner concerned.

Units are planned to meet the needs of approximately 1% of the Scottish Prison Service's long-term prisoner population. It can never be guaranteed that at any one time all who find their way to a Unit are the most appropriate candidates. Assessment techniques can only be worked upon. Cost effectiveness is easily dismissed as the domain of the accountants, those poor creatures who, according to Oscar Wilde, know the cost of everything and value of nothing, but I do suggest in terms of the 'opportunity cost', based on historical track records, prisoners are being held within reasonable budgets and certainly in the Shotts Unit in terms of staff and prisoners are being held within at a much lower level of suffering and loss of dignity. The latter do not have columns in any spreadsheets.

HUMAN DIGNITY IS OUR FUTURE

Men who had begun to believe that they had no future and therefore were inadequately equipped to deal even with the present; who had moved themselves into a state of avoiding and declining responsibility, when the latter has been thrust upon them,

now look to a future and I suggest some now with a new found personal and overflowing dignity.

It is with pride that I write of a Service that when a challenge was met which provoked the question 'Why?', then it was bold enough to say 'Why Not' to 'another way'.

SHOTTS UNIT – MISSION STATEMENT

'Having accepted the constraints of secure custody, everyone who enters this Unit will be encouraged to share and live our values of mutual respect and trust.'

'We will provide opportunities for self development and meaningful progression for all, seeking to evaluate and promote understanding of creative practices and standards of excellence.'

'HUMAN DIGNITY IS OUR FUTURE'.

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ECO Quote

The Greenhouse effect & global warming

Approximately 80% of the short-wave radiation from the Sun reaches and warms the Earth's surface.

The earth then radiates heat back into space in the form of long-wave infra-red radiation, much of which is absorbed by the greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

The main greenhouse gases comprise water vapour, carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), nitrous oxide (N₂O), halocarbons (of which CFCs are the most significant) and low level ozone (O₃).

Greenhouse gases have been increasing rapidly mainly due to man's activities, eg, between 1960 and 1990 the CO₂ level in the atmosphere has increased by 12%, and it has been predicted that if greenhouse gas emissions continue to increase at current rates the average world temperature could rise by up to 4.5C by the middle of the next century.

An increase of this magnitude could lead to dramatic changes in weather patterns resulting in flooding of low level regions of the world.

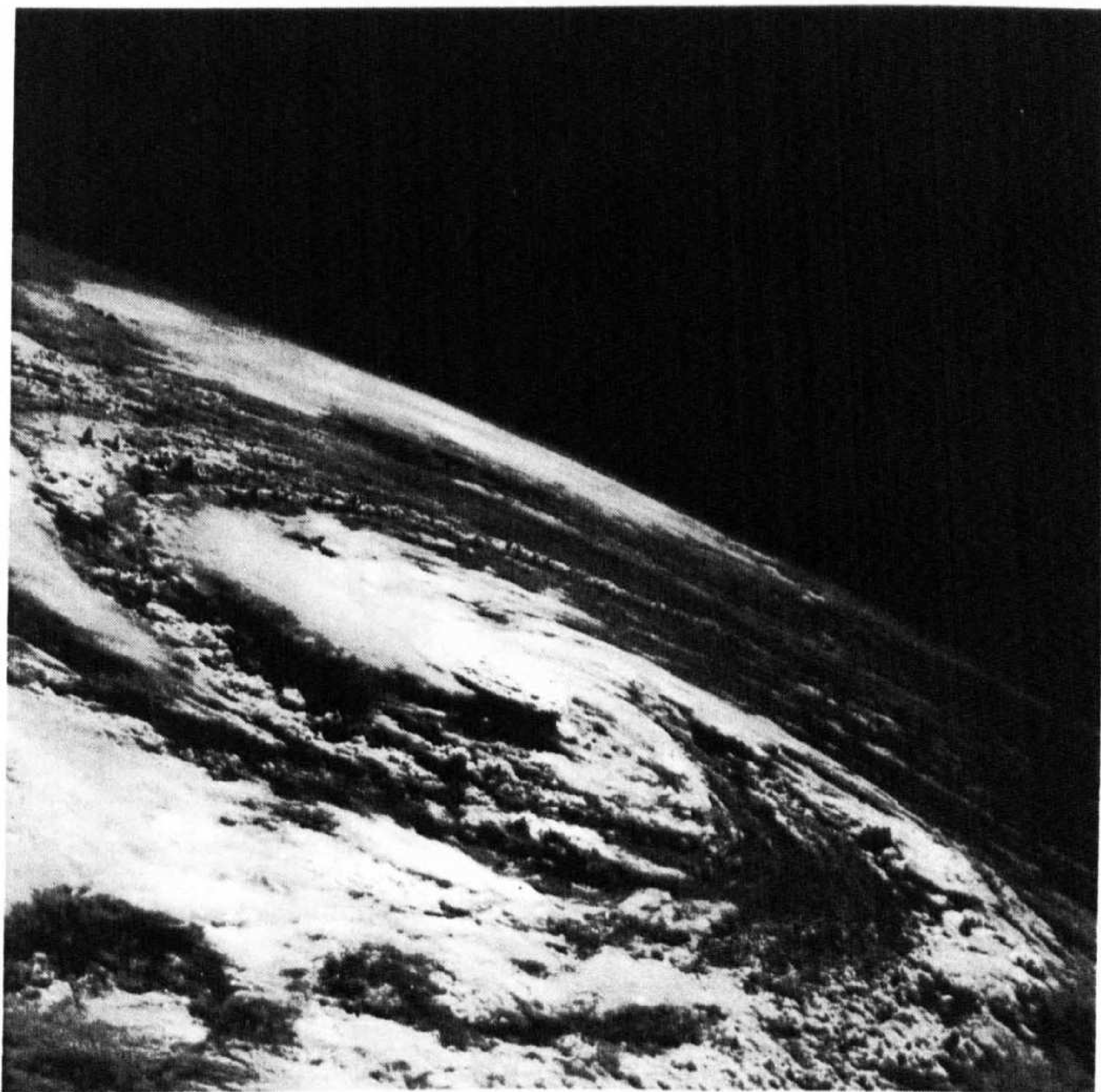
Lookout

I AM SICK AND TIRED of being given Masonic handshakes by colleagues in the Prison Service. It's getting as bad as the Police! Of late, every time I visit another establishment – they know me too well to try it at my own – it happens: that cheesey grin, the 'I know something you don't know' look, and then that embarrassing scrambling for your fingers. At first you think you've just shaken hands with a wet fish, and then it starts to dawn on you that in fact this man is the Grand Wizard, or whatever it is they're called, of his lodge. It has got so bad that I've now developed a technique to ward Masonic handshakes off, and I encourage all my Lookout readers to adopt the same strategy. And, like most good strategies, it's perfectly simple. When being offered a Masonic handshake, look the giver in the eye, and say in a loud, clear voice that can be overheard ten miles away, 'Oh, so you're a Mason are you, is that why you got promoted!?' So far it has always had the desired effect.

The Earth needs all the friends it can get. And it needs them now.

For thousands upon thousands of years our planet has sustained a rich diversity of life. Now, one single species - humankind - is putting the Earth at risk.

People the world over are suffering the effects of pollution, deforestation and radiation. Species are disappearing at a terrifying rate. The warming of the atmosphere threatens us all with devastating changes in climate and food production.



But it needn't be like this - we know enough to reverse the damage, and to manage the Earth's wealth more fairly and sustainably. But the political will to bring about such a transformation is still lacking.

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