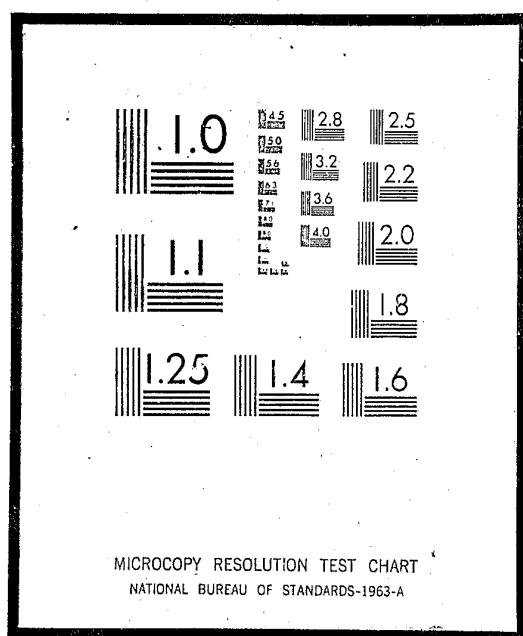


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INNER LONDON PROBATION AND AFTER-CARE SERVICE

A REPORT BY
A GROUP OF PROBATION OFFICERS
ON THE PROFESSIONAL ASPECTS OF
THEIR VISIT TO NORTH AMERICA,
APRIL/JUNE 1974

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FOREWORD

U.S. '74 was the third professional visit overseas undertaken by groups of Inner London probation officers. In 1970, a party of six had toured America and Canada and two years later seven visited West Germany, Sweden, Denmark and The Netherlands. Reports were produced by these groups on what they saw and heard and these have been widely read. As will be seen in the introduction, U.S. '74 had different objectives and was organised on the basis of reciprocal exchange. I was able to spend a short time with the group in California and New York and I can confirm the almost overwhelming hospitality which was extended to our team by their American and Canadian colleagues. We have already welcomed some of these on their return visits to Inner London; we look forward to receiving many more next year.

In addition to the group visits, members of the Inner London staff have made independent journeys over the last two or three years to various European countries and one was awarded a Churchill Fellowship to North America. In my view, probation services have inclined to be too insular in their thinking; I believe that nothing but good can come from the exchange of ideas across national boundaries. For this reason I will be asking the Probation and After-Care Committee to give careful attention to the recommendations with which this report concludes.

W.H. Pearce

Chief Probation Officer

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The group acknowledge with grateful thanks the help and assistance of the following, without whose generosity, encouragement, kindness and support the professional visit would not have been possible:-

The Wardens or Keepers and Commonalty of the
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The Inner London Probation and After-Care Committee

The Inner London Probation and After-Care Service

His Honour Judge Christmas Humphreys, Q.C.

Mr. W.H. Pearce, O.B.E., Chief Probation Officer

Our hosts, colleagues and friends in

Arizona

British Columbia

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1. INTRODUCTION

On 19th April, 1974 a group of Inner London probation officers flew from London Airport to meet their professional colleagues in North America. They went at a time when penal reform was in the air and courts were being urged to make full use of the experimental non-custodial penalties provided by the new Criminal Justice Act. A great deal of preparatory work had been undertaken - each member of the party had produced a number of essays on probation and penal-related topics so that all could answer the questions of their hosts-to-be and engage in meaningful discussion with other individuals and groups with whom they would come into contact; the group as a whole had defined their areas of investigation and each member knew the particular matters with which he was to be concerned.

For this was to be no whistle-stop tour but, within the time available, an investigation into the methods, aspirations and problems of professional colleagues carrying out similar functions in another continent. One method by which this investigation was to be achieved was by their becoming involved with their American counterparts in the everyday work of the courts and penal institutions and by living in the homes of American probation officers. In addition, the group wanted to establish whether a visit of this nature was possible within reasonable financial limits if arranged on a reciprocal basis. Further, the intention was to test out whether ongoing relationships could be established with probation departments, professional societies and university departments which could be developed subsequently and exploited in the interests of the content of professional practice.

In the event, members of the group learned a great deal. Although, on reflection, they thought the Inner London Probation and After-Care Service and the penal system at home could stand comparison with much of what they saw, they came across ideas and methods which challenged any complacency which might have survived the flight across the Atlantic. But the traffic of ideas was not intended to be

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in one direction alone. By their daily communication with judges, probation and other correctional officers, social workers and residential staff; by their contacts in seminars and conferences with academics, teachers and practitioners; by their lectures, press and radio interviews and television appearances - they were able to report on developing British methods and ideas and, in particular, on some of the exciting innovations in which the Inner London Service is currently engaged.

The programme was tightly scheduled but there were moments of relaxation in which the group was able to enjoy the beauty of the American countryside; to taste the bustle (and the grace) of an entirely different way of life; to share the delights of Disneyland and the more sophisticated pleasures of San Francisco and New York. Each member of the group has his own private memories of those who entertained him in their homes and made him feel so welcome. Never can visitors to another land have been offered such kindly and overwhelming hospitality. They were made freemen of states and cities, sworn as deputy sheriffs and offered visiting professorships; they were feasted and entertained; they were taken to fish in the Gulf of Mexico and the Land O'Lakes, with its American Indian associations; they were shown the wonders of the Grand Canyon at dawn and the view from the Empire State Building at dusk; they were taken to see the White House, the Supreme Court, Independence Hall in Philadelphia and Plymouth Rock, where it all began.

The group returned with many impressions and with some ideas which they want to commend to the Inner London Service and those responsible for penal policy in this country. They had to be cruelly selective in what they now describe - or this report would never have been published.

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2. IMPRESSIONS OF CLIENTS AND SYSTEMS

1) AUSTIN, TEXAS

Texas is a young state, vibrant and growing, still close to its pioneer beginnings; it is trying hard to graft together a diversity of cultures and customs. In the life span of human societies it is still in adolescence and such a concept may help in understanding its struggles and achievements. Despite its informal image it has a need to use authority and control to hold such diversity together, but at the same time great value is placed on the ethic of individual effort and enterprise. The emphasis on individual responsibility permeates the field of corrections and one probation officer summed up a common attitude to offenders in the words 'Never mind why you are the way you are, what are you going to do about it?'

Probation in the U.S.A. is subject to wide variations and diverse standards. The President's Commission on Law Enforcements and the Administration of Justice observed that 'probation and parole services are characteristically poorly staffed and often poorly administered'. Of 250 counties surveyed by the Commission, one third provided no probation services at all. Average probation and parole caseloads vastly exceed the recommended standard of 35 cases per officer and less than 4% of the probation officers in the nation carry caseloads of 40 or less. Over 76% of all persons convicted of a minor offence and 67% of all those convicted of a major offence and who are on probation are in caseloads of 100 or more.

Texas is no exception to the rule of diversity and variation. Within recent months the state published the 1974 Criminal Justice Plan for Texas which discussed in some detail the present position and future plans for probation in the state.

There are said to be approximately 321 adult probation officers in Texas; in smaller counties they may supervise juveniles as well as adults. Of the

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state's 254 counties, 224 have adult probation services and all major population areas provide such services. 161 of the counties also have juvenile probation services. The size of the departments range from more than 100 in Harris County to one part-time officer who may also serve as a school attendance officer or 'adult' probation officer; there are a total of 467 'juvenile' probation officers in the state. These figures have to be related to the massive size of Texas, the second largest state in the U.S.A., and its relatively low although fast growing population (11,196,730 in 1970).

Probation officers in Texas (and in other parts of the U.S.A.) carry a number of heavy burdens. One is the tendency of judges to order defendants to pay probation 'fees' when placing them on probation, leaving the probation service the task of collection. Another burden is the enthusiasm of judges for making probation orders with large numbers of conditions, many of which are extremely vague and difficult to enforce, with the result that probation officers spend much time anxiously considering whether they are required to initiate revocation proceedings. Because of the very strong links between the legal system and the probation service a variety of dilemmas concerning role definition arise; as an example, there is much discussion about whether and in what circumstances a client should be given a formal warning by his probation officer before he says anything within the casework relationship which might be incriminating.

Another current probation issue is concern about the need for consultation before legislation affecting the service is passed. There is concern too about the need to present a professional image and to obtain recognition from the legislature, the media and the general public. Who, after all, it is asked, knows probation better than the probation service? All this is part of a struggle towards professional identity and standards which is very much an issue in Texas at present.

Probation in Texas is currently heavily involved in pre-trial intervention and diversion. In Travis County, for example, juveniles can, with their parents' consent, be placed on 'administrative probation' whereby trial can be deferred for six months on acceptance of voluntary supervision. If the supervision is satisfactory the case is dismissed, thus avoiding any conviction, but either the juvenile or the probation officer can bring the case to court if all does not go well or there is any dispute.

In El Paso the adult probation department operate a similar scheme for young adults, usually under 25 and, again, if the intensive pre-trial work is successful the case is dismissed and a criminal conviction avoided.

To an outside observer there is a disturbing tendency in some areas of Texas for probation departments to be merely diagnostic and referral agencies, relying on other organisations to provide treatment facilities. In the light of prevailing caseloads it is easy to understand why this is happening but it may also explain the depression sometimes affecting probation officers and the low status afforded them.

There is clearly a critical need for the expansion of probation services throughout the state, not only to establish new departments but to strengthen the resources and capabilities of existing departments. At present prestige and resources frequently seem reserved for special projects, usually outside the probation system; the need seems to be recognised for a statewide system of probation which, amongst other things, should enable more innovation and experimentation to take place within the probation system.

In San Antonio, for example, the probation department appears to be struggling with heavy caseloads whilst a separately funded agency, the Youth Service Project, operates a diversion programme which provides a sophisticated short term intervention service with caseloads averaging 15 - 17 and with an

emphasis on home visiting, community involvement and family counselling which the probation department would be unable to match.

In contrast, however, the juvenile probation department in Austin operates its own delinquency prevention unit but this is only possible because of a federal grant. Average caseloads in this unit are about 43 and the work is directed at providing a counselling service for young people at risk and their families.

In this department, as in several other probation departments in Texas, use is made of a 'team' concept, each team comprising two professionals and one assistant. In each team an attempt is made to provide a balance by sex and ethnic origin; often the assistant is recruited from the area for which the team are responsible.

There are a number of other interesting features peculiar to this particular unit. The supervisor, or senior, is not expected to carry a caseload but he does carry a high degree of individual responsibility for his unit including staff selection and some budgetary control. In turn, the supervisor lays emphasis on the individual responsibility of his professional staff, each of whom can assign a limited number of cases to the assistant in his team and then provide the necessary professional support and oversight.

The team approach as used in this unit seems to have much to offer because:-

- i) of a better chance of matching worker to client
- ii) of ease in covering for emergencies, leave or sickness
- iii) at least one member of the team has a foothold in the local community
- iv) of the ease with which conjoint family therapy can be launched, where necessary.

As a result of the short term nature of the work at the delinquency prevention unit cases are regularly reviewed by worker and supervisor, the first review

after three months and then at monthly intervals thus, hopefully, ensuring that cases do not stagnate and are not retained unnecessarily. Officers are encouraged to share their problems and skills and there is an understanding that any one of them can convene a case conference on an informal basis at any time.

The adult probation department in Austin is under considerably greater pressure but its attempts to maintain standards and develop a professional approach are worthy of respect. The department has grown very fast; the present chief probation officer was the only probation officer in 1958. The department now has a central administration, three field work units and a pre-sentence enquiry section.

A conscious decision was made to decentralise the work of the department but once a week the head office management team and the field work supervisor attend a staff meeting held at one of the field offices, thus ensuring that each unit in turn makes a contribution to management and understands the rationale for decisions made.

The adult probation department uses selected ex-offenders as paid assistants (one has subsequently qualified as a probation officer) and again, a system of team working is used where each probation officer works with an assistant and a number of voluntary workers.

About a year and a half ago the department decided to set up a separate pre-sentence enquiry unit which now undertakes all court reports. The primary objective was to build up a team which had the confidence of the courts and this objective appears to have been achieved. This system of dividing diagnosis and treatment seems to be widespread. Most staff take the view that any positive interaction built up between the client and the pre-sentence enquiry officer during the enquiry stage is transferable to the field worker if supervision follows.

The pre-sentence unit of three officers and a supervisor is based at the county courthouse and has close links with the court. For example, they have the use of the district attorney's file on each defendant. The staff prepare about 2,000 reports a year with an average time for each enquiry of 7 to 10 days. Each defendant is subjected to urine-analysis; the probation department has its own laboratory technicians and equipment which also operates a programme of regular drug screening for clients whose probation order has a condition to this effect.

Court reports seem to place high emphasis on verification of information and tend to be factual and specific. Most reports recommending probation seem to offer some form of treatment plan and specify the type of supervision which would be provided.

Caseloads in the adult probation department seem depressingly high but allowance has to be made for the fact that each officer has an assistant and a number of volunteers, is not required to undertake enquiry work and refers a good deal of his on-going work to other agencies.

Caseloads are classified as follows:-

- i) Re-integration: average 400 - 450. Nominal supervision; mostly reporting by mail
- ii) Re-habilitation: average 75 - 175. Fairly well motivated clients making use of community resources
- iii) Restraint: average 40 - 80. Poorly motivated, high risk clients; emphasis on close supervision and control.

Within the fieldwork offices the staff comprises a supervisor, or senior, and five probation officers each with an assistant and three or four volunteers. New probationers are frequently seen in an orientation group. The probation team work together, meeting clients in individual office interviews, in

problem solving groups or by home visits. Despite the high caseloads officers seemed to be making a determined effort to influence and help their clients and the use of volunteers, groups and assistants drawn from the local community seemed imaginative.

Although both the adult and juvenile probation departments in Austin are relatively small both employ full time training officers who concern themselves with in-service training and the orientation of newly appointed officers. In-service training seemed, in consequence, to respond flexibly to local needs.

In contrast with some other areas of Texas, the juvenile probation department in Austin seems to provide integrated and comprehensive facilities for juvenile delinquents. In addition to its pre-delinquency unit it also provides an apparently effective drug treatment programme, an excellent residential facility and suitable diagnostic and treatment services, a separate investigation department to prepare court reports, a number of field work offices and a domestic relations division. Of the 34 professional members of staff only 4 have less than 2 years experience whilst 17 have more than 5 years. Whilst there are many reasons for this very low staff turnover, one of them must be the satisfaction of forming part of an integrated and comprehensive system.

In a state where facilities are of such diversity and variable quality it is re-assuring to see what can be done when a probation department is given the material, financial and personnel resources it needs.

A final word about probation in Texas - and that is to acknowledge the generosity of colleagues who shared not just their achievements but also their dilemmas. They are indeed a generous people in all senses of the word.

We studied aspects of probation work in two cities of Arizona, Phoenix the capital in Maricopa County and Tucson in Pima County which is some 60 miles to the south.

Phoenix is a modern, fast growing city which has doubled its population several times during the past two decades. It has an air of opulence which we found almost disquietening. Its several centuries old irrigation system has made it surprisingly green and fertile in the midst of the desert. By contrast, Tucson still seems to be very much a part of the dusty desert, although it too is expanding rapidly with many elegant new buildings. The early settlers must have been hardy people for they had to cope with the dry desert heat, unfriendly natives and an almost total lack of resources. A visitor to Arizona is conscious of the atmosphere of the old 'wild west' days - many of the streets and buildings appear to be intended as backcloths for cowboy films! The state seems to have an increasing attraction for people disillusioned with city life.

Because the growth rate has been so fast and there has barely been time for the differing cultures to fuse together, many needs have not been recognised until recently, in particular the need for change itself. This may explain why, until the late 1960s, the Arizona corrections system was scarcely a system. However, recently there has been considerable growth in this area as a result of new legislation and of new thinking about community-based and institutional services. As far as probation is concerned, the stresses and demands which any relatively new department has to cope with are there, in particular the role confusion which arises from being, until recently, very closely linked with and controlled by the legal system, the impossibility of meeting demands made by the courts, and the growing need to move towards a professional identity and uniform and acceptable standards.

In both Maricopa County and Pima County the adult court probation officers are housed in a central building with teams working the whole area from the one point. Both departments were formed less than four years ago and therefore have had much pressure put upon them to perform well and to be seen to be making a significant contribution towards lowering the crime rate. However, social conditions and pressures being what they are, the crime rate is rising and in Maricopa County particularly there is a cry for a 'get tough' attitude towards criminals. The probation department badly needs more personnel and indeed attempted to increase its staff by 60% this year to cope with the sharp rise in the number of offenders being put on probation. This attempt spotlighted a philosophical disagreement between the courts and the board of supervisors who control the department for it raised the question of whether probation, under present conditions, is a deterrent to crime. In fact the chairman of the board of supervisors has been reported as expressing a fear that adding more probation officers would not reduce caseloads as intended but encourage superior court judges to place more criminals on probation. Remarks such as this must be seen in the context of the complicated political background involving both the judiciary and other officials connected with the criminal justice system.

Much of the fear and near-panic associated in particular with the increase of violent crime is due to the ease with which high-grade heroin passes across the Mexican border into Arizona. There appears to be little that can be done to stop the supplies so, as a gesture, measures to deal with traffickers have been toughened. 1974 saw the signing of a bill by the state governor prohibiting probation or suspended sentences to persons over 18 who sell narcotics (other than marijuana) to a minor. For offences not involving minors, mandatory sentences are imposed on those convicted of possession for sale of dangerous drugs worth more than 250 dollars. In spite of their obvious needs, there are few facilities for those addicted to hard drugs. We

saw only two residential settings to which addicts could be referred, other than ordinary hospitals. One was a therapeutic community started by a group of ex-addicts in Maricopa County. It has a maximum capacity of 50 and refuses to take people as a condition of probation. It has links with the probation department however and officers are regular visitors. The other facility also has a maximum capacity of 50 residents and is run under the auspices of the federal government. Federal probation officers can refer their clients and this effectively closes it to referrals from Maricopa County. The fact that it is the only facility remaining out of twelve begun in 1970 on a nationwide basis indicates a decreasing belief in the therapeutic approach to addicted offenders. These somewhat meagre resources make the probation officers' task increasingly difficult in respect of drug related and addicted offenders.

Adult probation departments are divided into teams involved in either pre-sentence investigation or probation supervision. Each team of some seven probation officers is headed by a supervisor, who in turn is directly responsible to the deputy chief probation officer. There seems to be a distinct division between the two types of team, although in at least one county they had experimented with mixed teams and work. On the whole the division was felt to be more satisfactory, particularly where the recommendations in a report were not agreeable to the client who was later put on probation. Some concern was expressed about the possibility of the same probation officer coping with the ensuing situation. Pre-sentence investigations (each officer prepared some 20 reports each month) demanded much exacting and careful work from the officer concerned, who was really responsible for collating a great deal of material for the judge. One officer showed us the contents of a report that had taken her six weeks to put together. It included a written statement from the defendant running to some ten pages, excerpts from the law on embezzlement with a reference to 5 or 6 cases, letters written on behalf of the defendant, material alluding to the defendant's registration to sell stocks, accounts of his estate, statements both of witness for the prosecution and the defence, a complete transcript of proceedings concerning

the bankruptcy of a business in which he was investing, a report on his social background and a list of his previous convictions. This was an extreme example but acceptable to the officer as part of her work. The increase in violent crime, the widening of social divisions and the ready availability of guns in the west, meant that murder and rape were fairly common offences. Many officers were involved in pre-sentence investigations on such offenders and often had to cope with demanding and distressed families at the time of sentence. This they took without question to be part of their duties.

Supervising probation officers had caseloads of well over 100 but were not required to produce reports and so this high number has to be seen in context. However, amongst younger probation officers particularly there was a feeling that they were unable to express much of the care and concern they felt for clients because of the pressure of time and the lack of adequate resources. In spite of the progress previously mentioned there are still few alternatives to a prison sentence and probation is sometimes used as a matter of expediency. We found that officers were flexible in their approach to supervision and, while attempting to carry out some of the more difficult demands of the courts, managed to retain a humane and sympathetic attitude.

The teams had quite large groups of volunteers attached to them, organised by one person who had responsibility for recruitment. We did not see many examples of the way in which volunteers were used but clearly they seemed to be an acceptable and necessary part of the probation department.

Most of the probation officers came to the departments with masters' degrees in various subjects. Great emphasis is increasingly being placed on in-service training.

Adult probation in Arizona is fighting at the present time for a continued and improved existence against great pressures and prejudices. The energy and

enthusiasm which has encouraged its growth so far must ensure further progress in the future.

At the Pima County Juvenile Court, the group saw an interesting example of probation officers working as member of teams. Juveniles apprehended by the police first face a group of officers known as the 'Screening and Crisis Intervention Unit'. This team, with their legal experts, are on call 24 hours a day to make decisions - whether to place the juvenile in detention or release him to his home; to prosecute or to involve the juvenile and his family in short or longer-term counselling. In the event, 80% of the referrals are not prosecuted in court. If the need for social work intervention is established and accepted, the juvenile is referred to the Voluntary Intensive Probation Unit, where the officers work in pairs. A third bank of probation officers, who undertake normal supervision following a court appearance, work in teams of three, usually without a supervisor. We were told that the staffing of these teams reflected the local racial balance - one, for example, comprised a white anglo-saxon protestant woman, a male chicano (Mexican-American) and a male black. Each team decided its own method of working - it could mean that a home visit might be made by all three officers together! When a vacancy occurred, the team selected their new colleague from applicants who had first been screened by the Director of Court Services. These arrangements for team working meant that there could be a great deal of flexibility in approach as well as providing opportunity for an offender to be supervised by the officer (or officers) best able to relate to him and to meet his needs. Perhaps, this degree of flexibility is essential in communities as diffuse, as volatile and as transient as those we saw in so many parts of the U.S.A.

iii) SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

Sacramento is the state capital of California. It is a pleasant city with a strong Spanish influence in its architecture and shaded by many trees. It has grown rapidly and has not had the time (or, perhaps the inclination) to develop a public transport system. A car is a necessity for everyone. There seems no shortage of accommodation, and all the clients we met had somewhere to live, even those with very small incomes. People are much more mobile than we are in the U.K. and clients seemed to think nothing of travelling up to 50 miles to find work. Sacramento County has a population of 690,000 and covers an area of nearly 1,000 square miles.

Probation is one of several departments in county government and serves in two general areas. It has responsibility for making pre-sentence reports to the adult criminal courts (reports are mandatory for felony cases in the superior courts, but discretionary within the lower courts). The Field Services Division of the probation department then supervises those who are placed under the care of a probation officer.

There is a very clear division in these two areas of work. Those probation officers who prepare the reports have, in the main, different approaches and attitudes from those supervising cases. This is probably linked to the different emphasis on their accountability to the court and the client. Although the system appears to work efficiently, it is conceivable that recommendations to the court might be different if they operated a system similar to that in Inner London and officers had ongoing responsibility for those on whom they reported. About 42 probation officers (including 4 supervisors) work for the courts and each prepares an average of 26 reports a month.

The emphasis on the legal aspects of court work is greater than we are accustomed to - in fact, probation officers perform a task similar in our system

to that undertaken by the police or prosecutor in initially presenting cases to the court.

Reports are set out under the following headings:-

Present Offence

- this is a long account of the offence, taken in the main from police reports

Prior Record in Full

Employment

Restitution

- Probation officers often have to interview any victims involved in the offence in order to recommend to the court how much restitution should be paid

Family Social History

Agency Contacts

- this describes previous offences and contacts with probation officers

Psychiatric and Medical

Use of Alcohol

Co-Defendants

Evaluation

Recommendation

- when making recommendations the officer also suggests any conditions to be included in a probation order

Reports are signed by the supervisors who submit them to the judge. A probation officer has little contact with the judges and if the supervisor does not agree with his recommendation the report is left unsigned.

To appreciate how reports are used, it is necessary to understand the rather controversial and complicated custom of plea bargaining practised in the American courts. Since 1957, California has provided by statute for a limited form of plea bargaining. This permits a defendant who pleads guilty to specify the punishment which he may be given to the same extent that it could be specified by a jury; provided the prosecution and the court concur, the punishment cannot be exceeded. In 1970 the legislature greatly extended this statutory form of plea bargaining. What now happens, as far as we could see, was that the district attorney aims for the charge which attracts the heaviest penalty; the public defender replies by admitting to a lesser offence and making conditions. The 'bargaining' is carried out in the presence of the judge who is given the background of the defendant. The formal plea statement is then made in open court. It seemed to us that if a bargain was made the sentence had already been decided before the case reached the court; the district attorney and public defender appeared to be manipulators rather than upholders of the law. If a plea of guilty was accepted after plea bargaining the defendant waived all statutory right of calling witnesses and offering a plea in mitigation. If, however, the probation officer in his report disagreed with the 'bargain' and the judge accepted the probation officer's view, the defendant had his rights restored. For example, in an indictable offence he could elect for trial by jury.

When it has been decided that a probation order will be made, various conditions are often attached to the order recommended, as we have said, by the probation officer. To us the most surprising was the condition that a probationer should spend up to 3 months in the county jail! According to published statistics, about 32% of people placed on probation in the lower courts and 72% of those dealt with in the superior courts have such a condition in their orders. Officers in the special team supervising heavily addicted drug offenders have a condition inserted into probation orders allowing them to 'search and seize', i.e. to

search a probationer's home or person where they suspect drugs or that allied equipment - syringes, spoons, etc. - is being used illegally. Another condition may allow officers to take urine samples from clients, a control factor considered by officers to be essential in the supervision of such cases.

In the Field Services Division there are about 78 probation officers and 11 supervisors and the average case load is in the region of 120. Officers working in the field seem to have less autonomy than is customary in the U.K. Although there is little formal supervision they rely a great deal upon the supervisors in the day-to-day control of their cases. Working hours are laid down and adhered to quite strictly and it is expected that clients will fit in with this availability. A number of officers work in an intensive supervision group with case loads of about 50. Most of the clients dealt with by this group are those involved in drug offences. Officers sometimes work with clients and their families in group situations; some clients are expected to report (usually by telephone) more than twice a week as well as attending the group meetings.

The probation department also serves the juvenile courts. It is the duty of the department to screen and review all referrals made to it from the policing agencies alleging law violations by children under the age of 18. Referrals are also made of children who are considered to be incorrigible and beyond the control of their parents. The decision to instigate juvenile court action rests solely in the discretion of the probation officer. If it is decided to file a petition then the department is responsible for preparing a report giving the background and history of the child and making a recommendation to the juvenile court as to disposal. Where these children are made wards of court, probation officers supervise and, if necessary, find suitable placements in private foster homes and institutions. The department is also responsible for three juvenile correctional institutions. These are:-

The Juvenile Hall - this is a temporary place of detention pending the disposition of a case by the juvenile court. Children are sometimes detained in the juvenile hall after disposition while they await placement

The Sacramento County Boys Ranch - a facility available to the courts for delinquent boys

The Sacramento County Girls School - a similar facility for delinquent girls, equipped with all modern conveniences.

While the work load of the adult division has increased dramatically, that of the juvenile division appears to be decreasing. It would seem that this is primarily due to the City Police and Sheriff's Youth Divisions referring many of the minor cases direct to the probation department's diversion unit. This unit has made a tremendous impact in decreasing the number of cases that have required juvenile court action by referring children to other agencies for more appropriate help or by offering informal supervision by probation officers. The juvenile hall, which can hold 125 boys and 50 girls, is geared for a 24-hour day operation. The intake probation officer and diversion officer screen all cases brought to the juvenile hall. A petition must be filed within 48 hours in respect of those children who are detained and the court must hold a detention hearing within a further 24 hours.

Volunteers are used extensively in work with young offenders and the probation department is hoping to expand this service to work with adults. Volunteers appear to fall into two main groups - those who could be described as para-professional and those who are attached to projects and organisations with a religious bias.

While we were in Sacramento we felt we were living in a land of plenty. Not

only was there no shortage of accommodation; those who were receiving benefit from welfare agencies seemed, in comparison to many of our clients, to be well provided for materially. We found the legal differences confusing and probation practice and attitudes difficult at times to understand. However, when listening to the client, his problems had a very familiar ring - drink, drugs, loneliness, apathy, depression, alienation, conflict with accepted social norms and domestic and marital malfunctioning. All these seemed heightened in the prevailing atmosphere of affluence and well-being.

We sometimes found difficulty in communicating with our American counterparts; no such difficulties were encountered when we met their clients.

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3. PRISONS AND PRISON REGIMES

We were able to see a number of institutions in California, Arizona, Texas and New York City on which we based our observations. Institutions are divided into three categories, county or local gaol, state prisons and federal prisons, all of which are administered separately. The custodial system for adult offenders, with gaols ranging from spartan sheriffs' lock-ups in small towns to highly-sophisticated and complex federal institutions, confirmed our general impressions of the United States as a land of extreme contrasts.

In California, the Department of Corrections, which operates prison and parole programmes for adult offenders within the state, has in many ways foreshadowed future developments, not only in the United States but in other countries. After the long trend of yearly increases in prison population since the 1940s, various alternatives to imprisonment together with treatment and supervision programmes led to a significant drop in the prison population. As a result major sections of two institutions were closed, as well as the notorious Alcatraz. Other prisons were able to end overcrowding of cells, with a consequent easing of pressures which allowed more freedom of movement and expression by individual prisoners. On the debit side, this led to a big change in prison intake, removing from the system the fairly large proportion of prisoners who had committed relatively minor crimes and who had exerted a stabilising effect on the total prison population.

However, the 1974 figures show that the prison population is once again rising. This is said to result from the increasing number of violent offenders for which it is thought there is no alternative to imprisonment.

i) County Gaols

These are part of the local law enforcement system under the control of the sheriff, who is usually an elected officer. He and his deputies staff local

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gaols in a supervisory capacity as part of their historical and traditional roles. All local policemen spend a period of time in the gaol as part of their normal police duty and the warden is normally a police captain. The majority of inmates are awaiting trial or sentence, others are serving sentences up to twelve months for petty offences, while a small proportion are there as a condition of probation which runs concurrently to the prison sentence and, in some cases, may be terminated at the end of the sentence. In some gaols there is also a small provision for female prisoners to be detained overnight while awaiting court appearances or transfer to a women's prison.

The security at Sacramento, where they have 100 to 150 inmates at any one time, included an electronic locking system and closed circuit television which ensured that all parts of the gaol were under constant surveillance.

The accommodation consists of single or double cells, or eight-person 'tanks' with tiered bunks and an adjoining dining area. All accommodation was open to staff observation since bars replaced doors. This meant there was no privacy in the communal living areas. On reception all prisoners are searched, equipped with prison clothing and given immediate access to a battery of telephones to contact their families, attorneys or a bail bondsman. Attorneys were permitted to interview clients at any time, as were probation officers who might be preparing social enquiry reports or visiting for the purposes of probation supervision. At the time of our visit no arrangements existed for probation officers to become part of the prison team. However, in the reconstruction due to take place such provision will be made - there is already some apprehension on the part of probation officers.

Visiting by relatives is on a landing rota basis, each man being entitled to two separate visits a week. The visits are impersonal, taking place in open-ended cubicles placed on either side of bullet proof glass, and all conversations are held via internal telephones. Few facilities for work or

leisure are provided, other than an exercise yard on the roof. Some inmates are allocated work as cleaners, cooks, landing officers etc. to help the functioning of the gaol.

It was felt that links between the sheriff's department, the gaol and the probation department were close knit and efficient, all apparently clearly being seen as part of the same penal process.

ii) State Prisons

These range from maximum security establishments to those employing only a minimum of supervision. We felt that those we visited had better facilities and resources than are available in the U.K. These include extensive industrial and individual work programmes as well as washing and toilet provision in every cell. The prisons we saw, although almost at maximum capacity, did not appear to have the same overcrowding problems as ours. Indeed, the new wings in one prison had been architecturally designed to make it physically impossible to overcrowd the accommodation. The Americans have gone further than we have in such matters as conjugal visits and work furlough projects, although only on a limited scale to date.

The intensive security in closed prisons was very apparent, with gun towers, armed guards and T.V. surveillance around the perimeter and, in some cases, on the individual wings. These comprehensive security systems obviate the need for continual personal surveillance by landing officers and the individual locking and unlocking of cells is usually covered in emergencies by master locking systems at the end of wings. Often prisoners have their own personal cell keys and can, if they so desire, lock their cell doors when going to work. All visitors are subject to identity checks, electronic screening and personal searches. Because of the perimeter security, it is possible to give prisoners the opportunity for greater freedom and personal participation in decision-making

that will affect their daily existence. With such freedom within the perimeter prisoners are able to make their own appointments to see prison staff and may move around unescorted. However, in times of tension or crisis prisoners can be confined to their cells and wings en masse, sometimes for lengthy periods of time. There appeared to be a growing feeling in California that the authorities ought to exert more control now over the cultural and ethnic groupings which form in prison in view of the growth of some violent political movements which allegedly started in this way.

As in our own system, work on an industrialised basis is limited and therefore it is difficult to generalise. In Californian prisons about a fifth of the prisoners are employed in full-time industries, many of which undertake government contracts for steel furniture, licence plates, etc. These industries are completely self-supporting financially and in varying degrees prisoners are given the opportunity to continue with or develop realistic work patterns. Those who cannot take part in the industrial programmes are encouraged to work for themselves in their cells undertaking, for example, leather work or model making. Each Californian state prison acts as an agency to sell the prisoners' wares with a shop outside most institutions. In one example we saw 90% of the sale price is credited to the prisoners' account, the other 10% going into a common fund to assist those prisoners unable to work for themselves through ill health or other cause. The tools and materials for these 'home industries' can be purchased on credit and this is later repaid out of earnings. In Chino State Prison the most improbable, but also the most successful, development is a vocational training course in commercial deep sea diving. A ten month course takes 15 men a time, the successful completion of the course guaranteeing well paid employment on release. The chief instructor confines his brief to turning out competent divers rather than concerning himself with rehabilitation in the accepted sense. The standard of entry for the course

is high. For hearty, adventurous, buccaneering types of offenders the course offers a lawful, well-paid alternative to crime. We learnt that burglars often made good divers! The training is thorough and there is a competent job placement service. We were told that some of the 'graduates' find work in our developing North Sea oil field.

iii) Women's State Prison at Goree, Huntsville, Texas

This is the only women's prison in the state. The former prison, built in 1935, lacked individual cells, the women being housed in 'tanks'. The present main building, built in 1965, provides individual rooms in which at the time of our visit there were 634 inmates, 58% black, 32% white and 10% chicano. There is also a visiting room, administrative offices and food service facilities. Parts of the old building were remodelled to provide a hospital, education department, post office, commissary, conference room, offices for key personnel and 'cosmetology facilities' for both staff and inmates. The improvement in the prison's physical equipment has made it possible for the first time at Goree to provide a treatment-oriented programme. The warden is a man in his thirties, and 10% of the prison officers are men, some black and many with degrees. The appointment of male prison officers is a recent innovation. We were informed that during the first few weeks there was a marked improvement in the interest the women took in their appearance, and requests for hair dye greatly increased!

The food is of a high standard, plentiful and of the same quality for all people working in the prison. There is a cafeteria self-service arrangement and inmates and others sit at separate small tables if they wish. There are excellent facilities for indoor recreation - basketball, softball and volley ball are played on a competitive basis - but opportunities for outdoor recreation seemed very limited. The swimming pool and sports ground, for instance, were reserved for the use of the staff.

There is a full-time qualified teacher who conducts classes for those who have not reached the eighth-grade level. Other inmates attend advanced classes in preparation for the General Educational Development Tests which lead to a certificate equivalent to that of high schools. Aside from the academic curriculum, inmates are urged to enrol in art classes, ceramic workshops and music appreciation classes. The prison is open regularly for art shows at which over 400 works of art are exhibited. 80% of the inmates are involved in some kind of educational programme which may take up to 6 hours a day, the rest of the day being spent in suitable work. As in all American prisons and no doubt elsewhere, a proportion of the prisoners are illiterate; at Goree in 1965 the figure was 16%. The warden remarked that 'American society and culture is now so complex that it is extremely difficult for the uneducated to function successfully. In many cases lack of education is a contributing factor to delinquency'. Training courses include a florists' course which lasts a year and provides instruction in the making of wreaths, formal bouquets etc, and a commercial course for which the equipment included about 30 new electric typewriters.

There are two full-time counsellors who devote two-thirds of their time to individual counselling and the remainder to group therapy sessions. One of them works primarily with alcoholics and narcotic addicts, and conducts all the meetings of the Goree chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous. Three chaplains conduct Protestant, Catholic and Jewish services but spend most of their time in individual counselling. Attendance at services is voluntary but the chapel is normally full.

Some inmates work in the 'cosmetology' department, where inmates who are trained hairdressers make appointments for both inmates and staff. There are also mannequin parades at which inmates model dresses made at Goree for other state agencies. The garment factory is one of the main occupations, together with the laundry and some outside work in the grounds round the prison. Although all

inmates wear uniform, all clothes are changed daily, and each prisoner has her own personal set of clothes. Three months before a woman's release she orders a new set of clothes for her discharge. For six weeks before her release the inmate is involved in the pre-release programme. She attends lectures and discussions on such topics as 'sensible' spending and budgeting, how to apply for a job, human relations, personal health, community services and agencies, and how to approach the problem of becoming reunited with her family. Pre-release inmates are taken outside the prison in groups to attend church services and public functions. They are attended on these and other outings either by volunteers or prison staff but are dressed in fashionable clothes and given spending money, and are not identified as prisoners.

Visits to prisoners were made in a large, pleasantly furnished room, but physical contact was prohibited except briefly at the beginning and end of each visit. This was done to prevent the passing of drugs or knives, primarily the former. On Mother's Day the mothers of inmates were, however, invited to spend the day there with their daughters, first attending the chapel and then meeting them afterwards in one of the big lounges for coffee and talk. The Director of the Board of Corrections, when his attention was drawn to this apparent inconsistency, said it was felt that the American concept of motherhood ensured against this privilege being abused.

Some problems arose from the long sentences of some prisoners and the lack of alternative provision for very disturbed and mentally sick women. Transfers to other institutions were very few and for the vast majority of women offenders in Texas, Goree was the end of the road.

iv) Federal Correctional Institution, Fort Worth, Texas

The federal prison at Fort Worth, near Dallas, Texas, was formerly a hospital for drug addicts. When the Bureau of Prisons acquired the institution in October 1971, 206 employees of the hospital were transferred to the staff of the prison, so that out of a total staff of 235 the great majority had not previously worked in a prison.

Fort Worth is classed as a medium security prison. It houses 425 men and 100 women. All are within two years of their discharge and at present no prisoner classed as a danger to society is accepted. There is limited security, with a single fence round the perimeter. The main aim is to 'normalise', i.e. to mitigate the effects of institutionalisation and equip the inmates for their release. One aid to this is the presence of women in what is mainly a men's prison.

The inmates are encouraged to accept responsibility for themselves and others to the moving of decision making to the lowest possible level. The inmates are divided into six units, and each unit makes its own decisions on such matters as the time people should go to bed.

The six units include one for narcotics addicts, one for those having other conflicts with the law over the use of drugs, and one for alcoholics. This last has a woman PSW in charge. The comprehensive health unit is for older prisoners and those in a state of ill-health. Two counsellors working in this unit told us that many of the older recidivist prisoners were highly appreciative of the change from an ordinary prison regime and their positive attitude helped the younger prisoners to settle down. This unit is used when it is necessary to 'lose' a prisoner in the system, perhaps a man who had gained some notoriety or who had been a well known character before sentence; these people could make a good contribution to the life of the unit. The older men are encouraged to

take an interest in their appearance, and washing machines are provided for their use. The main difficulty in this unit is the unwillingness of the inmates to leave, and the scarcity of alternative institutions for them to go to on release.

The therapeutic unit receives its inmates from other units. An inmate recommended by his own unit is interviewed and discussed by the therapeutic unit before being admitted. The unit holds an open group on Monday evenings attended by voluntary associates and people from local church and other organisations. The inmates become experts in the transactional analysis used in these groups and, together with the group psychiatrist and social worker, offer training in the method to the voluntary associates. Past members of this group are encouraged to return in times of crisis or to talk to and encourage the present inmates. The local probation service is, however, much opposed to this practice, feeling that when a man has left he should no longer retain contact with the institution.

Educational, vocational and religious programmes are open to everyone in the institution. The means of obtaining 'normalisation' is to practise living in as normal a situation as possible, every attempt being made to make 'the inside more like the outside'. The process is encouraged by interaction, the duty of all staff being to 'interact' as equals. Voluntary associates assist in this process by taking the prisoners on bus trips and shopping expeditions.

Local trade union leaders co-operate by visiting to give lectures. Apprenticeships and jobs are offered to inmates on their release. Because of the permissive visiting arrangements, many wives obtain accommodation for themselves in Fort Worth. There is an active family service programme, with counselling for individuals and groups on such subjects as man and woman relationships, problem areas of marriage, family planning, child development and how to live with the family. Inmates are encouraged to counsel each other and to get involved with the local community as much as possible. Half an hour's entertainment, coffee and talk is given in the coffee

room on Friday evenings, when often up to 200 people are present. The reaction of the local community has been very good. There are 250 voluntary associates, coming from different social groups.

The only separation of the sexes is for sleeping purposes. As might be thought inevitable, this leads to the occasional pregnancy. The final disciplinary act is transfer away from the prison; this is only given for assault or extremely promiscuous behaviour. The average stay in the institution is now a year, and the results have so far been remarkably good, only 15% re-offending to date. However, it must be borne in mind that the institution had been in operation for less than three years at the time of our visit.

v) Sentencing and Pre-Sentence Diagnosis

An important feature which has a considerable bearing on security, control, treatment and consideration for parole is that all sentences for felony in the state of California for adults are indeterminate, with statutory minimum and maximum limits. The actual length of the sentence and the proportion of it spent in prison are determined within these limits by an organisation called the Adult Authority, the equivalent of our Parole Board. This is an appointed body that regularly reviews candidates for parole, being guided in its decisions by psychiatric opinion and reports from prison counsellors and parole officers.

When an adult offender is liable to be sent to a state prison, the judge can call for advice in the form of social enquiry and other reports from the probation service, medical authorities or anyone else he thinks may be helpful. Should the judge consider the information available is insufficient, Californian law provides that a convicted person may be placed in the custody of the Department of Corrections for observation and diagnosis prior to sentence.

A Reception and Guidance Centre evaluates the individual and returns him to court within 90 days together with the diagnostic findings and recommendations. The court may or may not follow the recommendations, though it does so at present in between 80 and 90% of the cases referred. One notable benefit of this pre-sentence study procedure, which has been extensively used, is that judges have become more knowledgeable as to what constitutes suitability for probation or other alternatives to imprisonment.

Recent statistics are not available, but in the late 1960s 36% were placed on probation; 6% were sent to county jails followed by a period of probation; 1% were sentenced to a straight county jail term, and 50% were sent to state prisons. The remaining 7% received alternative sentences.

An alternative available to a judge for those whose offences were related to drug problems is to sentence them to a semi-secure establishment known as the Californian Rehabilitation Centre for Drug Addicts for treatment under civil commitment, sometimes with a concurrent probation order. As in our system, persons found not guilty because of insanity are committed to a state hospital.

vi) Reception Guidance Centres, California

There are two Reception Guidance Centres, one at Chino in southern California and the other at Vacaville in northern California. Men committed to state prisons are initially sent to one of these two centres, where they undergo a 60 to 90 day period of examination. The type of prison to which the offender is sent - open, closed, specialised, psychiatric, etc - is decided on the basis of these studies. Parolees returned to prison with a new conviction or because of parole violation also go through a reception guidance centre. All prisoners at the centre take educational, vocational, intelligence, personality and group psychological tests and are interviewed for social evaluation. About 35% are

individually examined by psychiatrists. This is automatically required for aggressive sex offenders, exceptional violence, serious homicide or arson, and would be usual where there is a history of mental illness or unexplained behaviour.

vii) Stress Assessment Unit, California

This unit has formed part of the medical facility at Vacaville since 1962. It is designed to evaluate a certain type of inmate, the man with a potential for serious aggression. He has usually served a long term in prison - 10 to 15 years, or more - and is typically either an overbearing and aggressive psychopath or an emotionally unstable and impulsive man whose low tolerance for frustration causes him to erupt into physical assault or homicide. He is placed in the unit for observation several months before his next parole hearing, the primary purpose being to determine whether he is an acceptable parole risk or still too dangerous for release.

The unit is based on a community living concept. Inmates spend virtually 24 hours of the day together, working in groups, at first in the kitchens and later in outside work parties. The staff use two methods: a direct provoking of conflict in personal encounters with the prisoner, and the deliberate maintaining of an ambivalent and ambiguous inter-personal relationship during the months of evaluation. The staff sets out to discover each man's particular area of undue sensitivity or vulnerability, and exert pressure on this area by a challenging or provoking attitude. An immediate response of contemptuousness or open hostility may reveal a continued inability to handle personal frustrations. The mood of insecurity and uncertainty is maintained by the contradictory attitudes of a critical probing combined with the personal concern shown for each inmate. The inmate is made to realise that he has to demonstrate his readiness for release, but how he stands in the eyes of the staff is not revealed to him during the process of evaluation. Experience has shown that this continued uncertainty

besides providing evidence for the staff on the man's current state of mind also has therapeutic benefit. The tension-producing influences on the individual are augmented by conditions in the unit - the dormitory living among aggressive and unstable men, the menial work undertaken and the unaccustomed relative freedom of work outside the unit.

The programme is undoubtedly a very demanding one and many men do not complete it successfully. It should be said however that, as is usual in the American correctional system, the inmate has the implications of the course explained to him fully before he joins it and at every stage he is kept fully aware of its purpose. The unit is not aimed at rehabilitation so much as to provide the authorities with sufficient data to decide whether the inmate should still be kept in prison.

We were invited to participate in a confrontation group. It was clear that the inmates were under considerable pressure from the techniques, but we felt from the inmates' reactions that the blunt honesty of the staff in explaining the unit and its objectives were helpful and reassuring to them, and helped them to face up to their personal problems.

viii) Prison Counselling Services

Counsellors are an integral part of the Department of Corrections. All are qualified social workers. Some enter the counselling services from other social work agencies such as probation or parole. Others started as correctional officers on the uniformed staff of the prisons and obtained their qualifications as extra-mural students of state colleges or universities.

They have a function which is part social worker, part pre-parole officer and part assistant governor. Information about the prisoner is fed to the counsellor from all sources so that he becomes the professional centre of the treatment, training and rehabilitation of the prisoner. It was clear to us that

counsellors felt themselves, and were seen to be, much more closely related to the prison system and establishment than probation officers serving prison welfare departments in the U.K.

4. YOUNG OFFENDER INSTITUTIONS

Young offenders, or 'juveniles' as they are officially designated, are defined in the United States as persons under the age of 18 years. In some states and in some connections the age limit may increase to 21 years.

The introduction to the U.S. Government's booklet 'The Challenge of Youth Service Bureaus', published in 1973, states (in terms which sound more than usually familiar):

'This report has shown most criminal careers begin in youth and that therefore programmes that will reduce juvenile delinquency and keep delinquent and youthful offenders from settling into lives of crime are indispensable parts of a national strategy. It has shown that the formal criminal process - arrest to trial to punishment - seldom protects the community from offenders of certain kinds and therefore the criminal justice system and the community must jointly seek alternative ways of treating them. The Youth Service Bureau, an agency to handle many troubled and troublesome young people outside of the criminal justice system, is needed in part because society has failed to give the juvenile court the resources that would allow it to function as its founders hoped it would.'

Youth service bureaus or similar schemes have been introduced in most of the states. The rationale for their philosophy of diversion is to be found in the same publication:

'Given the broad mandate from the juvenile court and the catch-all character of the statutes which define delinquency, there are virtually no non-delinquents. Juveniles have

committed and commit acts daily which, if detected, could result in adjudication. Consequently from the standpoint of social control it is necessary to question the utility of legal norms about which there is such ambiguity. If the system of criminal justice did not operate selectively we should literally all have been in jail at some time or another and many of us would still be there. This is not because crime is rampant but because opportunities for running foul of one prohibition or another are so abundant.'

The Juvenile Court, Sacramento, California.

One example of the system in practice is the juvenile centre in Sacramento. This consists of the juvenile court, a division of the supreme court of the state of California; the juvenile division of the probation department, with approximately 75 probation officers and their supporting staff; and the county welfare department with a staff of 35, responsible for all dependent neglected children. This last is the equivalent of the social services department of a local authority in England.

The probation department is divided into three clearly defined units:

- i) The intake unit, which provides immediate screening on all delinquent referrals to the probation department. Approximately 10,000 juveniles are referred to this unit each year.
- ii) The court investigation units, which process all cases appearing before the juvenile court, including the presentation of evidence of the offence and the compilation of social history, diagnosis and recommended treatment plans to the court. Approximate 3,600 reports are presented each year.

- iii) Field supervision units, which provide casework services for young offenders who have been granted probation and have returned to the community, usually residing in their own homes. There are over 2000 young offenders under the supervision of these units. Dependent and neglected children are supervised by the welfare department.

The Juvenile Hall

This provides temporary detention facilities for delinquent young offenders who require custodial care pending a court hearing. It is administered by the probation department.

The hall can house 178 persons, seven separate living units each take 24 and a receiving unit caters for a further 10. There are eight classrooms, a home economics room, a workshop, a complete medical clinic, a beauty shop, a barber's shop, a laundry, a swimming pool and a large multi-purpose room serving as gymnasium, theatre and meeting place for large groups.

The hall has a staff of approximately 125 including probation officers, nurses, a doctor, a chaplain, clerical personnel, maintenance staff and employees from other county departments including the Public Defender's and District Attorney's Offices, and the Sheriff's, Public Works and Recreation Departments. A school programme is administered by staff of the Sacramento Education Authority. Dependent and neglected children are not housed in the juvenile hall but in the Sacramento Children's Home.

The intake procedure follows a carefully defined pattern. The juvenile, when delivered by law enforcement officers to the juvenile centre, is accompanied by a report describing the alleged offence with appropriate evidence. The intake

officer on duty - a probation officer - evaluates the position to determine whether there is sufficient evidence to bring the juvenile before the court. As an alternative for minor offences the probation department may enter into an agreement with the juvenile and his parents for a six month period of informal supervision. During this period a petition formalising the allegations may be filed with the court if the adjustment in the juvenile's attitude while under supervision appears to be inadequate. Where there appears to be insufficient evidence to justify sending the juvenile to the court the probation officer can dismiss the charges and release him to his parents.

The process may be by way of a non-detention petition, allowing the juvenile to remain out of custody pending the court hearing. If a detention petition is filed the juvenile has the right by statute to appear before the court within 24 hours of the filing of the petition. The court then determines whether the juvenile is to remain in custody pending the hearing, which is usually held within two or three weeks.

An offender may have to remain in custody pending the hearing for three reasons: i) that he is a danger to himself or society; ii) that he is likely to flee from the jurisdiction of the court; iii) that he is in violation of a court order, usually for having committed another offence while on probation.

The juvenile hall is a temporary detention centre only and is not viewed as a treatment centre. Those detained are allotted to the various living units according to their emotional and physical maturity and degree of security risk. One unit is for hard-core delinquents requiring special security. While in custody the offender is evaluated by members of staff, and the appropriate probation officer conducts a full investigation.

Following the court's adjudication, most offenders are returned to the care and custody of their parents as wards of the court under the supervision of the

probation department. Offenders dealt with for more serious offences are committed to the care of the California Youth Authority, which is operated by the state, net by the probation department. Committal to the Youth Authority seemed to be a measure of last resort and to have about it the same 'threat' as is often associated in this country with a sentence of borstal training. Other young offenders may be committed to the Sacramento boys' ranch or the Sacramento county girls' school, both run by the probation department. There are other alternatives, as in the U.K., such as placement in foster homes, group homes or residential treatment centres located in various places throughout the state.

The California Youth Authority

The authority states that it has one basic mission, the reduction of crime and delinquency among the youth of California. It is responsible for a wide range of custodial, semi-custodial and non-custodial treatment processes for all persons made wards of the authority by the courts. The majority are offenders, but some may be committed for care and protection or similar reasons. Youth Authority wards range from 8 to 25 years old.

The authority operates numerous institutions including diagnostic centres, forestry camps, conservation camps, industrial schools, educational institutions and youth centres, some of them co-educational. The staff includes psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, parole agents, youth counsellors, teachers and social science researchers. A staff of inspectors co-ordinate the state-wide programmes, including financial funding. Despite its use as a 'bogey-man', the authority is committed by law to a philosophy of rehabilitation rather than punishment, the stated objective being to reintegrate the young offender into the 'productive mainstream of law-abiding society'.

The young offender committed to the care of the authority is sent first to a

reception centre for diagnostic study. A rehabilitation programme is recommended by the staff and approved by the Youth Authority board. The offender may be sent to an institution, camp or other centre, or released immediately on parole. Some of the older and more criminally sophisticated young offenders who require close security and those with special medical or psychiatric problems may be assigned to a Department of Corrections institution or to the Department of Mental Health. One of the most important differences between the Californian Youth Authority's institutions for young offenders and ours is that theirs are not controlled by a department of corrections and are in no way comparable to the Prison Department regimes in our detention centre or borstal systems. Innovative methods and involvement of the community are major characteristics of the authority's programmes.

The institutions we were able to see were very impressive as regards the facilities provided, such as the large amount of space and material aids available in treatment and training programmes. The facilities, however, did not seem to be wholly matched by the quality of treatment the young offenders received. Their results appeared to be very similar to those of our borstals and detention centres, and certainly the view of them as expressed by the inmates was familiarly critical and negative. Some of the claims made to us for their 'success rate' appeared over-optimistic and based on inadequate evidence.

The institutions we visited cover a wide range of extremes. At the boys' ranch we observed that criminally sophisticated inmates who had been guilty of serious crimes such as armed robbery, resisting arrest by the use of firearms and other offences of a violent nature had considerable freedom of movement and mixed freely with other less sophisticated offenders. There were no armed guards - in fact, no guards were seen - and it was easy to abscond. An impressive range of educational and industrial facilities was available, but the living accommodation consisted of a large T-shaped dormitory with the beds within arm's length of each

other. This area was surveyed by a counsellor on duty at a desk on a high platform. A young inmate made it clear that he regarded this 'counsellor' as something between a sergeant-major and a rather authoritarian watchman or keeper!

This was, however, exceptional. The other establishments we visited mostly had an atmosphere far removed from that of our own young offenders' penal institutions. The range of alternative treatments, the willingness to change and experiment, often at considerable risk, and the methods used to inform the community and convince it of the validity of the programmes and the need for its co-operation were most encouraging to see.

Youth Authority Parole Agents

All young offenders released from Youth Authority institutions are subject to parole licence. A paroled young offender is normally returned to his family or to a foster home and plans are made for him to attend school or to obtain work. The parole agent's basic role is to supervise the young offender during this period.

The Youth Authority maintains a staff of approximately 450 parole agents based in 42 field offices organised in 6 regions. Their total case load in 1972 was about 13,000 parolees. A more recent innovation in the larger towns is parole community centres. Seven of these are in operation at present. Case loads are sharply reduced at the centres, allowing more effective supervision, closer ties with institutions, tutoring, family counselling, peer group interaction, job guidance and training. Parole staff are encouraged to work with organisations within the community and make the parole centre a part of the community's life. The authority, aided by federal grants, is now in the process of transforming each parole unit into a treatment team.

At present, the average length of time on parole is two years, following a custodial sentence usually of between 6 and 9 months.

The parole agents we spoke to in various offices throughout the state clearly accepted that they operated an authoritarian form of supervision with direct powers to control certain aspects of a parolee's life. With certain appeal safeguards, they have the right to detain offenders and return them to institutions for periods of up to 72 hours, or for longer periods on recall. Officers told us that this procedure was almost invariably used for the parolee's benefit and often at the parolee's request, to remove him from a dangerous situation beyond his control or when the pressures of the environment were too great for him. It was stressed that many offenders would spend an unnecessarily far longer time in institutions if the parole agent was not seen by the community to be effectively controlling and supervising them.

The impression we received was that while many probation officers we met had similar difficulties to ourselves in defining their roles and striking an effective balance between care and control, parole officers on the whole had a much clearer view of their role and of the constructive use of control sanctions for what they saw as the ultimate benefit of their clients.

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5. FAMILY VISITING IN PRISONS

As far as we could ascertain, only two American states have facilities which enable families to spend more than the normal visiting time with inmates within the prison confines. These are California and Mississippi, the former having the larger and more formal arrangements.

During the group's visit to San Quentin, a medium-close security institution, we were shown round the family visiting houses there by a prison officer who takes a close interest in penal matters and who has written a sociology thesis on the Family Visiting Programme at San Quentin. We were lucky to have such an informed guide, especially as the prison was subject to restricted movement on the day of our visit (known as 'lock-down status') owing to tension following one inmate's fatal knife attack on another.

Conjugal visiting was discussed widely and internationally among prison authorities in the mid-1960s. California took no action at that time but in July, 1968, under the influence of Governor Ronald Reagan, a pilot scheme was started in the California State Prison at Tehachapi, 150 miles north of Los Angeles. It was evaluated by the Department of Corrections early in 1971 and judged a success. The other eleven prisons in the State were instructed to institute similar facilities (without, it may be noted, adding any expenditure to the state penal budget). A great deal of staff and inmate labour and ingenuity were put to work to institute these programmes. By mid-1972, all twelve adult institutions in California had family visiting units and it was estimated that there would be 4,000 family visits during that year.

In order to participate in the programme a prisoner must have:-

- i) been placed in the lowest two of five security classifications
- ii) no record of smuggling contraband or narcotics (this is reviewable)
- iii) six months clear conduct within the institution
- iv) been deemed satisfactory in his accomplishments within individual prison programmes

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v) reached his minimum eligible release date.

The physical plant at San Quentin consists of two large houses which had previously been occupied by prison officers. They were situated within the grounds of the prison, but outside the maximum security wall. The property has been converted into ten flats, four of which are used for 43 hours and six for 19 hours family visits. In both instances families move in at 3.00 p.m. in the afternoon and vacate at 10.00 a.m., either the next day or the day after, depending on whether they are on a long or short visit. Families bring their own food and items of personal hygiene; all ordinary cooking and sleeping facilities are provided in the flats. The houses, which have an incomparable view across the San Francisco Bay, are pleasantly and cheerfully, if plainly, decorated and include a television, with barbecue facilities in the garden. Privacy is ensured by the fact that no prison officer may enter the premises during the visit unless he has specific and personal authorisation from the warden. The inmates, however, have to walk to the gate for a head-count at 4.30 p.m., 9.30 p.m., 9.30 a.m. and 12 noon.

We were told that a qualified inmate could obtain a long visit every eight weeks in addition to a short one every five or six weeks. No precise details of the percentage of the prisoners who were able to participate were available at the time of our visit. However, in 1973, when there were said to be 2,000 prisoners within the prison, only 179 were allowed visits. It was said that the racial balance of the prison population was maintained within the family visiting programme. We were informed that the programme had not led to any increase in venereal disease among the prisoners but we were given no information about wanted or unwanted pregnancies that might have occurred as a result of the visits. Contraceptives were made freely available.

It is worth noting that some of the objections made to this type of scheme were proved to be unfounded. For example, it was thought, before it was started, that prisoners unable to participate would be jealous of those who were and this would cause tension within the prison. This proved to be wrong in practice. Comment is

often made about the 'demeaning' sexual nature of such visits. We had no opportunity to speak to any wives of inmates ourselves but it was clear that the California Department of Correction emphasises the family angle much more strongly than the sexual. The programme is not seen primarily as providing sexual outlets or used as a force against prison homosexuality; it is a means of helping inmates to retain family ties which might sustain them following release. From what little research has been done, it appears that the programme does not in fact reduce the prevalence of homosexuality. There is not a great deal of evidence about the direct effect of the programme on men's conduct after leaving prison, but in the research of the original project at Tehachapi there was found to be a 'strong and consistent positive relationship between parole success and maintaining strong family ties while in prison'. The possible effect of the programme on the behaviour of inmates within the prison has been reviewed in two research projects, one on the Mississippi experiment and the other by our guide at San Quentin. Both agreed that the men tended to work harder at their tasks within the prison and to co-operate better with staff but they disagreed on the question as to whether inmates tended to trust staff more or less.

We were informed that only three disturbing incidents had occurred during the currency of the San Quentin programme. One was the escape of a prisoner and his committal of further offences before being caught. The second involved the smuggling of alcohol and cocaine, in which the man was caught and prosecuted. The third concerned the smuggling of beer and wine, which did not result in prosecution. It was reported to us that there was opposition amongst the majority, perhaps three-quarters, of prison staff. Their rationalisation of antagonism towards the programme usually concentrated on the aspect of smuggling illegitimate goods into the prison. One of the staff, however, was reported as stating 'it is just that the officers hate to see inmates get anything'.

The California state system also operates a temporary release programme which sounds more familiar to British ears and involves a man being away from prison for 72 hours to visit his family at home.

We were interested to find, just outside the gates of San Quentin, a small wives and families centre, very similar to the ones serving Pentonville and Brixton Prisons in Inner London. This house, which began in December, 1971 is described as a hospitality centre for visitors and approximately 17,000 persons of all races and creeds have used its facilities. It is organised by local people, including church groups, with charitable support. The director is assisted by two associates and over a hundred volunteers from the surrounding community. One facility provided which is not found in the United Kingdom was over-night lodging with local volunteer families for long distance travellers, so that a second prison visit might be made the following day. Counselling services are available and there is liaison with prison staff to resolve those procedural conflicts which inevitably arise. However, the chief commodity on offer, as in the Inner London Centres, was personal interest and concern and this must have come across to clients as it did to us.

6. HOSTELS AND HALF-WAY HOUSES

Visits were made to community treatment centres, or half-way houses, in Arizona, California and other states. There are residential hostels forming a transitional stage between institutional life in prison and in the free community.

A particular point of interest was the use of non-residential staff. The apparent success of this feature may encourage its application in similar establishments in the United Kingdom, where the disadvantages of resident staff are well known.

Arizona

The first half-way house in the state was opened by the Arizona Department of Corrections in 1971. There are now seven of them, with accommodation for 95 inmates. They are situated in the suburbs of towns, not near the penal establishments. It is hoped to expand the number to twelve in the near future.

The inmate's period of stay is normally 90 to 120 days. During that time he is expected to find employment, arrange for his future accommodation and strengthen his family ties by increased contacts with them. He has access to the staff for individual counselling; in some hostels other aid is available, including psychiatric treatment, family counselling, medical advice and various types of vocational training.

The inmates are drawn from those members of the prison population who are nearing the end of their sentence. All are still officially serving 'time', and the scheme does not cover those who have been granted parole; indeed, a place may often be given to a prisoner who would be unlikely to get parole unless he was able to improve his social situation.

Each hostel catered for twelve to eighteen inmates. The strictness of the regimes varied according to the degree of risk that the inmates represented.

In the establishments visited a continual check was kept on the movements of the inmates, either by clocking-in cards or by the signing of a register. It was maintained that the inmates accepted this as a means of establishing a useful alibi if the police were investigating a crime committed in the vicinity.

During the inmate's stay in the hostel he was given \$3.25 (about £1.35) per day, this money being paid into his account kept by the hostel. He could withdraw small sums on request, but for larger sums reasons for withdrawal had to be given. On leaving either the state prison or a half-way house, each prisoner who had served one year or more received \$85 (about £35) as a discharge grant, and might receive in addition \$35 (about £14) as a clothing grant.

The staff were employees of the Department of Corrections, not probation or parole officers but prison officers, with auxiliary staff such as cooks, gardeners and house-keepers. It appeared that any prison officer could apply to work in a half-way house, the pay being the same as for an officer working inside an institution.

All the staff were non-residential. Instead, a shift system was worked, so that an officer was always on the premises. The staff worked either 24 hours on, 48 hours off, or on a daily shift system, 8 a.m. - 2 p.m., 2 p.m. - 10 p.m. and 10 p.m. - 8 a.m. The former system was found to be exhausting by the staff and the latter was therefore preferred.

The success rate was felt to be encouraging; in one hostel only five inmates out of a total of fifty in residence during one year had to be sent back to prison. The cost was tentatively estimated as about half that of keeping a man in prison, despite the high staff-to-inmate ratio. The scheme is constantly under examination by the Department's own research department, and its expansion is intended to continue.

California: Ellsworth House

The two projects visited in California were perhaps more ambitious in scope. Ellsworth House, situated in San Mateo, a city of 80,000 inhabitants on the peninsula south of San Francisco, was a project set up jointly by the Probation Department and the Rehabilitation Service of San Mateo County. It was a three-year project which when visited had run for 32 months.

Inmates were chosen at random from defendants sentenced to serve four months or more in the county jail (not the state prison). At the end of each day's court hearings, names were chosen at random from the list of those selected to one gaol, and the judge was asked to change the sentence on those selected to one of probation on condition that they agreed to join the Ellsworth House programme. Some, it is interesting to note, declined to join, preferring the gaol which, we were informed, had two non-custodial programmes of its own. Those who went to Ellsworth House were subject to ordinary probation supervision once they had served the term of their sentence in the House. The minimum sentence was fixed at four months because, taking remission into account, a man serving this sentence might have only three months in the House, and this was reckoned to be the shortest length of time that could prove useful.

Certain types of offenders were excluded from the programme: those judged from experience to be severe escape risks, those deeply involved in the sale or use of narcotics, and those posing a threat of 'uncontrollable physical violence'. It was estimated that those excluded from the programme represented 31% of those considered. Those admitted had committed a wide range of offences, from using or dealing in drugs to forgery, burglary, robbery and manslaughter.

The full complement of the House was 20 inmates. At the time of our visit 116 men had passed through; of these nine had absconded. No incidents connected with the residents had been reported in the neighbourhood.

The staff at Ellsworth House, all non-residential, consisted of one senior probation officer, two probation officers, two ex-convicts who had stayed on as counsellors, two part-time evening counsellors and a secretary. Staff, including special relief staff at nights and weekends, were present on the premises 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

The House was intended to be a therapeutic community. An inmate was expected to use the programme to 'work on his problems and change his life style'. If he failed to do this he could be returned to gaol. This had happened, in fact, to 12 1/2% of the total inmates who had taken part in the programme. A report on the House stated that 'an important part of the project is to help the offender to see his probation officer as a helping professional rather than simply as a person who keeps him under surveillance'.

The membership of the House was built up gradually at first so that a new culture could take root among the residents. When a solid core had been found the numbers were allowed to increase to the full complement.

The residents were represented by a chairman, chosen by them from among themselves, who presided over the weekly resident-staff meeting and prepared its agenda. There was also a residents' council, which was an idea of the men themselves. It consisted of the chairman and four other elected residents; it made decisions on various problems that arose in the House and made recommendations for its better running. It was thought that this experience was important for many of the men who served on the council. For some of them it was the first time in their lives that they had had the responsibility of taking decisions directly affecting their fellow adults. The keynote of the system as a whole might be said to be one of encouraging responsibility. The residents were responsible for cooking, and for cleaning and maintaining the House. They were expected to participate in the life of the community either by obtaining employment

or by seeking further education in a college or training institution. A man who was working contributed to the upkeep of the House and he was also encouraged to contribute to the support of his family, if he had one. As greater responsibilities were taken on, greater privileges were awarded, e.g. leave away from the House for an evening or weekend.

The use of group pressures to help people change their attitudes was achieved by dividing the inmates into four groups. Any misbehaviour by one member of the group was made to affect all the rest of the group.

The programme had three phases. In phase I, intended to last 30 days, a man could not leave the House except to go to work or to an educational institution. He could receive but not make phone calls. At the end of this time he was evaluated for phase II by the entire group of staff and residents. If he passed through to this phase he was allowed greater privileges, but in return he had to be willing to conform to the mores of the House; that is, he had to 'open himself up in the group meetings, show willingness to look at his problems objectively, and be willing to take steps to resolve those problems and to help other inmates with their problems.' He was allowed to leave the House on 24-hour passes. If progress was maintained, he was allowed 48-hour passes after one month in this phase. The staff continually called for increased responsibility as privileges increased.

A man continued in phase II until the end of his gaol sentence was reached. He then entered phase III. He could now live where he wished, but he continued to return to the House to see his probation officer and, hopefully, to exert a positive influence on the other inmates. The staff regarded this period as crucial and had a high expectation of the men's performance in continuing to involve themselves with the programme. The intention was that the lessons learned during a man's stay in the House should be consolidated, and his impulse to break the law under stress changed to one of turning to his probation officer for help. A man could return to live in the House during a time of crisis if he wished to do so.

It is interesting to note that in the early stages of the programme the residents asked for more control; their cry to the staff was, 'You're running the programme too loose'. As a result the staff decided that it was important for them to set limits. Among other tighter controls that had been introduced, checks might be made at any time on the inmate's urine, to make sure he was not using drugs, and on his place of employment, to make sure he was working. More specific goals were now set for each individual to work towards. Evaluation of the work of this hostel is difficult at the present stage, but it is intended to follow up the progress of the inmates for two years after they leave the programme.

California: Central City Community Centre, Los Angeles

This is a state facility, and the inmates are therefore drawn from state institutions. A prisoner wishing to join the scheme applies to do so and has a personal interview with a member of the community centre staff. He must be eligible for and have a date fixed for parole. Confirmed alcoholics, narcotic addicts and sex offenders are not accepted. Male applicants have to be planning to settle or re-settle in Los Angeles, but this restriction does not apply to women, presumably because the applicants are fewer.

Most of the residents (34 men and from 10 to 20 women) were recidivists. Women were introduced some time after the programme began, with the aim of making the community more akin to ordinary society; it was noted that their introduction caused a marginal improvement in the behaviour of the men.

The building itself was formerly a fairly old hotel in the centre of town. The bedrooms were of a high standard of comfort, though sometimes they had to be shared. Men and women occupied different floors, but no apparent effort was otherwise made to segregate them. The building still had the atmosphere of an hotel, with a front lobby, reception desk, TV lounge, games room, a large car park and a well-kept kitchen. The telephone could be used for incoming calls only. The aim was that the project should have a 'low profile', and it appeared that many local residents

still believed it to be an ordinary hotel. The police, with whom liaison was said to be good, considered it to be a building of good standing in what was a rather run-down area.

The staff were again wholly non-residential, and supervision was maintained by a 24-hour shift system. The supervisor was a third grade parole agent, assisted by a second grade parole agent as deputy supervisor and two basic grade parole agents. The remainder of the regular staff consisted of six prison officers, two secretaries, two cooks and a maintenance man. We were informed that some volunteers and some ex-convicts were employed in the capacity of counsellors. The supervisor was in charge of the budget and of catering, which was said to be of a high standard. Staff meetings were informal in atmosphere and all staff took part in them.

Inmates were expected to stay in the community centre for three months. In the first month, 60 hours' leave was allowed; this was increased if the inmate was employed. An inmate paid \$4.10 (about £1.75) a day for his keep; credits were given for housework done if for some reason he was not working. This was about half what he would pay in a commercial hotel of similar standing. The inmate was given \$100 (about £42) on joining the scheme and another \$100 on leaving; his spending of this was, however, controlled by his parole agent. A man could return after the end of his stay to weather a crisis period.

Residents were checked in and out of the centre. A resident who failed to telephone in on over-running his appointed time of return, and who did not reappear within a few hours, was considered to have escaped. We were told that this happened about twice a month.

There did not appear to be much attempt at this centre to use group work or peer pressures and no statistics were available about the success or otherwise of the scheme.

Use of Non-Residential Staff

It was of interest to note that nearly all the hostels visited, covering quite a wide range of characteristics - large and small, situated in the centre or in the suburbs of towns, single-sex or mixed, and with differing degrees of control and of therapeutic activity - were run with non-residential staff recruited from the prison, parole or probation services. This could well be regarded as an important pointer in the development of our own hostels. The use of non-residential staff appeared to be not only possible but desirable, in that staff did not seem to become so involved with their clients in a pseudo-parent/child relationship and residents did not appear to be 'conned' into believing that a hostel was anything like a real family home.

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7. ADVENTURE PROGRAMMES

Located near Bryan in Texas is the base camp, Discovery Lane Incorporated, a long term therapeutic adventure programme. The camp is set in a wilderness tract of 700 wooded acres but the programme is a mobile one taking participants out to equally remote areas across the United States.

The camp itself was not visited since most of the action takes place elsewhere but fortunately there were frequent opportunities to meet the director, and to discuss his project and the philosophy behind it. The object of the programme is described as 'To discover one's self as well as the world and to survive'. It is presented as a year round therapeutic camping experience for youths between the ages of 12 and 20 with wide ranging social and educational problems - for example, school drop-outs, drug users, delinquents and others with acting-out or authority-related problems. The aim is to challenge the participant into taking pride in himself and into a willingness to work with others to achieve a sense of responsibility and independence. Learning experiences are provided through a planned combination of hardship, team work and high adventure which identify individual difficulties, offer help with their resolution and provide some evidence that these experiences can be related to the participants' former environment.

Members of the programme make a one year commitment, either by court order or on an informal basis. As each youth enters the programme he is assigned to a group, consisting of nine others in his age range and two counsellors. The group lives together in the wilderness, twenty-four hours a day through all seasons, building its own shelters, cooking its own meals and planning its own activities. It is argued that thus, as a first step, the participant is removed from the environment of his previous failures and from the pressures that contributed to them and becomes a member of a new social order. In the primitive setting he begins to see the immediate cause and effect of his behaviour. Teamwork

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and responsible living means a comfortable camp site, good meals and adventure. Irresponsible behaviour leads to an uncomfortable camp site, poor meals and boredom. Peer pressure plays a large part in the programme where each individual's comfort and safety is interdependent on the others in the group. This becomes very apparent during 'problem sessions'. A problem session is held the moment any type of conflict, misunderstanding or disruption occurs; then the group sits down to discuss it, wherever they may be. The session takes precedence over everything else and ends only when the group has arrived at a decision with which all the members can live.

The programme is goal orientated and there is a nightly 'rap' session around the camp fire where each participant is encouraged to speak freely and to attempt to evaluate the day, to consider what has been learned from it and what can be used to make tomorrow better. The session then goes on to set goals for the following day.

When a new group has begun to 'gel' it starts to plan its first expedition. This could range from a two month canoe trip down a river to the Gulf of Mexico, a mountain climbing or back-packing trip into Colorado or New Mexico or a bus trip to historical or educational locations in the South West States. In the past year groups have climbed in the Grand Tetons of Wyoming and back-packed across the Pecos Wilderness area of New Mexico. Other groups have travelled the Rio Grande in Texas, the Current and Buffalo in Arkansas and Missouri and Duck River in Tennessee. One group spent six weeks in the Canadian backwoods and another explored the Colorado Rockies whilst yet another went on a scuba trip off the coast of Florida.

Before a group sets out, it has to set its goals, prepare its itinerary and research its area of travel and then plan and order its food and supplies. Only when these tasks have been accomplished is the group free to set out. Whilst the educative element in the programme is not emphasised it does seem likely

that a participant learns a good deal from this preparatory work where he can see an immediate need for knowledge and an immediate benefit from it.

Despite the emphasis of the participant in a 'new society', Discovery Land staff are very conscious that their clients have to return eventually to their families and they try to enlist family support and interest. When a youth is first referred, a conference is held with the parents and evaluation conferences then continue every few months. When not on an expedition arrangements can be made for a youth to visit his home with a view to testing out his new living skills and counselling help is offered to prepare him for the visit.

The director and his assistant have substantial experience in therapeutic camping and also have available psychiatric support facilities which provide individual conferences with youths and their parents as well as staff support and training. Group counsellors are young men out of college selected for their personal qualities and their enthusiasm for the out-door life. They live with their groups 24 hours a day and have to be prepared to work in a democratic group setting, constantly on their guard not to assume responsibilities that should be left to the members and only intervening or setting limits where safety and health are threatened, an exceedingly delicate balance highlighted when two youths died on a raft expedition down the Mississippi.

About 2,000 young men have now passed through the Discovery Land programme but success rates are hard to ascertain, probably because they are difficult to measure. However, some impressive individual successes have clearly been achieved particularly, it seems, with clients who have been diagnosed mentally ill and who might otherwise have been placed in state hospitals.

To British ears, Discovery Land, a private enterprise contribution to the treatment of disturbed young men, may seem somewhat daunting because of its grand scale; inevitably its cost is high with fees of \$1,000 (roughly £400) a month. Nonetheless, as an imaginative, radical and adventurous programme it has much to offer.

Perhaps more easily importable to the U.K. but equally 'tough' (as befits the rugged individualists of the New World!) are the weekend camps provided in British Columbia. These are organised and staffed by members of the probation service with the help of sessional staff who are usually university undergraduates. The rigorous courses involve physical activities such as running, swimming, obstacle courses, camping, sailing and canoeing, participation in reforestation and other work projects, including camp maintenance. The trainees learn rescue and survival methods, life saving and first aid as well as mountaineering skills, all under qualified instructors. They are taught survival techniques and how to live in the wilderness. Whatever the weather, the day begins at 5.30 a.m. for staff and trainees alike with a swim in the sea. The trainees, who are between the ages of 14 and 17 years, have been placed on probation with a condition that they attend the weekend camp over a period of weeks or months.

At the centre we visited the trainees are picked up in the city each Friday evening and returned on Sunday afternoon. They live in sparsely furnished cabins at a cove sited in a most beautiful part of Vancouver Island. The programme is intended to be an alternative to a custodial sentence for those who re-offend or do not respond while under the supervision of a probation officer. It was introduced following a realisation that a great deal of delinquency occurred at weekends when young people had too much time to do too little. The objective set by the staff is a constructed and demanding programme which challenges boredom and develops feelings of self-worth through self-discipline in the belief that 'a person who holds himself in high esteem has the ability to rise above the delinquent state he was in when he appeared before the court.'

Six goals have been set by those responsible for the scheme:

- (a) to develop responsible attitudes and change behaviour patterns through self awareness by the use of individual and group counselling
- (b) to release the pent-up energies of young people through a rigorous physical programme
- (c) to provide the opportunity for learning new skills through work projects and for expression of adult approval when the task has been properly carried out
- (d) to provide stimulation for the individual by staff example, thereby inculcating feelings of self-confidence, self-discipline and a sense of responsibility
- (e) to facilitate a more meaningful relationship between the probationer and his family and the probation officer
- (f) to promote the philosophy that the level of living a person achieves is not based on material things but on individual feelings of self-worth.

Each year a longer full-time course is held over a period of four to six weeks with a similar programme and comparable objectives. This seemed to us to have very little to offer additional to that already provided in this country by Outward Bound Schools other than the participation of some probation officers who have on-going relationships with the trainees involved. The merit of the weekend course seemed to be that it provided an on-going experience which did not remove the trainee from his home environment for a long period of time but was in the nature of the weekly 'topping up' of a challenging and, generally, pleasurable

experience. The staff told us that, whatever else happened, a great deal was learnt about the probationer, his life-style and personality as a result of this experience of living together and sharing both triumphs and disappointments. Although Inner London would find it impossible to match the natural resources which are available to the Vancouver probation officers and might need to tailor a programme to meet the particular problems of young city-dwellers who are less used to seeing mountains and lakes, deep snow, wild life, forests and fast running rivers, we thought that a facility of this nature would have a great deal to offer as an additional resource to meet comparable needs and to be a further alternative to custodial training or other more punitive sentences.

8. THE VERA INSTITUTE OF JUSTICE, NEW YORK

In the early 1960s the American criminal justice system, which was badly under-financed and suffering from the disinterest of an apathetic and indifferent public, was felt to be floundering under the huge weight of accused persons with whom it was trying to deal, many of whom it was felt should never have entered the system in the first place. It was recognised as possible that the system was actually increasing danger to public safety by turning out greater numbers of hostile and dangerous persons than it was taking in. The VERA Foundation was established in 1961 by Louis Schweitzer, a chemical engineer and industrialist, and was aimed at designing and testing improvements in New York City's criminal justice system. In 1966 the Foundation became the VERA Institute of Justice with the aid of a five year grant from the Ford Foundation which was intended to lay the base for an extended programme. The hope was to increase the criminal justice system's efficiency, reduce its cost and maximise its fairness to defendants. VERA's own charter states its aims as being '... to seek and further the equal protection of the laws for the indigent by research into neglected aspects of court procedures, law enforcement and the nature of crime; by freely sharing results of such research with jurists, lawyers, correction officials and the public'.

From the beginning, VERA's activities were conceived as reformist not revolutionary, and as such won the required co-operation and assent of the responsible authorities. In general, VERA aimed to work in specific areas towards limited objectives. Careful evaluation of its programmes, a meaningful use of its research findings and a continual demonstration of its efficient and professional approach have led to the development of a close working relationship with the various criminal justice agencies themselves. At the same time great efforts have been made to involve and educate the public, including people who were originally the victims of 'the system' themselves.

Many of VERA's projects now run with the paid help of people rehabilitated from lives of crime and addiction.

1) The Manhattan Bail Project

The American constitution forbids excessive bail and federal rules make bail mandatory in all but a few cases. However, over the last decade, each year in New York City alone about 60,000 criminal defendants were held in custody awaiting trial because they could not afford the bail set, or were turned down by the professional bondsman because they could not provide acceptable collateral. The fact that many could not produce the money to be paid into court for their bail meant that they were denied release because they were poor. VERA's first project, which was begun in October 1961 in co-operation with the New York University School of Law and the Institute of Judicial Administration, was the Manhattan Bail Project. The project was based on the hypothesis that the courts would be willing to grant release on recognisance (release on one's honour pending trial, i.e. pre-trial parole) instead of setting bail if they could be given verified information about the defendant's reliability and his roots in the community. Previously the courts had rarely had access to this kind of information when making decisions about bail.

After establishing that a defendant was legally eligible for bail, a law student would interview him in the cells before court and complete a questionnaire. This required information about his job and how long he had held it; whether he supported his family and had contact with relatives. The information was then verified as far as possible by telephone and also by interviewing any relatives who were in the court waiting area. A points score was calculated and a recommendation for release on his own recognisance was submitted to the judge if the defendant scored five points or more and had his own address in the area. A randomly selected control group was established during the first year of the project, consisting of persons found to satisfy the points score but for whom no submission was made to the judge. The result was that, whereas the court

granted pre-trial parole in 60% of the project's recommended cases, it did so in only 14% of the cases in the control group.

The project ran for three years and during that time 3,505 defendants were released on their own recognisance, only 56 of those failing to return to court when required. The failure rate of those given bail was slightly higher, and from this VERA concluded that verified information was a more reliable criterion on which to release the defendant than his ability to purchase a bail bond. The success of the demonstration project led to the National Bail Conference in 1964, to the Federal Bail Reform Act of 1966, and to adoption of the concept by over 100 jurisdictions.

The New York City Probation Department took over the project in 1964 and immediately expanded it to cover all the criminal courts in New York City. VERA has maintained an interest in bail reform and has remained anxious to seek ways in which the concept of release on recognisance can be improved. Towards that end New York City's criminal justice co-ordinating council established a pilot pre-trial services agency in the borough of Brooklyn. VERA is running this pilot project based on procedure much the same as that of the original Manhattan Project. However, technology has now caught up and an interesting feature of this project is that they use their own computerised records which, it is claimed, are often more accurate than those of the police, and which permit the agency to reach out by post and telephone to further remind defendants of their court dates and their obligation to appear. When defendants prove unreachable by these methods, the agency assigns persons in their neighbourhood to find them and bring them to court.

Although the English bail procedure is different, it is interesting to note that during recent investigations into our own system the possibility of a points scoring system akin to that of the Manhattan Bail Project was considered.

ii) The Manhattan Summons Project

In 1964 the Manhattan Summons Project, supported by the Ford Foundation, was initiated by VERA and the New York City Police Department. Its aim was to test the hypothesis that persons charged with minor offences, possessing verifiable roots in the community, can be relied upon to appear in court voluntarily, rather than being held in custody until their first court appearance (arraignment). The summoning procedures were based on police department regulations, the Criminal Court Act, and the Manhattan Bail Project verification process. The necessary legal mechanism for summoning in lieu of arrest had long existed within New York criminal procedure, but its use had been limited largely to traffic offences and administrative code violations. The project focused on the issue of summonses for frequently committed petty crimes.

The procedure was as follows. When a suspect was brought to the precinct station house by the arresting officer on a summonsable offence, the subject was offered the opportunity to be interviewed by a VERA staff member. If consent was obtained the suspect was questioned as to his length of residence in New York City, family ties, employment and prior convictions. A points score was then calculated and if the minimum necessary score was obtained attempts were made to verify the information. Checks were also made to see whether the suspect was wanted for another crime. After verification the arresting officer would recommend the issue of a summons to the precinct desk officer. The procedure usually took less than an hour against the five to eight hours necessary for the old arraignment procedure.

After a preliminary test in the Fourteenth Precinct the project was extended to include three Manhattan precincts and in December 1966 the Police Department took full control of the project, extending it throughout Manhattan. During the first two years of citywide operation, 4.6% of those concerned failed to appear on a summons.

The project was evaluated on a cost-effectiveness basis and great emphasis was placed on the estimate of 2.5 million dollars which the project saved for New York City.

iii) The Manhattan Bowery Project

The summons project revealed the high incidence of drunkenness-related offences, particularly in the Bowery area of New York City. This is a once elegant and expensive area of the city which has degenerated to become a mass of doss houses and cheap hotels. The availability of this type of accommodation has encouraged the influx of inadequates of all descriptions, in particular the derelict alcoholic. It has been estimated that there are some 5,000 alcoholics existing in this city area at any one time and many of them were caught up in the cycle of arrest, detention and return to their environment but includes no treatment for their condition.

In 1966, at the invitation of Mayor Lindsay, VERA began to plan and develop a medically-orientated scheme for removing derelict alcoholics from the criminal justice system. This project was the initiation of the idea of 'diverting' people from the criminal justice system, i.e. attempting to rehabilitate them before they even began to move through the system.

The pilot scheme was housed on the fourth floor of a men's shelter where a fifty bed detoxification unit was opened. Two case-workers from the social services department worked on the screening and referral, four men from the police department and two unmarked cars were assigned to the project and the department of hospitals approved the loan of beds and medical equipment. One of the city hospitals agreed to take men whose conditions proved unmanageable in the project unit, as well as offering the use of x-ray services.

From 8.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. seven days a week, two-man rescue teams patrol the Bowery in unmarked police cars. The teams, consisting of an ex-alcoholic

and a plain-clothes police officer, offer men in obvious distress the opportunity of coming to the project to 'dry out' on a voluntary basis. After admittance to the project a man is showered and deloused by medical aides and put to bed in the 'acute ward'. The doctor on duty will then make a complete medical examination and prescribe appropriate medication. On the morning following admission the man will undergo further tests and if seriously disturbed will be seen by a psychiatrist. He is kept under supervision for three days and then if well enough he will move into the 'recuperative ward' where he may be helped to plan for his after-care.

A year and a half after its beginning the project added an emergency care clinic operated by one of the city's hospitals and an out-patient unit. Altogether, the project currently treats and helps about 260 men a week. Some of these the project will see again and again, but the number prepared to accept some form of after-care has risen steadily over the project's first four years of operation. It has currently stabilised at 65%. The number of arrests for drunkenness-related offences has dropped by 80%. It is felt that this project has been a successful demonstration but not a complete answer to the problem of the homeless derelict in America. Clearly more after-care programmes are needed if this, and other projects, are to have any real success.

iv) The Diversion Idea

On the assumption that diversion from the criminal justice system can be the most efficient and appropriate way to meet the needs of some defendants and the public, YERA's staff began to consider other schemes. The first of these, the Manhattan Court Employment Project, was built on the premises that for many young people, criminal careers could be halted by solving some of their personal problems through suitable employment. An arrested defendant is eligible for participation if he appears to be in need of, and amenable to, employment; if he is drug-free, and if his previous criminal record is limited. He is offered the likelihood that the district attorney will dismiss charges against him if he responds well to personal

counselling and job placement efforts within the 90 day period for which the court suspends prosecution.

The project began operation in February 1968 and during its first two years admitted 1,067 defendants, 140 of whom were still actually involved in the programme. Charges against 366 men had been dropped due to their successful participation in the programme and 532 had been returned to normal court processes. Since December 1970 the project has been operating as an independent corporation under contract to the City of New York. A unit was opened in Brooklyn in 1970 and another in the Bronx in 1971. It currently handles about 2,500 persons a year and achieves dismissal of charges in about 58% of its cases.

Another project was established in mid-1968 to test the diversion concept at yet another stage in the criminal justice process and also to comply with the President's Crime Commission's recommendation that lower court judges be provided with pre-sentence reports on which to base sentences alternative to imprisonment. The Bronx Sentencing Project dealt with persons already convicted of serious misdemeanours but not yet sentenced. The aim was to provide the court with verified information about the defendant within a few days after his conviction. This information, on the defendant's employment history and prospects, family ties, skills and education was to be developed by a small staff of three interviewers working in court. The theory was that a VERA report would act as a screening mechanism through which the judge could obtain information to help him to decide whether to impose a sentence immediately, adjourn the case to obtain further information, or allow time for a specific treatment plan to be developed that would help in the defendant's rehabilitation. A one page report was prepared for the judge and a copy was provided for defence counsel, apparently the only such pre-sentence reports made available to defence counsel in New York State.

A further community agency, Volunteer Opportunities Inc. (V.O.I.), provided

employment and social service assistance as well as counselling. The final recommendation upon a defendant's return to court between one and six months later was made to the judge by V.O.I. in consultation with project staff. During the first three years of the pilot project a third fewer project participants received prison sentences than did members of the control group of non-project participants. When the pilot scheme ended in October 1971 V.O.I. moved into the space formerly occupied by project staff and assumed the project's functions on a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. This project in particular seemed to provide an example of a way in which the deferred sentence could be used more constructively in the U.K.

Another VERA project is aimed at diverting young people in trouble with the law from the conventional police-probation-family court processes to a community-based programme of assistance and mediation. Planning for the Neighbourhood Youth Diversion programme followed a rise of 58% in the juvenile delinquency and crimes statistics between 1963 and 1967. The programme operated as a private, non-profit corporation whose board of trustees is made up of members of the community, experienced youth workers, and representatives of the two institutions which jointly developed the project, Fordham University and VERA. Offenders between the ages of 12 and 15 years are diverted from the usual processes to the programme which offers them close personal counselling with 'advocates'. These are persons, usually under thirty, who themselves grew up in the neighbourhood and who will assume responsibility for the young person as long as he is in the programme. The programme also tried to provide solutions to some of the primary problems which may be contributing to the young person's delinquency as well as recreational activities. Almost all cases go to a forum hearing at some stage during the client's participation in the programme. The forum consists of three volunteer 'judges' who live in the community and who agree to mediate in the incident that originally brought the participant into the programme. At the end of the first forum hearing the judges decide whether additional hearings will be necessary.

Usually two or three are required. The forum's task generally is not to make judgements and rulings, but to attempt to bring the disputing parties together so that their difficulties can be resolved without reference to the formal criminal justice system. The forum becomes a neighbourhood setting where charges relating to minor offences are heard informally and disposed of. Referrals to other agencies are made where participants clearly need outside assistance, and such referrals are followed carefully to determine what is being done for the young persons. If the participants do well during their 90 days in the programme, the charges are dropped and erased from their delinquency records. These arrangements are controlled by the probation department; it can be imagined that our own service would be dubious as to the placing of probation officers in such an apparently powerful position. However, it is stated that during the project's first four months of operation 21 cases were presented to forums and all but one were resolved sufficiently to eliminate the necessity of formal court proceedings.

v) Supported Work Projects

Supported work projects are transitional rehabilitative schemes offering group employment settings, graduated demands and rewards, strong supervision, clear job definition and on-the-job training. Participants are usually those regarded as unemployable with scanty work records and histories of crime and/or addiction, whose disabilities have both social and physiological components. As the programmes have developed, so has the co-operation of the New York City government and other non-commercial institutions in creating work for the programmes' employees. This has enabled those employees who were once a threat to the community to become contributing and participating members of society. To add even more credibility to the programmes great emphasis is laid on the benefit to the community in economic terms.

The first supported work programme was developed by VERA in conjunction with the Bowery Project. 'Project Renewal', begun in 1970, offered employment in a

controlled setting for the Project's outpatients who undertook the cleaning and maintenance for several New York City playgrounds. The men lived together in a house in Brooklyn, received an amount of support through group therapy, and were given the opportunity to go to education classes. A number of men managed to break their drinking cycles in this environment.

A year later the Pioneer Messenger Service (an inter-city service) was established as an employment programme with rehabilitative goals and principles. The basic aim was to test the proposition that supported work could assist in the rehabilitation of the 'unemployables', i.e., returning them to the community as self-supporting, functioning members of that community. The programme was aimed at ex-drug addicts whose lack of skills and motivation and deviant histories made it almost impossible for them to find and maintain jobs in the normal way. Group employment was a major feature of the programme. Each person was able to adjust to the demands of learning new habits in company with others undergoing similar stresses. It was felt that this alleviated one of the most undermining anxieties - that of keeping one's past history a close secret for fear of reprisals. Within this setting, VERA offered a wide range of supportive services to participants in an attempt to deal with their many, complex needs. Through close personal contact many difficulties were picked up early on, thus enabling constructive action to be taken, even if it amounted simply to reducing a participant's work-load. Participants were regularly informed of their productivity and progress, in an effort to encourage confidence. Great emphasis was placed on the promotion of participants to staff members, sometimes at the expense of operation efficiency. This formed the major part of a 'reward' system designed hopefully to boost morale and to encourage self-esteem.

The Pioneer model formed the base for the largest of the transitional supported work programmes now in existence, the Wildcat Service Corporation. This operates as a non-profit making, multi-purpose public service agency with units working in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx, and a fourth to open shortly in Queens. A corporate planning office oversees the expansion and co-ordination of the borough

units which now employ 1800 ex-addicts and ex-convicts. Jobs range from unskilled, entry level activities such as maintenance and security, through more skilled painting, construction and repair work, to highly skilled clerical, graphic art and translation work. It is estimated that half the Wildcat employees are ready for non-supported jobs after a year in the programme. Jobs are offered when a person is felt to be 'work ready'; if they refuse two jobs they are dismissed from the project. Should a person move out of the programme prematurely and later experience some difficulty, it is possible for him to return.

Such an assorted group of participants is bound to create its own problems along the way. In spite of the enthusiasm and near dedication on the part of some, there is also lethargy to the point of non-appearance, as well as over-dependence on the project. For these people, working in the community means learning to cope with suspicion and hostility and, on occasions, deliberate provocation. It says something for the reality of the support that the programme has a healthy 75% retention rate. A close evaluation of the project is made possible through monthly follow-up interviews with the first three hundred participants and a matching group of persons selected for the project at the same time, but randomly assigned to a control group.

Within the Wildcat Service Corporation is currently operating a programme designed for ex-offenders specifically. The major difference lies within the referral system which is directly from prison, either through the parole liaison officer or via a Wildcat employee who visits the prison prior to a participant's release. Wildcat is also involved in some of the work release projects and takes referrals from the pre-trial agency in Brooklyn.

The counselling and befriending is done by ex-convicts/addicts who appear to work intensively with their participants in an attempt to face problems before they become out of hand. The ex-offender termination rate hovers around 30% and

there are obvious problems such as ex-offenders signing up for Wildcat simply to please the prison authorities and in order to obtain early release. However, this project is barely under way and the programme staff are intent on developing means of dealing with particular problems as they arise.

Although reservations were expressed in other parts of the United States about the effectiveness of diversion schemes, in all we were much impressed by what we saw of the activities of the VERA Institute. A great deal of imaginative, exploratory and innovatory work is being undertaken. We would like to think there could be similar opportunities for experimentation within Inner London.

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9. PUBLIC RELATIONS

A significant feature of the Americans' attitude to their correctional services and penal system which greatly impressed us was the way they projected their philosophies, methods, aims and comparative costs to the public at large. In this country, in direct contrast, almost everything that takes place, whether in probation, prison or other forms of penal treatment, seems to be closely guarded from curious, prying eyes. The confidentiality of the client (which we all regard as of extreme importance) may sometimes be used defensively.

A good example of this more open approach was the simple, factual and attractively produced leaflets on a wide variety of correctional-related subjects which are available to the public through universities, libraries, youth organisations, private agencies and penal institutions and from federal, state and county correctional services themselves.

We saw another example in the ready availability of an excellent bi-weekly newspaper, similar in many respects to a small-town publication, circulated by staff and inmates at San Quentin prison. We visited this institution at a time of tension when, due to an outbreak of violence resulting in the murder of one inmate by another, the prison was 'locked-down'. A full and, seemingly, fair appraisal of the situation and the reasons which brought it about were front page news. How much more helpful than the anonymous, vague and often guarded statements reluctantly drawn out from our own official spokesmen in comparable circumstances! Incidentally, the newspaper also carried information about the arrival of new members of staff, complete with photographs, 'potted' histories and appraisals of their likely aims and objectives in their new jobs; articles about family counselling; an account, written by one of the inmates, of the events of a recent Mothers' Day, as well as a lively correspondence column with letters from both staff and inmates.

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We were particularly interested in a project called 'prison preventers' which we came across in Chino prison. This is a programme administered and directed by inmates but supervised with enthusiasm and commitment by a member of staff. 45 inmates, selected by the whole inmate body, work together to prepare material, including display posters, about their own life-experience and the problems produced by imprisonment. Representatives of the group visit and talk to university, school, club and military groups and prepare programmes for radio and television. They act as guides for official visitors to Chino (including our party); it appeared to be prison policy to encourage visits from local organisations. The programme has a dual purpose - to help members reassess their own conduct and its consequences and to inform and educate the public. We were only too well aware of the negative, self-pitying response which many delinquents make to 'the system' which they blame for their present plight. But, as it was put to us by our guide - 'a negative mind needs a positive package wrapped in a negative wrapper'!

In our view, a deliberate and well organised use of public relations techniques and of the mass-media is required in this country at the present time if society is to be educated to an awareness of the problems faced by the correctional services and by offenders. Honest information and good publicity is an essential element in a rapidly developing system. The simple, straightforward methods of public education which we saw, if adopted here, could lead to a greater understanding by the community of the work we try to do.

10. WORKSHOPS AND IN-SERVICE TRAINING

Since the 1920s there has been an emphasis on social work education as a prerequisite for entering probation work in the U.S.A., the preferred educational standard being a master's degree in social work. Despite this, however, the fact remains that no standardised qualifications are required for the job even statewide let alone nationwide.

The 1974 Criminal Justice Plan for Texas expresses concern about the situation in the state where 'poor salaries hinder the recruitment and retention of probation officers with desirable educational backgrounds. There are too few officers to handle the potential workloads and scarcity of probation officers makes provision of adequate and periodic in-service training difficult'. In relation to juvenile court probation officers the report comments '.... training is extremely low. Persons employed as probation officers should be required to take pre-service training and each probation officer should receive at least 35 hours of in-service training a year'. It would be unfair to single out Texas without commenting that there are probation departments in the state that recruit only suitably trained officers and are committed to regular programmes of in-service training but in Texas, as elsewhere, the situation is diverse with the hundreds of separate county probation departments at different stages of evolution, setting different standards for recruitment and training and differing vastly in the amounts of money they are prepared to invest in their probation services.

One further rather confusing issue is the apparent surfeit of trained social workers in the U.S.A. It seems likely that this surplus is an artificial one for if every county probation department were to operate on the recommended standard of 35 cases per officer the demand for probation officers would be massive. At present, however, small departments with high caseloads and lack of funds or large departments that have become bureaucratic and do

not enable social workers to practise the skills they have acquired, are not particularly attractive propositions and in consequence there seems to be great competition for jobs in those probation departments with high professional standards. Further, there seems to be a paucity of specific training for probation work so that even some educationally well qualified officers seem strangely unfamiliar with the probation setting.

It is with these issues in mind that staff workshops and in-service training have to be considered. Training programmes in the U.S.A. have developed in the same unco-ordinated piecemeal way as probation departments themselves, but there seems to be a growing consensus about the need for statewide training projects and it may be through these projects that standards will be determined.

The Texas Probation Training Project is one particularly good example. The project is sponsored by the Sam Houston State University Institute of Contemporary Corrections and the Behavioural Sciences and creates a valuable permanent bridge between theoretical training and practical field work.

Perhaps it is worthwhile commenting on the Institute, which was established in July, 1965 so that a close co-operative relationship could be built up between an institution of higher learning and the Texas Department of Corrections. Both these organisations have the centre of their operations in Huntsville, Texas and have joined together to set up an impressive new Criminal Justice Centre which will, it is claimed, be 'the most complete and modern learning centre in criminal justice in the nation'. The Institute, in addition to offering training for graduate and undergraduate students, also provides workshops and continued professional training for those employed in criminal justice agencies and institutions, offers consultation and technical assistance to agencies concerning personnel training and management and promotes research and surveys concerning the control of crime and delinquency at both state and national levels. It is also currently interested in developing an international exchange programme.

The Institute's Probation Training Project seems particularly sensitive to changes in the law and the correctional system and to be responsive to training needs which such changes create.

The project staff seems committed to the philosophy that they are professional trainers who are in business to facilitate learning rather than to teach but they show themselves quite prepared to introduce visiting speakers to provide a measure of formal teaching. It is interesting to note also that the staff are also quite prepared to impose a good deal of structure and to identify goals and a fairly authoritarian approach seems both acceptable and effective.

A workshop on adult probation law and procedure was an interesting example of some of the methods used to maximise learning; the programme was very full and the days very long but the pace was quite skilfully varied. The chairman for the programme used a good deal of humour to ease course members into each new phase of the workshop and there were frequent short breaks for the inevitable coffee without which it seems no course or conference in the U.S.A. would ever function.

The project staff seem highly competent and knowledgeable but, no doubt because of the participants' diversity of skills, education, attitude and experience, formal teaching and lectures tend to be pitched at a fairly basic level. However, the structure is arranged to provide an element of choice so that participants can select an area of interest and a learning situation that meets their own particular needs. Choice always seems to be available in America; the problem is often too much choice!

From the moment of registration at a course or conference in America, a participant is likely to feel that he is being swept inexorably along. He will find himself labelled, assigned to various groups, given tasks and provided with vast quantities of written material, which ranges from information about course members and tutors and domestic arrangements to substantial

professional documents concerning the course. To the uninitiated the shock is substantial but once this is resolved certain virtues in this structured style become apparent.

First, course members are quickly made to feel they belong and have a place in the programme; secondly, they are soon brought to a point where they are ready to participate; thirdly, the facilities, personalities and tasks are identified in order that they can be involved.

Professional trainers in the U.S.A. seem to have a sensible awareness of the relevance of size in conference groupings and large plenary sessions are only used for information giving; wherever discussion, questioning or sharing is involved, smaller groups are used.

Learning by tasks seems a common element in probation training in the U.S.A. Again, once the style becomes familiar there seem to be virtues in it. Speakers are used to provide basic information suitable for all; the training staff then provide structure and task material and the course members are invited to share their own knowledge and experience to gain the given objective. In addition to the familiar small groups and plenary reporting-back sessions, it is interesting to see how small groups are again sub-divided and a course member may have a role in a number of different sub-groups at different stages, thus ensuring that cross fertilisation becomes a reality. An added virtue is the way in which material is thus re-presented, re-examined and consequently validated or invalidated and hopefully, by repetition, absorbed.

Some features of courses attended were difficult to relate to the United Kingdom scene, particularly a preoccupation with the funding of projects and some of the legal and procedural issues. There were, however, some interesting exercises with case material relating to decision-making over revocation proceedings (breach of probation), social diagnoses and court reports. In these exercises

colleagues were invited to work first individually, then in small groups and then in a larger group, at each stage comparing views and ideas and modifying them in the light of the shared experience.

One general problem for creating any learning situation in the U.S.A. is that every citizen is bombarded by stimuli and sated with information material. In consequence it seems likely that resistance to new stimuli builds up and it may be for this reason that professional trainers seem to call upon every approach and technique that they can. Thus a typical workshop may use formal lectures and presentations, videotape and films, participatory exercises and role play, written material and displays linked together by changes of pace, use of humour and the occasional element of surprise. An interesting example (and a memorable experience) was a sparkling four hour presentation (with the inevitable short breaks for coffee) given by a member of the staff of the University of Minnesota whose themes were non-verbal communication, body and sign language, and the use of facts and inferences related to social diagnosis. Whilst the content of the presentation was excellent, much more interesting was the presentation itself; plenty of anecdotes, enthusiasm and humour, involvement of the audience, practical demonstrations and examples, written material and exercises and always a doubt about what, or who, was going to be involved next, ensuring maximum interest and participation.

A common feature of courses and conferences we attended in different parts of the U.S.A. was the use made of invited speakers to present material about projects with which they were involved. This emphasis on sharing enabled our group to learn a good deal about new projects in various parts of the U.S.A. and to discuss issues arising from them. In return we had many opportunities to talk about developments in Inner London; in consequence much of what we are now attempting to do will be known to a great many probation officers in America. Interest was shown in our new projects, especially, perhaps, the community service by offenders scheme, although doubts were expressed by American

probation officers about its 'exportability' to the States - its acceptability to the courts and the public at large and its suitability for their 'more criminally sophisticated' clients.

By contrast, at a conference held in Vancouver organised by the British Columbia Corrections Association, great interest in the community service scheme as it has developed in Inner London was expressed by the professionals as well as by representatives of the courts and the provincial government. The philosophy on which the scheme is based seemed to be in accord with the new social and political ideas which are currently abroad in that part of Canada and which are causing a considerable re-appraisal of attitudes to questions of law and order. We felt very much at home in Vancouver.

It is possible to learn a good deal about trends in probation in the U.S.A. from the form and content of training programmes and this was particularly true of a workshop organised by the Probation Services Council of Illinois. This workshop on Probation Programming was for middle and upper probation managers. In addition to considering existing programmes it went on to identify methods of systematically assessing, developing and implementing new programmes and services. The style of the workshop and its content made very clear the necessity in the U.S.A. not merely to recognise needs accurately and to plan effectively to meet them but, also, the importance of 'selling' projects and thus ensuring essential funding - an area of expertise which we might do well to develop in the United Kingdom.

It is probably because of this constant need to obtain and maintain funding that some good, basic schemes in the U.S.A. seem to become unnecessarily complex so that the means can become almost more important than the ends; an outside observer is hard put to it to identify the essential core of these projects.

The workshop at Illinois posed to its members some fairly radical issues and identified some significant trends within the probation field. Many of these originate from a report of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. They can be summarised as:-

- i) the major shift from the use of institutions to use of community-based programmes
- ii) the awareness that probation is not at present adequately structured, financed, staffed or equipped to bear the brunt of this major shift
- iii) confusion about whether probation should remain within the judicial branch or become part of a state correctional system
- iv) anxiety about growing probation systems becoming bureaucratic, counter-productive and unattractive to high quality staff
- v) concern that higher management in probation has not been provided with sufficient training in managing professional staff
- vi) uncertainty about which services for clients probation departments should provide and which they should seek from other agencies
- vii) a move to redefine the probation officer's task as a 'community resource manager' rather than a caseworker
- viii) a consequent need to move away from caseload to workload management
- ix) a search for a more careful classification of clients and their needs, giving more attention to their place in the community and in their families
- x) a widening interest in pre-trial and diversion schemes.

There is much more that is currently under debate in courses and workshops across the U.S.A. - some of it controversial; some conflicting and contradictory but all of it thought-provoking.

Finally, we report a visit to the Texas Corrections Association annual meeting. This is an interesting organisation which cuts across agency barriers and includes in its membership staff from probation departments, universities, rehabilitation, police and prison departments and voluntary organisations involved in the correctional field. There are, of course, problems in such multi-disciplinary gatherings but they do afford opportunities for sharing and understanding that a conference more restricted in its membership would preclude. The meeting of this association was a blend of conference and American-style convention and the varied opportunities it offered for workers from so many different agencies to meet, talk, play and drink together formally and informally seemed entirely worthwhile. It provided an appropriate occasion for the swearing-in and investiture of those members of our group who were present as deputy sheriffs!

In all the in-service training we saw it was apparent that much thought and preparatory work was invested in the courses and workshops. Also apparent was the degree of commitment of participants and their willingness to share and learn. It was this that made it possible for members of our party to make a contribution and at the same time to gain valuable insights into professional developments in the U.S.A. and Canada.

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11. MISCELLANEOUS

The introduction to this report concluded with the comment that, for reasons of time and space, the group would have to be 'cruelly selective' in what they described. During the course of the visit, individually or as a group, they saw many different and, often, interesting examples of social work activity, not only in the penal field. For example, in Detroit a visit was made to the Lutheran Social Services of Michigan where a group of committed workers were using their professional techniques to bring some degree of healing and sanity to a violent and apparently near-hysterical city. Similarly, in New York City a morning at the West Side Crisis Unit showed how a voluntary organisation with a small group of highly skilled workers could make a significant contribution to meeting the social needs of a deprived neighbourhood group.

The drug problem was a constant topic of conversation. From a visit to the Drug Abuse Control Commission in New York, a state co-ordinating agency through which federal funds are routed, the group learned that heroin usage seems to be abating and that there is still a strong commitment to methadone maintenance programmes. 80 to 90 thousand people throughout America are being maintained on methadone, of whom as many as 36,000 are in New York. We were told that there was a greater tolerance of the use of cannabis and a general move towards focussing more on the individual concerned and less on the particular drugs used - 'look at the client, not at the drug'. The commission is particularly concerned to anticipate trends in drug abuse, encouraging innovative action to meet those trends and to develop educative and preventive work. We were told that probation departments frequently 'sub-contract' their treatment roles to commission workers. The commission has a budget of about 125 million dollars per annum.

The phenomenal rise in drug arrests in the U.S.A. was exemplified for the group in Sacramento County, where such cases have increased from 250 in 1956 to nearly

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2000 in 1971 and over 3000 in 1972, approximately 30% being first offenders. We were told that after the lengthy judicial sifting, 95% of the cases result in dismissal, or acquittal or probation supervision. Now the police are trying to reduce the incidence of recidivism amongst adult drug offenders by identifying first-time and marginal offenders and diverting them from the full criminal process, with its probable negative effects, and assessing and treating such offenders by the use of community resources in a non-punitive and individualised fashion.

After a police officer has apprehended a drug offender in Sacramento he checks that the man does not have a prior felony or drug conviction; that there are no additional charges; that he is resident in the county; that he is not in possession of more than 25 pills or an equivalent amount of marijuana. If these criteria are met, the officer then issues a citation which the offender signs and in which he promises to appear before the diversion officer at the Bureau of Investigation the following morning. He is advised that if he fails to appear, a warrant will be issued for his arrest. Since the programme has been in operation few offenders have failed to attend at the proper time.

The interview at the bureau is conducted by a police officer who has been given special training as a counsellor. A brief social history is taken and the diversion scheme is explained in some detail. The man is informed, both verbally and in writing, that if he so prefers he can go through the normal process of law but if he agrees to take part in the programme he must accept its implications and the alternative should he fail to conform. Successful completion of the diversion programme results in cancellation of the charge and no official public record of the arrest.

The diversion programme comprises counselling and, where necessary, referral to an established community drug abuse educational and treatment provision. It entails a maximum of 16 hours participation over a period of not more than 30 days.

The scheme was inaugurated in July, 1973 and, in the first nine months, of the 62 participants only two had re-offended. Because of the short time the department has been involved in this programme there is as yet no evaluation of its effectiveness. Understandably, the procedure has led to considerable controversy within the state legislature and the community. However, the police have been enthusiastic in their operation of the scheme and have done their utmost to ensure its success.

An interesting visit was paid to the Fort Worth Skills Centre, a project operated by the Texas Employment Commission. This was not dissimilar from rehabilitation and vocational training courses provided in this country through the Department of Employment. Training is offered for skills ranging from auto-mechanics to supermarket checkout cashiering and from butchering to electrical appliance repairing. Where it seemed to differ from the position at home was in the willingness of the centre to recognise the particular needs of probationers and ex-prisoners for rehabilitative help; far from being a bar, the Employment Commission seemed to feel a special responsibility for referrals from the probation service. Further, a trade training course was provided for inmates of the county gaol who attended daily under escort.

Among the provisions for men and women with drinking problems, the group visited Empathy House in Boulder, Colorado. This is a private, non-profit making establishment housed very comfortably in premises formerly used by students from the nearby university. It has accommodation for 50 residents, including a number of graduates and undergraduates who live in as full members of the community. The whole emphasis of the programme is on increasing self-awareness and self-respect on the basis that a man who does not respect himself will not respect society or other individuals. Some members of the staff are themselves recovered alcoholics. Clearly, every attempt was being made to turn this institution into a family-living experience where the strong (whether staff, student or client) shouldered the problems of the weaker members. No one was embarrassed to admit

their need of 'love' or to show affection for one another.

We found a similar willingness to love and be loved, although on a more professionally controlled basis, in one of the several children's homes which was visited. The Sunburst Youth Homes in Neillsville, Wisconsin had been established many years before as a traditional-type home for children of Indian parentage. Of the 80 boys and girls at present in residence, only 4% are of that ethnic group but 90% are emotionally disturbed and are referred for that reason, mainly by public agencies. Some of the children are gifted while others are at the bottom of the academic ladder; most have learning problems. All have been rejected by their home-town educational systems and need a great deal of personal help. The annual cost now runs at one million dollars; this makes the treatment expensive although, we were assured, not excessive when looked at from a cost-effectiveness point of view. There is a very high staff/pupil ratio, school classes consisting of no more than five or six; the total treatment team includes social workers, a psychiatrist, a neuro-psychologist, a paediatric neurologist, teachers, houseparents, directors of recreation as well as administrators and domestic and maintenance staff. The traditional children's homes buildings are being replaced by an exciting group of purpose-built houses designed by architects with children in mind. The buildings have attracted a great deal of interest both in child care and architectural circles for their imaginative use of space, colour and texture and for the provision they make for social living and personal privacy.

On the last working day in New York, the group visited The Fortune Society, an organisation of and for ex-offenders. Here they heard somewhat emotional but obviously deeply felt and certainly strongly expressed views as to what 'the system' against which they had offended had done to those who recounted their life experiences and what punishment and penal treatment had singularly failed to do. The group should have been prepared for the anger, for the bitter

criticism of prison, correctional, parole and probation staff; of judges, magistrates and police; of social workers and 'good' people - but, even after six weeks in North America they were not so prepared. Perhaps it was right that the group's last visit should have reminded them that offenders are not always ready to accept much of what 'we' provided for 'them'. Such rejection may be inevitable but if society is to find long-term solutions to the problem of delinquency there may have to be a more diligent search for policies and treatments which are understood by and acceptable to those who are to be helped - or punished. Perhaps, 'we' must stop attempting to do things for and to offenders and move towards encouraging them to find their own solutions, to work for their own rehabilitation.

12. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Of the many ideas the group brought back from their visit to North America, they have selected those which could form the basis of immediate action by the Inner London Probation and After-Care Service. They make the following recommendations to the Inner London Probation and After-Care Committee, the Chief Probation Officer, their colleagues and those responsible for penal practice in the United Kingdom, recognising that, in some instances, further study and research will be necessary to adapt what they propose to take account of British methods and philosophy:-

- i) that an Inner London Service residential weekend adventure programme should be provided for probationers and others under supervision
- ii) that some of the new hostels now being established in Inner London should be manned by visiting (not residential) staff and be made available for parolees and ex-prisoners as well as for those on probation
- iii) that a supportive work programme should be provided in Inner London for 'unemployable' men and women
- iv) that an attempt should be made to devise means whereby an increasing number of persons could be released on bail by Inner London courts
- v) that co-ordinated attempts should be made to improve the Inner London Service's public/mass media relations
- vi) that the Inner London Service should take an initiative in devising ways by which young people and other offenders could be diverted from the criminal system
- vii) that the Inner London Service should attempt to provide additional opportunities for offenders to become involved in and be responsible for their own rehabilitation

- viii) that the Inner London Service should attempt to change the present policy so that telephones could be made readily available to persons on remand in order that they might have access to their families, friends and legal advisers
- ix) that the Inner London Service should use its influence with the prison authorities for the experimental provision of family visits to prisoners (as, for example, at San Quentin)
- x) that the Inner London Service should encourage the prison authorities to devise more imaginative vocational work schemes within their establishments (for example, deep sea diving courses!)
- xi) that means should be found of using persons trained in disciplines other than casework in the treatment of the Inner London Service's clients, including selected and appropriately trained offenders
- xii) that ongoing dialogue and the exchange of ideas across the Atlantic should be formalised by
 - (a) the setting up of a programme of reciprocal exchange visits between Inner London officers and the staff of probation, correctional and university departments in both Canada and America
 - (b) the exchange of papers, publications and other information between the Inner London Service and probation, correctional and university departments in Canada and America
 - (c) the convening (alternately in Inner London and a Canadian or American city) of a triennial inter-disciplinary working/study conference to be attended by judges, magistrates and workers in related fields, as well as by representative probation officers of the Inner London Service.

On one of their free days, the group gave themselves a 'busman's holiday'. They visited the deserted prison of Alcatraz, which is set like a malignant growth in the midst of the beauty of San Francisco Bay. For nearly 100 years, this 'Devils' Island' of the Western Hemisphere had been one of the grimmest and most notorious symbols of American justice, housing Al Capone and 'Machine Gun' Kelly as well as the 'Bird-man'. The group were told that, as the last of the prisoners stepped off the rock on 21st March, 1963 he delivered the final, bitter epitaph - 'Alcatraz was never no good to nobody'.

Perhaps because they were feeling relaxed, the group allowed themselves to envisage a time when all such institutions would go the way of Alcatraz and become overgrown with weeds and places of pilgrimage for the curious who wanted to see how society had once treated its non-conformists, its outcasts and those from whom it was entitled to protection. In that moment of euphoria, the group were presumptuous enough to express the hope that, in some small measure, U.S. '74 has contributed to that desired objective.

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