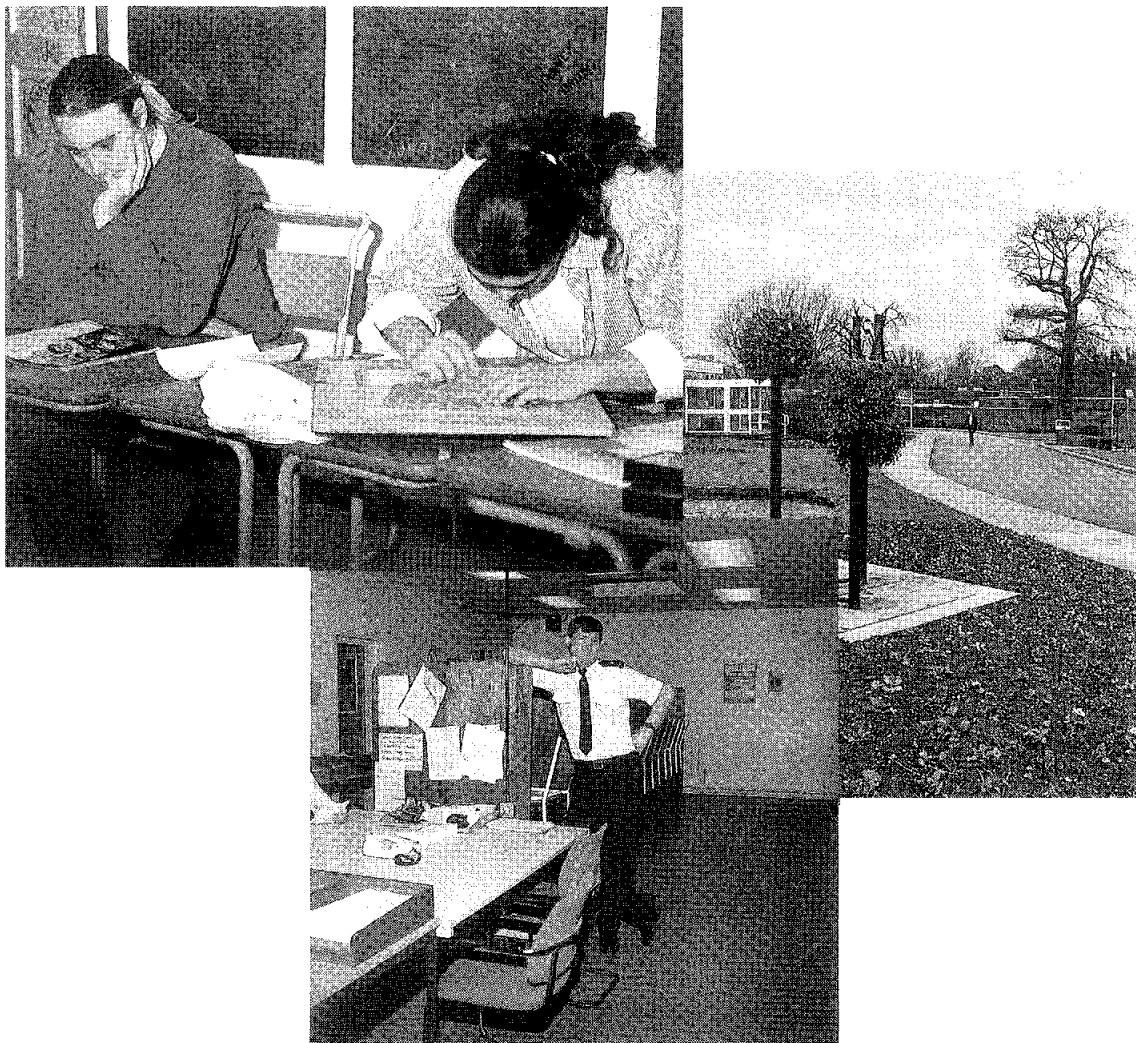


DOING TIME OR USING TIME

**REPORT OF A REVIEW BY
HER MAJESTY'S CHIEF INSPECTOR OF PRISONS FOR
ENGLAND AND WALES OF
REGIMES IN PRISON SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS IN
ENGLAND AND WALES**





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**Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State
for the Home Department by Command of Her Majesty
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“It is all too easy to construct a regime based on what appear to be the needs (or the deserts) of prisoners. More thought and research is needed to discover what the needs of a human being in prison actually are. But some points seem . . . clear. A prisoner is a human being of individual worth, and the regime should preserve or increase his self-respect. It follows, for example, that he should not have to wear ugly and ill-fitting clothes or perform what is obviously useless work. He should be able to use a lavatory when he has need to do so, without being dependent on the concurrence of the authorities. He should have the opportunity to engage in activities, whether sport, or woodwork, or the passing of ‘O’ Level in an academic subject, that may increase his self-respect.”

Radzinowicz, 1968.

“No prison routine is so sterile, degrading and harmful to the prisoner, and equally barren for the staff who have to operate it, than one in which the inmate is locked in his cell for a substantial part of the day and only released perhaps for the statutory one hour’s exercise.”

May, 1979.

“The Prison Service has to live with . . . prisoners during their time in prison. The rest of the country lives with them afterwards. We cannot afford to lock them up and forget them. We must ensure that the Service makes proper use of the time which a prisoner spends in prison, and the best use of the money available for keeping him or her there. The aim must be to reduce the likelihood of prisoners re-offending after their release.”

Woolf, 1991.

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	1
Introduction : What are Prisons For?	2
Chapter One : Living Usefully in Custody	6
Chapter Two : A Patchy Landscape – Research into Regimes	19
Chapter Three : Prison Regimes Today – Research Method	23
Chapter Four : Regime Activity in the Prison System – Possibilities and Limitations	27
Chapter Five : Regimes Policy in the Prison Service	63
Chapter Six : Activity and Idleness – An Analysis of Regime Delivery	67
Chapter Seven : A Strategic Approach to Prison Regimes	70
Plates : Everyday Images	77
Chapter Eight : Working in the Custodial Setting	83
Chapter Nine : Conclusion – Doing Time or Using Time?	86
Recommendations to Secretary of State	88
 APPENDICES	
Appendix 1 : Sample Establishments: Location, Functions and Population Types	89
Appendix 2 : Occupancy of Sample Establishments in Functional Groups Showing Certified Normal Accommodation, Total Occupancy, Population Types and Size of Sample as Percentage of National Population as at 31 January 1992	94
Appendix 3 : Sample Establishments: Accommodation and Usage April 1990 – March 1991	96
Appendix 4 : Proposals for Revised Clustering of Prison Service Establishments	103
: Map	108
Acknowledgements	110

Preface

1. This is one of a series of reviews, each of which examines general aspects of the work of the Prison Service. Each provides a survey of a topic of current interest and offers conclusions which may form the basis for further research or action. These reviews are not intended as a substitute for academic research or for the studies by the Home Office Research & Planning Unit.

2. This project is the most broadly based of our reviews. It looks at the regimes of different types of prison in the context of the developing management structure. Mr David Jenkins, who prepared it, considers, as I think he must, the fundamental issue of what prisons are for. He concludes with a design for a regime-based Prison Service which builds on the concept of the community prison.

3. As an Inspector of Prisons, I have been content to rely for an answer to the question of what prisons are for, on the Statement of Purpose, prepared by the Prisons Board. I know no more precise and cogent such statement.

“Her Majesty’s Prison Service serves the public by keeping in custody those committed by the Courts. Our duty is to look after them with humanity and to help them lead law-abiding and useful lives in custody and after release.”

Prison Rule One, somewhat less eloquently, says much the same:

“The purpose of the training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life.”

4. But for a designer of structures, far wider examination is needed than for an inspector, and this review is the distilled product of very many notes, visits and interviews. It has been carried out at a demanding period of change in the management of prisons, the period of Woolf, the Inspectorate Suicide Report, the Prison Reform Trust Report on remands, and above all of the Government White Paper, Custody, Care & Justice. It has been the period when Regions have been replaced by Areas, and prior to a new agency approach.

5. The report is the product of David Jenkins, but I would like to thank Steve Bass and Sara Bishop for their very great help in the collation and editing. I hope the Report will be of real use to the Prison Service.

Stephen Tumim
HM Chief Inspector of Prisons
July 1992

Introduction: What are Prisons For?

1. At the start we set out to examine regimes in Prison Service establishments in England and Wales. The term 'regime' refers in the broadest sense to a system of overall administration. In the institutional setting it is generally taken to apply to the way in which daily life is organised to achieve the basic tasks and objectives. Within the prison setting the broadest interpretation of regime is the impact of systems of administration upon those who occupy the institution. In common usage within the Prison Service regime means daily life for prisoners: in the narrowest sense it is taken to relate only to inmates' occupation. For the purposes of this report, unless otherwise indicated, we take regime to mean the impact of systems of administration on all those who live and work in penal establishments.

2. The original objectives for the report were:

- (i) To examine the regimes of a significant sample of prisons in England and Wales of each security category.
- (ii) To compare regimes not only from one category to another but also between establishments within the same category.
- (iii) To set the study in the context of the emerging management structure of the Prison Service.
- (iv) To make recommendations as to how regimes for different types of prison establishment may usefully be developed.

3. We knew, from our observations of individual establishments, that there were examples of both good and poor practice to be found in prisons. We have also on many occasions reinforced the concern expressed both by the Prison Service and independent commentators that many prisoners spend too much time in unconstructive activity in prison. **The present study was undertaken to test whether or not prison life necessarily involved low grade activity interspersed with idleness; or whether prisons had potential as institutions which could enable prisoners to return to liberty better able to cope with the demands.** We started from the assumption that if prisons are essentially inactive places, those contained in them are locked in a time capsule until release. In conditions of this kind we suggest that those sentenced to imprisonment 'serve' time, or are said to be 'doing time'.

4. The alternative which we wished to examine was whether or not time in custody could be a constructive experience, preparing inmates to take on the responsibilities and demands of liberty with a chance of succeeding. If prisons could perform such a function, time in custody would not be time served, but time used.

5. During the time in which we have been studying this issue the Prison Service in England and Wales has changed. The structure of management has been changed in an attempt to develop clearer lines of accountability and bridge the gap between policy in Headquarters and practice in establishments. An important element of this new management structure is the underlying aim to develop

regimes in establishments. Our work has to build on these new structures, even though it was conceived before their introduction.

6. Far more fundamental changes than those initiated by the Prison Service have affected discussions about prisons since 1989. In April 1990, the serious disturbances which broke out, first at Manchester Prison and then in many other establishments, led to the most thoroughgoing review of the prison system this century. The report of Lord Justice Woolf's inquiry into these disturbances was published in February 1991. The Woolf Report led to the publication in September 1991 of the Government White Paper, *Custody, Care and Justice: The Way Ahead for the Prison Service in England and Wales*.

7. The Woolf Report and the White Paper emphasise that prisons need to be a fully integrated part of the criminal justice system, with clear and valued tasks to perform. This means that in the light of the principles set out in the White Paper, the Prison Service has to re-examine its structures to ensure that, despite the changes that have taken place in management style, the function of each prison establishment is clearly defined.

8. The Woolf Report proposed a planned programme of change for the Prison Service based on 12 central recommendations. These were that there should be:

- (i) closer co-operation between the different parts of the Criminal Justice System. For this purpose a national forum and local committees should be established;
- (ii) more visible leadership of the Prison Service by a Director General who is and is seen to be the operational head and in day to day charge of the Service. To achieve this there should be a published "compact" or "contract" given by Ministers to the Director General of the Prison Service, who should be responsible for the performance of that "contract" and publicly answerable for the day to day operations of the Prison Service;
- (iii) increased delegation of responsibility to Governors of establishments;
- (iv) an enhanced role for prison officers;
- (v) a "compact" or "contract" for each prisoner setting out the prisoner's expectations and responsibilities in the prison in which he or she is held;
- (vi) a national system of Accredited Standards, with which, in time, each prison establishment would be required to comply;
- (vii) a new Prison Rule that no establishment should hold more prisoners than is provided for in its certified normal level of accommodation, with provisions for Parliament to be informed if exceptionally there is to be a material departure from that rule;
- (viii) a public commitment from Ministers setting a timetable to provide access to sanitation for all inmates at the earliest practicable date not later than February 1996;
- (ix) better prospects for prisoners to maintain their links with families and the community through more visits and home leaves and through being located in community prisons as near to their homes as possible;
- (x) a division of prison establishments into small and more manageable and secure units;
- (xi) a separate statement of purpose, separate conditions and generally a lower security categorisation for remand prisoners;

(xii) improved standards of justice within prisons involving the giving of reasons to a prisoner for any decision which materially and adversely affects him; a grievance procedure and disciplinary proceedings which ensure that the Governor deals with most matters under his present powers; relieving Boards of Visitors of their adjudicatory role; and providing for final access to an independent Complaints Adjudicator.

9. In the Custody, Care and Justice, the Government summarised the priorities for the Prison Service as being:

- (i) to improve necessary security measures;
- (ii) to improve co-operation with other services and institutions, by working closely with the probation service and by membership of a national forum and area committees;
- (iii) to increase delegation of responsibility and accountability to all levels; with clear leadership and a published annual statement of objectives;
- (iv) to improve the quality of jobs for staff;
- (v) to recognise the status and particular requirements of unconvicted prisoners;
- (vi) to provide active and relevant programmes for all prisoners, including unconvicted prisoners;
- (vii) to provide a code of standards for conditions and activities in prisons which will be used to set improvement targets in the annual contracts made between prison Governors and their Area Managers;
- (viii) to improve relationships with prisoners, including a statement of facilities for each prisoner, sentence plans, consultations, reasons for decisions and access to an independent appeal body for grievances and disciplinary decisions;
- (ix) to provide access to sanitation at all times for all prisoners;
- (x) to end overcrowding;
- (xi) to divide the larger wings in prisons into smaller, more manageable units wherever possible;
- (xii) to develop community prisons which will involve the gradual realignment of the prison estate into geographically coherent groups serving most prisoners within that area.

10. Our objective in this report is to build upon the proposals in the White Paper which has also clarified and partly answered the question which we have set out as the title to this Introduction – what are prisons for? Government policy in 1992 is that prisons not only effectively contain those sent to them by the courts, but they also have a responsibility to give those prisoners the opportunity to prepare for eventual release.

11. In the chapters which follow we try to reflect the changes which we have observed since 1989, and to suggest how prison regimes may best fulfil the demands set out by the White Paper. In Chapter One, we suggest that the Prison Service has been denied a constructive environment in which to work, or to plan its work. As a result the morale of prison staff fell and any evaluation of Prison Service work was hampered. The problems this caused, in terms of industrial relations and quality of life for those in custody, were masked to a large extent by the fact that prisons worked under great stress caused by overcrowding and poor conditions. Despite this the Prison Service appeared to maintain the stance that life in custody could be useful, but it did so very much as a lone voice.

12. In Chapter Two, we look at work that has been conducted on regimes and suggest that a feature of this is that it examines prisons very much as individual establishments and bases suggestions for Prison Service policy changes on the improvement of services within each of those establishments.

13. In Chapters Three and Four we describe how we worked during the period of our enquiries, and suggest that the future of Prison Service regimes policy has to be seen as a management issue which involves prisons in working together much more than at present. This leads us, in Chapter Five, to examine how the Prison Service is structured managerially now, and how regimes are planned within it.

14. In Chapter Six, we suggest what we think are the flaws in the current approach to prison regimes and move on, in Chapter Seven, to present a model of a regime driven prison system which we think would best fit the principles of the White Paper. In Chapter Eight, we set out the consequences of the adoption of such a model for those who work in prisons, and hope, thereby, to contribute to a development of morale which we consider to have been improved by the management changes within the Service, but capable of still further improvement.

Chapter One: Living Usefully in Custody

1.1 The Woolf Report emphasises the importance of the Prison Service being seen as part of a criminal justice system:

The evidence given in Part 1 of the Inquiry made it clear that there was insufficient clarity about what the Prison Service should be doing and how it should do it. This affected the way prisons were run. [and later] A reassessment of the role of the Prison Service is needed to give a clear sense of direction and to help restore the confidence of some of its members which was damaged in the riots.

(Paragraph 10.1)

If the Prison Service is to be able to carry out its role effectively, closer co-operation and co-ordination between the different parts of the [criminal justice] system are essential.

(Paragraph 10.3)

The Prison Service Statement of Purpose (see Preface) emphasises that prisons have an active role in both looking after prisoners and preparing them for release. One of the problems faced by the Service is that over recent years prison establishments have been seen as basically inactive and destructive institutions. In this chapter we briefly review the period from 1979 to show just how deep the dissatisfaction has been with prison performance, but, at the same time, how committed the Prison Service has been to changing things for the better.

1.2 Crisis management resulting from the problems of poor conditions and overcrowding have inhibited consideration of questions concerning the “good and useful life” – see Preface. Added to this is the ambivalence of many to the utility of imprisonment as a constructive sanction for crime, the effect of which has been to isolate and undervalue the Prison Service. The purpose from the sentencer’s point of view is not the same as the purpose from the viewpoint of those charged with carrying out the sentence of imprisonment, ie the Prison Service. The role for prisons must be developed as an integral part of criminal justice provision, so that the movement between custody and community can be structured into the working arrangements of the custodial and non-custodial agencies. Prisons need to be regime driven. For this to succeed, regimes must have clearly defined and understood objectives towards which they are directed.

1.3 Parliament, the Prison Service, the Inspectorate of Prisons and the voluntary sector all agree that inactivity in the prison context is unacceptable.

1.4 The major impediment to the development of regimes in recent years has been its continual link to two persistent prison problems, namely, poor material conditions and overcrowding.

1.5 The Prison Service Statement of Purpose has not been the only attempt to set out a constructive role for prisons. The literature of the statutory and independent commentators on prisons since 1979 reveals a common concern that prisons should not be inactive places.

1.6 Since 1979, the beliefs concerning how much it is possible for prisons to become purposeful institutions have undergone changes, but it is not in contention that *something* constructive should happen behind prison walls; questions remain as to the extent and utility of these activities.

1.7 Overcrowding, poor conditions and lack of activity, together with a still rising prison population and the pressures that put on the system, gave a common starting point to both prison administrators and reformers in their description of the problems facing prisons. But as the Home Affairs Committee put it in their report on the Prison Service in 1980–81:

Two very different solutions have been suggested to the problems of the prison service. One . . . would be to commit resources of sufficient scale . . . to refurbish and raise standards in the existing prisons and provide extra accommodation to abolish overcrowding. An opposite approach . . . would be to declare a moratorium on prison building.

(Paragraph 24)

1.8 The Inspectorate of Prisons routinely and by right has business with the day to day affairs of the prison system, although of course that business does not include managing the service; like the outside commentator, the Inspectorate analyses and advises on courses of action. Advice is based on the inspections and other work carried out. From the inception of the independent Inspectorate, its Annual Reports have expressed concern about overcrowding, poor conditions and lack of activity. For example in 1981:

Three major areas of concern emerged. The first centres upon the extent of overcrowding and the effect this has upon the population of local prisons. [and later] We were not just concerned at seeing two or three prisoners crammed into one cell, although that is unhealthy enough, but also with the dilution of the regime, the rapidly diminishing possibility of access to recreational, educational and other facilities and the inevitable preoccupation with the basic routines of bathing, feeding, exercise and slopping out, all because of the weight of numbers.

(Paragraph 2.15)

The second major issue to emerge from our inspections concerns the occupation of inmates' time. **We have been struck by the long hours which many inmates have to spend locked in their cells in boredom.** [and later] We believe there are powerful reasons why Prison Department must ensure that an inmate does not spend day after day in blank inactivity; he should be kept occupied for a normal working day at work, education, or some other constructive activity.

(Paragraph 2.16)

The third broad issue concerns the maintenance of the prison estate. A great deal has been said publicly about the age and generally poor condition of much of our prisons and the extent of the work necessary to replace some and repair others. [and later] At some establishments the backlog of repair work is so extensive that, without the most exceptional commitment of resources, there is in our view very little prospect of the Works staff ever catching up; other establishments are in danger of reaching the same position. The consequences of this deterioration for both inmates and staff are uncomfortable and depressing living and working conditions.

(Paragraph 2.17)

In 1982:

Last year's Annual Report dealt at some length with three major problems in English prisons: overcrowding, the lack of work among prisoners and the state of prison buildings. These problems have loomed as large if not larger this year than they did last.

(Paragraph 2.01)

In our report last year we described the overcrowded conditions we had observed in a number of prisons and the practical consequences for the inmates of being locked up, two or three to a cell designed for one, for periods of up to 23 hours out of 24. We noted that these prisons were frequently short of facilities such as baths, toilets, visiting rooms and association areas, which might have ameliorated the cramped conditions. We noted, too, that education and work for prisoners were often lacking because supervisory staff were frequently transferred to other urgent duties.

(Paragraph 2.02)

This year we have visited other prisons where similar conditions obtain. [and later] The daily routine or regime at these establishments was, not surprisingly, poor and the pressures on the inmates correspondingly high. The pressures on staff too were considerable.

(Paragraph 2.03)

We noted last year that we had seen hundreds of prisoners in local prisons who were locked up in their cells for the greater part of the day instead of working. Many more were employed for only a few hours each day. **In the majority of training prisons, too, despite the less crowded conditions the number of hours worked by inmates was low.**

(Paragraph 2.23)

We have seen similar conditions during 1982. Of the establishments we visited the remand centres had the least capacity to keep inmates occupied; [and later] **Unconvicted prisoners are not obliged to work, but very few had any real choice in the matter.** Apart from some education and a few domestic chores, the majority spent their time in their cells in enforced idleness. The local prisons we inspected had well equipped workshops but lack of contracts and the frequent removal of supervisory staff for the purpose of court and escort duties meant that only a minority of the inmate population were employed.

(Paragraph 2.24)

In 1983:

All the establishments we inspected in 1983 were short of staff. [and later] One consequence of this was that the regimes were, to a greater or lesser extent, limited in nature. However, the greatest effect on regimes came about as a result of the calls made on staff by the courts. Governors managed as best they could, in some cases remarkably well, but invariably some curtailment of prisoners' activities resulted. Very often it was the workshops that were the first to suffer when prison officers were diverted to other duties.

(Paragraph 2.03)

The immediate effect on the prisoners was that they had to stay locked up in their cells instead of going to work. But instructors too suffered some loss of morale as a result of the enforced inactivity while, in the longer term, the closure of workshops usually meant a failure to meet production

targets, a loss of confidence amongst customers, and a reduced return from the sale of goods and the capital investment involved.

(Paragraph 2.04)

We return to the subject [of overcrowding] this year because it remains one of the most intractable problems facing the Prison Service, and is a recurring feature of many of our inspections. The elimination of overcrowding would not of itself result in a prison system fit for the final decades of the 20th century, but it would go a long way towards bringing about more acceptable conditions in local prisons and remand centres – conditions in which a humane and constructive regime could then be sustained.

(Paragraph 3.02)

The condition of much of the old Victorian estate continued to be a matter of concern in 1983. Nevertheless, of the 10,600 new places which Prison Department is planning to provide by 1991, 4,000 are, we understand, to be the result of redevelopment projects in existing establishments. This suggests that most of the old Victorian prisons will continue to be required for some time to come, and this in turn underlines the need to ensure their proper upkeep.

(Paragraph 3.05)

In 1984:

The quality of regimes in 1984 varied greatly according to the resources available to establishments and to the constraints within which they had to work: for instance, the extent of the shortage of staff, the need to provide officers for court duties, and the state and the design of the buildings. In many of the establishments we inspected a combination of these factors resulted in what can only be described as an unacceptable quality of life for the inmates. Many had to spend very long periods locked up in overcrowded cells, with only intermittent work, and little or no access to educational facilities, recreation or association.

(Paragraph 2.02)

The degree to which regimes were impoverished, however, was not always or inevitably the result of resource constraints. **The skill with which available resources were mobilised and exploited was another factor which had an important bearing on the regime.** Local enterprise often ameliorated poor conditions. For instance, a relatively inexpensive self help scheme involving the redecoration of cells and the brightening up of visiting rooms, was only one example we saw of how the environment could be improved while at the same time providing inmates with a constructive occupation.

(Paragraph 2.03)

Providing some purposeful activity for inmates is, of course, a primary task for the prison service. Work in the conventional sense, however, need not in our view be the only or even the major component in a regime where constraints dictate otherwise. **Imaginative, broadly based education and physical training programmes, and schemes aimed at teaching social skills, helping drug and alcohol abusers and maintaining links with the community, can all play their part in keeping inmates occupied.**

(Paragraph 2.04)

In 1985:

The quality of life experienced by prisoners is influenced by many factors, some arising from pressures bearing on the system as a whole and others of local origin. During 1985 the greatest change came about as a result of influences bearing on the system as a whole. Overcrowding, for instance, which was already at a high level at the beginning of the year, took a sudden turn for the worse with a steep rise in the prison population. The effects were most immediately felt at local prisons and remand centres, though they were certainly not confined to them. The effects of tighter financial management also began to bite during 1985. Governors found themselves forced to take critical and often painful decisions about the allocation of staff, overtime and resources. These decisions inevitably affected the services provided for prisoners.

(Paragraph 2.01)

Local factors also affected the quality of life of prisoners. For instance, in a number of the establishments we inspected the arrangements made for the supervision of workshops and education classes were such that a diversion of discipline officers from the classrooms or workshops to other duties inevitably resulted in prisoners being locked away in their cells. At other establishments when discipline officers were called away workshops and classes continued to function.

(Paragraph 2.02)

The picture that emerged across a whole range of establishments, therefore, was rather patchy with prisoners experiencing a quality of life that varied according to the particular establishment, or the particular part of the system, in which they found themselves. However, while the picture was certainly not one of unrelieved gloom, we were driven to the inescapable conclusion that substantial parts of the system were wholly preoccupied with survival.

(Paragraph 2.03)

In 1986:

The overall quality of life for many prisoners deteriorated in 1986 primarily because the prison system as a whole was once again severely burdened with overcrowding, persistent shortages of staff and many ageing prison buildings. The resulting pressures imposed considerable constraints on many aspects of regimes – constraints which, by and large, were beyond the control of individual establishments to remedy.

(Paragraph 3.01)

Particularly in the local prisons, and even more so in the case of remand prisoners, we could only note with deep concern that many inmates were still being confined to their cells for most of the day with little or nothing to do. [and later] Manpower shortages and cash limits on overtime working, coupled with inadequate facilities, led to an ever increasing reduction in regimes.

(Paragraph 3.02)

One of the common threads running through the disturbances¹ was the low level of activity among prisoners. At many of the establishments most seriously affected inmates were grossly underoccupied. **The lack of constructive activity represented in our view one of the most difficult and dangerous problems facing the prison service.**

(Paragraph 3.06)

¹ Disturbances in Prison Service establishments between 29 April – 2 May 1986

In 1987:

The inexorable rise in the remand prisoner population and the consequent demands on staff of court escort duties, together with the continuing implementation of Fresh Start, kept the Prison Service at full stretch in 1987. Overcrowding and undermanning made it difficult for many establishments to offer even barely adequate conditions and treatment.

(Paragraph 2.01)

Physical conditions in many of the establishments we visited were unsatisfactory. This often resulted largely from overcrowding and the absence of integral sanitation.

(Paragraph 2.02)

We had to report once again that local prisons . . . which suffer from the compounded problems of overcrowding, decaying fabric, absence of integral sanitation and understaffing, offer quite unacceptably impoverished regimes.

(Paragraph 2.14)

Regimes were equally poor, if not more so, in the remand centres visited in 1987. The court commitment was imposing an intolerable burden on staff with unavoidable effects on regimes.

(Paragraph 2.15)

It is generally agreed that inmates should be provided with purposeful activity during the working day and, in the case of adult inmates, much of that activity should be work – as opposed to education, physical education and so on. **Our 1987 inspections showed persistent problems with under-employment, unsuitable work and workshop closure which made it difficult for many establishments to achieve their goals.**

(Paragraph 2.17)

In 1988:

Local prisons remained generally overcrowded, insanitary and offering little useful activity to inmates. Newer buildings generally, but by no means always, offered better sanitation. Regimes for young offenders were generally purposeful and active. There were exceptions to every rule. We found local prisons that offered (within unavoidable limits) useful regimes, clean and well-cared-for surroundings and a reasonable quality of life. Conversely, idleness, a lack of purpose, seedy and unkempt accommodation and inactive staff were in some cases to be found in open prisons and young offender institutions. Our overriding impression was of a great lack of consistency. **The quality of life for an inmate was often random, haphazard and dependent on accidents of geography and allocation.**

(Paragraph 2.01)

The maintenance of a positive regime is understandably a priority for long-term prisoners. Keeping prisoners in institutions for a long time so that they are unfit for the outside world, when coupled with inactivity, constitutes undeniable inhumanity. But our impression was that either the Prison Department or local management, or both, viewed the maintenance of a full regime for the shorter term prisoners as much less imperative, although, in our view, it is equally barren and corrupting to leave them unoccupied.

(Paragraph 2.26)

In 1989:

In our report for 1988 we commented that the way in which an inmate was treated and the regime he enjoyed, depended very much on the geographical location of his establishment. That remains true for a great number of inmates. There are, however, other concerns. For many, imprisonment results not only in a loss of liberty in stark conditions but also in the imposition of a regimented and unconstructive way of life. Meals are taken at close intervals during the day, opportunities for socialising can be few and far between, and evening activities and recreation, where they exist at all, are crammed into a few hours with nothing to occupy inmates after lock up. **Employment, if it exists, can be soulless and unrelated to sentence and needs. In most cases very little is done to prepare prisoners for release and equip them for a life outside.**

(Paragraph 3.01)

In 1990/91:

We must draw attention to the passages in our reports where we comment on lack of useful work, in the sense of provision of sensible work experience and training for life in the community; the passages where we comment on uneasy relations in a prison between education, training and industry; and the passages where we comment on forced inactivity, overcrowding and lack of sanitation. We must draw particular attention to our comments on 'training prisons' with completely inadequate training, and on the absence of rigorous and practical training for young offenders, including lack of provision for facing them with all the consequences of their offences.

(Paragraph 7.04)

There are many reasons put forward to us for the absence of constructive activities in so many prisons. These include antiquated buildings, lack of money and lack of staff. **But we believe from our inspections that the chief reason is a lack of expectation that matters can ever improve.**

(Paragraph 7.05)

In 1991/92:

Local prisons for men do not offer sufficient time out of cell or a satisfactory range of opportunities. Those we visited in 1991/92 remained overcrowded and invariably short of space. **The number of inmates held in a local prison should be determined not by the number of beds that can be crammed in but by the facilities available to contain people decently and provide them with out of cell activity.**

(Paragraph 3.28)

1.9 The major movement within the criminal justice system in recent years has been towards the development of alternatives to imprisonment. A prison population which has been rising steadily during these years has caused concern because of the inability of the prison system to cope, the expense of expanding the system, and the lack of belief that the use of imprisonment could be important in reducing the level of crime. The belief has gained ground that something new is needed in the non-custodial sector; that imprisonment has failed.

1.10 During the same period, efforts to reorganise the Prison Service were underway. In 1979, the May Committee had seen one of its major priorities as being the improvement of morale and efficiency in the Prison Service. From 1980 onwards the Prison Service was undergoing major reorganisation of one

kind or another. The establishment of a strengthened regional tier of management and the enlargement of the Department's responsibility to include personnel and finance, together with a building programme designed to overcome the problems of poor conditions, began a process which in different forms has continued to the present day. The object was:

to aspire to a prison system in which there is no overcrowding, in which prisoners are held and staff can work in civilised conditions, in which we can provide constructive regimes based on work and education and in which staff are able and willing to play a positive and constructive role.

(Report on the work of the Prison Department 1980 – paragraph 23)

1.11 In 1981, the conflict between the day to day pressures of an overcrowded system prompted this comment from the then Director General:

I hope that in 1982 (public) debate will extend to the purpose of prison: what the public expects of its prison service. Clearly it expects us – rightly – to contain offenders in the appropriate level of security and we do so; our security record is generally very good. It is, however, one of the consequences of the pressures placed upon the Prison Service by excessive demands and inadequate resources that we have become decreasingly able to meet virtually any of the objectives expected of us other than the simple 'incapacitation' of the offender for the period of his sentence. Certainly there is no evidence that prison has either any systematic deterrent or rehabilitative effect: as the May Committee noted, the words of prison rule 1 that the purpose of the treatment and training of convicted prisoners shall be 'to encourage and assist them to lead a good and useful life' are in present conditions simply a pious aspiration.

(Report on the work of the Prison Department 1981 – paragraph 16)

1.12 Overcrowding makes constructive work difficult. Even with efficient management, there is not a sufficient basis for work:

the traditional objectives of imprisonment provide no answers to prison staff confronted by problems of overcrowding, of overloaded services, of increasing numbers of violent and dangerous prisoners and of inadequate conditions for both staff and prisoners.

(Report on the work of the Prison Department 1981 – paragraph 18)

1.13 In a passage which has a modern ring in terms of both management and reform, and in particular with the conclusions of the Woolf Report, the Prison Department 1981 Report goes on to suggest three broad objectives for prison management:

first, to implement the sentence of the court; second to do so in a way that, consistent with the first objective, preserves the prisoner's individuality, dignity and humanity; and third, as far as possible, to prepare the prisoner for release.

(Paragraph 19)

1.14 In line with these management objectives prison regimes should be equated:

as closely as possible with outside society

(Report on the work of the Prison Department 1981 – paragraph 20)

1.15 From the beginning of March 1983 the link between an improved prison service and managerial competence was identified and a process of restructuring was undertaken which is nearing completion in 1992. The philosophy was set out in 1983:

To use with maximum efficiency the resources of manpower, money, buildings and plant made available (to the Prison Service) by Parliament in order to fulfil the following functions:

- (1) to keep in custody untried or unsentenced prisoners and, at the due time, to present them in court for trial or sentence;
- (2) to keep in custody, with such degree of security as is appropriate, having regard to the nature of the individual prisoner and his offence, sentenced prisoners for the duration of their sentence or for such shorter time as the Secretary of State may determine in cases where he has discretion;
- (3) to provide for prisoners in custody as full a life as is consistent with the facts of custody, in particular making available the physical necessities of life; care for physical and mental health; work education and training, physical exercise and recreation; and opportunity for religious activity; and
- (4) to enable prisoners to retain links with the community and, where possible, to prepare them for their return to it.

(Report on the work of the Prison Department 1983 – paragraph 7)

1.16 In 1983, this statement of functions was to be the tool of analysis by which the Prisons Board would organise its business. In the following year the process of reorganisation of the Prison Service began in earnest with the publication of Circular Instruction 55 of 1984. This sought to make Governors of establishments responsible for all aspects of life in their establishments by means of a statement of function which was agreed annually with the Regional Director. The regime of an establishment was central to this statement, but as the Director General described it, aspirations and reality were somewhat different:

Functions 13–18 in the statement . . . constitute a fundamental statement of policy about the nature of regimes. The key points are that the regime of an establishment should be designed to occupy prisoners as fully as possible throughout the whole week and that taken together all of the elements in this section of the statement should enable prisoners to spend the maximum possible time out of their cells.

In practice limited resources, inmate preferences and security considerations may constrain the extent to which this is feasible . . .

(Report on the work of the Prison Department 1984/5 – Appendix 7)

1.17 From 1984 onwards the determination to press ahead with the managerial reforms gathered momentum. The backdrop against which these were carried out was one in which, particularly in 1986, overcrowding was exacerbated by industrial relations problems and disturbances in establishments. Loss of places were caused by the damage; and low morale and confidence in the Service were caused by fears of the financial consequences of the new arrangements by prison staff.

1.18 The movement towards the non-custodial sanction began constructively from the prison point of view. The 1968 Criminal Justice Act allowed for the use of parole or release on licence for offenders. To its advocates, parole was an opportunity to reward time well spent in prison by allowing prisoners back into the community at an earlier point in their sentence. At a deeper level it was a means of linking the fact of custody with the community in which it took place, providing a bridge between the two. For opponents of parole, problems were posed by the secretive processes under which the system operated, leading to a belief that its use was arbitrary and unjust, and its effect would be to increase the use of imprisonment.

1.19 New initiatives within the Prison Service tell us nothing about the attitude outside the Service to prisons and imprisonment. The facts that prisons were overcrowded and conditions were poor at the start of the 1980s have provoked two arguments which have themselves concealed a question which is the main stimulus behind the present review. The Prison Service has long argued that conditions of gross overcrowding, imposed by the courts, inevitably mean that prison life is dictated by the need to get through each day with all prisoners fed and secured. Only when these pressures are eased can plans be made to improve conditions and the quality of life within establishments. The second argument, advanced by many of the penal reform groups at the start of the decade, stated that the only proper response to overcrowded prisons was to reduce the use of imprisonment. If the prison estate was enlarged, so its use would increase.

1.20 The question asked, was, What are prisons for? The Prison Service held that the courts decided on the answer to that question in sentencing policy, and the Service needed the resources to tackle the job; for the reformers, prisons could not possibly do anyone any good, and could therefore be only a necessary evil for the very few. In the same way as the Prison Service needed more resources before it could put matters in order, so the reformist argument stated that prisons could only find their purpose when there were smaller numbers of people confined.

1.21 Throughout the 1970s, parole provided an important facility within the prison system, but increasingly it came to be seen as a means of reducing the size of the prison population, as opposed to a constructive tool for the continuation of productive time spent in prison. Attention throughout the 1970s was on the development of non-custodial sanctions, and the concern of agencies outside the Prison Service was very much with these.

We are forced to conclude that prison does not constitute a very effective or constructive way of dealing with criminals or reducing crime . . . we would do just as well to use it much less and make it a much more constructive experience.

(Vivien Stern – Bricks of Shame – page 73)

1.22 The Prison Service had other more immediate problems to deal with during the years leading up to 1987. The observers demanded other ways altogether of dealing with prisoners. The Prison Service identified each year initiatives which individuals had managed to take, despite the odds. For the commentators, the appalling context in which the whole exercise was conducted meant that such initiatives were rather unimportant.

1.23 For the Prison Service, overcrowding affected both conditions and regime. The overcrowding factor meant that the system was constantly straining against its physical ability to cope. All resources had to be deployed with a view to getting through each day without catastrophe. If society required that such large numbers of people should be incarcerated, then the Prison Service was clear that more resources would be necessary to rectify the appalling conditions of many establishments, and to allow for the long term redevelopment of an ailing estate.

1.24 One of the consequences of this state of affairs has been the effect that it has had on those who staff prisons. During the 1980s public perception and public argument about prisons was essentially negative. It was the Service itself which had to set its objectives and the means by which they could be achieved. This involved the setting of new patterns of management and new working practices. Given that staff were working in the conditions spelt out so graphically by observers in the press, and that structures had become both

comfortable to live with and in many cases profitable, too, it is perhaps not surprising that the process of change was met with resistance. Unfortunately, the prison disturbances of 1986, industrial action at individual establishments and the disturbances at Manchester and other prisons in 1990, were all in part due to the lack of trust, low morale and poor working practices which had crept into the Service over many years.

1.25 Concern with the quality of regimes has been expressed for many years as much by the Prison Service as by outside observers. We believe that two factors will affect the development of prisons in England and Wales:

- (a) the Prison Service requires a clear sense of purpose as to what it is expected to achieve, which sense of purpose is accepted and understood from outside the Service;
- (b) **despite the endeavours which have been made over the past decade, a more fundamental change in structure and working practice is needed if regimes are to have the priority and effectiveness to which the Service aspires.**

1.26 For outside commentators the problem has been expressed differently. One way is seen as drastically to reduce the prison population by finding alternative non-custodial ways of dealing with offenders. The outside commentators, while agreeing that the Service was stretched, were virtually united in their opposition to increased expenditure on prisons, and in particular to the building of new establishments. If more accommodation was to be made available, they argued, so it would be filled.

1.27 The effect of this approach was that in focusing attention on the appalling conditions within many British prisons, the argument gained ground that imprisonment could do little good. While it has been acknowledged that imprisonment for serious offenders is necessary, a statement of purpose as to what the prison should be aiming for with them was too long left in the pending tray.

1.28 The desire to move away from the use of imprisonment has been expressed against the background that, despite all the efforts to promote non-custodial sanctions, the heavy use of custody has continued, and the belief is that this will not change significantly. Criticisms of prison life had become increasingly harsh through the 1970s, and by the time the independent Inspectorate came into operation in 1981 there was little to praise. The criticisms came from all agencies, including the Prison Service itself.

1.29 A sense of purpose for the Prison Service which has the confidence of those outside as well as those within the organisation is more difficult to identify than may be imagined. Directors General frequently identified the lack of agreed purpose as a problem in the annual reports of the work of the Prison Service. Indeed the fundamental tenet on which the reorganisation of the Prison Service was based was the Statement of Purpose thrashed out by the Prisons Board in 1982. An eloquent statement by the then Director General, Dennis Trevelyan, in 1981 foreshadowed one of the basic principles embodied in 1991 by the Woolf Report – that prisoners should serve their sentences as far as possible within the communities from which they came:

It matters . . . less what title we give to the objectives of the Prison Service, whether it is “positive custody” as proposed by the May Committee or “humane containment” as suggested by others, than that we give reality to objectives. One area in which progress is possible is that of links with the community. If one of our principal objectives is to prepare prisoners for release, we should seek to equate prison regimes as closely as possible with outside society and, so far as is compatible with the needs of security, increase contacts between prisons and the community. It is only if that

community interest continues to grow that we can move towards realising the concept of community prisons.

(Report on the Work of the Prison Department 1981 – paragraph 20)

1.30 From 1982, in common with many other Government departments, the Prison Service began the process of reorganising its affairs from a managerial point of view. The concerns about the use of imprisonment from a philosophical point of view were rapidly replaced by management objectives that stated that the Prison Service would know its function, and be accountable for the delivery of services:

The pursuit of greater efficiency and the improvement of management systems are not separate from the pursuit of humane and purposeful prison conditions, from the aim to improve the circumstances in which prisoners live, the care that can be given to them and the conditions in which our staff have to work. They are part of it.

(Report on the work of the Prison Department 1984/85 – paragraph 10)

1.31 The management model as applied to the Prison Service led, in 1987, to the re-organisation of prison staff in establishments. The stated object of the exercise, known as Fresh Start, was that staff should, henceforth, have a greater degree of responsibility for their work. By 1990, the same principle was applied to the structure of the Service at Headquarters level. A statement of purpose clearly identified a role for the Service within the criminal justice process, and provided a model for staff to follow. The focus of the management structures at both establishment and Headquarters levels is now on the content of prison organisation, and within this a major area is that of prison regimes. In caring for prisoners the Prison Service has an obligation to:

- keep prisons stable, safe and secure;
- provide a positive and useful regime;
- provide appropriate support and help in tackling offending behaviour;
- provide a decent environment, good living conditions and good health care;
- run a just system; and
- prepare prisoners to cope with their lives after release.

1.32 The question which underlies the developments described above is to what extent the management changes in the Service have led, or can lead, to a structure for regime delivery which gives substance to the idea that prisons prepare prisoners for release. How appropriate are the regimes on offer in our prisons? How far does the work in prison connect with work undertaken outside? Has the nature of custody changed, or is it merely the old reality but better managed?

1.33 In the period since 1982, when management changes in the Prison Service were first outlined by the incoming Director General, Chris Train, the independent commentators have not been caught in the enthusiasm of change in management styles in the Prison Service. Comparing the comments on imprisonment in recent statements with those of an earlier era, the belief that prisons can achieve little is summed up by the following description and comment on the Prisons Board's 1983 definition of the work of the Prison Service:

It may seem a sad decline from the high ideals of changing human beings and sending them back out into the world crime-free to aspirations of giving prisoners a regular bath and ensuring they get a visit from their families. However, since we are still a long way from realising even these

modest ambitions for a good proportion of our prisoners, it at least has the advantage of being achievable.

(Vivien Stern – Bricks of Shame – pages 65–66)

1.34 Although the independent agencies have a great deal of professional contact with the Prison Service, there is a deep-seated ambivalence on their part to endorse the aims of positive custody. There is a tension concerning imprisonment which means that, for the time being at least, the Prison Service must go it alone with its work with offenders.

1.35 If it is to be possible for offenders to live usefully in custody, then it will be essential for this sanction to form a constructive part of the criminal justice system, with a vital role to play in the preparation of prisoners for release into the community. How far this is possible under present arrangements is the concern of the chapters which follow.

Chapter Two: A Patchy Landscape – Research into Regimes

2.1 In this chapter we look at academic work undertaken by Roy King and Kathleen McDermott; policy based research undertaken for the voluntary sector by Silvia Casale and Joyce Plotnikoff; Prison Service work undertaken by Ian Dunbar in an individual capacity; and current work organised and produced by the Prison Service as an organisation. Work on prison regimes in England and Wales in recent times is not extensive. Academic work has concentrated on small numbers of establishments, comparing regime provision now with some years ago; or on a small number of establishments of the same kind, with a view to examining the needs of the type of population held. Within the Prison Service, the development of regimes is a continuing exercise which aims to concentrate on the sharing and development of best practice between establishments.

2.2 In their research on regimes, Roy King and Kathleen McDermott compared regimes in five establishments in 1985 with work done on five similar prisons in 1976. The research concluded that each type of prison compared badly in the later period and that the reasons were not to do with overcrowding, poor conditions or staff/prisoner ratios, but more to do with attitudes. Inmates were spending more time behind cell doors, and the reasons were concerns with security. The authors detected a downward spiral from dispersal prison to open establishment which if continued would mean that the regimes in low security establishments would become more restrictive. The research suggested that the attitudes which led to more restrictive practices might be exacerbated by the management initiatives which at that time were coming into effect, and raised questions about the utility of spending more on prisons given that the picture was so depressing:

The data show that the crisis in the prison system is not simply a problem of overcrowding and poor sanitation in the local prisons. While crowding in local prisons constitutes a continuing nightmare in terms of accommodation, sanitation facilities have been improved at least numerically. However, there are grounds for thinking that the real problem of the prison system now is that prisoners spend too much time locked in cells . . . The most dramatic findings, indeed, are that in terms of hours out of cell and time spent in work, the two highest-security prisons today most closely resemble the local prison studied fifteen years ago.

(King and McDermott BJC Vol 29 No 2, 1989, page 126)

2.3 In 1990, Silvia Casale and Joyce Plotnikoff examined the remand regimes in six prisons and focused on the needs of that particular population in relation to their status as unconvicted prisoners. The recommendations made in the report were so designed as to allow for the Prison Service to adapt its management practice to deal with remand prisoners on a separate basis from convicted prisoners. It pointed out that the Prison Service made no practical distinction between remand and sentenced prisoners, but also allocated no resources specifically for the use of such prisoners. Moreover:

On our visits to establishments holding remand prisoners we found many examples of good practice. They exist, however, without a clear framework. A good practical solution in one establishment remains a problem

in another. Examples of good practice emerge and disappear again with the arrival or departure of key individuals.

(Casale and Plotnikoff – Regimes for Remand Prisoners – 1990, page 1)

2.4 The report on remand prisoners points out also that regime provision for remand prisoners was developed in a system directed at the needs of the sentenced prisoner, and that, in common with all regime programmes:

The most significant example is the curiously contracted notion of the prison day. It is organised to suit the regime providers. Thus meal times in prison have a tendency to converge. Few people outside prisons would eat breakfast around 8.00 am, lunch at 11.45 am, and the last main meal by 4.30 pm. Visiting hours, whether for relatives or solicitors, are scheduled between these meal times to suit the establishment and are consequently difficult, if not impossible, for those who work, including solicitors who are tied to the court day.

(Casale and Plotnikoff, 1990, page 3)

2.5 Ian Dunbar in an earlier report, *A Sense of Direction*, argued that within the Prison Service, a sense of activity and purpose was required which would benefit prisoners by the motivation of staff. Published on 31 October 1985, this report reflects the development of management techniques within the Prison Service, which are seen as providing the framework for improved work with prisoners. The report recommends that the aims of establishments should be clearly spelt out and translated into tasks for completion by individuals. The people working within the Service were the most important resource. Having organised work groups into manageable units Dunbar goes on to say:

In the past there has been an imbalance between the areas of security, control and activity. It is of fundamental importance for that imbalance to be redressed. There has to be a greater emphasis on planned activity. If activity is planned around the individual, and relies on, and promotes the relationships between individuals, it enhances the security and safety of the establishment.

(Dunbar – *A Sense of Direction* – page 83)

2.6 The concept of ‘dynamic security’, which Ian Dunbar’s report develops, is based on the idea that active prisons are safer prisons. The emphasis in the report is on the development of management information systems and staff communication techniques which aim to motivate at every level. The arguments in the report are based on:

... an acceptance of activity as the core of what goes on in prisons. Activity means what each individual, whether staff or prisoner, is doing; what use is being made of time. That implies a basic orientation towards those who work and live in prisons.

(Dunbar – page 86)

And, in his mind’s eye, Dunbar envisages:

a system based on the individual staff member and prisoner.

(page 87)

2.7 For both Ian Dunbar and, later, for Silvia Casale and Joyce Plotnikoff, there is an acknowledgement that prisons contain different populations with different needs. Dunbar emphasises the management of the Prison Service in a systematic way, but focuses on the individual needs of prisoners in personal relationships with staff. Casale and Plotnikoff emphasise the provision of ser-

vices for the remand population, identified as a population with different needs. Compare the following two quotations:

Applying these principles involves getting the balance right between a number of elements which in the past have been perceived as conflicting. For example, it forces the prison service and those who evaluate it to address the demands and problems raised by different types of prisoners. The sentenced prisoner has different needs and poses different problems from the remand prisoner.

(Dunbar – page 84)

and

A coherent approach to remand regimes requires not only standards for regime elements but also separate monitoring of service delivery for different prisoner populations. Management information should be broken down by prisoner status. . . . In order to plan improved regimes for remand prisoners, management should know what the regime is like at present for remand prisoners, rather than for the ‘average inmate’ in a particular establishment.

(Casale and Plotnikoff – page 3)

2.8 A hint, in the latter independent report, that prison populations may be more complicated than perceived by the Prison Service.

2.9 In the period during which the Prison Service has been undertaking its re-organisation, its concern has been with developing approaches to best practice under each type of prison or with reference to a population with particular needs. Following the management principles set out in *A Sense of Direction* and developed in other Prison Service publications, concern since 1988 has been with providing measures for improving delivery of regimes to the prisoner:

We believe that if prisoners are to be provided with “as full a life as is consistent with the facts of custody” and, where possible, assisted to prepare for their return to the community, we should be trying to provide a structure inside a prison which resembles as closely as possible the structure of normal life outside a prison.

(*Dynamic Security: The Regime Dimension* – Paper by the Director of Services to the Prisons Board, October 1989 – paragraph 13)

2.10 The concern of the Prison Service in recent years has been to increase the opportunities for inmates to leave their cells or rooms, together with an examination of the amount of time which they spend in ‘primary activities’, which are defined as:

those which can provide prisoners with constructive occupation and which involve a substantial investment in staff and/or equipment for which there is responsibility/accountability outside the establishment.

(*Dynamic Security: The Regime Dimension* – paragraph 3)

2.11 Primary activities as defined refer to the kind of work or training which requires a substantial input of prisoner time and use of equipment before a return can be seen on the investment made. Such activities would include workshops, training courses and education classes.

2.12 The work on regime development, as set out by the Prison Service over the past five years, has focused on managerial improvements. Taken together, work on regimes as shown by the studies cited has been critical of the falling amount of activity on offer as measured over time (King and Morgan), pre-

scriptive as to the needs of a particular significant group within the prison population (Casale and Plotnikoff), or managerially orientated towards improving regimes as defined in a narrow sense as key activities in which prisoners engage. In each of these cases, regimes are described in a particular and limited sense. None of the studies attempts to describe or plan for regime development across the whole of the prison system. A hint that change could come in the very long term is, however, in mind in:

In the long term, we saw these aims as leading to a classification of establishments in terms of regimes which would allow greater specialisation than at present, while still providing a range of activities. Ultimately, geographical groupings of prisons with certain specialisations could make a greater reality of sentence planning, providing incentives for prisoners to move through the system in order to improve their skills and add to their qualifications . . . (this) might also provide sufficient flexibility for career development of staff to avoid the need for constant changes of home.

(Dynamic Security: The Regime Dimension – paragraph 22)

2.13 Although there are many descriptions of what life in prison is like now, the problems outlined in the previous chapter, emphasising the negativity of prisons as rehabilitative institutions, severely limit ideas as to how prisons can be used. In the examples which we have quoted, the primary means by which the Prison Service is to develop is through management initiative. **Good and bad practice in regime terms can be seen in the Service now, but these depend upon the action of key individuals rather than any kind of systematic development of a regime philosophy which can underline action.** As to whether an approach is possible or desirable, the research does not say. We return to this problem at the start of Chapter Five.

Chapter Three: Prison Regimes Today – Methods of Work

3.1 We set about the task of collecting data on prison regimes in England and Wales by examining material produced by the Prison Service on the performance of sample establishments and by visiting establishments. As the project developed our interest moved from the regime possibilities at any one establishment to a concern with the structural context within which regime activity takes place.

3.2 We then proceeded in two ways. First, we collected information from Prison Service sources on the parameters within which regime activity takes place for all the establishments in our sample. Second, on a large number of visits to establishments we spoke with members of staff and inmates about the arrangements under which regime activities operated, and the difficulties experienced in its operation. We asked Governors at the end of our visits to consider their approach to the regime of the establishment if they were able to start from scratch. In addition to our visits to establishments we had discussions with members of the Prison Service at Headquarters.

3.3 At the time our work started the Prison Service was organised on a regional basis. From 24 September 1990 the senior management structure was organised into 15 Areas, each containing between 7 and 10 establishments.

3.4 The data collected on establishments was originally organised to show a) basic population covered; b) specific populations; c) proportion to prison population as a whole; d) geographical spread within sample.

3.5 In the original design it had been decided to draw establishments from all four Regions, but with special emphasis on the South West. The South West Region was small and contained examples of all types of prison. It was felt practical to discuss the workings of this region in detail, but to ensure samples were taken from other regions. The original design was modified only slightly to allow for all areas to be covered.

3.6 Our main concern in our enquiries has been to obtain information which shows features of regimes when they run as planned. We have been concerned to understand the parameters within which regime activity takes place; the proportion of population of establishments able to take part in regime activities; and the continuity of regime opportunity. These aspects are explored in a number of ways in Chapter Four.

3.7 We have been interested in the process whereby prisoners are allocated to particular establishments, and the criteria used to make such allocation. Sentence planning, or the individual planning of a prisoner career, is still developing within the Prison Service.

3.8 In addition to our discussions with unified staff in the Service, we were also interested in the ways in which specialists operated and the problems they faced. We met members of the Kent Probation Service, and in particular those members working in the prisons, and discussed with them the problems and possibilities of work in prisons.

3.9 The research is based on a study of 64 prison establishments. Examples of all types of establishment in the Prison Service are provided. For the purposes of the data, establishments are divided into the following groups:

- (a) Local prisons (excluding London);
- (b) Dispersal prisons;
- (c) Trainer prisons – Category B (excluding London);
- (d) Trainer prisons – Category C;
- (e) Trainer prisons – Category D;
- (f) Local and remand prisons for Women;
- (g) Training prisons for Women;
- (h) Closed Young Offender Institutions;
- (i) Open Young Offender Institutions;
- (j) Male Remand Centres and units (excluding London);
- (k) Vulnerable Prisoner Units (VPUs); and
- (l) London prisons.

3.10 These groups represent research units rather than entire establishments and, including establishments which were examined only in terms of the role of the Kent Probation Service, the sample comprised 82 research units. The sample is described in Appendix 1. In 1989 the organisation of the Prison Service at establishment level was two years into major structural change (Fresh Start). The uniformed Prison Service had been re-organised into a tighter management structure which shortened the line of communication between basic grade Officer and Governor, and introduced the concept of management accountability to each level of post within the Service. It also rationalised the system of remuneration, eliminating overtime payments and increasing the basic salary. At the same time more productivity was demanded within normal working hours.

3.11 In September 1990, the re-organisation of the Prison Service above establishment level was completed. As with establishments and the shortening of the managerial line between basic grade Officer and Governor, so the management line between Governor and Director General of the Prison Service was made more direct. The previous regional structure was disbanded and replaced by Areas. At Headquarters level Area Managers were appointed. The Deputy Director General's post was abolished. In its place three Operational Directorates were created, overseeing respectively matters concerning custody, administration and programmes within prisons. The specialist departments of medicine, industry and education, although remaining as specialist divisions, were also subject to certain changes. We decided that, because our sample size was so large in relation to the prison estate as a whole, it was satisfactory to continue to use the original chosen establishments, and to retabulate them in accordance with the new Area structure.

3.12 Data collection was designed to provide information at a number of levels:

- (a) a broad range of information to show the population covered by the sample, the proportion of this to the prison population as a whole, and the geographical spread of the sample;
- (b) within the establishments covered to provide information on the daily routines, the activities on offer or required within the establishment regime, the numbers of inmates regularly engaged in these activities, and the number of inmates not so engaged;

- (c) a profile of the managerial line between activities in each establishment and the Prison Service Department responsible for its operation. This leads to information about the proportion of an establishment's work which is directly the responsibility of the Governor against that which is managed from outside;
- (d) in establishments where interviews were carried out, information about the mechanisms for developing regimes, and about both the opportunities and restraints created by management structures, as described by Governors and their staff.

3.13 We have worked upon the premise that the effectiveness of a regime is dependent upon the will and ability of local managers to make it succeed. This in turn is dependent upon the degree of importance which managers outside the establishment attach to the regime. Their priorities will be affected by the structures and limitations within which they operate.

3.14 Data yields certain kinds of information and excludes others. In this research we wished to obtain information on:

- (a) factors influencing the way in which inmates can use time;
- (b) the relative value of the activities provided;
- (c) the number, range and duration of activity places;
- (d) the role of activities in relation to a prisoner's development through sentence;
- (e) processes of change and development in regime activities themselves; and
- (f) the relationship between prison establishments on regime activities.

The research was not designed to provide a microscopic view of regimes in action, by comparing every aspect of an establishment schedule with its own targets. We addressed regime issues firstly on the basis that everything went to plan. Only after identifying a number of common limiting factors did we examine the extent to which locally agreed targets were being met.

3.15 We were concerned to discover the parameters within which activity of any kind could take place in prison. What proportion of the week can programmes run? What are the factors which affect these parameters?

3.16 Within each establishment we wished to discover the proportion of the population able to take part in programmed activities, and the frequency, choice and opportunity for variation afforded. In particular, we were interested in the notion of deprivation within regime activities caused by the lost opportunities created by the choice or requirement to engage in one kind of pursuit at the same time that other options were taking place. We believe that the structural limitations so imposed could be an inhibiting factor in regime development.

3.17 Within each establishment, and between establishments, we wished to address the issue of quality and quantity in regime provision. What decision making processes existed to provide movement or development of prisoners' skills through change in activity, even in some cases when this required a change of establishment? This leads to one of our most important issues.

3.18 How, if at all, are prisoners' sentences planned in relation to regime activity and, if there are plans, what are the processes by which they are activated? If there are no such plans, then what are the objectives of regime activities for prisoners? The Prison Service has placed priority on the introduction of sentence planning, particularly for young offenders, based upon the needs of the individual, but how do these relate to regime planning?

3.19 The objectives of the interviews were to explore, with a number of different members of staff and some prisoners, how regimes were operated within the establishment and the processes by which regime planning took shape. In the course of such questions we were also concerned to understand the constraints under which respondents felt that they operated. Further, we asked each respondent how they would design the regime of their establishment given the chance to do so from first principles. The interviews also touched on the relationship between establishments and Prison Service Headquarters, seeking to identify problems and possibilities within the structure.

3.20 We were concerned to examine the role of specialists within the Prison Service. Our choice of the Probation Service as worth particular attention was based on the fact that it has a peculiar relationship with the Prison Service. The Probation Service works under contract to the Prison Service and has no Headquarters representation.

3.21 The research design was adapted to catch the flavour of a Service in process of fundamental change; in doing so it was also intended to provide an answer to some questions. What are prison regimes meant to deliver, and for what purpose? We may know what 'doing' time is, but can we easily describe 'using' time? In asking these questions the data presented on the following pages is also designed to allow others to test the conclusions reached.

Chapter Four: Regime Activity in the Prison System – Possibilities and Limitations

4.1 The object of this chapter is to set out information about the establishments covered during the study in order to establish the context within which regime activity takes place. Prisons are places which operate for 24 hours a day. They share with other residential institutions the feature that the staff create, understand and operate the routines, or regimes, by which other people live whilst in the institution. For the purposes of this chapter we split the regime into two parts:

- the routine, which determines when the various aspects of institution life take place; and

- the activities, which provide the basis for the Prison Service's measurement of performance as defined in its regime monitoring system.

4.2 The performance of individual establishments is also measured against objectives agreed between Governors and their Area Managers, but these are often specific to the establishment. Our concern is with those aspects of daily life which are common to and comparable across all establishments.

4.3 A broad description of the facets of institutional life is followed by analyses of routines and activities, which describe the possibilities. We then examine the reality in terms of fulfilling those possibilities and explore some possible explanations for the limitations.

4.4 Routines and regimes vary according to an institution's objectives. An NHS hospital regime, for the in-patient, is set within the context of an institution providing medical services, only some of which are directed at an individual patient. The routine is dedicated to the provision of those services. Patients will be woken, fed and allowed visitors by staff at times which allow the overall objective to be achieved. The same is true for prisons. Objectives can vary; following the hospital analogy, the objectives, and therefore the routines, depend on the type of ward or department. Acute surgical wards will differ from long-term medical wards, although their in-patients will be part of the routine throughout every 24 hours. Specialised work may be offered only during the working week, and patients may be within a particular department for only some of that time.

4.5 With prisons, the objectives differ in the same way. The remand prison is primarily concerned with servicing the movement of prisoners between courts, and with providing the entry point to the prison system for those sentenced. The open prison is far removed from these objectives, handling sentenced prisoners who have passed through the prison system and are moving towards release.

4.6 In the case of both hospital and prison, the objectives and the fulfilment of them are set by the staff, who in turn operate in line with policy laid down for them by those in charge of managing the operation. When hospital in-patients are not directly involved in the hospital programme they have to use time as best they can within the constraints of the institutional regime. The same applies to prisoners. Neither individual patients nor particular prisoners are the core of regimes, they are merely a transient part of them.

4.7 It is a feature of institutional life that practice varies from policy: the institutional objectives and regimes laid down for prisons will be modified in practice by the ways in which staff run them. We start by examining the intended structure of life in establishments, ie what the Prison Service sets out to achieve. We comment in this chapter on the relationship of practice to policy in prisons and the extent to which various factors make daily life for prisoners better or worse.

4.8 There is however an important factor which affects both the policy and practice of regime delivery and that is the nature of the institution's population. In Prison Service tables, establishments have 'Special Features', which are units for particular kinds of inmate. Local prisons hold both unconvicted and convicted inmates: two population types with different needs. Many local prisons also hold inmates, both unconvicted and convicted, in security Category A: restrictions upon these inmates' movement require that they be considered as sub-groups within the main population types. (The presence of a Category A sub-group may have adverse regime implications for all prisoners at the same establishment.)

4.9 Training prisons for adult males generally hold only inmates within a given security category but even their populations contain sub-divisions when the differing needs of inmates serving short, medium and long sentences are taken into account.

4.10 The table at Appendix 1 shows the population types held within each of the establishments in the research sample. The table at Appendix 2 provides further details of the populations of the sample establishments grouped by function and demonstrates the breadth of coverage of the research sample in relation to the national population.

4.11 Nearly one third of the establishments in the research sample perform more than one function and all but four hold two or more distinct population groups. The needs of these populations differ, and there are regime requirements for each.

4.12 In most establishments however the same basic daily routine applies to all inmates and the inmate activity profile, which determines the availability of regime activities to which we refer later, relates to the total population. The hospital analogy remains valid, with adults and young people requiring various levels of supervision for different lengths of time accommodated within a single institution. Unlike hospitals, penal institutions often place these disparate groups within the same living accommodation and daily routine. This can lead to failures in distinguishing adequately between them in a variety of ways, eg due process rights.

4.13 The table at Appendix 3 shows the number of inmate places provided in each of the establishments in the research sample. We comment on the level of usage of accommodation and its effects upon the regime later in this chapter: for now we analyse how prisoners live when in their own living space, ie before entering into any part of daily prison life.

4.14 Accommodation is broken down into a range of five types: single cells; double cells; cubicles; rooms and dormitories; and special accommodation. The first four categories cover normal and segregation accommodation, whilst the last includes health care (local prisons only), hostel and reception/discharge accommodation which when occupied frees places in the other categories. The figures are based upon the level of occupancy, certified by the Area Manager, in normal circumstances. With few exceptions, the level of occupancy can be increased to an agreed operational capacity which often enforces cell sharing.

4.15 Of the groups of establishments in our sample, only dispersal prisons offer entirely single cell accommodation. The availability of single cell accommodation then declines in a pattern which suggests a direct relationship to security categorisation, with single cells alone being offered by 80% of Category B training prisons, 57% of female establishments and 56% of closed Young Offender Institutions. These establishments give inmates no choice but to be alone during hours of confinement except where, as in many places, there is overcrowding or where medical directions have been issued to the contrary, ie to be located in a shared cell to reduce the risk of suicide or self-harm.

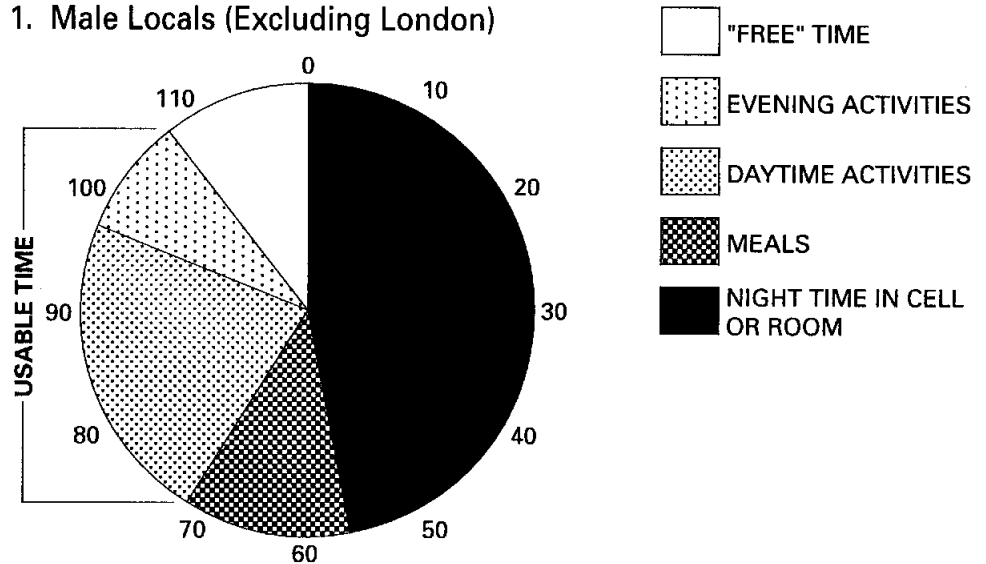
4.16 The majority of Category C prisons, local prisons and remand centres offer a range of single and shared accommodation. Some Category D prisons and open Young Offender Institutions offer a mixture of accommodation but most provide either shared rooms and dormitories or cubicles, neither of which afford much privacy.

4.17 The type of accommodation provided is one factor which influences what we shall term the 'freedom to move' day. The characteristic of any prison is that it restricts movement of the prisoner primarily in relation to the outside world, but also and in varying ways within the prison itself. The profile of the prison population so far described concerns the prisoner's life only when he or she is accommodated in personal or shared living space. The 'freedom to move' day describes the periods when the prisoner is able to move into the prison to work, attend education or training sessions, or be able to mingle and socialise with others if he or she so wishes.

4.18 A basic measure of the 'freedom to move' day is provided by the times when basic living accommodation is opened and prisoners are allowed to leave it. Table 4.1 demonstrates the use of time on weekdays for the groups of establishments in the sample. The usable time bracket defines the 'freedom to move' day.

Table 4.1 Time in and out of Personal Accommodation and use of time: Weekdays
 (Averaged over functional groups of Establishments as proportions of 120 hours)

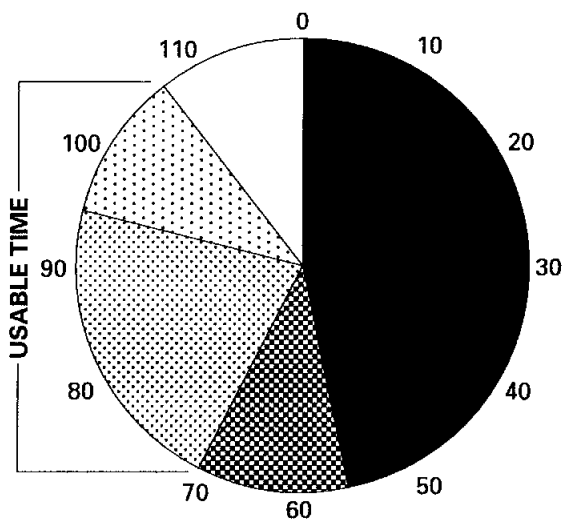
1. Male Locals (Excluding London)



Notes

- a* Inmates are confined in their cells during and/or after meals in all establishments except Haslar.
- b* The routines at Lincoln provide for over 38 hours weekday daytime activity each week whilst those at Canterbury offer a maximum of only 21¼ hours a week.
- c* There are no evening activities on offer at Canterbury.
- d* The data excludes Leeds which had no published routines at the time this report was prepared.

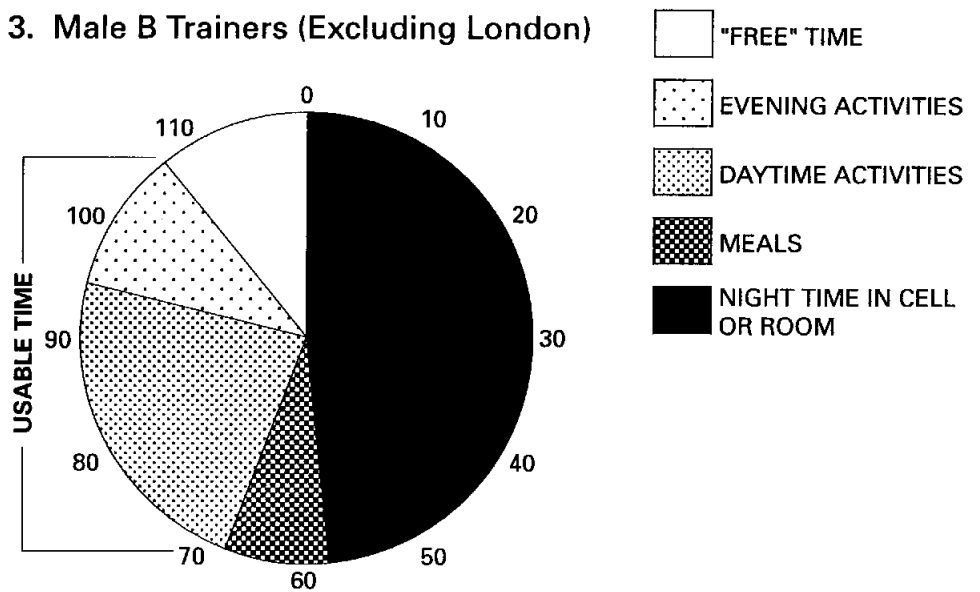
2. Male Dispersals



Notes

- a* Inmates are confined in their cells during and/or after meals in all establishments.
- b* Inmates at Frankland are confined in their cells at meal times for a total of nearly 21 weekday hours whilst those at Gartree are locked up for only 5 hours for the same purpose.

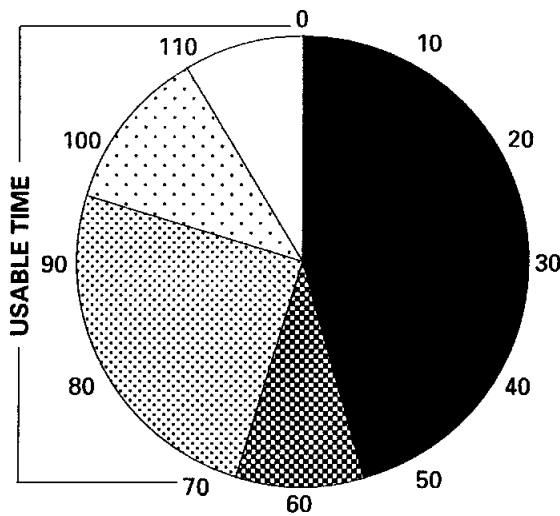
3. Male B Trainers (Excluding London)



Notes

- a** Inmates at Grendon are not confined in their cells at any time during the day.
- b** The routines at Grendon provide for over 36 weekday hours daytime activity each week whilst those at Blundeston offer a maximum of 22½ hours a week.

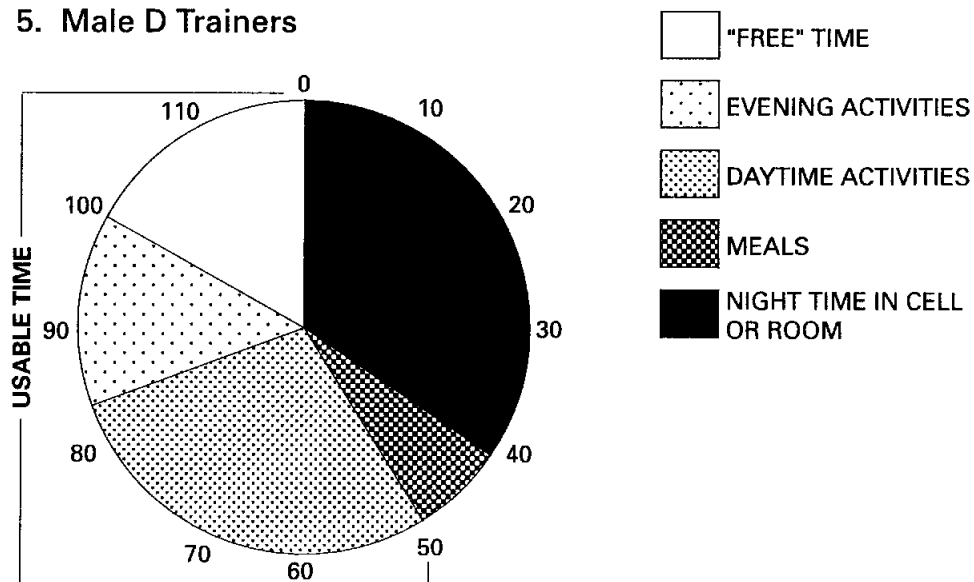
4. Male C Trainers



Notes

- a** Inmates are confined in their cells/rooms during and/or after meals in all establishments except The Verne, Camp Hill, Blantyre House and Haverigg.
- b** The routines at The Verne provide for over 37 weekday hours daytime activity each week whilst those at Lindholme offer a maximum of 25½ hours a week.
- c** "Free" time is spent out of cell in all establishments except The Verne, where inmates spend 5 hours a week in cell between the end of activities and final lock-up.

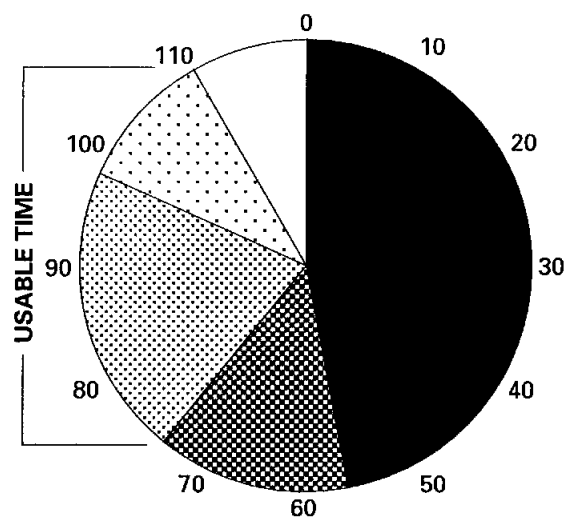
5. Male D Trainers



Notes

- a** Night time is taken to be the period between lights out and rising.
- b** Mealtimes cover only the period set aside for serving and eating.
- c** The routines at Ford provide for 32½ weekday hours "free" time whilst those at Kirkham offer a maximum of 9¼ hours a week.

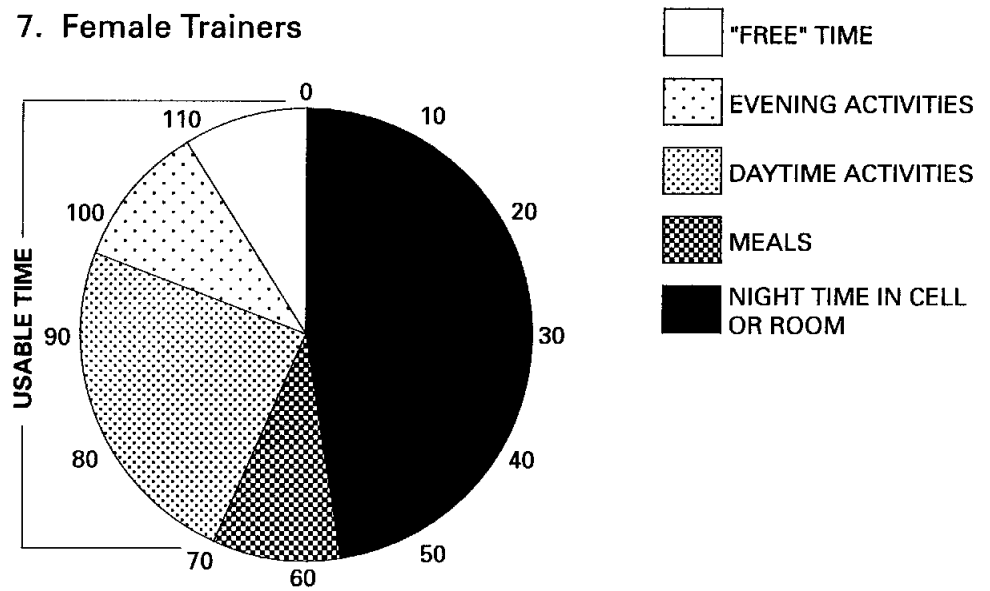
6. Female Local/Remand



Notes

- a** Mealtimes include serving, eating and subsequent lock-ups.
- b** The routines at Pucklechurch allocate a total of 22½ weekday hours to meals and only 20 hours to daytime activities. At Low Newton, only 10 weekday hours are allocated to meals and 27½ to daytime activities.

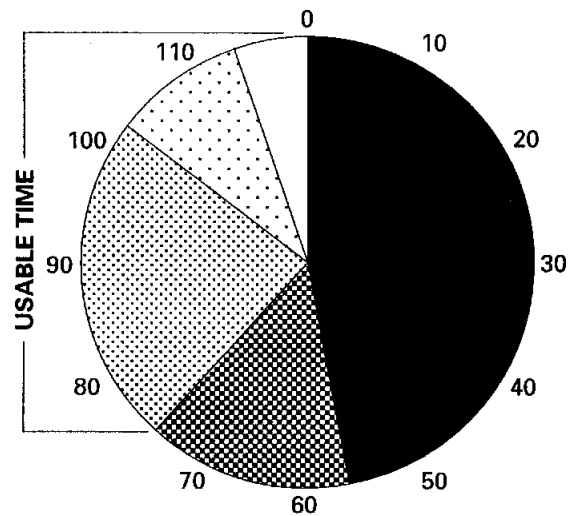
7. Female Trainers



Notes

- a** The routines at East Sutton Park provide for a total of 55 weekday hours daytime and evening activity whilst those at Cookham Wood offer a maximum total of 32½ hours each week.
- b** All inmates spend "free" time out of cell.

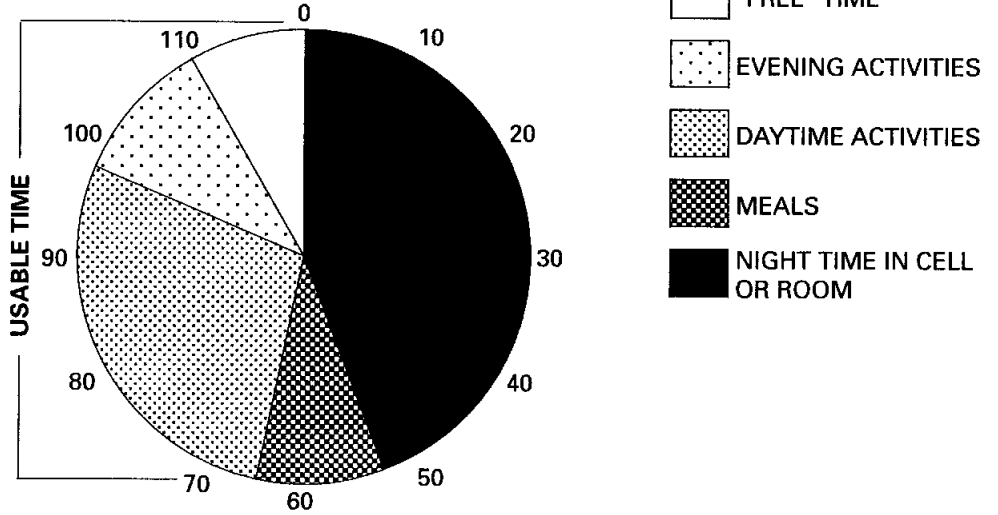
8. Closed YOIs



Notes

- a** Inmates spend "free" time out of the cell with the exception of those at Feltham, Glen Parva and Castington.

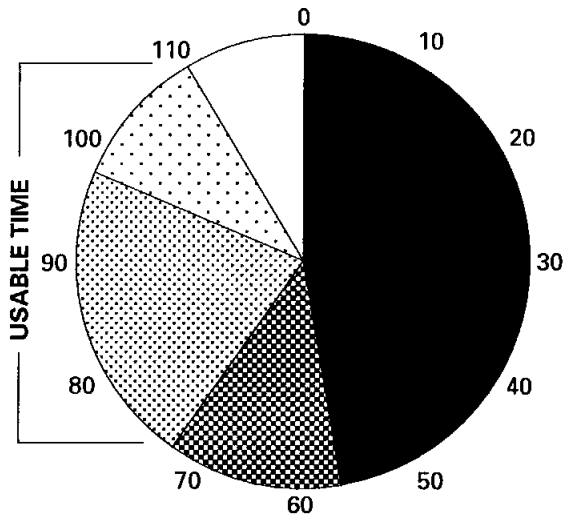
9. Open YOIs



Notes

- a** All inmates spend "free" time out of cell.
- b** The routines at Thorn Cross provide for a total of over 51 weekday hours daytime and evening activity whilst those at Finnamore Wood offer only 41 hours each week.

10. Male remand (excluding London)



Notes

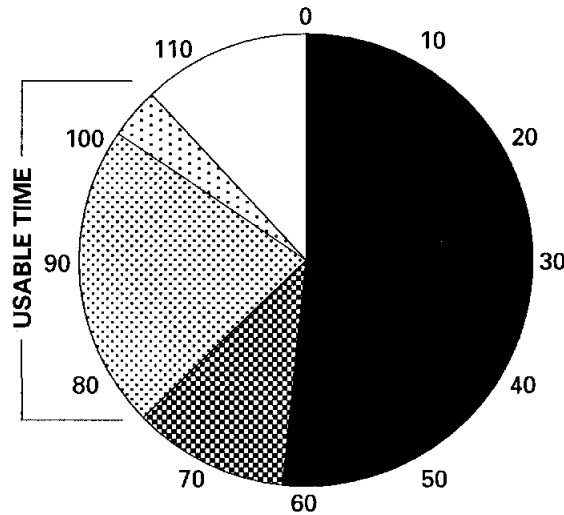
- a** All "free" time is spent in cell.
- b** The data excludes Leeds which had no published routines at the time this report was prepared.

11. VPUs

Insufficient specific data for analysis



12. Male London



Notes

a All "free" time is spent in cell.

b There are no evening activities on offer in Brixton or parts of Pentonville.

4.19 Table 4.1 shows that inmates are confined to their cell or room for far longer periods in London and other local prisons and remand centres, dispersal prisons and Category B training prisons than in lower security establishments. In most cases the inmates who spend least time out of cell are those in establishments which were designed to provide secure single cell accommodation. Many will spend up to 70% of weekday hours alone in a cell whilst others will spend the same amount of time in company rarely of their choosing because of overcrowding.

4.20 Table 4.1 also indicates that inmates in semi-secure establishments such as Category C training and female training prisons (most of which offer a mixture of single and shared accommodation) can expect to be confined to their living space for about 56% of weekday hours. Inmates in open Young Offender Institutions spend only about 44% of weekday hours in their cubicle or dormitory whilst those in largely similar types of accommodation in Category D training prisons are expected to use their living units only for sleeping: an average of about 35% of weekday hours.

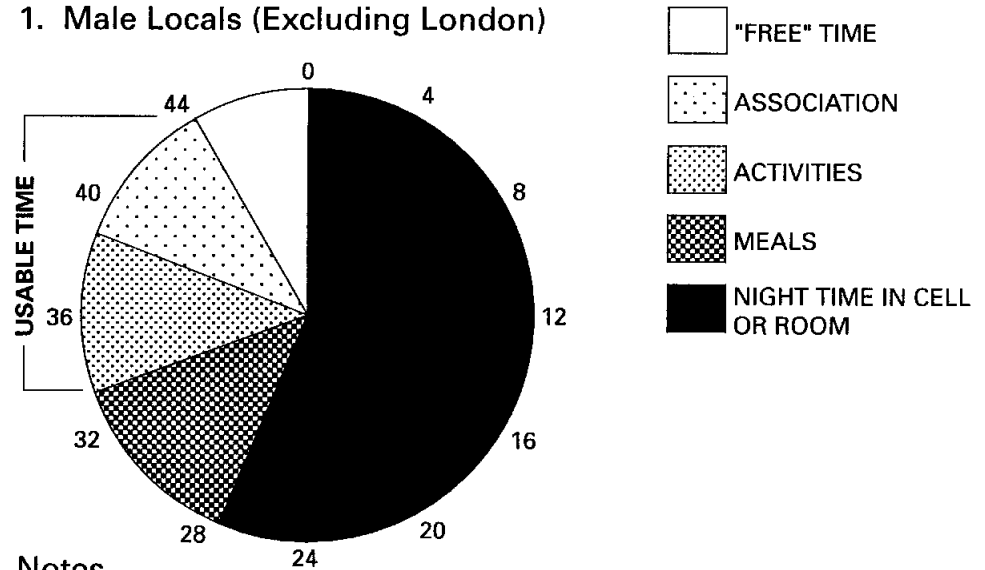
4.21 Inmates in the London and other local prisons and remand centres, dispersal prisons, female local prisons and most Category B training prisons and closed Young Offender Institutions eat their meals in the cells or rooms and are also confined during periods when no structured activity takes place. The freedom to move day therefore encompasses all periods during which inmates are not confined to their living accommodation or taking meals. In semi-secure and open establishments inmates have varying degrees of freedom of movement during periods when no structured activity takes place. Where appropriate such periods are included in the usable time bracket.

4.22 Formal regime activities follow the hours of the staff who run them. There are exceptions. In some establishments programmes run at weekends but these tend to have special characteristics and, in many establishments, are subject to variation and cancellation according to the availability of staff. We refer to the impact of staff availability at the end of this chapter. At weekends, usable time is determined less by structured and measured activities than by opportunities for exercise, PE, visits, religious activities and association.

4.23 Table 4.2 demonstrates the use of time at weekends for the groups of establishments in the sample. In this table association is shown separately from other activities. Again, the usable time bracket defines the 'freedom to move' day.

Table 4.2 Time in and out of Personal Accommodation and use of time: Weekends
 (Averaged over functional groups of Establishments as proportions of 48 hours)

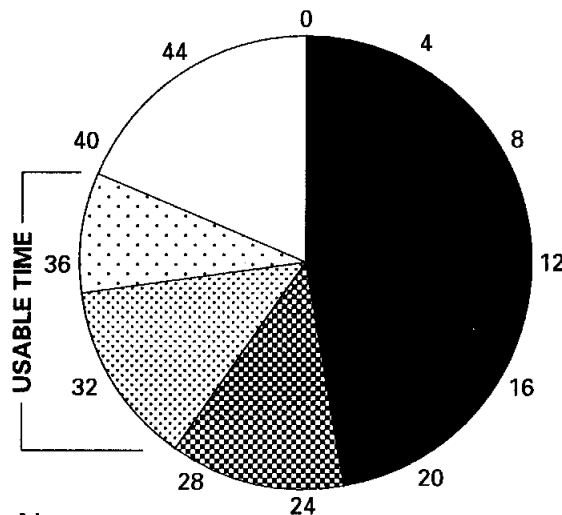
1. Male Locals (Excluding London)



Notes

- a** Inmates are confined to their cells during and/or after meals in all establishments except Haslar.
- b** Not all establishments offer evening association. Inmates at Bristol, Durham and Lincoln are confined to their cells for a total of up to 33½ weekend hours between tea and breakfast.
- c** The data excludes Leeds which had no published routines at the time this report was prepared.

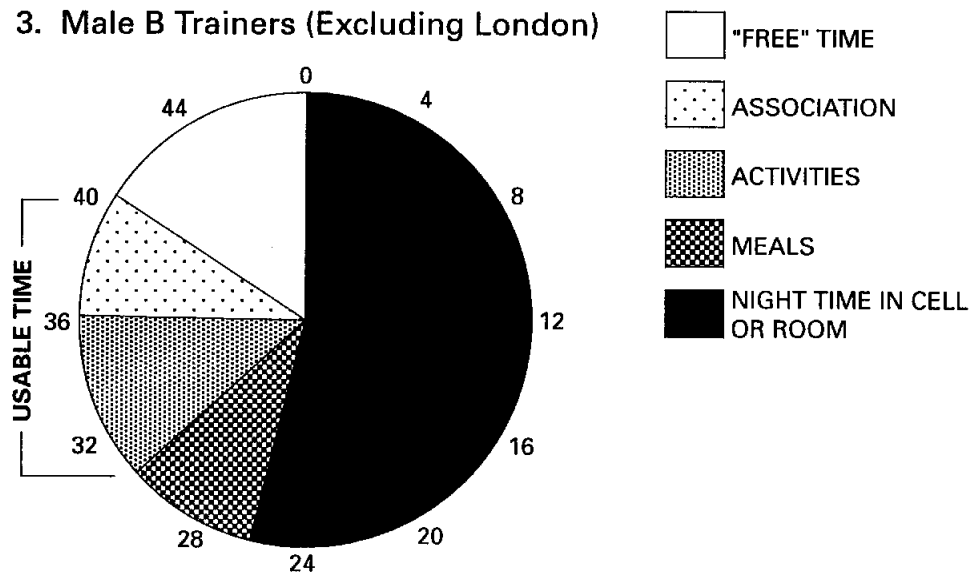
2. Male Dispersals



Notes

- a** Inmates are confined to their cells during and/or after meals in all establishments.
- b** The routines at Long Lartin provide for a total of 12 hours weekend activity and association whilst those at Albany and Gartree offer a maximum total of 9 hours.

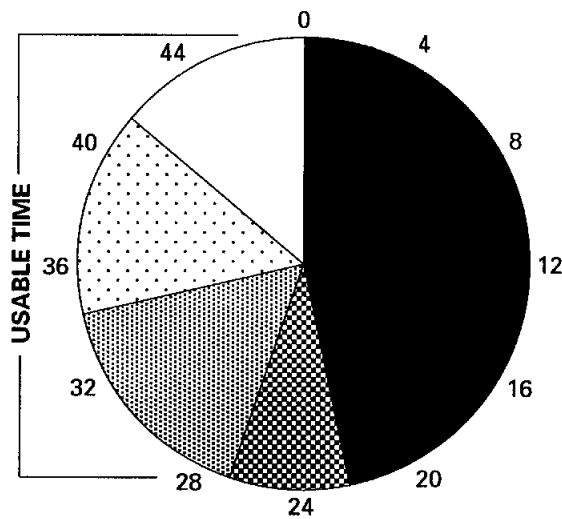
3. Male B Trainers (Excluding London)



Notes

- a Inmates at Grendon are not confined in their cells at any time during the day.*
- b The routines at Maidstone provide for a total of 11½ hours weekend activity and association whilst those at Dartmoor offer a maximum total of 7½ hours.*

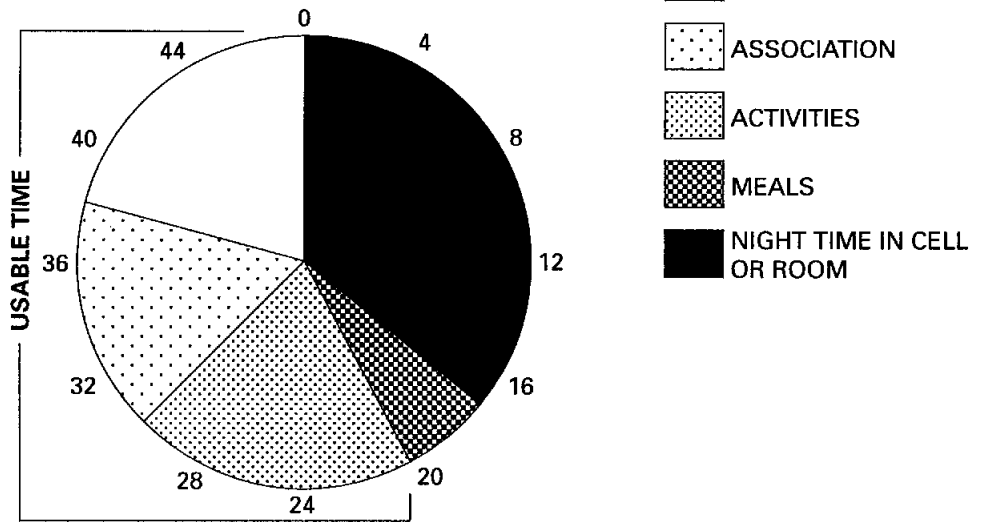
4. Male C Trainers



Notes

- a Inmates are confined to their cells/rooms during and/or after meals in 40% of the establishments in the sample.*
- b The routines at Blantyre House offer inmates a total of 23½ hours usable time at weekends during most of which they have the option of participating in a range of recreational and educational activities and association.*
- c The routines at Camp Hill offer a total of only 10 hours weekend activity and association and no evening activities.*

5. Male D Trainers

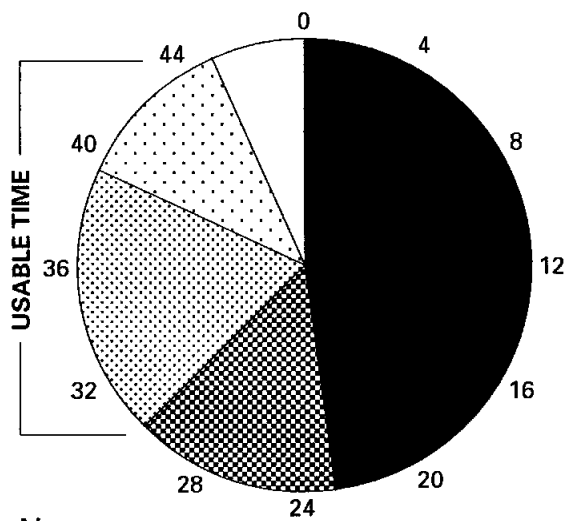


Notes

a Night time is taken to be the period between lights out and rising.

b Meal times cover only the period set aside for serving and eating.

6. Female Local/Remand

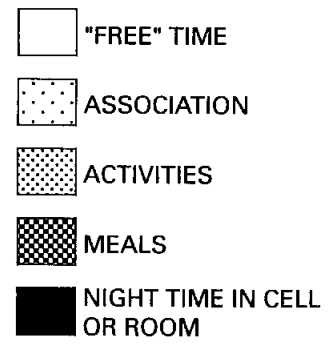
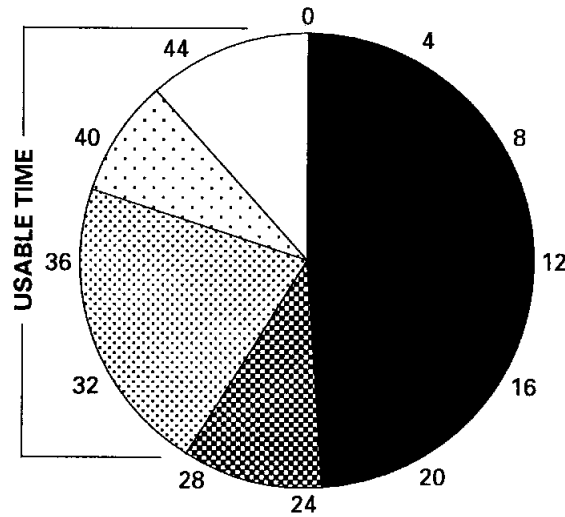


Notes

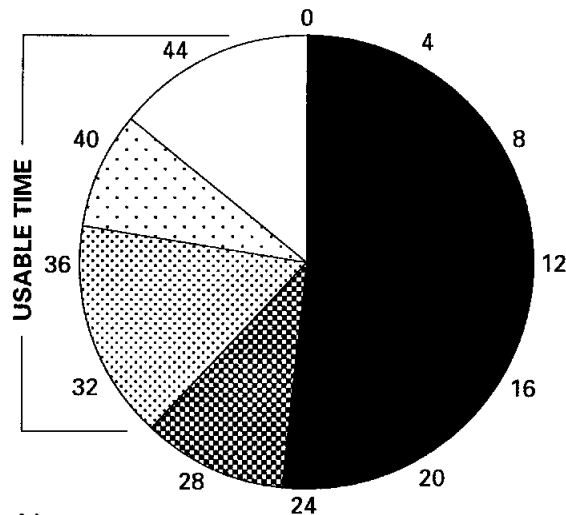
a Meal times include serving, eating and subsequent lock-ups.

b The routines at Holloway and New Hall provide for a total of 16 hours weekend activity and association whilst those at Pucklechurch offer a maximum of only 12 hours.

7. Female Trainers



8. Closed YOIs

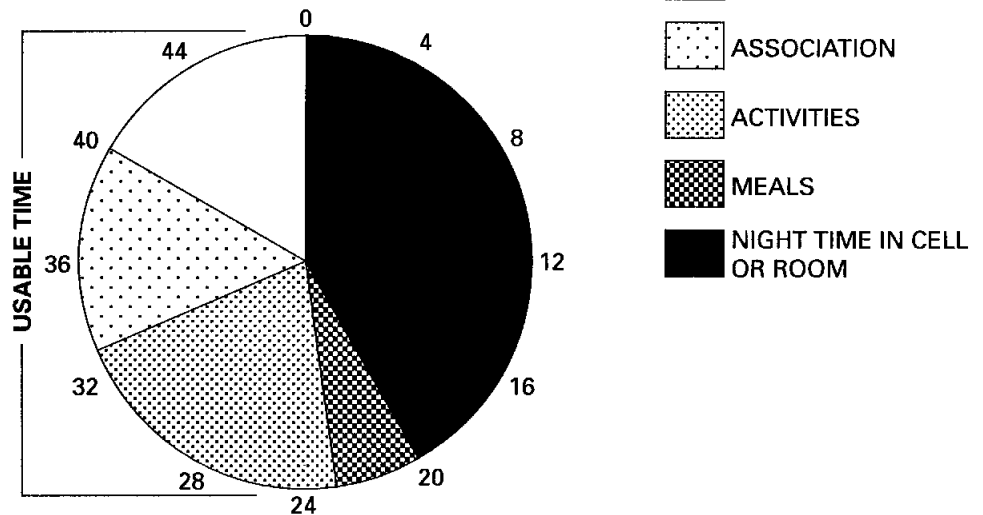


Notes

a Inmates spend "free" time out of cell with the exception of those at Feltham, Glen Parva and Castington.

b The routines at Northallerton provide for a total of 16 hours weekend activity and association whilst those at Dover offer a maximum of 10 hours.

9. Open YOIs

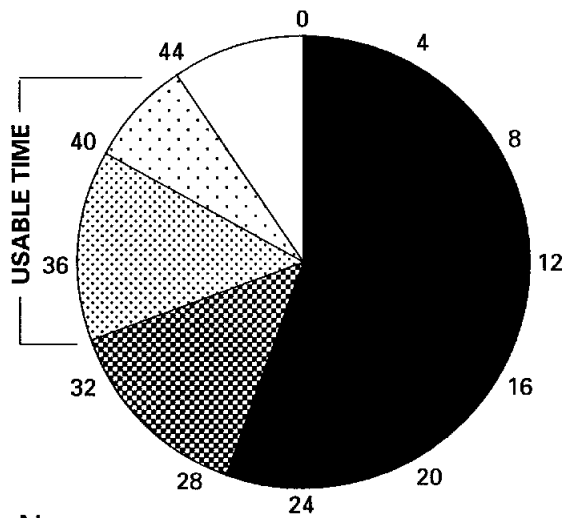


Notes

a Inmates spend most "free" time out of their rooms but the routines at these establishments provide for quiet periods, amounting to about 2 weekend hours, during which they return to their rooms.

b Meal times cover only the period set aside for serving and eating.

10. Male Remand (Excluding London)



Notes

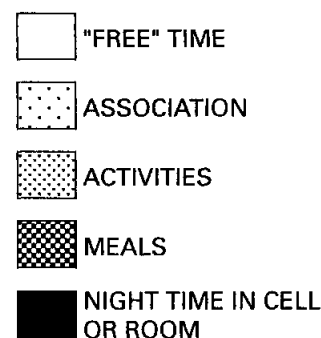
a All "free" time is spent in cell.

b The night time lock-ups at Cardiff total 32 weekend hours whilst those at Glen Parva total only 21½ hours.

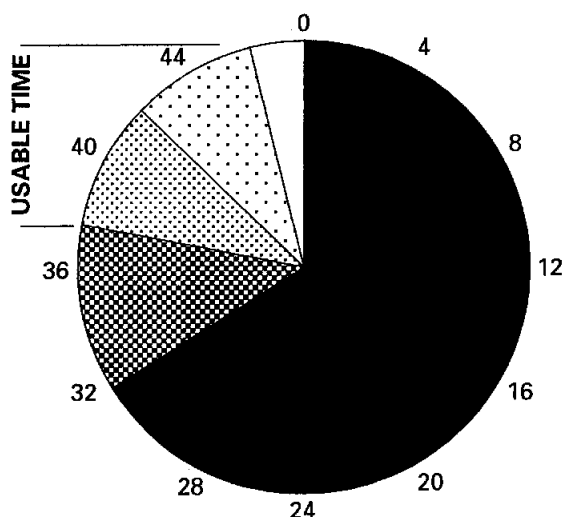
c The routines at Feltham do not provide for weekend evening association.

11. VPUs

Insufficient specific data for analysis



12. Male London



Notes

a All "free" time is spent in cell.

b Night time lock-ups range from 29½ to 33½ weekend hours.

4.24 In most groups of establishments in table 4.2, patterns of activity and inactivity at weekends are similar to those found on weekdays. However the pattern which emerges is that semi-secure and open establishments offer approximately the same proportions of usable time on weekdays and weekends whilst those establishments offering poorer regimes on weekdays become worse at weekends.

4.25 At the upper end of the spectrum table 4.2 suggests inmates in open Young Offender Institutions spend only about 42% of weekend hours in their cubicle or dormitory (2% less than on weekdays) and inmates in Category D training prisons about 36% of their time. At the lower end, inmates in Category B training prisons, dispersal prisons, local and remand establishments and London prisons are confined to their cells for even longer periods at weekends. **In some London prisons inmates can expect to spend up to 83% of the weekend in cell.**

4.26 Table 4.3 demonstrates that in 1991/92 inmates' usable time breaks down into the following proportions, denoted by type of establishment, measured in percentage:

Table 4.3 Usable Regimes Parameters – Proportion to weekdays total (120 hours) and weekend total (48 hours)

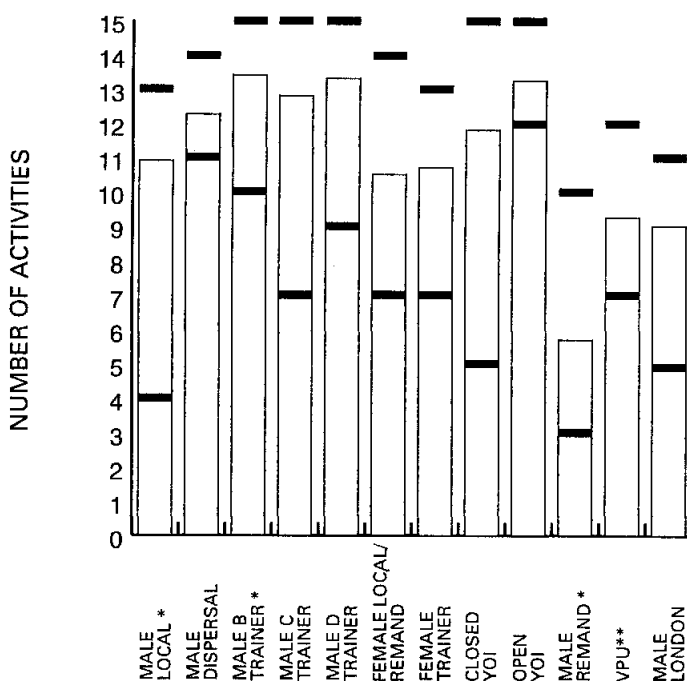
	<i>Weekdays</i>	<i>Weekends</i>
(a) Male Local (excluding London)	30.5%	22.3%
(b) Dispersal Prisons	31.8%	21.6%
(c) Male B Trainers (excluding London)	33.1%	20.6%
(d) Male C Trainers	45.2%	44.7%
(e) Male D Trainers	58.8%	57.7%
(f) Female Local/Remand	31.3%	31.0%
(g) Female Trainers	43.1%	41.0%
(h) Closed YOIs	38.3%	37.9%
(i) Open YOIs	46.7%	52.1%
(j) Male Remand (excluding London)	31.7%	21.1%
(k) Male London	25.3%	18.1%

NB separate information not available for VPUs in the sample

4.27 Having established the extent to which inmates are confined and the parameters within which they can participate in activities in the broadest sense, we will now examine the availability of those activities which the Prison Service structures and measures.

4.28 Table 4.4 demonstrates the extent to which each of the groups of establishments in our sample is able to offer inmates the opportunity to participate in up to 15 activities (see table 4.5) which the Prison Service monitored during 1991/92.

Table 4.4 Average number of Monitored Activities per Group of Establishments (With Maximum and Minimum)



* Excluding London

** Including Wandsworth from London Group

4.29 Table 4.4 represents an overview and takes no account of the nature, quality, duration or accessibility of individual activities which we will examine later. The table shows that open Young Offender Institutions (many of which already offer the largest amount of usable time) provided the largest ranges of activities (12 – 15) whilst Category B training prisons (10 – 15) and dispersal prisons (11 – 14) offered more activities than some Category D training prisons (9 – 15). It also shows however that the groups of establishments providing the least amount of time out of cell (London (5 – 11) and other local and remand establishments) offered the poorest overall numbers of activities. In Table 4.5 we demonstrate the availability of each of the 15 monitored activities in each group of establishments.

**Table 4.5 Monitored activities Offered by Functional Groups of Establishments
% of Group offering each activity in 1991/92**

	Female											
	Male Local*	Male Dispersal	Male B Trainer*	Male C Trainer	Male D Trainer	Local/ Remand	Female Trainer	Closed YOI	Open YOI	Male Remand*	VPU**	London
Daytime Education	100	100	100	85	100	100	100	92	100	100	100	100
VT Courses	6	75	80	70	57	25	67	75	75	–	25	–
CIT Courses	18	50	80	70	71	25	–	75	100	–	–	–
Works Party	94	75	80	100	100	75	67	75	100	10	25	83
PSI F Workshops	88	100	80	92	86	75	33	58	25	10	100	67
Farms Party	12	–	40	54	71	25	33	33	50	–	25	–
Gardens Party	82	100	80	77	86	75	67	75	100	10	50	67
Kitchens	94	100	100	92	100	75	67	75	100	20	–	67
Other Domestic	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Induction	29	75	100	77	86	25	67	75	100	30	50	–
Other (Specify)	88	50	100	92	86	75	100	83	75	70	75	33
All Other	88	100	100	92	100	75	67	92	100	30	75	83
PE	100	100	100	92	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Evening Education	94	100	100	100	86	100	100	83	100	30	100	100
Chaplaincy	100	100	100	92	100	100	100	92	100	90	100	100

*Excluding London

** Including Wandsworth from London Group

4.30 Table 4.5 provides us with an opportunity to examine the nature and quality of the activities offered by each group of establishments in our sample. In so doing, we must inevitably make some value judgements about the activities. Every establishment has a number of work parties which help it to operate from day to day; effectively a number of ‘service industries’. Many of the work places are accounted for under the blanket heading “other domestic”, for example, cleaning parties. “Other (specify)” generally includes parties, groups or individuals who are trusted to help prison staff run various parts of the establishment. The work of the “orderlies” and “red bands” varies widely but rarely involves anything more taxing or inspiring than cleaning, tidying, fetching and carrying and preparing drinks. The jobs in these two categories are popular because they guarantee regular and often long periods out of cell and some freedom of movement. However, they rarely contain any element of preparation for release. Other ‘service industries’ such as the kitchen, works, farms and gardens parties have a dual function in most establishments in that they serve both the institution and the inmate by offering training within the working environment.

4.31 Induction is the process by which inmates are introduced to the establishment’s routines, rules and, in most cases, opportunities. The process may be undertaken in an induction unit or from within the normal living accommodation. It may take the form of a structured course lasting several days or be handled by means of literature and interviews during and shortly after reception (the process by which the inmate is received into the establishment). In

most establishments induction is monitored only if it takes the form of a course.

4.32 Another important aspect of inmates' lives which is difficult to analyse is pre-release courses which are subsumed in the category "all other" occupations. These courses also take various forms and are not offered in all establishments.

4.33 Daytime education and training courses are rarely considered to be anything other than positive and helpful activities. Debate about the relative merits of various courses and classes and the relevance of the experience they offer in preparing inmates for their release are set aside for the purposes of this report and these activities will be taken at face value as purposeful users of time. This is not to say that purposeful occupation should not be examined; quality control is an important part of regime development. We will also assume that PE, evening education and chaplaincy activities are worthwhile occupations.

4.34 We are left with one area of activity which we have found to range from the bottom to the top of the scale: industrial workshops run by Prison Service Industries and Farms (PSIF), now part of the Directorate of Services and Parole. The quality of work offered to inmates in these workshops ranges from sewing mailbags, a repetitive and undemanding task unlikely to be of any relevance to employment on release, to high quality engineering and construction work attracting marketable qualifications.

4.35 Examination of Table 4.5 shows that only activities of little value were available in every establishment in our sample. Most establishments offered daytime education, PE, evening education and chaplaincy activities which we have assessed as being worthwhile. There was no consistency in the provision of training courses although the table shows a discernable pattern of decreasing availability from training establishments down to local and remand establishments. This is perhaps understandable since many of these courses are lengthy and the latter establishments are less likely to hold significant numbers of inmates who would have time to complete a full course.

4.36 Some establishments have found it possible to create modular courses leading to recognised qualifications and this system might offer a way forward to improve the quality of regime provision in short term establishments.

4.37 Farms and gardens parties are clearly limited to establishments which have the grounds to cater for them and it is not possible to draw any conclusions about the spread of availability across groups of establishments.

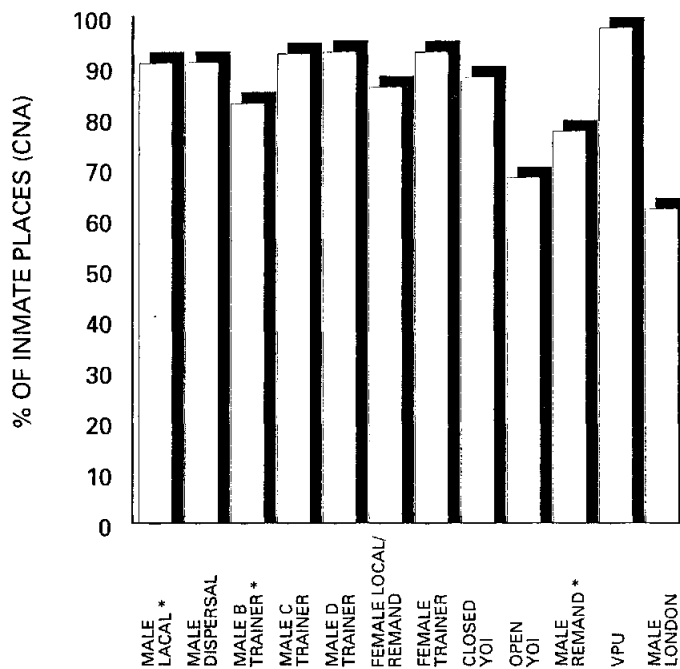
4.38 The vertical columns of Table 4.5 show that the activities which we have identified as worthwhile were prevalent in the groups of establishments which offer the greatest amounts of usable time and the largest numbers of activities.

4.39 The London prisons offered the poorest range of good quality activities for convicted prisoners whilst unconvicted inmates were offered even less worthwhile occupation, presumably because they cannot be required to work. This lack of choice for the unconvicted may be attributed to the establishment or individuals.

4.40 The range of opportunities for inmates in VPUs varied widely but was generally of poor quality. The location of these units has a direct bearing on the range of activities available to inmates but in many establishments provision is dependent upon first having met the needs of the rest, and usually much larger proportion, of the population.

4.41 We move now to a quantitative assessment of regime activity and the impact of the level of use of accommodation. Table 4.6 shows the target proportion of the population of each group of establishments involved in monitored regime activities.

Table 4.6 Planned number of Inmates involved in Monitored activities¹ as Percentage of CNA by grouped Establishments



* **Excluding London**

1 For the purposes of this table, monitored activities comprise the first 12 activities listed in table 4.5. The number of inmates undertaking the remaining 3 activities is expressed only in total target hours.

2 Some Establishments performing more than 1 function provide only an overall activity profile. In such cases the targets have been assessed against the total CNA and included in the table under the Establishment's main function.

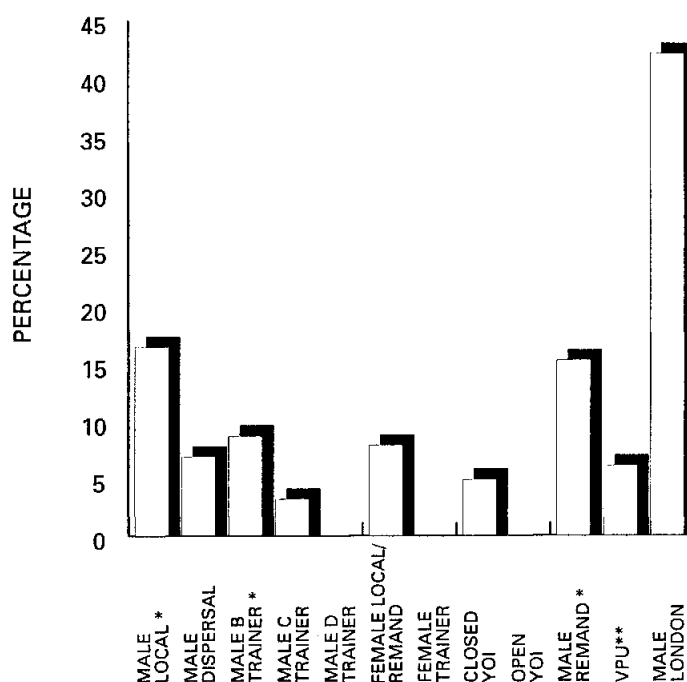
4.42 Table 4.6 indicates an expectation that between 2% and 38% of inmates will not be involved in monitored regime activities. With one notable exception, the proportions of inmates likely to be engaged in monitored activities follow much the same trends as the proportions of usable time and ranges of activities.

4.43 Inmates in London and other local and remand establishments are offered less activity/workplaces than those in training establishments despite the fact that they spend longer in cell and have access to a smaller range of poorer quality activities.

4.44 The exception to the general trend is in open Young Offender Institutions. It may be that greater emphasis is placed upon activities outside these establishments, ie community work, but this is not reflected in the target figures for Category D training prisons which generally offer similar opportunities.

4.45 An element which cannot be demonstrated in Table 4.6 is the extent to which the target number of activity places has been adjusted to reflect the size of the average population rather than the number of inmate places provided normally (CNA). Appendix 3 shows the extent to which individual establishments were over or under used in 1990/91 (the latest period for which published figures are available). Examination of these figures provides another possible explanation for the low target activity figures in open Young Offender Institutions, but there is no corresponding reduction in the target figures for female establishments which were under used to only a slightly lesser extent.

Table 4.7 Average number of Inmates unoccupied as % of average Population¹ by grouped Establishments



* Excludes London Establishments

** Includes Wandsworth from London group

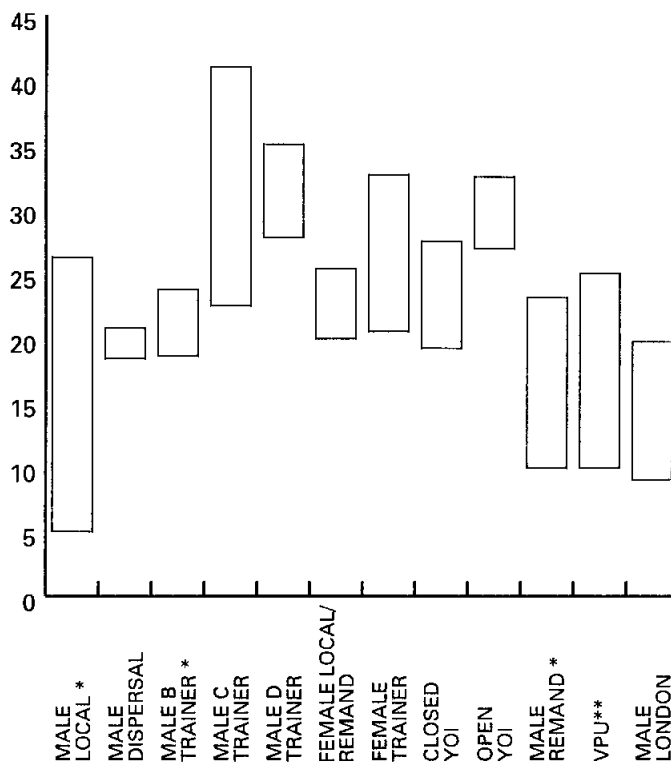
¹Based upon the latest information provided by the Prison Service in March 1992 covering all or most of the period 1.4.91 - 18.1.92.

4.46 The most noticeable adjustments to reflect average rather than “normal” occupation of accommodation were in the local prisons outside London. With few exceptions, the target number of activity/workplaces in these establishments reflected the average population in the period before the targets were agreed in the Governors’ contracts with their Area Managers. The target number of activity/workplaces in the London prisons in our sample bore no resemblance to the “normal” let alone the average population figures. In these establishments the level of inactivity anticipated by occupation profiles which provided places for an average of only 61.95% of the “normal” population was exacerbated by an average of over 19% overcrowding. The resulting level of unemployment is apparent in Table 4.7 which provides an overview of all the groups of establishments. We would expect a regime driven organisation to operate on the basis of anticipating high levels of activity.

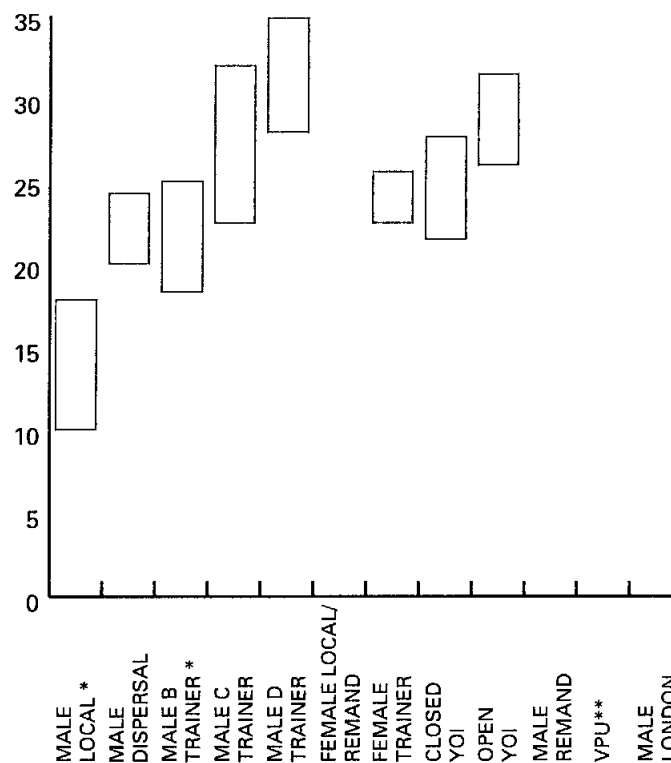
4.47 In the next two tables (Tables 4.8 and 4.9) we show the ranges of target hours allocated to monitored regime activities in the groups of establishments in which they take place. Table 4.8 demonstrates the ranges of hours allocated to the 12 activities which normally take place on weekdays during normal working hours (ie between about 9am and 5pm) but which rarely fill what would normally be regarded as a working day. Table 4.9 shows the ranges of target hours allocated to activities which usually take place outside normal working hours.

Table 4.8 Range of Target Hours Allocated to Monitored Weekday Daytime Activities
 (Groups of Establishments in which an activity is not provided or is provided by only one Establishment are not included)

1. Daytime Education



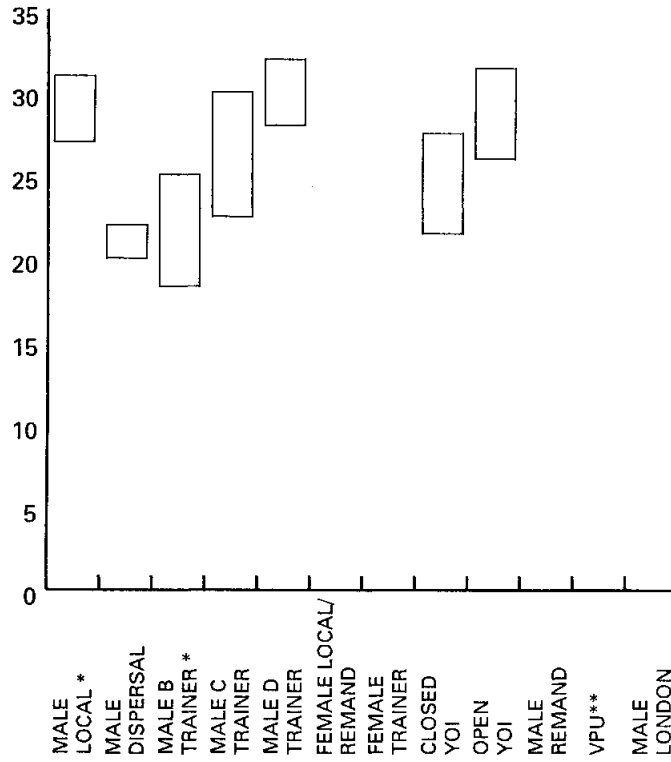
2. Vocational Training Courses



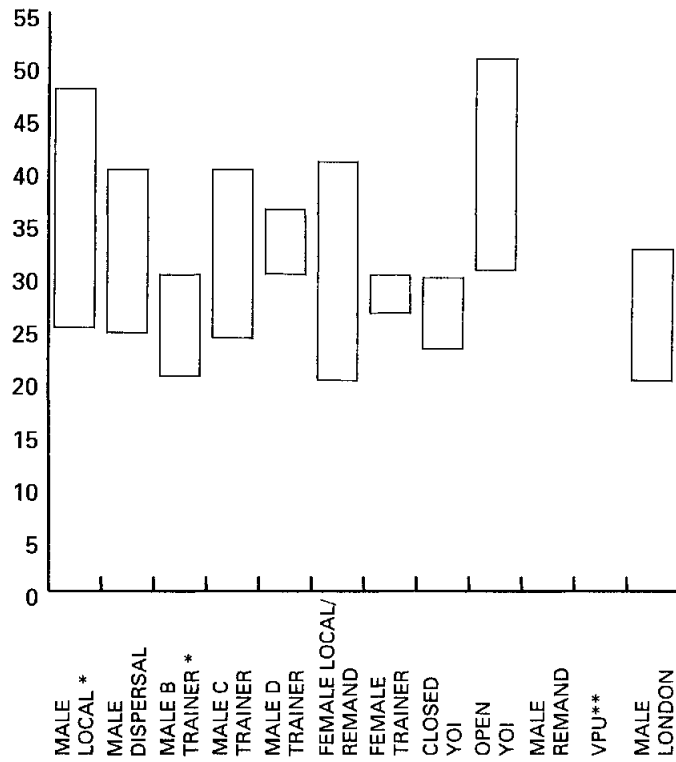
* Excluding London

** Including Wandsworth from London Group

3. Construction Industry Training Courses



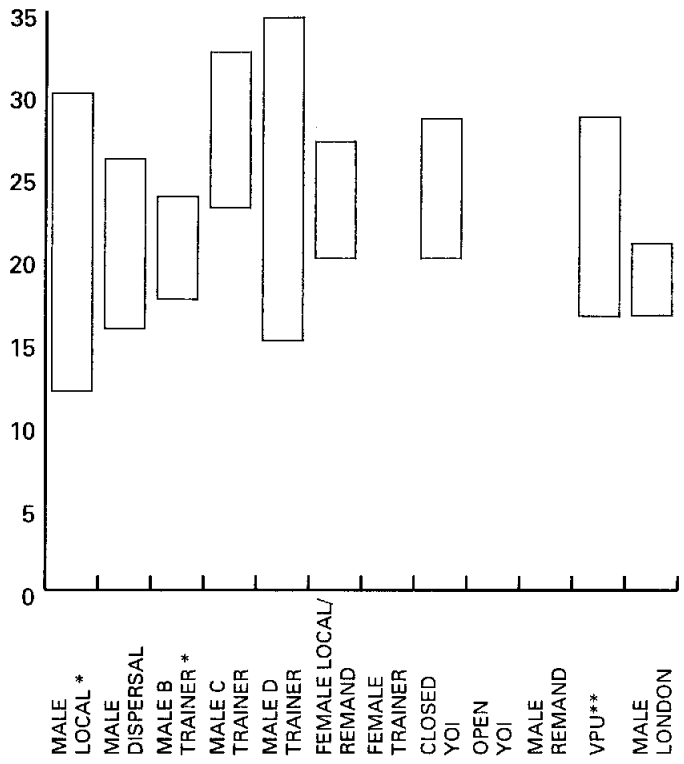
4. Works Party



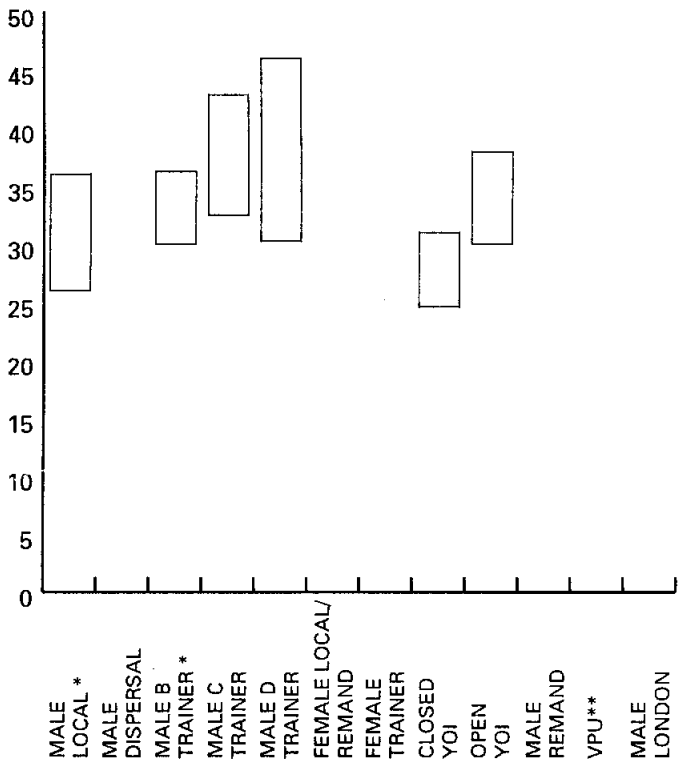
* Excluding London

** Including Wandsworth from London Group

5. PSIF Workshops



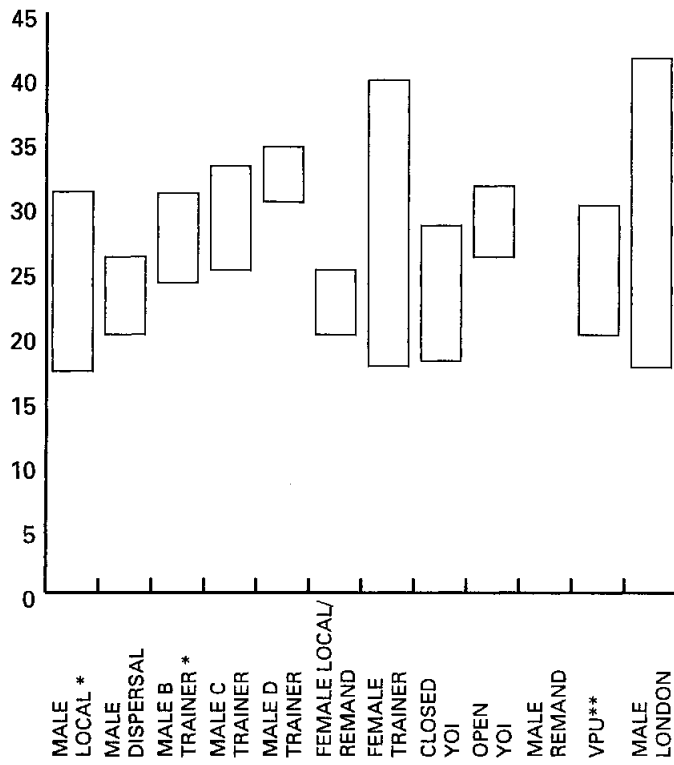
6. Farms Party



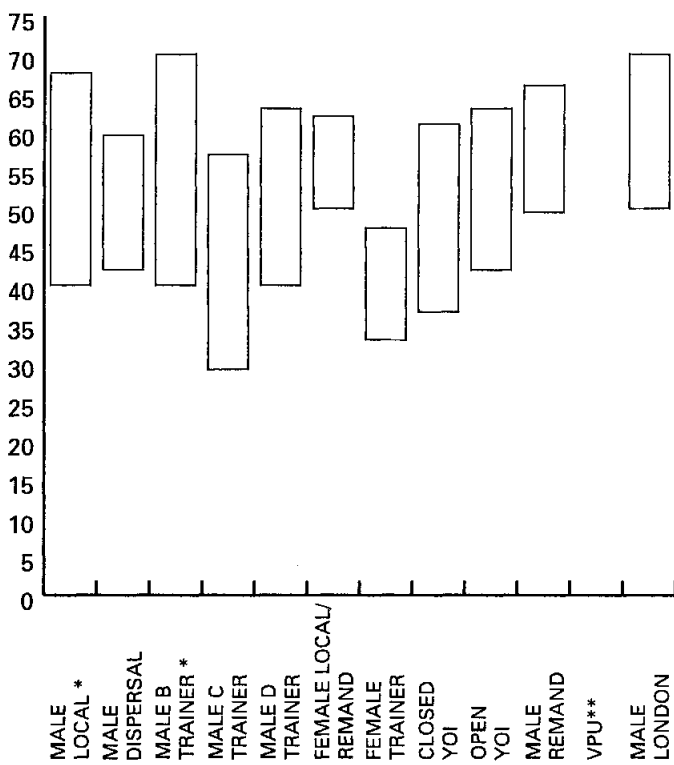
* Excluding London

** Including Wandsworth from London Group

7. Gardens Party



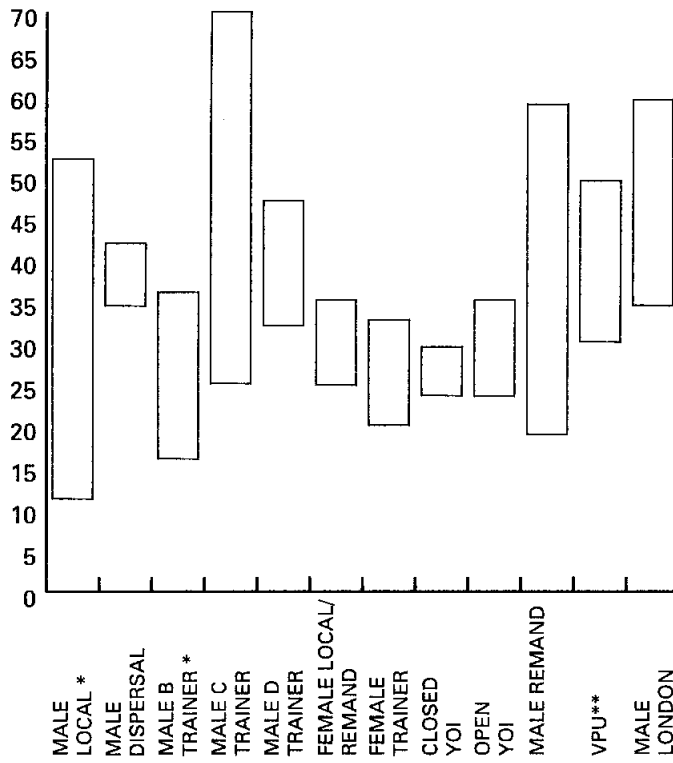
8. Kitchen



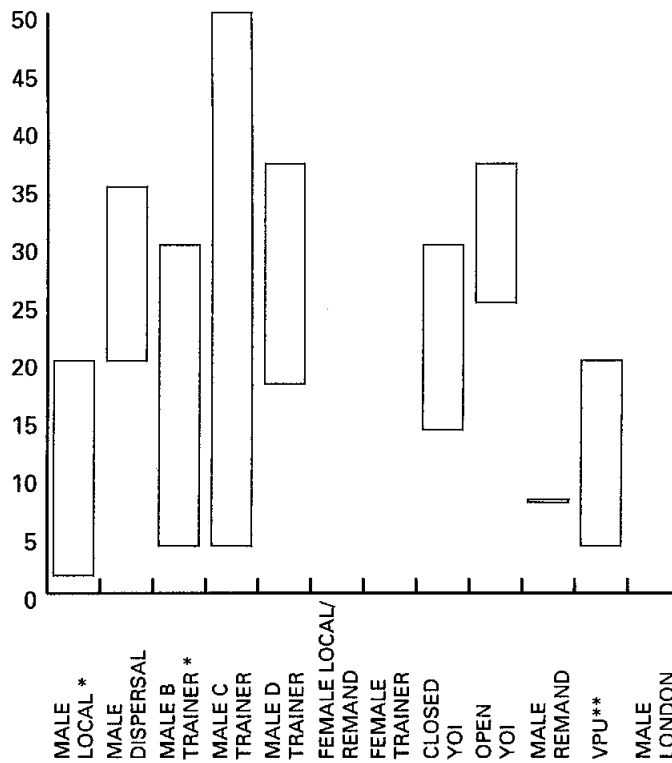
* Excluding London

** Including Wandsworth from London Group

9. Other Domestic



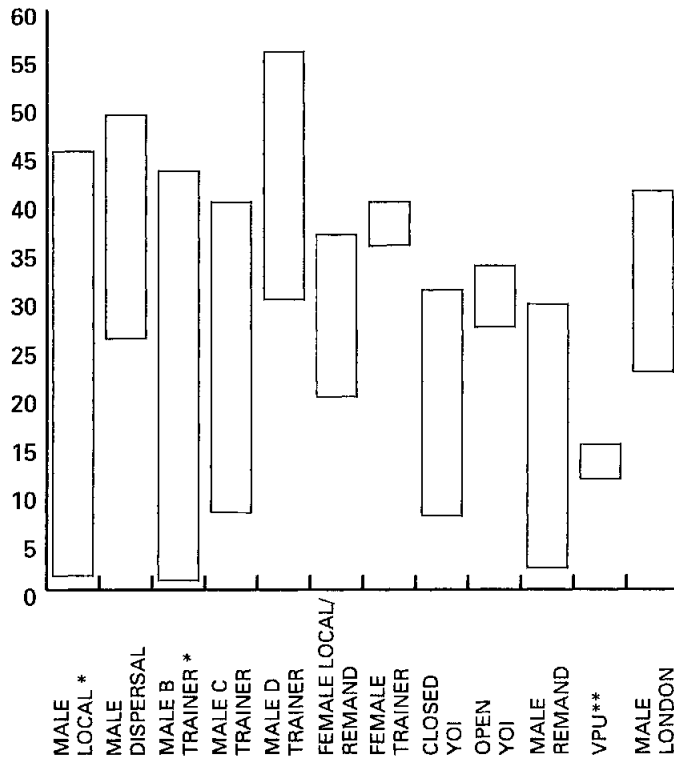
10. Induction



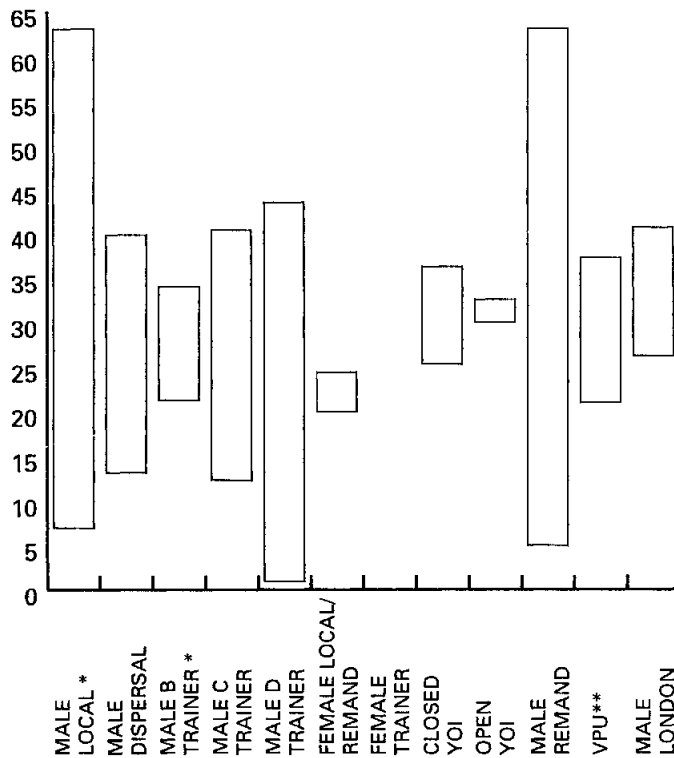
* Excluding London

** Including Wandsworth from London Group

11. Other (Specify)



12. All Other

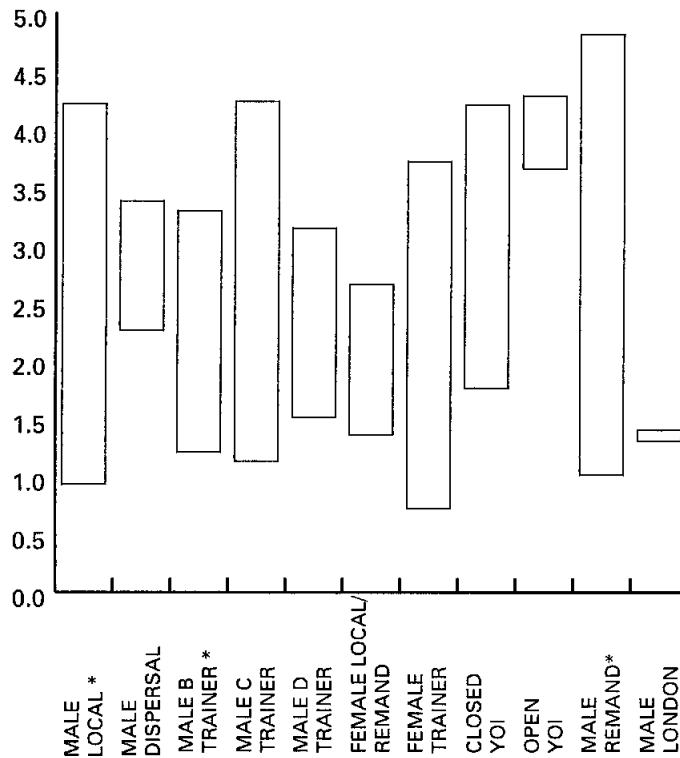


* Excluding London

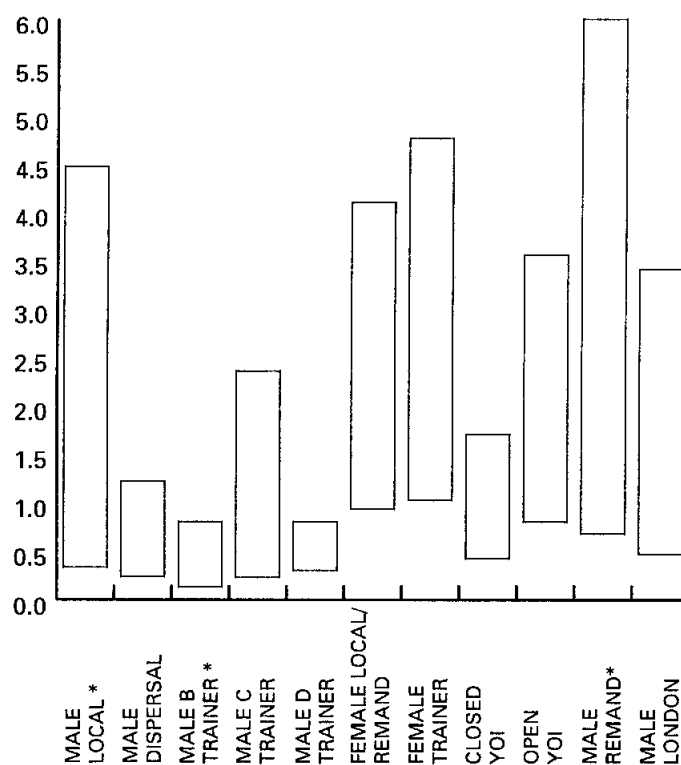
** Including Wandsworth from London Group

Table 4.9 Range of Target Hours¹ Allocated to Physical Education, Evening Education and Chaplaincy Activities per inmate² per week by Grouped Establishments³

1. Physical Education

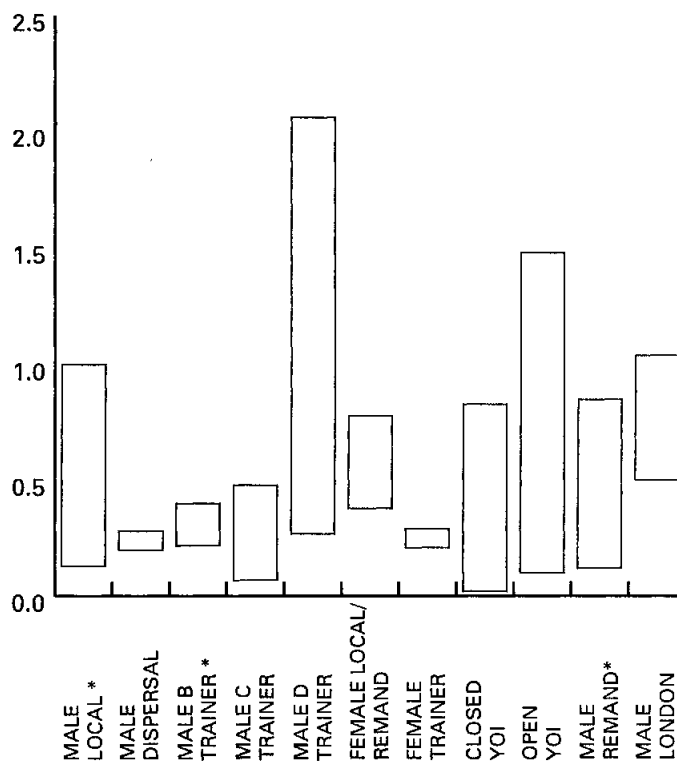


2. Evening Education



*** Excluding London**

3. Chaplaincy Activities



* Excluding London

¹Targets set in Governors' contracts with Area Managers.

²Based on number of inmate places (CNA).

³Multi-function Establishments are included in the table under their primary function except where activity profiles are provided for distinct inmate groups.

4.48 These tables provide a further opportunity to examine the availability of activities of different quality. It is immediately apparent from Table 4.8 that far more hours are allocated to domestic tasks (the service industries) than to education and training. In very few establishments do kitchen workers work less than a 40-hour week whilst education and training hours rarely exceed 30 a week.

4.49 It is difficult to imagine how industrial workshops can operate effectively and, unless work is demanding and leads to qualifications, how such employment can be relevant to inmates on release when very few workshops operate more than a 30-hour week. The hours allocated to farm and garden work show relatively little variation although some gardens parties work less than a 20-hour week.

4.50 The time allocated to induction varies widely, ranging from one to 50 hours a week overall and from 4 to 50 hours in Category C training prisons alone. The widest variations in target hours occur in the two miscellaneous categories, "other (specify)" and "all other" occupations, which include orderlies, pre-release, community work and, in some establishments, inmates attending interviews and courses outside the institution.

4.51 The overall picture presented by Table 4.8 lends further support to the view that worthwhile activities are offered in reasonable quantity only in some training establishments and particularly in those of lower security. There is an undeniable logic to concentrating on such activities in establishments which are likely to be preparing many inmates for release, but the needs of inmates on remand and those serving short sentences in urban local prisons appear to be largely overlooked. It is only when activities which usually occur outside working hours are analysed that these inmates appear to fare better. Table 4.9 shows that local and remand establishments offer among the highest maximum hours for PE and evening education and that their minimum target hours are not significantly lower than other groups of establishments. The pattern for chaplaincy activities is less clearly defined, but it must be borne in mind that in no establishment is any of these occasional activities offered for more than six hours per inmate per week. Other factors which must be taken into account are overcrowding and the effects of reductions in the number of staff available to supervise activities. We examine the latter subject after a brief summary of the extent to which the groups of establishments in our sample met their overall targets in the greater part of 1991/92.

Table 4.10 Overall Performance against Targets¹ by Grouped Establishments: April 1991 – January 1992²

<i>Group</i>	<i>Range of Performance</i>	<i>Highest³ Performance Activity (%)</i>	<i>Lowest⁴ Performance Activity (%)</i>
Male Local (excluding London)	71.6 – 108.2%	Induction (211.2)	CIT (0)
Male Dispersal	58.7 – 84.7%	Induction (346.7)	Evening Education (0.6)
Male B Trainer (excluding London)	77.2 – 105.6%	PSIF Workshops (392.8)	Other (specify) (2.7)
Male C Trainer	74.7 – 97%	Daytime Education (600.4)	Other domestic (11.7)
Male D Trainer	85.5 – 125%	All other (112,746.5)	All other (11)
Female Local/Remand	77.7 – 83.6%	All other (140.4)	PSIF Workshops (31.9)
Female Trainer	52.6 – 89.6%	Other domestic (278.5)	All other (5.5)
Closed YOI	58.7 – 97.5%	Induction (210.6)	Daytime Education (23.5)
Open YOI	72.5 – 88.6%	Chaplaincy (135.3)	Evening Education (36.1)
Male Remand	49.3 – 108.3%	Other (specify) (186.4)	Daytime Education (24.6)
VPU	69.6 – 109.2%	Chaplaincy (455.4)	Other (specify) (2)
Male London	67.2 – 101%	Induction (211.2)	Other (specify) (23)

¹ Actual hours as percentage of target hours totalled over all monitored activities.

² Latest information provided by the Prison Service in March 1992 covering all or most of the period 1.4.91 – 18.1.92.

³ Highest single performance recorded in any establishment in sample group.

⁴ Lowest single performance recorded in any establishment in sample group.

4.52 Table 4.10 shows some wide variations in degrees of achievement of targets during the period analysed but it is clear that very few of the establishments in our sample exceeded their target performance levels. Ironically several of the groups of establishments which in our analysis up to this point appeared

to offer good regimes, for example open Young Offender Institutions and semi-secure training establishments, failed to fulfil their aspirations. In the remaining groups, no more than one or two establishments exceeded their targets.

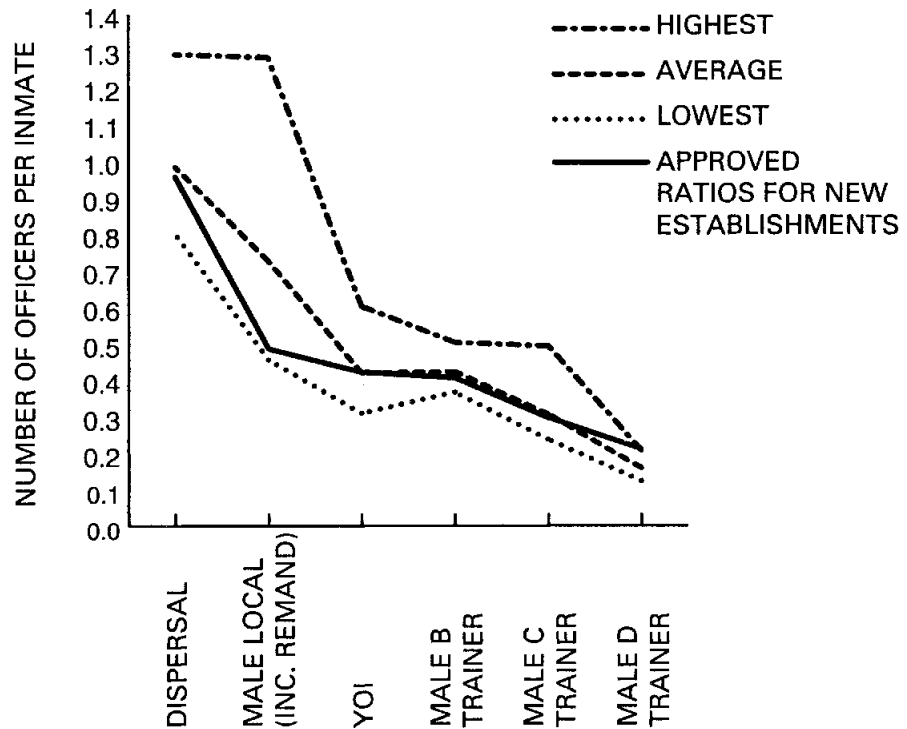
4.53 Levels of achievement of targets in individual activities also varied widely and in some cases quite alarmingly. We have already suggested that the “other (specify)” and “all other” occupations categories defined by the regime monitoring system contain such a variety of workplaces as to be difficult to analyse qualitatively or quantitatively, and this is borne out by the appearance of both in the highest and lowest performance bands. The frequency with which induction targets are greatly exceeded is difficult to explain, but it is disappointing to find daytime education targets being missed to such a large extent in two establishments. The other lowest performance which is particularly disappointing in view of the low range of target hours is in evening education. In the two establishments with the worst performances the amount of time per head of the “normal” population reduced from targets of 1¼ hours and 21 minutes a week to 37 minutes and less than one minute respectively. Clearly the achievement of targets in such occasional activities will depend to some extent upon the number of inmates who wish to participate but in many establishments performance is also limited by the availability of staff outside “normal working hours”. The proportions of establishments in the sample groups which failed to meet their target for PE, evening education and chaplaincy activities are set out in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Proportion of establishments in sample groups failing to achieve target hours for PE, evening education and chaplaincy activities

	<i>PE</i>	<i>Evening education</i>	<i>Chaplaincy activities</i>
Male Local (excluding London)	50%	78.6%	50%
Male Dispersal	50%	75%	100%
Male B Trainer (excluding London)	40%	60%	20%
Male C Trainer	77%	77%	31.8%
Male D Trainer	16.7%	50%	17.7%
Female Local/Remand	100%	75%	25%
Female Trainer	66.7%	66.7%	33.3%
Closed YOI	56.6%	78.8%	78.8%
Open YOI	75%	100%	75%
Male Remand (excluding London)	66.7%	100%	75%
VPU	50%	100%	75%
Male London	100%	100%	100%

4.54 The pattern of failure to achieve targets in the activities shown in this table largely reflects the overall performance levels demonstrated in Table 4.10. We have already pointed to two factors: underuse of accommodation; and greater emphasis upon activities outside establishments, which might explain the low level of achievements of targets in open Young Offender Institutions. These factors are unlikely to come into play in London and other local and remand establishments. Many of these establishments are overcrowded and might be expected to exceed their targets. If we assume that the failure to achieve targets is related to problems of staff availability we must first examine the overall existing staffing levels and assess them against the Prison Service's approved ratios. We do so in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Officer¹/Inmate Ratios in sample Establishments² as at 31 January 1992 comparing Average, Highest and Lowest and Approved Ratios for new Establishments based on CNA



¹The term Officer covers all ranks of discipline and specialist Officers. Ratios are calculated by dividing the Authorised Staffing Level by the number of Inmate places (CNA).

²This table includes Multi-Function Establishments only where a secondary Function clearly falls within the same approved Ratio as the Primary. London Prisons are included in the Male Local column.

4.55 The analysis in Table 4.12 is limited by the broad categories within which the Prison Service targets are set, but, with the exception of Category D training prisons and a significant proportion of Young Offender Institutions,

most groups of establishments including those with the lowest levels of performance against activity targets appear well staffed.

4.56 We believe, as many inspection reports have suggested, that the answer to questions about low levels of inmate activity relate not to overall staffing levels but to staff attendance systems. The largest proportion of staff are on duty during “normal working hours”, ie during the time when the needs of the establishment are greatest.

4.57 In local and remand establishments the primary function is traditionally to service courts. In all establishments inmates have to be fed and in most locked up, unlocked and escorted or supervised. The basic tasks which have to be completed in all establishments are generally undertaken by far fewer staff at weekends than on weekdays. If the tasks can be completed at weekends why are far more staff allocated to undertake them on weekdays? Part of the answer must lie in the fact that many people are, quite understandably, reluctant to work at weekends and in the evenings.

4.58 The introduction of Fresh Start, which effectively eliminated overtime payments, made weekend and evening working an even less attractive proposition. Another significant factor must be the way in which the Prison Service measures its performance. **A regime monitoring system which places emphasis upon activities which take place during “normal working hours” and which measures quantity rather than quality is unlikely to encourage the development of programmes which meet the needs of individual inmates throughout their time in custody.**

4.59 Regimes as presented in prisons in England and Wales are good in some establishments, poor in others. Although trends can be discerned, such as the poorer provision of quality activities in local as opposed to training establishments, the quality of regime has a great deal to do with what Silvia Casale and Joyce Plotnikoff identified as the placing of key people in appropriate positions in each prison. The tradition of the charismatic Governor and similarly motivated members of prison staff is a long one in the Prison Service. It has always been the case that exceptional and surprising work has been carried out in the custodial setting. The problems facing the prison system in England and Wales require more systematic handling if regime provision is to be generally improved. In our visits to prisons of all kinds we spoke with Governors and their staff not so much about the particular facilities which they offered, but the approach which they had to regime provision and the possibilities and limitations of providing such regimes in their establishments. The responses covered the perspectives of the Governor, other senior managers and unified staff in establishments together with specialist staff.

4.60 Of the senior managers in the Prison Service, Governors have had the longest direct experience of new management structures which have been developed. The Fresh Start arrangements for the Service were introduced after four years of planning and consultation in 1987, and were directed towards the management of prison establishments. Governors were expected to establish management teams which would account to them for all activities carried out in the prison. Fresh Start affected all members of the Prison Service. Governors had to contend with at least three main problems. First, job accountability at all levels of the establishment placed a direct management pressure on prison staff. In a service with a very poor industrial relations record, Governors had to contend with the consequences of having to insist on being accounted to by a staff who viewed the new arrangements with suspicion. In 1989 and 1990, we met Governors who had dealt with the new arrangements successfully from a managerial point of view, and others who struggled with one or more aspects of the new practices.

4.61 The second problem facing the Governor was that within each establishment were large groups of staff who had not been included under the Fresh Start arrangements. Administrative and specialist staff were placed within the new structures, but were not included in the new arrangements for pay which had been negotiated with uniformed staff. Thus Governors had initially to contend with some staff who felt bitter at receiving none of the benefits of the new arrangements, whilst at the same time being expected to work for their successful introduction.

4.62 Third, in this problematic context, Governors had to present Fresh Start as a challenging development for the Prison Service, bringing with it a newly declared sense of purpose for prison staff.

4.63 In September 1990, the organisational arrangements above establishment level changed. Regions were abolished and the Area structure, as part of Headquarters, shortened the line of command between Governor and Director General.

4.64 We found that the new arrangements aided managerially minded Governors to develop team strategies for developing prison life. The functional heads working to the Governor were able to present an accurate picture of how their areas of responsibility were operating. The possibilities for regime development were enhanced by having a senior manager (usually a governor grade) responsible for provision of regime programmes ie the Head of Inmate Activities. The setting of targets and contracts meant that Governors were quickly made aware of the limited funds available for regime development.

4.65 We found support among prison officers for the idea that they should develop special skills to deal with different population groups. Attitudes towards the then current changes in the management structure varied from enthusiasm to cynicism. Many officers expressed concern about perceived shortages of staff, resources and time. A small minority expressed bitterness that prisoners might be better treated than their own families. Overall, however, the staff we met appreciated opportunities to work more closely and purposefully with inmates.

4.66 Among the specialist non Prison Service staff we found a different reaction. Probation staff, psychologists and teachers frequently expressed feelings of isolation from the main management decision bodies, caused by the fact that in most cases their views were represented by the appropriate functional head. The work of such specialists tends heavily towards casework with individual or small groups of prisoners. Casework is often regarded as a higher priority than policy issues.

4.67 Taking the statistical data and the interviews held in each type of establishment we found prisons of every category in which satisfactory and unsatisfactory work was being conducted.

4.68 As far as specialist groups were concerned, we spoke in three lengthy meetings to members of the Probation Service in Kent as to their experiences of working in prisons in the County. Without exception it was reported to us that Probation Officers working in the custodial setting felt marginalised by prison staff, and separate from the management groups which decided the policy of the establishment.

4.69 The fieldwork undertaken suggested that the quality of regimes in prisons in 1992 remains dependent on the ability of individual Governors and staff to promote and develop them. The structure of the Prison Service, despite

the improvement in communication between establishments and Headquarters, remains dependent on the quality of persons running individual prisons. This would appear to impose a structural limitation on regime development. To examine how far this is true, it is necessary to examine current policy on regime development in the Prison Service.

Chapter Five: Regimes Policy in the Prison Service

5.1 We have already suggested that improvement in regimes in individual establishments would be dependent upon the quality of individuals in key posts, and that in such a case there are limitations on the ability of individual prisons to provide a sufficiently flexible regime for all types of prisoner who pass through them. In this report we have been drawn by the organisational structure of the Prison Service to place regimes in the context of individual establishments. We have suggested that the Service focuses on Governors as regime managers, constraining them in a number of ways such as limitation of budget or requirements imposed from outside the establishment by bodies such as PSIF which require prisoner labour to be used at certain times. In this chapter we examine two issues. First, the current policy on regimes as being promoted by the Prisons Board and, second, recent thinking on the use of the prison estate by the Service. The object is to show that, notwithstanding the management changes that have taken place in the last five years, the Prison Service orientates itself primarily to the individual prison and its Governor in any discussion about the way in which time is used. Thinking about regimes is, we suggest, constrained by such an approach. It is necessary, we believe, to examine how the prison estate may be used more effectively to develop regime activity.

5.2 Prison Service thinking in 1992 is apparently centred on the idea that Governors of establishments are best placed to provide suitable regimes for the prisoners in their care. Using criteria applied to work, education and programmes which address offending behaviour, Governors are encouraged to develop proposals for suitable regimes within their own establishments which match the needs of the populations they contain. At the centre of this policy is the requirement that prisoners should work during planned activity hours and that other activities which are considered less important should be undertaken in free time. Certain educational and health promoting activities may be undertaken in working hours if it is not possible to undertake them at other times. Governors are to be given discretion to prepare cases for the provision of working opportunities from local sources and the role of PSIF will take on an advisory dimension for Governors who seek to use locally negotiated opportunities.

5.3 The Prison Service does reflect occasionally on the value of using the Area system in co-operation with Governors to develop shared regime strategies, but the idea has not been promoted in any recent documents. In 1991 the Prison Service Estate Review examined the estate not in terms of 15 Areas but of nine clusters with a view to ensuring a better balance of the estate in each cluster. The concern in that review was with quality and amount of accommodation, and not with regime provision. We argue in the next chapter that opportunities will be missed if regime provision and estate needs are not linked.

5.4 The work of the Service is divided between six Directorates. Three of these, the Directorates of Custody, Inmate Administration and Inmate Programmes provide the control, through Area Managers, of every prison establishment and have responsibility for certain specialities as well. The three remaining Directorates, Services and Parole, Health Care, and Personnel and

Finance, provide further specialist services and the administrative infrastructure which supports operations. It is the argument of this chapter that even if the structures that have eventually emerged are to provide a more efficient means of improving regimes, they are unlikely to do so without further fundamental thinking about the purpose of prisons and imprisonment within the criminal justice system.

5.5 From 1970 the Prison Service appeared to be fighting against all odds to fulfil its obligations to hold securely those sentenced or remanded in custody, maintain conditions of decency, and provide sufficient activity to inhibit mental deterioration. The Service consistently reported failure.

5.6 Before 1990 the three-tier structure of management, which linked individual establishments to the Headquarters structure via four Regional Directorates, did little to encourage change and necessary development. The Regional Offices provided the Operations Rooms which were the hub of the control of the problems which often arose as a result of having to place too many people into too little accommodation. At the same time:

- (a) governors, who were at the sharp end of the problems caused by overcrowding and poor conditions, had to negotiate these matters with Regional Offices whilst having to go direct to Headquarters on staffing and many other matters concerning regimes;
- (b) Headquarters, responsible for central budgeting, often had to resist demands for extra resources from Regional Offices and establishments;
- (c) Regional Offices, being neither sole fundholders nor seen as being in sufficient contact with the field, fell between the establishment and Headquarters. This contributed to a view that Regions were ineffective.

5.7 Crisis management was not conducive to the development of regimes. The evidence is that in the 1970s efforts from within the Home Office, combined with the beliefs of organisations such as NACRO, were directed towards keeping people out of prison and providing non-custodial programmes for offenders. The adoption of the approach to imprisonment associated with Von Hirsch, known as 'just deserts', was widely interpreted as supporting the view that imprisonment could on no account do anyone any good; a belief which had gathered momentum and for which the physical conditions in so many prisons provided so much support.

5.8 By the end of the 1970s morale in the Service was low. From an industrial relations point of view, the management structure of the Service was such that the Governor was nominally in charge of the establishment but dependent upon uniformed officers if he was to make progress. The decade had been a time of strikes and disturbances. These contributed to the belief that prisons could have nothing to offer to a criminal justice system.

5.9 By 1983, it was clear that the Prison Service had to be reformed. Plans set in motion to make prison staff more accountable for their work were resisted because of the threat they posed to the power of the officers, which had often been expressed in industrial action and threats.

5.10 This context of industrial unhappiness and disillusionment with the effectiveness of imprisonment was one in which those planning for the development of prison regimes could not thrive. The introduction, in 1987, of the Fresh Start proposals for unified staff in establishments expressed the view that prison staff were more than turnkeys, and that they were accountable for the successful completion of non-security tasks as part of their job descriptions.

5.11 The Governor remains at the head of, and has ultimate responsibility for running, the prison. The work of the establishment is now classified into broad functions. This approach appears to have clarified lines of accountability and responsibility but it has also left staff in many establishments feeling isolated within functional groups.

5.12 Fresh Start provided the first opportunity for Governors to develop a managerial system which addressed the idea of regime development. The most significant aspect of this initiative was the creation of a post with specific responsibility for managing the inmate regime. The Head of Inmate Activities coordinates regime activities and is the functional head for many of the departments which occupy inmates' time.

5.13 It is a characteristic of many Governors that they are able to run an efficient and challenging establishment on the basis of a charismatic personality. The Fresh Start proposals embodied an attempt to move away from charisma and towards systematic regime development. This approach allows for systems to be constructed which monitor the quantity of time given to regime activities. The development of monitoring techniques has been a recent preoccupation of the Prison Service.

5.14 The current organisational structure of the Prison Service reveals a number of features which have a direct bearing on the character of regime provision, and provide for certain constraints to be placed on its development.

5.15 The Area system places establishments in a loose geographical arrangement regardless of the function they perform. The effect of the arrangement is to preserve the importance of the individual establishment as the unit for analysis in the Prison Service. This means that the Governor retains his or her status as being primarily responsible for the running of the prison. The Area Manager forms the link between the Headquarters structure, within which he operates, and the Governor.

5.16 From the point of view of regime provision, this arrangement means that quality of regime will be significantly affected by the quality of individual governors and the facilities provided in a particular establishment. **There is no structural opportunity for developing regimes between establishments, with the exception of what is possible through the operation of the specialist Headquarters Departments.**

5.17 These Headquarters Departments, PSIF, Education, Works, Chaplaincy and Physical Education, provide regime opportunities throughout the Service but although they stand separate from individual establishments their organisational arrangements are placed within the main structure of the Prison Service. These Departments provide regime opportunities but also impose requirements on the Governors of establishments. Because of the investment involved, the activities covered by the specialist organisations appear to have a priority status. This often means that inmates who are committed to such activities cannot participate in other regime activities. Regime provision under the new organisational arrangements, therefore, remains rooted in the structure of individual establishments and also organised for the regime provider rather than the receiver. A sentence plan for an inmate under these arrangements is partly limited by what is on offer at the establishment in which he is held. It is only when the needs of the organisation are met that the individual needs of the inmate can be considered.

5.18 **At the Headquarters level, it remains the case that not only is the budget for change limited, but Departments responsible for particular regime activities have national objectives which may conflict with those of individual establishments.**

5.19 In 1992, the introduction of the Area structure has combined with new thinking about regimes. Although the Prison Service has an admirable Statement of Purpose the question has to be asked – what is the benefit of a planned delivery of regime to the inmate, and does the structure exist for it to reach or be offered to all members of the prison population?

5.20 Under present arrangements a newly convicted inmate would experience custody passively. At each establishment a certain level of regime will exist and it remains the case that the inmate has to make the best of it. The regime exists regardless of which inmate is experiencing it. Sentence planning, a commitment of the Prison Service, involves seeing the inmate in a different way. The period in custody becomes dynamic. The inmate moves through a system, and through establishments, in a more purposeful way. This requires regime provision which is designed for the inmate and not solely for the institution. This means that regimes have to have flexibility built into them. This entails a staff commitment to continuous change and development. It also means that some continuity should exist between prison establishments and the regimes that are offered in them. This is not the case at present in the Area structure.

5.21 Sentence planning is not just designed to put an inmate in touch with activities which prepare him for eventual release. It is also about maintaining important links with life outside prison. **In a dynamic, rather than passive, environment it is the total activities on offer within an establishment which will determine how well prepared a person is for return to the community.**

5.22 In the next Chapter we attempt to show how regime development in prisons under the present arrangements is likely to remain limited. If prisoners are to use time effectively whilst in custody, regimes need to be planned using prison resources far more effectively.

Chapter Six: Activity and Idleness – An Analysis of Regime Delivery

6.1 A central aim of the White Paper – Custody, Care and Justice – is that prisoners should be confined as near as practicable to their home communities. Despite the management changes in the organisation of the Prison Service, regime delivery in prisons remains dependent on the quality and style of individuals in establishments. As long as regime considerations remain based on individual establishments and accommodation needs there will be a structural impediment to developing a community based system which can deliver regime options appropriate to several different types of prisoner.

6.2 Regime activities in England and Wales vary not only in different kinds of establishment, but also in establishments of the same kind. Regime development requires a strategy for delivery given the aims of the Statement of Purpose and the White Paper. If prisons are to be about preparing prisoners for release then, given the wide range of offences and sentences passed on convicted prisoners (with remand prisoners forming a further distinct group) it is, we consider, difficult to develop regime programmes on an establishment by establishment basis. Current thinking is still centred on the primacy of Governors of establishments to develop programmes for the prisoners in their care.

6.3 It is necessary to place regimes at the centre of a prison's purpose, alongside the necessary conditions of security, and to develop prisons which are driven by the regime, which is in turn driven by the requirements of the Statement of Purpose.

6.4 The strategy must be based on the requirement, first, to provide regimes appropriate to the types of prisoner in custody. Second, the balance of activities should be designed best to assist the prisoner to prepare for release, or to live a useful and productive life within the prison environment. In some establishments, or for some people, the regime requirement might be for a great deal of remedial education rather than for a work programme. Any strategy must allow for sufficient flexibility in allocation and planning for this to occur. Third, any strategy must cater equally for small groups (eg juveniles) within the prison population and ensure that as far as possible the principles behind community prisons are followed. The conditions for regime development across the Service do not exist at present. Thus prison objectives will always return to basic humane containment and crisis management. A new strategy is required.

6.5 The re-organisation of the Prison Service has overlaid new features on old terrain. The new features are based on the principle that public and prisoners will benefit from a Prison Service that manages itself efficiently and makes itself accountable for the work it performs. It is also based upon the belief that by so doing prison staff will achieve pride in their work and in the task that they perform. The importance of this should not be underestimated. We saw in Chapter One how the Prison Service has in effect been denied a role in constructive work within the criminal justice system. A Service that can restore pride in itself by its own actions has achieved a great deal.

6.6 Despite the new management structures, the Prison Service has not apparently addressed itself to the consequences of the proposals in the Woolf Report and the White Paper to answer the question 'What are prisons for?'. If prisons are about preparing prisoners for release into the community, then prison regimes must become the primary means by which this is achieved. Prisoners form sub-populations within the overall population of the prison estate. It is necessary to identify the main groups, beyond merely remand and sentenced prisoners, and to identify the needs that each group has, if it is to be prepared for release. Given the number of different types of prisoner, the prison estate is used inappropriately in that prison regimes are designed primarily on an establishment basis. Thus there can be no significant regime development based on the needs of either a group of prisoners or an individual prisoner following a sentence plan. In the light of this the purpose of a prison becomes one only of containment, however humane.

6.7 Before proposals can be made the objectives of imprisonment should be clarified. There is much evidence to suggest that objectives are good. Annual Reports of the Prison Service, planning documents following the managerial changes in the structure of the Service and briefing papers to the Woolf Inquiry all attest to the desire to provide constructive programmes for prisoners. The problem lies in the lack of a strategy to achieve this. The Woolf Report suggested that more power be given to Governors to handle their own affairs in establishments. However, this is not enough given the complexity of the prison population. Thought must also be given to how Governors may best work together to produce strategic regime delivery which involves establishments working together to provide regimes through which inmates pass.

6.8 Governors and Headquarters may have strategies for establishments and the Service which are effective or poor. How can these be related to each other?

6.9 Prison regimes are affected by a deep seated ambivalence to imprisonment on the part of:

- (a) the public, who have little interest;
- (b) the voluntary watchdogs who are interested, but who want something else; and
- (c) the Prison Service, who must be concerned, but who have to satisfy different demands as to the objectives they should fulfil.

6.10 In all this there is no model for the constructive use of imprisonment beyond humane containment – and this despite the second part of the Statement of Purpose:

Our duty is to look after them with humanity and help them lead law-abiding and useful lives in custody and after release.

6.11 While this ambivalence remains, no clear strategy is possible. Fundamental change will not occur.

6.12 We have looked at some of the main intentions which lie behind the work of the Prison Service and which affect its planning, but which are constrained by other issues which impede development; and at the parameters within which prison regimes operate in a large number of prison establishments at the present time.

6.13 Prison regimes are subject to Headquarters planning and priorities but are delivered locally, establishment by establishment. We have suggested that the quality of a regime in any particular establishment is often dependent upon the Governor. At the same time we have noted that the objectives for regime development set out by the Prison Service, both under the new management

structure and before it, have often been creditable but have not always been linked to the purpose of imprisonment. Should the purpose of imprisonment somehow be linked to all types of prison, or can a purpose be defined for each type on its own terms? For example what is the purpose of:

- (a) a high security prison for the prisoners it contains;
- (b) a closed training prison;
- (c) an open prison;
- (d) the various categories of prisons in relation to regime development?

6.14 Before proposals can be made, the objectives of imprisonment need clarification. There is evidence to suggest that the regime objectives set out by the Prison Service have been well intentioned.

6.15 What is common to regime objectives is that they rely upon the belief that they are beneficial of themselves. The prisoner will benefit from a good physical training programme or a good industrial training course, work in the garden or on the farm of the prison. The only way in which a prisoner may be purposefully placed in such activities in a training environment will be as the result of a decision at a fairly low level (ie an Observation, Classification and Allocation unit at a local prison) that he requires a particular level of security within the prison system. From the evidence that we have looked at there is very little indication that a prisoner will pass through the prison system in a purposeful way from, say, high security to conditions of comparative freedom. A possible reason for this is that, while the objectives of imprisonment as applied to individual establishments may be good, there is no strategy for coherent regime delivery in Headquarters.

6.16 At what level should any such strategy be placed? The evidence suggests that Governors do have aspirations for their own establishments. Depending on the quality of the senior management team these may or may not be achieved. The Prison Service, at above establishment level, will have strategies for the development of prison policy. We have identified that there is sometimes tension between these two levels of the Prison Service. This is not new. Under the Regional management structure the tensions were even more complex. How can a strategy be developed for the Service as a whole?

6.17 Ambivalence as to the purpose of imprisonment inhibits the development of a clear strategy as to how it should be used. The Prison Service operates without benefit of a constructive dialogue, although when things go wrong there is usually a vociferous and predictable critique offered concerning the way in which the Service might operate. The Prison Service is a large and complex organisation, funded at £1.4 bn. to run in 1992/93. In the face of the confusion of attitudes from outside, it often resorts to organisational reactions in dealing with its critics, so that policy becomes engendered from within. Prisons become polarised from their critics.

6.18 Fresh Start and the organisational review of the Service above establishment level were concerned primarily with the delivery of existing services more efficiently. These organisational changes do not question what the services should be. With this in mind it is necessary for us not only to develop a strategic approach to prison regimes but to develop an approach which will provide us with an answer to the question, 'What are prisons for?' The movement and development of management techniques within the Prison Service will be of great assistance in this regard.

Chapter Seven: A Strategic Approach to Prison Regimes

7.1 In this chapter an alternative model for the development of a regime driven prison is presented. The assumption on which it is based is that in the majority of cases the perspective of the prison manager will differ from that of the court. The prisoner is in prison, the statement has been made as to what he deserves as punishment. The prison is about using imprisonment constructively, and in most cases is about preparing for release.

7.2 Management based on regimes would alter the way in which prisons are run. It would also alter the relationship between establishments and Headquarters.

7.3 The reorganisation of the Prison Service into geographical Areas provides the key to a regime driven prison system. However, present arrangements encourage the delivery of regimes of high quality in each establishment acting alone. Specialist services, such as providers of industry and education operate across the Service, but delivery of these is left to the Governors of individual establishments. No individual prison establishment can provide a total regime for all prisoners in its care.

7.4 The narrow definition of a community prison is that it means that prisoners should be confined as closely as possible to their home environments; but if imprisonment is to be about preparing prisoners for release, then a wider definition and strategy is needed. This must be based on the realisation that the prison population consists of many groups with widely differing needs. A regime driven Prison Service has to respond to the needs of the groups in different ways. To do this prison establishments need to design regimes which are integrated across the system. In order to build into this a concern that prisons should be linked to the community, the Area system should be used to advantage. It should be structured to provide integrated regime opportunities for the different prisoner populations, and provide these so as to move individual prisoners through the system and towards release as far as possible within the geographical area from which they come.

7.5 **The prison population will contain not one but many different discrete groupings within the numerical whole. We have commented on the Prison Service approach which has been to base regime policy on establishments rather than inmates.** In examining the regime driven system we must first identify the potential regime receivers. Individuals will have particular needs of one sort or another or in various combinations. Significant groups can be defined as follows:

- Unconvicted adults
- Unconvicted young offenders
- Convicted short term adults
- Convicted short term young offenders
- Convicted long term determinate sentence adults
- Convicted long term determinate sentence young offenders
- Convicted indeterminate sentence prisoners

- Special needs – Psychiatric
 - Psychological
 - Educational
 - Organisational skills
 - Preparation for long term confinement
 - Preparation for short term confinement
 - Welfare
 - Preparation for release

7.6 In an organisational sense it is appropriate to refer to the groups identified above as groups which have distinct needs. Within society generally groups are identified in this way, children with educational needs, the sick with need of medical services and the unemployed with welfare needs. Population groups within the prison system have different needs to which the Prison Service must respond. They will also impose different pressures upon the system which contains them. The answer to the question, 'What are prisons for?', should be extended so that it is applied separately to each of the identified groups within the prison population.

7.7 From our observations so far, the Prison Service does not concentrate enough on the needs of specific groups. Initiatives targeted on young offenders and unconvicted prisoners have left much of the prison population untouched.

7.8 Once significant population groups have been identified within the Prison Service and their major needs isolated, the possibility then exists to devise a regime appropriate to them. But to what end should the regime be directed? How is the receiving population to be steered towards those ends? In passing a sentence the court makes a statement which is, in effect, a response to the convicted offender borne out by his crime. From the point of view of the prison manager when he receives the offender into custody, that punitive statement is already in the past and the purpose of the prison sentence cannot be framed wholly in terms of punishment. It has to be articulated in terms of objective. The fact is that, for the vast majority of prisoners, the objective is to give them the chance to be prepared to be released back into the community.

7.9 For the population groups listed in paragraph 7.5, the structure and delivery of regimes within prisons becomes a fundamental act affecting the whole of the experience of imprisonment rather than one item in a set of management objectives.

7.10 Once it is allowed that Prison Service regimes form the priority within which prison management has to operate, so it becomes possible to alter the way in which prison establishments within the Service are run, and in particular the way in which they relate to each other.

7.11 Prisoner populations, under the different groups, will have developing needs as they move through a prison sentence and prepare for release. Thus it is necessary to develop coherent regime policies which can be applied to all the establishments through which a prisoner passes.

7.12 The management principle, that strategies for different significant groups within the prison population should be developed in tandem, must tie in with another principle, which refers to where prisoners are held in relation to their home environment. **It was a major concern of the Woolf Report that prisoners should be accommodated for the duration of their sentence as near as practicable to their homes.** The notion of a community prison is designed to address this need. **Our report has shown that the prison population is complex and the needs of prisoners cannot be dealt with under one system. The strategy for the delivery of regimes in prisons needs to incorporate this concern whilst still supporting the main thrust of the Woolf recommendations. Prisoners need to be held as**

far as possible within a reasonable distance of their homes, and yet at the same time a number of prison systems are needed which address the needs of the discrete groups which we have identified. The proposed strategy must take account of the need for both community access and diversity of provision.

7.13 Within the 15 Areas currently structured there is no coherent relationship between the prisons and the populations which they are expected to accommodate. Our proposed strategy would involve realigning establishments into clusters each as far as possible able to cater for the needs of the populations that pass through them.

7.14 Prisons began as local facilities for dealing with offenders. In modern times the problem of overcrowding has led to the Prison Service moving people for the purposes of accommodating them without regard to their home circumstances. The community prison has to be defined so as to meet a number of possible definitions of the term – including ‘home area’.

7.15 If the community ideas expressed by the Woolf Report are to be successfully developed then the strategy which conveys them must be both strong and flexible enough to cope with the complications. A strategy is not offered in the Woolf Report, nor in the commentaries which have been published on its recommendations.

7.16 The prison system as we envisage it would be structured as follows. The geographical areas would be redrawn so that within each area the aim would be that a prison of each kind would be provided. One option is suggested at Appendix 4. This is based on 10 geographical clusters utilising the existing estate. The entry point to the prison system would be at the point of remand, and via the local prison, the purpose of which would be as now. Thereafter, the progress of the prisoner through the system would depend on an assessment of a number of factors.

7.17 The prison system would operate, under these proposals, in the following manner:

- (a) The local prison, or prisons in certain clusters, would have two functions: the operation of a remand facility for the courts; and an Assessment and Allocation Centre for newly convicted prisoners. Each part of the prison would be treated administratively as a separate establishment.
- (b) The duties of staff on the remand side of the local prison would be to provide as much assistance as possible to unconvicted people, to assist them in maintaining contact with the outside world, especially with legal advisers, family and work interests. An object of the staff work would be to ensure that, if the remanded person was subsequently not given a custodial sentence, he or she should be able to return to normal life with the minimum damage done.
- (c) For those who were ultimately not convicted, although they would still have had a traumatic experience, they would have been helped as much as possible to put the incident behind them.
- (d) For those who return to the prison from court, the local prison should become an assessment centre for the cluster. The task for staff on this side of the prison would be to examine the court’s verdict and sentence, to work with the prisoners on the consequences of their sentence, and to work out with them a sentence plan. In order for this plan to have substance, staff at the local prison (convicted side) would have to know what kinds of regime were on offer throughout the cluster, and allocate prisoners appropriately as far as possible.

- (e) Allocation procedures would be carefully worked out, and staff trained to allocate certain types of prisoner to particular establishments. Distinctions would be made between sentence lengths, and prisons within the cluster would develop regimes appropriate to the lengths of time their own populations remained in custody.
- (f) each of the training prisons in the cluster would be responsible for developing appropriate regimes for the type of prisoner they accommodated. In a prison for short term offenders, the entire sentence would be a preparatory course for release; in a lifer unit, regime concerns would be operated at a different pace.
- (g) minority populations within the system would be accommodated at an appropriate establishment which might serve more than one cluster.
- (h) prison staff in all types of prison or unit would receive training appropriate to working with each population as a requirement before working alone with inmates in the group.

In this way the task of the Prison Service would be finely tuned to the needs of the population in its care. For most prison staff, adoption of this strategy would mean that for much of the time their work would be about preparing prisoners for release into the community, or working constructively towards an eventual release date with longer term men and women. The ways in which various parts of the regime driven systems would work are described in the paragraphs which follow.

7.18 *The local prison – remand side:* A court decides that an accused person must be held in custody for a time prior to the determination of guilt or innocence, and remands the person accordingly. The person enters the remand side of the local prison. This is run by custodial staff and specialists who are trained to work with unconvicted persons.

7.19 The regime of the remand prison should be structured so as to allow for the least disruption to occur to the remanded person's life as is consistent with the fact of him or her being remanded in custody. The objectives of the regime should be to provide full access to professional advisers, to information needed in respect of the forthcoming legal proceedings, and to opportunities for as full as possible two-way communication with the conduct of life outside the prison. In particular, the remand side of the prison should be geared to a continual review of a person's circumstances, so that the need for a continued remand in custody can be regularly checked with the courts. Staff within the remand wing need to be aware that about 50% of the people in their care will not ultimately receive a custodial sentence, and that the objective should be that, on their return to the community, life should have been as little disrupted as possible.

7.20 *The local prison – sentenced side:* On their return to the court, about half of those remanded in custody will receive a custodial sentence. Under these proposals they will return to the local prison to the sentenced section or, alternatively, in the case of long sentence prisoners, to a specially designated Allocation Centre. Staff in both will be trained for the task of planning the sentences that prisoners will serve. It is at this stage in the Prison Service structure that the differences in the types of prison population become important. In addition to questions of security a distinction needs to be drawn between those in prison for varying periods of time. For prisoners on short sentences, staff at the local prison should be able to demonstrate that there is a very short time for them to be prepared for release, and that the regime that they will follow whilst in prison will move speedily towards a focus on preparation for release. For those facing long sentences, the regime planning should show how the time in custody will be structured to make it as constructive as possible, and the long sentence prisoner should have it explained how he or she can expect to move

through the prison system, and what opportunities it can provide, not only as preparation for release but also as a constructive use of time in itself.

7.21 *The separation of short and long term prisoners:* From the local prison, short and long sentenced prisoners, together with those with special needs would, where possible, move to prisons within the cluster and which would be specifically concerned with that population type. Building on the current strength of the Prison Service, which is that some establishments are capable of developing excellent regimes, it may be the best course that prisoners serving very short sentences should do so in one establishment. The regime should be designed entirely as a preparation for release, and staff time should be primarily about this. Where it is possible for a prisoner to serve a sentence in one establishment, the principle underlying community prisons is in line with the White Paper proposals.

7.22 *The long sentence prisoner:* For those serving longer sentences, sentence planning is likely to involve more than one establishment and, under current arrangements, the idea of community prisons can run into difficulties of two main kinds. First, as we saw in our visits, regimes in prison establishments are designed within the establishment itself. Second, it is possible for sentenced prisoners, particularly those in small specialist groups, to be moved a great distance from their home environments. We are suggesting that for prisoners serving longer sentences, the sentence plan should be designed so that the regime offered in the first prison in which the sentence is served links to that in subsequent establishments. This means that regimes should be designed on a cluster basis.

7.23 The co-ordination of prison regimes will involve Governors and staff in rather different ways of thinking about the running of establishments than under current arrangements. Staff working in long term dispersal establishments would be involved in preparing prisoners not for release but for the move to a more relaxed secure environment. Not only is careful continuous assessment of the prisoner required, but also knowledge and input to the regime structures of the potential receiving prison. As security restrictions lift, the borderlines between prisons of different categories become blurred. It is possible today for a Category C prison to be operating a regime which offers better preparation for release than an open prison. In the case of prisoners serving long sentences it is likely that the role of Category C and Category D establishments will need to be more clearly defined. Under these proposals, and in line with the White Paper recommendations, once the sentence planning exercise has been properly carried out at the local prison, it will be possible for establishments to offer a unified regime which leads to release, perhaps by sharing the facilities offered by adjacent establishments of the same type.

7.24 *The short sentence prisoner:* We suggest that prisoners serving up to four years be classed as short sentence prisoners. The time actually spent in custody is, therefore, up to about two years, and the need here is to develop regimes in which the prisoner is likely to spend most of his time in one or two establishments, and where the focus of attention is on preparation for release. In such establishments we suggest that work, training and education have to be structured in short term modules which allow for exercises to be completed and added to prisoners' custodial experience. We have seen many examples of such training in present establishments. The problems arise in linking education programmes with work and training.

7.25 Work is a problem in prisons currently for two main reasons. First, any residential community has to be managed and a workforce is needed for this. In prisons, kitchen workers', cleaners' and orderlies' activities are very time consuming and are carried out primarily for the benefit of the establishment. Second, the provision of work of other kinds in prisons has been developed

through PSIF on the basis of resources (in the form of workshops and similar facilities) being provided, and contract work being sought from the outside community to be carried out using these resources. This means that working arrangements have a tendency to inflexibility, and the quality of work may well do little to prepare prisoners for the outside world. It is often argued that the provision of routine, boring work in prisons is simply a realistic portrayal of what will be on offer outside. This may be a justification for providing no more in prison than is available outside, but it approaches the problem of dealing with prisoners in a different way from that advocated here. Prisons contain disadvantaged people. The role of prison staff is to work to lessen the disadvantage. Arrangements for work in prison will always involve the mundane, especially in the areas needed to keep the establishment clean and the population catered for. Work that is brought in from outside needs to be thought about in terms of regime requirements and the sentence planning of the population of an establishment. We distinguish between essential prison work and outside work. The latter should be linked with training and education. The former should be spread among all inmates and occupy them for only a minority of their time.

7.26 *The open training prison:* For the long sentence prisoner, regime provision needs to be organised in different security conditions through which the prisoner will pass as he prepares for release. The position of the open prison is particularly important here. The open prison is very important in dealing with those who have been in custody for a lengthy period of time, and the regime which is on offer should be constructed so as to allow for the structured and supported move into the community which such prisoners need before being released. We suggest that the regimes of open prisons will require a different approach to the linked fields of work, education and training. Opportunities exist for the prison and community to interact in an intensive way. The role of the open prison may be quite different to that of other institutions, with more supportive and counselling activity than workshops. A criticism of open prisons has been that they are an expensive and unnecessary resource. If used for long term prisoners we believe that they have an important role to play, but the task needs to be thought about in a different way from all other prisons. Staff in open prisons may work far more with individuals away from the prison environment. Above all, staff in these establishments have to be able to deal constructively with failure, for example if prisoners abscond or cannot adapt readily to the greater degree of freedom.

7.27 *Prisons for women:* A problem for the female population in prison is that, being small, the prison estate moves them great distances from their homes. We found that regime provision was greatly affected by this, with the centre of regime activity being at Holloway and satellite establishments offering individual regime programmes of variable quality. Our proposals at Appendix 4 would allow female prisoners to be held either in the cluster containing their home area or one immediately adjacent. In order for the needs of the female population as a whole to be met each establishment would incorporate the main features of our general proposals. Thus, the remand prison, allocation wing, separation into short and long sentences and, finally, the development of sentence planning in accordance with these decision, provide a regime driven system in microcosm for the female population, and the accommodation of the population will be as closely as possible in accord with the idea of community prisons.

7.28 *Specialist populations and the community prison:* Small prison populations do not fit easily into a community based regime driven system. We believe that the principle should be that, as far as possible, prisoners should be dealt with in the cluster in which they are sentenced (or moved to the cluster which contains their home area). If specialist provision is needed, this should be

organised between clusters so that prisoners not catered for in their home areas are likely to be so in the adjacent cluster.

7.29 From a system of this kind we believe that prisoners will leave prison having had as constructive experience as possible from time in custody; the benefits to prison staff are also considerable. We move, finally, to a consideration of this aspect of the regime issue.

Everyday Images

Between 16 and 27 November 1992, we revisited ten of the establishments in the sample and visited one additional establishment (Drake Hall prison). The visual and textual images which follow describe selected features of the establishments and their regimes.

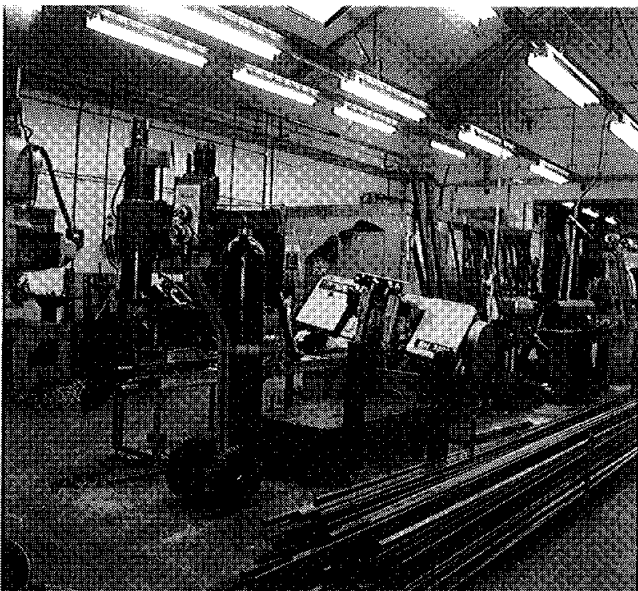
Dartmoor



The refurbishment of the prison in recent years has cost in the region of £35m. The use of this site has long been criticised on account of its isolation from any major centre of population, and the consequence that a majority of its population will come from distant parts of the country.

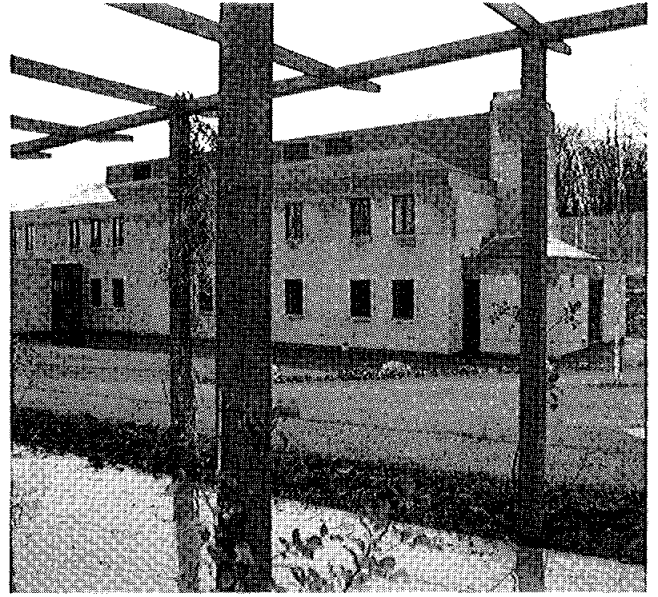
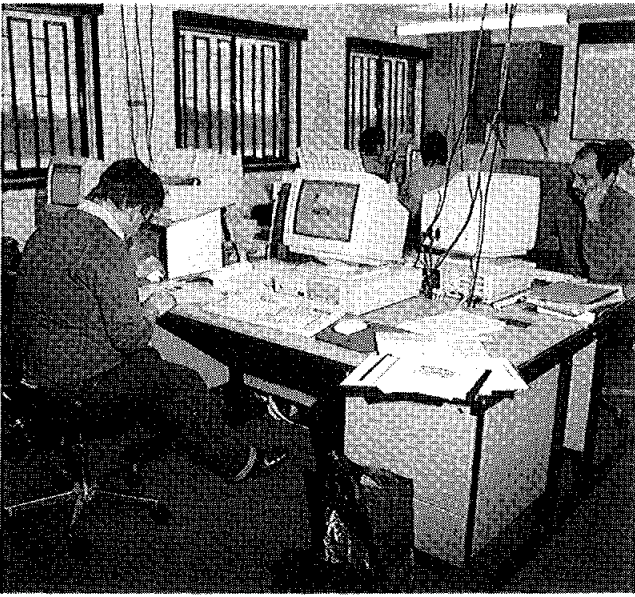
The proposals in this report would allow Dartmoor to be viewed in terms of its assets. Situated in the centre of a National Park, with an extensive farm and newly modernised educational and work facilities, this is an establishment which, through co-ordination with others in the South and West, could provide a rigorous and beneficial regime to certain population groups within the prison system. The photographs show some of the facilities available, set against the often inclement climate of the moor. At present Dartmoor houses prisoners in security categories B, C and D. It also has a Vulnerable Prisoner Unit.

It is not possible to provide a varied and constructive regime to such a disparate group without careful planning to integrate the regime with those of other establishments in the South and West. Such planning might usefully consider the use of accommodation in open conditions for Category D prisoners, the integration of work and education programmes, constructive use of the natural environment for educational purposes, and the provision of regular transport facilities between Princetown and the nearest railway towns.



Between approximately 8.30 and 11.30 am and 1.30 and 3.30 pm educational classes (including computing, model making, adult literacy) operate for some prisoners. Work, including impressive farming, heavy engineering and other more traditional prison work, such as textiles, takes place when available.

Channings Wood



Almost as inaccessible as Dartmoor, under 20 miles away, this establishment has fine facilities. The photographs show the good quality buildings and prisoners working in the educational building, in such activities as computer and business studies. The prison offers a range of education and Vocational Training courses but keeps traditional prison hours. By 3.30 pm most opportunities for training have ceased.

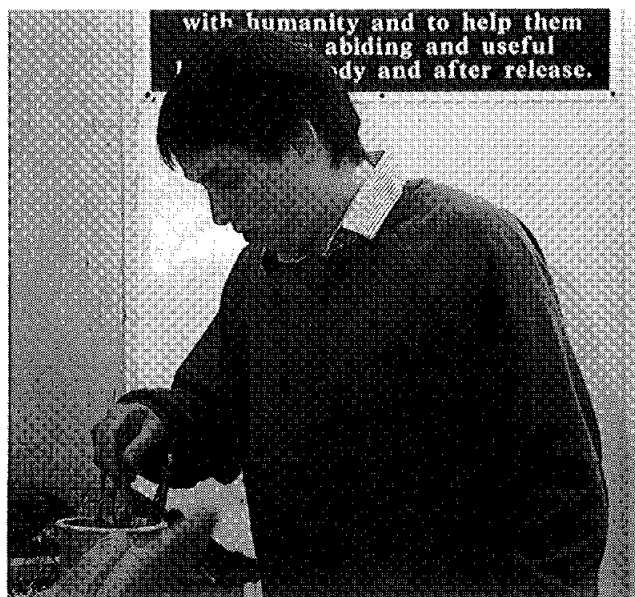
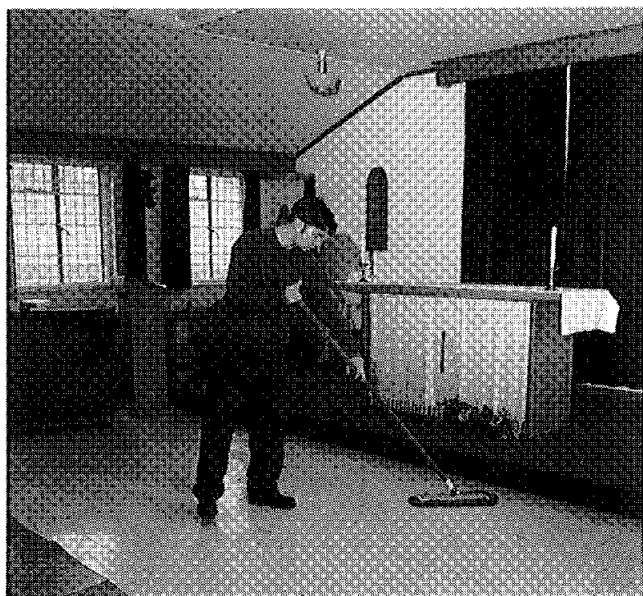
Blantyre House



The photograph here is taken 12 miles from Blantyre House, at an old people's home near Tonbridge. The prisoners at this establishment, many of whom are serving long sentences, move regularly into the community and provide services such as house maintenance and gardening for the local population. Blantyre House is acknowledged to have a remarkable regime. Work in the community is supported by group counselling and support, together with fully integrated educational programmes within the prison. If prisoners stayed in one place for the duration of sentence, Blantyre might provide a model regime for many of them. However, the future success of Blantyre House depends on the character of those who govern it. There is no overall management strategy which is designed to protect and develop what has been achieved here.

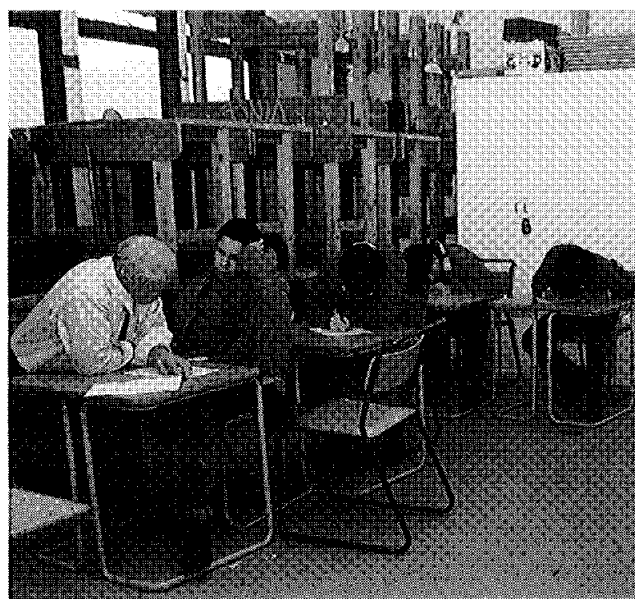
The report suggests that there is a deep attachment in the Prison Service to the idea of the Governor standing alone and responsible for the fate of his or her establishment. As Governors move on so it becomes inevitable that standards in individual prisons will vary. This report argues for a change in favour of co-ordinated work for establishments, from the planning stage onwards. Establishments like Blantyre House will be encouraged to continue innovative work in such a process, but will also gain a measure of protection against falling standards.

Huntercombe



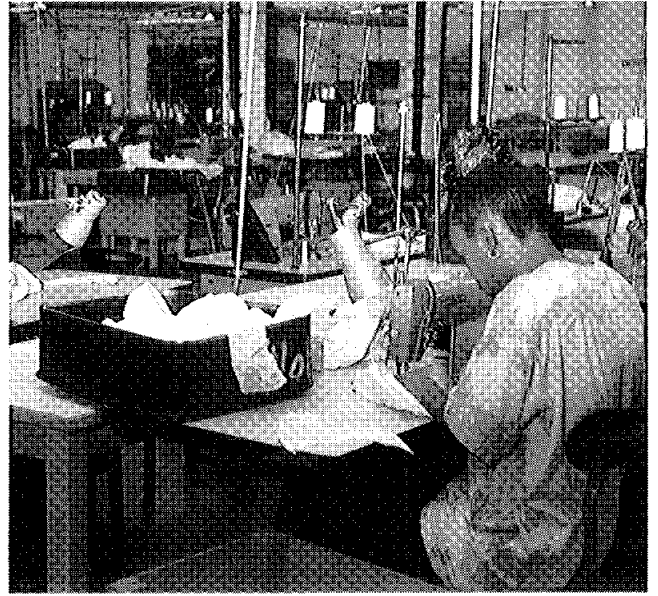
Young offenders present a special challenge. At Huntercombe, facilities are limited but work on the painting and decorating course shown here is carried out to a high standard. The pity is that the time available for regime activities is short and education and work opportunities are limited. Regimes for young offenders need to be planned centrally and supported locally through the groupings of establishments for discussion on regime development.

Finnamore Wood (Satellite of Huntercombe)



Open conditions and a high standard of educational work are on offer here and provide a stimulating atmosphere. The horticultural work brings young prisoners into regular contact with the community.

Holloway



Individual work of a high standard is presented here. However, as in many prisons, the gloomy ambience of the textile workshop provides unstimulating work experience for many prisoners. Craft work and fine arts are both created to a high standard but the overall atmosphere is oppressive. At the time of our visit the education department was closed.

Pentonville

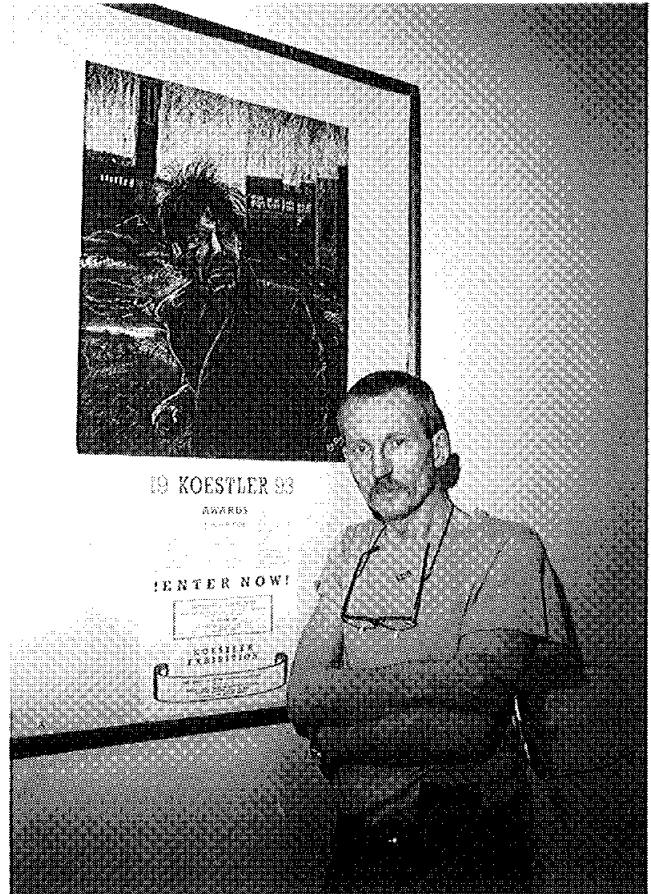


A very active education department specialises in providing social skills courses to prisoners. This cooking class is heavily oversubscribed. The same is true of the computer studies course. On the work side, textiles provide the main employment. Pentonville has a history of skilful work with Londoners awarded short sentences. Under a group system it could become a prison which specialises in regimes for this type of offender.

Leeds



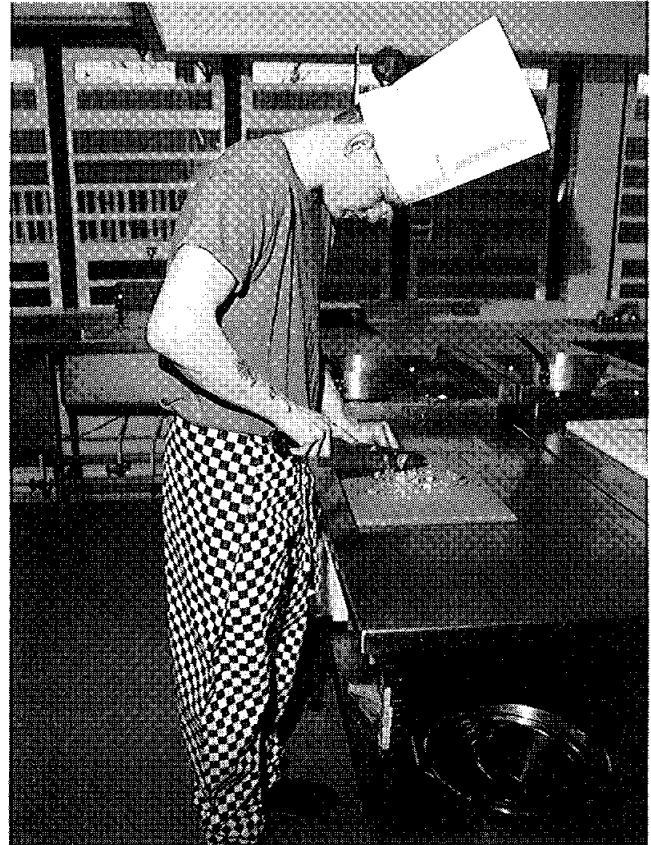
Individual prisoners achieve a great deal in the limited regime on offer here. A Koestler prize winner emerges from the education department. Industry at Leeds is confined to the textile workshops. The prison day is firmly circumscribed by the short number of hours inmates are kept occupied. In the health care centre one teacher showed impressive commitment to the inmate patients: main grade prison staff appeared to pass time passively with prisoners. The Observation, Classification and Allocation Unit is the opposite of what is recommended in this report. Prisons like Leeds require special regimes for dealing with the unconvicted and newly convicted. The skills of prison staff would need to be developed specially for such a challenging task.



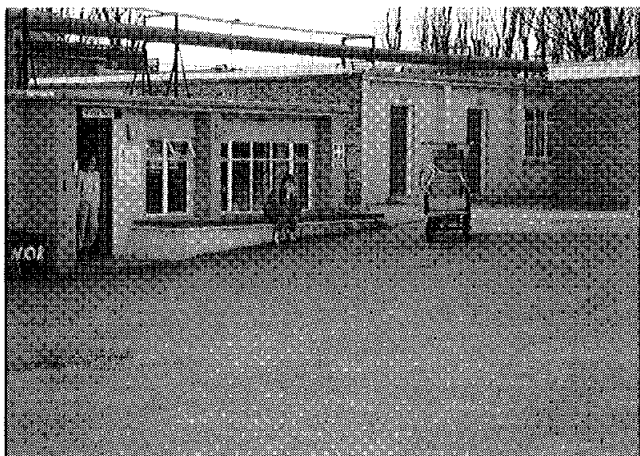
Castington



Almost as inaccessible as Dartmoor, but at the opposite end of the country, Castington illustrates how successfully prison staff and specialists can work together to develop special regimes for a particular prison population. Although there are a number of problems to be overcome, for example discipline officers need to be more actively involved in the regime, in a group setting Castington could provide stimulating work in a variety of areas. Catering courses are taught to large groups by committed teachers and the vehicle maintenance shop is remarkable not only for the high level of skill imparted to prisoners, but also for the community involvement that results from the use of some of the vehicles in schools.

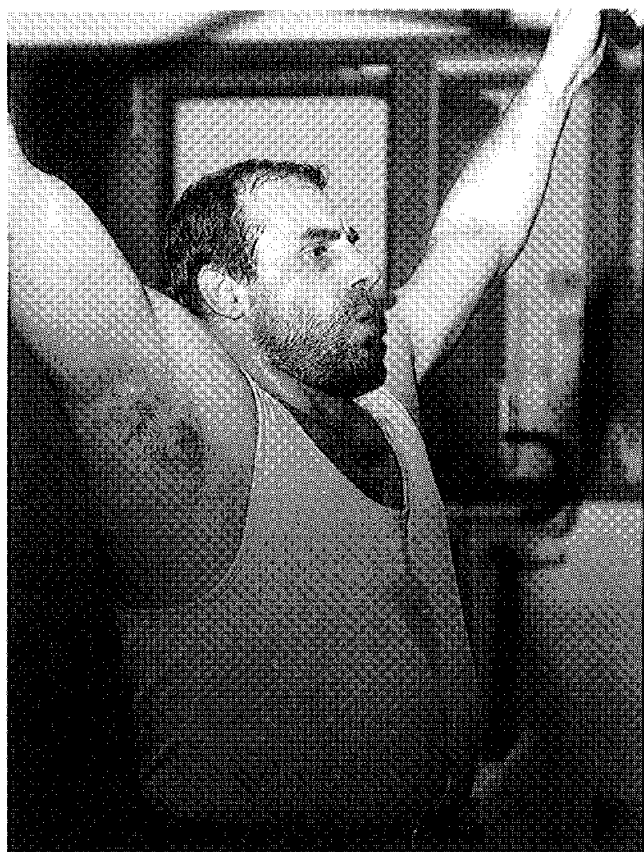


Drake Hall*



The potential for the women's estate is seriously weakened by the lack of a co-ordinated policy for women prisoners. The photographs here show aspects of a regime which includes farming and craft work, social skills courses and a wide range of educational opportunities. However, the population is always low because prisoners prefer to stay at Holloway, which is more accessible for visits.

Leyhill



Leyhill remains the model for the open prison. The high quality workshops and productive horticultural activities are well used in a full regime programme. Group development would, in our view, stimulate staff of prisons like this to examine how regimes in open environments should work in the future. How far should prisoners remain on site in the day, and how far should they be active in the community?

* Drake Hall did not appear in the original sample. The visit there provided useful information about open conditions for the female population.

Chapter Eight: Working in the Custodial Setting

8.1 This chapter sets out the new opportunities for all groups of personnel in the Service. The complexity of working in the custodial setting is acknowledged. We have not examined the financial implications of our proposals or attempted to identify savings.

8.2 The consequence of the proposals made in the last chapter for prison staff is that for each type of custodial work, different skills are needed. **Prison work in a regime driven environment has to be regarded as highly skilled, and the prison officer should no longer be seen as merely the custodian who acts as the gatekeeper for the prisoner to interact with skilled assistance, but as a major provider of such assistance him or herself.** The main advantages of the system which we have outlined are:

- (1) the prison officer needs to be skilled in specific areas of prison work, and there is considerable job satisfaction to be gained from this. One of the problems facing prison staff over the years has been the lack of clear job specifications or an appreciation of the skills needed for prison work. Under our proposals prison staff would need to be trained in each area of regime provision. Work with a particular group of offenders would only be undertaken under supervision until the staff member had been trained;
- (2) the transfer of staff around the prison estate might be eased by our proposals. It would be possible to move staff between institutions in a cluster, without necessitating a move of home, with the aim of developing career experience. This might also assist the promotion of good practice.

8.3 The problems for specialists in the Prison Service in the past have included that their services to inmates have been ill defined; that they have often been isolated from their main professional bodies whilst working in prison (which has led to lack of professional development); and that, even if these problems have been overcome, specialist departments have often claimed that the amount of time available to work with inmates has been too little.

8.4 Under our proposals we envisage specialist staff working as colleagues with prison staff and each other. The prison is regime driven, and the needs of work, training, education, counselling and contact with the outside world have to be met by a co-ordinated staff response whether working individually or in teams. The management structure of the Prison Service allows for co-operative working within establishments, but the present structural arrangements of PSIF, Education and other departments can hamper co-operative working and place units in competition with each other. This needs to be re-thought not only within establishments but also within Headquarters. The development of structural links between the specialists in prisons and their professional bodies needs to be strengthened. Interchange between people working in the community and colleagues in prison should be developed as being professionally beneficial to both.

8.5 We noticed many times during our visits to establishments the preoccupation of many specialist workers with individual casework. We feel that the Prison Service should encourage all specialists to work more closely with prison officers. Our discussions with members of the Probation Service suggested to

us that the skills of the Service in the custodial setting could be more appropriately used with prison staff, especially in the context of long term establishments.

8.6 In 1986, the Home Office issued a circular (CI 25/1986, HOC 64/1986) from which the following two quotes are taken:

- (i) This CI/HOC affirms a Home Office commitment to the concept and practice of shared working and the development of the prisoner through-care function in all prison establishments . . . The expression “prisoner throughcare” relates to the support given to prisoners while in prison. Prisoner throughcare is an integral part of the regime and influences the nature of that regime. The way in which an establishment performs this function is just as much a part of its management responsibilities as maintaining security and control and producing prisoners to court.
- (ii) . . . the Prison Officer/prisoner relationship – based on a day to day involvement with prisoners and developed alongside the custodial role – is central to prisoner throughcare. The active involvement of Prison Officers in prisoner throughcare should be considered the norm rather than the exception.

8.7 Despite the development of management techniques which emphasise the diversity of prison work, we found few examples of prison staff working flexibly or with a high expectation of the job. This inflexibility should have no place in a regime driven establishment.

8.8 The design for the use of prisons set out in the previous chapter provides new challenges for prison staff. The design emphasises that the skills required for prison work are complex and demanding. The diverse nature of prison populations, each requiring skilled handling, would require more resources from them.

8.9 The strategy set out here would also have consequences for policy decisions involving the private sector in the operation of custodial facilities. The key to our argument is that diversity of prison regimes is essential if prisons are to have any chance of fulfilling the last part of the Statement of Purpose of the Prison Service. Private sector facilities would also require such diversity, and would generally have to operate in conjunction with the Prison Service.

8.10 Prison work is complex and demanding. Prison staff of all types and grades are consistently undervalued. A number of comparisons can be made:

- (a) Prison staff, uniformed and non-uniformed, should be regarded as a professional body in their own right. There are structural limitations to working in custody as a professional occupation, in particular prison staff are internally trained by the Service. Specialists who also work in prisons are usually externally trained and have a professional identity beyond the custodial setting. The new design is intended to redress the balance, to give prison staff a sense of self-worth, and to recognise the complexity and skills of the work they do.
- (b) The proposed design recognises that ways have to be found of developing further the attitudes of prison staff towards specialist staff working within the Prison Service. It would also allow for the development of work by prison staff outside the confines of the prison. This may be with specialists in their normal areas of operation, or be work undertaken by the prison staff themselves when working with prisoners outside the prison walls.

- (c) The challenges for governing staff of the proposed system are as rigorous as for more junior members of the Prison Service. The Governor of the prison has a unique responsibility for its smooth running. Some of the tension of past years has been due to the suspicion of some prison staff towards the central policy making machine of Prison Service Headquarters. Under our proposed system Governors would be required to work together within clusters to develop coherent regimes. The advantages of secondments and work placements with other professional groups could be considered alongside other individual training needs.

The advantages of secondments and work placements with other professional groups could be considered alongside other individual training needs.

8.11 The possibilities for the different groups working in the custodial setting as described here are particularly challenging. They would lead to a re-assessment of the prison officer's status and also bring benefits to all specialist staff working in prison establishments.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion – Doing Time or Using Time?

9.1 We believe that prisons and the work of those who staff them has suffered for nearly 30 years from a lack of purpose, a lack of belief that they have an important role to play, and a dearth of professional organisation and expectation. In the response of the Prison Service, which involved reorganising its affairs, the groundwork was laid to change the way in which imprisonment was conducted. Although Custody, Care and Justice, and many publications before it, have stated the need for prisons to be constructive, it is only with the new management structures in place that this is possible. We have suggested that the management focus has not been radical enough. This has, we suggest, inhibited the development of prisons which are structured according to the needs of their population: what we would describe as being regime driven. If prisons are not regime driven, they can only be expected to contain, hopefully in a humane manner. In this report we have suggested that to achieve our proposals requires a belief that imprisonment has a constructive purpose, which is more than mere containment, and that it requires a strategy to deliver it which is lacking at the moment. We have suggested that above anything prisoners need well trained prison staff. Prison staff require a fundamental re-evaluation of their roles and one which is based on a belief that they are highly skilled and valuable members of the criminal justice system. Only when these are linked will it be possible to talk of prisoners ‘using’ time rather than ‘doing’ time.

9.2 In this report we show that to be effective, ideas must be based on the belief that prisons have a constructive role to play beyond the custodial function.

9.3 Using a cluster system as adapted in this report the Prison Service would consist of a number of largely self-contained prison systems which would cater for the majority of those sentenced to custody whilst at the same time keeping the prisoner in contact with his community. In the case of small populations the scheme would aim to provide a suitable establishment within one cluster from the prisoner’s home area. It would be necessary to examine the possibility of prisons combining functions on the same site if this was the most economic course of action.

9.4 It is central to the argument advanced here that the present prison estate is adapted as far as possible to provide the envisaged use. It is no part of our argument to press for the re-siting of prisons, on the grounds that, provided that the community principle is linked with the regime driven prison, almost any prison in England and Wales can be made into a more useful establishment.

9.5 The Area structure of the Prison Service as set out in the Organisational Review was good in principle, but does not encompass the Woolf concept of community prisons. There has not previously been an analysis of the community concept which takes into account the complexity of the populations for which the Prison Service has to care.

9.6 We have argued that prisons will always return to the basic purpose of custody unless a stronger alternative purpose is identified for them. In our research sample we have examined what kind of regime activities are on offer. Under current arrangements a prisoner can participate only in the regime activities on offer in whatever establishment he or she is accommodated. Under the proposed arrangements not only would prisons of different categories offer different regimes; but so would establishments of the same security category which housed distinct population groups.

9.7 A regime driven system seeks to improve prisoners' experience of custody by sentence planning within a coherent cluster based Prison Service.

9.8 Regime activities in a regime driven system are generally geared towards release. Exceptions are the long term offender where, in line with the Report of the Control Review Committee, sense has to be made of a long period of custody with preparation for release at a future date; and those with no prospect of release, for whom the outlook is uncertain.

9.9 The regime driven prison system benefits the work of both prisons and other agencies. Opportunities for prison staff to work outside the custodial environment should be developed and in so doing emphasise the fact that the prison, and those who work in it, are part of the criminal justice system. Prison staff need to be aware of the work of colleagues in the non-custodial sector.

9.10 Using time means to remain, whilst in custody, a part of the community – whether confined in custody or working in the custodial setting.

Recommendations to the Secretary of State

1. The Areas in the Prison Service estate should be re-drawn to allow for integrated regime development within clusters.
2. The provision for small groups within the prison population should be organised to meet their needs not more than one cluster away from their home area.
3. Prison staff should be specifically trained to deal with the different groups within the prison population, and not work unsupervised with such a group until trained.
4. Specialists within the Prison Service should benefit more from structural links between the Service and their own professional bodies, and exchange between those working outside and inside prisons should be encouraged.
5. The work of specialists within the Prison Service should be directed where appropriate to training prison staff to work with prisoners.
6. Governors of establishments should work with Headquarters to construct co-ordinated regimes which incorporate sentence planning and suitable allocation arrangements.

Appendix 1

SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: LOCATION, FUNCTIONS AND POPULATION TYPES

<i>Area (former region)</i>	<i>Establishment (county)</i>	<i>Functional group(s)</i>	<i>Population type(s)</i>
London South (South East)	ALBANY (Isle of Wight)	Male Dispersal VPU	Convicted medium and long term Category A & B adults and vulnerable prisoners
Kent (South East)	ALDINGTON* (Kent)	Male C Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults
Kent (South East)	BLANTYRE HOUSE* (Kent)	Male C Trainer	Convicted long term Category C adults
East Anglia (South East)	BLUNDESTON (Suffolk)	Male B Trainer	Convicted medium and long term Category B adults
Wales & West (South West)	BRISTOL (Avon)	Male Local Male Remand	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category A, B and C adults
London South (South East)	BRIXTON (London)	Male London	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category A, B and C adults and young offenders
London South (South East)	CAMP HILL (Isle of Wight)	Male C Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults
Kent (South East)	CANTERBURY (Kent)	Male Local Male Remand	Unconvicted and convicted Category B and C adults and young offenders
Wales & West (South West)	CARDIFF (South Glamorgan)	Male Local Male Remand	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category B and C adults and young offenders
North East (North)	CASTINGTON (Northumberland)	Closed YOI	Convicted medium and long term young offenders
Wessex (South West)	CHANNINGS WOOD (Devon)	Male C Trainer VPU	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults and vulnerable prisoners
East Anglia (South East)	COOKHAM WOOD (Kent)	Female Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term adults
Wessex (South West)	DARTMOOR (Devon)	Male B Trainer VPU	Convicted short, medium and long term Category B adults
Wessex (South West)	DORCHESTER (Dorset)	Male Local Male Remand	Unconvicted and convicted short and medium term Category B adults and unconvicted young offenders

SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: (continued)

<i>Area (former region)</i>	<i>Establishment (county)</i>	<i>Functional group(s)</i>	<i>Population type(s)</i>
Kent (South East)	DOVER (Kent)	Closed YOI	Convicted short, medium and long term young offenders
North East (North)	DURHAM (Durham)	Male Local Male Remand Female Trainer	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term adults and young offenders including Category A
Kent (South East)	EAST SUTTON PARK (Kent)	Female Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term adults and young offenders
Wales & West (South West)	ERLESTOKE (Wiltshire)	Male C Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults
Wessex (South West)	EXETER (Devon)	Male Local Male Remand (Female Local/Remand)	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category B and C adults and young offenders (overnight accommodation for five women prisoners)
London South (South East)	FELTHAM (Surrey)	Closed YOI Male Remand	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term young offenders and juveniles
South Coast (South East)	FORD (West Sussex)	Male D Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category D adults
North East (North)	FRANKLAND (Durham)	Male Dispersal	Convicted medium and long term Category A and B adults
Central (Midland)	GARTREE (Leicestershire)	Male Dispersal	Convicted long term Category A and B adults
Central (Midland)	GLEN PARVA (Leicestershire)	Closed YOI Male Remand	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term young offenders
Wales & West (South West)	GLOUCESTER (Gloucestershire)	Male Local	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category B and C adults and young offenders
London North (South West)	GRENDON (Buckinghamshire)	Male B Trainer (Therapeutic)	Convicted medium and long term Category B and C adults
Wessex (South West)	GUYS MARSH (Dorset)	Open YOI	Convicted short and medium term young offenders
South Coast (South West)	HASLAR (Hampshire)	Male Local	Immigration detainees
North West (North)	HAVERIGG (Cumbria)	Male C Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults
London North (South East)	HOLLOWAY (London)	Female Local/Remand	Unconvicted and convicted adults and young offenders
Chilterns (South East)	HUNTERCOMBE (Oxfordshire) and FINNAMORE WOOD (Buckinghamshire)	Closed YOI Open YOI	Convicted short, medium and long term young offenders

SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: (continued)

<i>Area (former region)</i>	<i>Establishment (county)</i>	<i>Functional group(s)</i>	<i>Population type(s)</i>
North West (North)	KIRKHAM (Lancashire)	Male D Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category D adults
Transpennine (North)	LEEDS (West Yorkshire)	Male Local Male Remand	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category A, B and C adults
Wales & West (South West)	LEYHILL (Gloucestershire)	Male D Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category D adults
East Midlands (Midland)	LINCOLN (Lincolnshire)	Male Local	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category A, B and C adults and young offenders
East Midlands (North)	LINDHOLME (South Yorkshire)	Male C Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C and D adults
London North (Midland)	LITTLEHEY (Cambridgeshire)	Male C Trainer	Convicted medium and long term Category C adults
Central (South West)	LONG LARTIN (Worcestershire)	Male Dispersal	Convicted long term Category A and B adults
North East (North)	LOW NEWTON (Durham)	Male Remand Female Local/Remand	Unconvicted young offenders (male) and unconvicted and convicted short term adults and young offenders (female)
Kent (South East)	MAIDSTONE* (Kent)	Male B Trainer	Convicted medium and long term Category B adults
Transpennine (North)	NEW HALL (West Yorkshire)	Female Local/Remand	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term adults and young offenders
Yorkshire (North)	NORTHALLERTON (North Yorkshire)	Closed YOI	Convicted short, medium and long term young offenders
Chilterns (Midland)	ONLEY (Warwickshire)	Closed YOI	Convicted short, medium and long term young offenders and juveniles
Chilterns (South West)	OXFORD (Oxfordshire)	Male Local	Unconvicted and convicted short and medium term Category B and C adults and young offenders
London North (South East)	PENTONVILLE (London)	Male London	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category B and C adults
Wessex (South West)	PORTLAND (Dorset)	Closed YOI	Convicted short, medium and long term young offenders
Wales & West (South West)	PRESCOED (Gwent) (Satellite of Usk Prison)	Open YOI	Convicted short and medium term young offenders

SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: (continued)

<i>Area (former region)</i>	<i>Establishment (county)</i>	<i>Functional group(s)</i>	<i>Population type(s)</i>
Wales & West (South West)	PUCKLECHURCH (Avon)	Female Local/Remand	Unconvicted and convicted short and medium term adults and young offenders
Chilterns (South West)	READING (Berkshire)	Male Local	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category B and C adults and young offenders
East Anglia (South East)	ROCHESTER* (Kent)	Male Remand Male C Trainer	Unconvicted young offenders and convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults
Wessex (South West)	SHEPTON MALLETT (Somerset)	Male C Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults
London North (South West)	SPRING HILL (Buckinghamshire) (Managed from Grendon Prison)	Male D Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category D adults
Kent (South East)	STANDFORD HILL* (Kent)	Male D Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category D adults
Mercia (Midland)	SUDBURY/FOSTON (Derbyshire)	Male D Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category D adults
Kent (South East)	SWALESIDE* (Kent)	Male B Trainer	Convicted medium and long term Category B adults
Wales & West (South West)	SWANSEA (West Glamorgan)	Male Local Male Remand	Unconvicted young offenders and unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category B and C adults
Mercia (Midland)	SWINFEN HALL (Staffordshire)	Closed YOI	Convicted long term young offenders
North West (North)	THORN CROSS (Cheshire)	Open YOI	Convicted short term young offenders
Wales & West (South West)	USK (Gwent)	Male C Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults
Wessex (South West)	THE VERNE (Dorset)	Male C Trainer	Convicted short, medium and long term Category C adults
London South (South East)	WANDSWORTH (London)	Male London VPU	Convicted short, medium and long term Category A, B and C adults and vulnerable prisoners
South Coast (South West)	WINCHESTER (Hampshire)	Male Local Male C Trainer	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category A, B and C adults and young offenders
London North (South East)	WORMWOOD SCRUBS (London)	Male London	Unconvicted and convicted short, medium and long term Category B and C adults

SUBTOTALS

<i>Area</i>	<i>Establishments</i>	<i>Functional groups (not mutually exclusive)</i>	<i>Research units</i>
East Anglia	(1*) 2		
Kent	(5*) 3	Male Local (excluding London)	14
London North	6	Male Dispersal	4
London South	5	Male B Trainer (excluding London)	(2*) 3
South Coast	3	Male C Trainer	(3*) 10
Central	3	Male D Trainer	(1*) 5
Mercia	2	Female Local/Remand	4
Chilterns	5	Female Trainer	3
Wales & West	9	Closed YOI	9
Wessex	8	Open YOI	4
East Midlands	2	Male Remand (excluding London)	(1*) 11
North East	4	VPU	4
North West	3	Male London	4
Transpennine	2		
Yorkshire	1		

Note: Establishments marked with an asterisk (*) were examined only in terms of the role of the Kent Probation Service.

Appendix 2

OCCUPANCY OF SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS IN FUNCTIONAL GROUPS¹ SHOWING CERTIFIED NORMAL ACCOMMODATION, TOTAL OCCUPANCY, POPULATION TYPES² AND SIZE OF SAMPLE AS PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL POPULATION AS AT 31 JANUARY 1992:

Male Local (excluding London)

		<i>Young offenders</i>								<i>Adults</i>						
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
3891	5472	171	57	5	52	20	10	9	4	1803	473	1157	857	569	144	141

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 50.7%, POPN 51.4%

Male Dispersal

		<i>Young offenders</i>								<i>Adults</i>						
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
1418	1313	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	26	1286	-	-

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 45.8%, POPN 49.6%

Male B Trainer (excluding London)

		<i>Young offenders</i>								<i>Adults</i>						
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
2132	2082	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	49	331	1699	-	1

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 62.8%, POPN 63.8%

Male C Trainer

		<i>Young offenders</i>								<i>Adults</i>						
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
4269	4061	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	819	1683	1552	2	-

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 35.2%, POPN 34.8%

Male D Trainer

		<i>Young offenders</i>								<i>Adults</i>						
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
2695	2374	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	872	772	724	2	4

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 75.5%, POPN 74.7%

Female Local/Remand

		<i>Young offenders</i>								<i>Adults</i>						
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
731	739	46	26	6	18	10	12	3	-	210	63	114	51	149	16	15

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 88.3%, POPN 91.7%

Female Trainer

		<i>Young offenders</i>								<i>Adults</i>						
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
241	214	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	47	22	139	1	-

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 25.5%, POPN 26.4%

OCCUPANCY OF SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS (continued)

Closed YOI

		<i>Young offenders</i>							<i>Adults³</i>							
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
2850	2784	25	10	59	1021	990	613	19	-	-	-	9	29	9	-	-

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 58.8%, POPN 64.2%

Open YOI

		<i>Young offenders</i>							<i>Adults</i>							
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
580	442	-	-	8	347	77	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 61.4%, POPN 67.6%

Male Remand(excluding London)

		<i>Young offenders</i>							<i>Adults</i>							
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
1425	1373	944	338	4	31	19	9	20	6	2	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 52.6%, POPN 52.1%

VPU: No separate data – CNA and population included in totals for parent establishments

Male London

		<i>Young offenders</i>							<i>Adults</i>							
CNA	POP	UT	CU	VS	S	M	L	FD	CIV	UT	CU	S	M	L	FD	CIV
2942	3868	21	21	-	2	3	3	-	-	1219	278	688	713	812	34	74

Sample as proportion of national totals: CNA 78.4%, POPN 83.0%

1. Statistics data does not always provide a breakdown between various groups held in multi-function establishments. In such cases the totals provided have been included in the table under the establishment's main function.
2. Key to population types:
 - UT: Untried
 - CU: Convicted unsentenced
 - VS: Up to and including 4 months
 - S: Over 4 months and up to 18 months (Young Offenders)
Up to and including 18 months (Adults)
 - M: Over 18 months and up to 3 years (Young Offenders and Adult Females)
Over 18 months and up to 4 years (Adult Males)
 - L: Over 3 years (Young Offenders and Adult Females)
Over 4 years (Adult Males)
 - FD: Fine defaulters
 - CIV: Civil
3. Inmates aged 21 or over awaiting transfer to adult establishment

Appendix 3

SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: ACCOMMODATION AND USAGE APRIL 1990 – MARCH 1991

<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Accommodation places (certified normal accommodation)</i>	<i>Average number of inmates (% usage)</i>	<i>Greatest number of inmates (% usage)</i>
Albany	Single cells	240	
	Special	149	
	Total	389	375 (96.4) 386 (99.2)
Aldington	Cubicles	58	
	Rooms/Dorms	69	
	Total	127	119 (93.7) 130 (102.4)
Blantyre House	Cubicles	58	
	Rooms/Dorms	29	
	Total	87	87 (100.0) 87 (100.0)
Blundeston	Single cells	287	
	Rooms/Dorms	123	
	Total	410	401 (97.8) 406 (99.0)
Bristol	Single cells	148	
	Double cells	48	
	Rooms/Dorms	146	
	Special	37	
	Total	379	380 (100.3) 596 (157.3)
Brixton	Single cells	584	
	Rooms/Dorms	62	
	Special	93	
	Total	739	1036 (140.2) 1107 (149.8)
Camp Hill	Single cells	281	
	Rooms/Dorms	180	
	Total	461	462 (100.2) 502 (108.9)
Canterbury	Single cells	171	
	Rooms/Dorms	48	
	Special	11	
	Total	230	339 (147.4) 373 (162.2)
Cardiff (Local)	Single cells	219	
	Special	34	
	Total	253	323 (127.7) 393 (155.3)

SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: ACCOMMODATION AND USAGE
APRIL 1990 – MARCH 1991 (continued)

<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Accommodation places (certified normal accommodation)</i>	<i>Average number of inmates (% usage)</i>	<i>Greatest number of inmates (% usage)</i>
Cardiff (Remand)	Single cells	68	
	Rooms/Dorms	17	
	Total	85	112 (131.8) 148 (174.1)
Castington	Single cells	300	
	Total	300	250 (83.3) 264 (88.0)
Channings Wood	Single cells	504	
	Cubicles	34	
	Special	56	
	Total	594	548 (92.3) 588 (99.0)
Cookham Wood	Single cells	120	
	Total	120	118 (98.3) 120 (100.0)
Dartmoor	Single cells	619	
	Total	619	498 (80.5) 608 (98.2)
Dorchester (Local)	Single cells	119	
	Double cells	2	
	Rooms/Dorms	6	
	Special	5	
	Total	132	154 (116.7) 202 (153.0)
Dorchester (Remand)	Single cells	14	
	Rooms/Dorms	6	
	Total	20	31 (155.0) 43 (215.0)
Dover	Double cells	151	
	Cubicles	101	
	Rooms/Dorms	95	
	Total	347	190 (54.8) 244 (70.3)
Durham (Male Local/Rem- and)	Single cells	547	
	Rooms/Dorms	54	
	Total	601	890 (148.1) 1070 (178.0)
Durham (Female Trainer)	Single cells	39	
	Total	39	30 (76.9) 40 (102.6)
East Sutton Park (Adult)	Rooms/Dorms	64	
	Special	5	
	Total	69	70 (101.4) 77 (111.6)
East Sutton Park (Young Offenders)	Rooms/Dorms	15	
	Total	15	6 (40.0) 10 (66.7)
Erlestone	Cubicles	218	
	Total	218	213 (97.7) 219 (100.5)
Exeter (Local)	Single cells	156	
	Special	29	
	Total	185	298 (161.1) 341 (184.3)

**SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: ACCOMMODATION AND USAGE
APRIL 1990 – MARCH 1991 (continued)**

<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Accommodation places (certified normal accommodation)</i>	<i>Average number of inmates (% usage)</i>	<i>Greatest number of inmates (% usage)</i>
Exeter (Remand)	Single cells	37	
	Double cells	10	
	Rooms/Dorms	6	
	Total	53	58 (109.4) 71 (134.0)
Feltham (Remand)	Single cells	180	
	Double cells	288	
	Rooms/Dorms	70	
	Special	52	
	Total	590	475 (80.5) 524 (88.8)
Feltham (Young Offenders)	Single cells	244	
	Rooms/Dorms	40	
	Total	284	274 (96.5) 313 (110.2)
Ford	Cubicles	112	
	Rooms/Dorms	431	
	Special	25	
	Total	568	507 (89.3) 537 (94.5)
Frankland	Single cells	432	
	Special	15	
	Total	447	406 (90.8) 419 (93.7)
Gartree	Single cells	300	
	Special	20	
	Total	320	308 (96.3) 321 (100.3)
Glen Parva (Remand)	Single cells	120	
	Double cells	200	
	Total	320	260 (81.3) 341 (106.6)
Glen Parva (Young Offenders)	Single cells	420	
	Rooms/Dorms	60	
	Special	54	
	Total	534	503 (94.2) 558 (104.5)
Gloucester	Single cells	186	
	Special	14	
	Total	200	287 (143.5) 343 (171.5)
Grendon*	Single cells	199	
	Special	26	
	Total	225	103 (45.8) 183 (81.3)
Guys Marsh	Cubicles	180	
	Total	180	110 (61.1) 122 (67.8)
Haslar	Cubicles	13	
	Rooms/Dorms	92	
	Total	105	100 (95.2) 105 (100.0)

**SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: ACCOMMODATION AND USAGE
APRIL 1990 – MARCH 1991 (continued)**

<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Accommodation places (certified normal accommodation)</i>	<i>Average number of inmates (% usage)</i>	<i>Greatest number of inmates (% usage)</i>
Haverigg	Cubicles 183		
	Rooms/Dorms 168		
	Total 351	334 (95.2)	346 (98.6)
Holloway	Single cells 235		
	Double cells 6		
	Rooms/Dorms 184		
	Special 92		
	Total 517	467 (90.3)	508 (98.3)
Huntercombe	Single cells 186		
	Special 40		
	Total 226	141 (62.4)	159 (70.4)
and			
Finnamore Wood	Cubicles 95		
	Rooms/Dorms 21		
	Total 116	79 (68.1)	90 (77.6)
Kirkham	Rooms/Dorms 632		
	Total 632	520 (82.3)	605 (95.7)
Leeds	Single cells 487		
	Rooms/Dorms 63		
	Special 77		
	Total 627	1008 (160.8)	1270 (202.6)
Leyhill	Cubicles 384		
	Special 26		
	Total 410	407 (99.3)	420 (102.4)
Lincoln	Single cells 315		
	Rooms/Dorms 35		
	Special 41		
	Total 391	571 (146.0)	688 (176.0)
Lindholme	Rooms/Dorms 800		
	Total 800	752 (94.0)	780 (97.5)
Littlehey	Single cells 448		
	Double cells 100		
	Special 45		
	Total 593	550 (92.7)	587 (99.0)
Long Lartin	Single cells 432		
	Total 432	421 (97.5)	440 (101.9)
Low Newton (Male Remand)	Single cells 118		
	Special 13		
	Total 131	227 (173.3)	266 (203.1)

**SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: ACCOMMODATION AND USAGE
APRIL 1990 – MARCH 1991 (continued)**

<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Accommodation places (certified normal accommodation)</i>	<i>Average number of inmates (% usage)</i>	<i>Greatest number of inmates (% usage)</i>
Low Newton (Female Local/ Remand)	Single cells	23	
	Special	13	
	Total	36	13 (36.1) 38 (105.6)
Maidstone	Single cells	538	
	Special	11	
	Total	549	530 (96.5) 536 (97.6)
New Hall (Adult)	Single cells	159	
	Rooms/Dorms	14	
	Special	8	
	Total	191	83 (43.5) 100 (52.4)
New Hall (Young Offenders)	Single cells	15	
	Cubicles	5	
	Rooms/Dorms	7	
	Total	27	20 (74.1) 36 (133.3)
Northallerton	Single cells	146	
	Total	146	188 (128.8) 209 (143.2)
Onley	Single cells	520	
	Total	520	414 (79.6) 485 (93.3)
Oxford	Single cells	96	
	Rooms/Dorms	23	
	Special	5	
	Total	124	172 (138.7) 226 (182.3)
Pentonville	Single cells	710	
	Rooms/Dorms	4	
	Special	40	
	Total	754	816 (108.2) 942 (124.9)
Portland	Single cells	511	
	Double cells	16	
	Total	527	484 (91.8) 526 (99.8)
Prescoed	Cubicles	120	
	Total	120	70 (58.3) 96 (80.0)
Pucklechurch*	Single cells	41	
	Special	15	
	Total	56	18 (32.1) 52 (92.9)
Reading	Single cells	177	
	Special	7	
	Total	184	270 (146.7) 299 (162.5)
Rochester (Remand)	Single cells	179	
	Total	179	87 (48.6) 138 (77.1)
Rochester (Trainer)	Single cells	58	
	Rooms/Dorms	69	
	Total	127	121 (95.3) 130 (102.4)

**SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: ACCOMMODATION AND USAGE
APRIL 1990 – MARCH 1991 (continued)**

<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Accommodation places (certified normal accommodation)</i>	<i>Average number of inmates (% usage)</i>	<i>Greatest number of inmates (% usage)</i>
Shepton Mallet	Single cells	103	
	Rooms/Dorms	72	
	Total	175	247 (141.1) 256 (146.3)
Spring Hill	Cubicles	112	
	Rooms/Dorms	98	
	Total	210	204 (97.1) 214 (101.9)
Standford Hill	Single cells	10	
	Cubicles	334	
	Rooms/Dorms	40	
Total	384	376 (97.9) 441 (114.8)	
Sudbury/Foston	Rooms/Dorms	523	
	Total	523	500 (95.6) 528 (101.0)
Swaleside	Single cells	504	
	Total	504	501 (99.4) 506 (100.4)
Swansea (Local)	Single cells	125	
	Rooms/Dorms	33	
	Special	16	
Total	174	208 (119.5) 257 (147.7)	
Swansea (Remand)	Single cells	32	
	Rooms/Dorms	23	
Total	55	50 (90.9) 71 (129.1)	
Swinfen Hall	Single cells	174	
	Rooms/Dorms	8	
	Total	182	174 (95.6) 181 (99.5)
Thorn Cross	Rooms/Dorms	300	
	Total	300	170 (56.7) 209 (69.7)
Usk*	Single cells	120	
	Total	120	67 (55.8) 96 (80.0)
The Verne	Cubicles	480	
	Rooms/Dorms	120	
	Total	600	588 (98.0) 602 (100.3)
Wandsworth	Single cells	1157	
	Rooms/Dorms	48	
	Special	70	
Total	1275	1395 (109.4) 1557 (122.1)	

**SAMPLE ESTABLISHMENTS: ACCOMMODATION AND USAGE
APRIL 1990 – MARCH 1991 (continued)**

<i>Establishment</i>	<i>Accommodation places (certified normal accommodation)</i>	<i>Average number of inmates (% usage)</i>	<i>Greatest number of inmates (% usage)</i>
Winchester (Local)	Single cells	384	
	Rooms/Dorms	48	
	Special	43	
	Total	475	478 (100.6)
Winchester (Trainer)	Single cells	39	
	Rooms/Dorms	16	
	Total	55	28 (50.9)
Wormwood Scrubs	Single cells	665	
	Special	78	
	Total	743	946 (127.3)

* Establishment which underwent partial closure and/or change of role during period.

Appendix 4

PROPOSALS FOR REVISED CLUSTERING OF PRISON SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS

Cluster 1 (North East) 12 establishments

Local/remand	2	(1 including female training wing)
Dispersal	1	
B trainer	–	
C trainer	2	
D trainer	1	
Closed YOI	5	
Open YOI	–	
Female	1	(plus 1 as above)

Cluster 2 (North West and North Wales) 13 establishments

Local/remand	3	
Dispersal	–	
B trainer	1	
C trainer	4	
D trainer	1	
Closed YOI	2	
Open YOI	1	
Female	1	

Cluster 3 (Yorkshire & East Midlands) 17 establishments

Local/remand	5	
Dispersal	2	
B trainer	–	
C trainer	3	
D trainer	2	
Closed YOI	2	
Open YOI	1	
Female	2	

Cluster 4 (North Central) 25 establishments

Local/remand	6	
Dispersal	2	
B trainer	1	
C trainer	5	
D trainer	2	
Closed YOI	6	
Open YOI	1	
Female	1	

**PROPOSALS FOR REVISED CLUSTERING OF PRISON
SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS (continued)**

Cluster 5 (South Wales) 4 establishments

Local/remand	2
Dispersal	–
B trainer	–
C trainer	1
D trainer	–
Closed YOI	–
Open YOI	1
Female	–

Cluster 6 (South West) 12 establishments

Local/remand	3	(1 including female)
Dispersal	–	
B trainer	1	
C trainer	3	
D trainer	1	
Closed YOI	2	
Open YOI	1	
Female	1	(plus 1 above)

Cluster 7 (South Central) 6 establishments

Local/remand	3
Dispersal	1
B trainer	–
C trainer	1
D trainer	–
Closed YOI	1
Open YOI	–
Female	–

Cluster 8 (East Anglia) 8 establishments

Local/remand	2	
Dispersal	1	
B trainer	1	
C trainer	3	
D trainer	1	
Closed YOI	1	(with open unit)
Open YOI	see above	
Female	–	

Cluster 9 (London) 19 establishments

Local/remand	7	
Dispersal	–	
B trainer	2	(1 therapeutic)
C trainer	4	
D trainer	1	
Closed YOI	2	
Open YOI	1	
Female	2	

**PROPOSALS FOR REVISED CLUSTERING OF PRISON
SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS (continued)**

Cluster 10 (South East) 19 establishments

Local/remand	6	
Dispersal	1	
B trainer	3	(1 lifers only)
C trainer	4	
D trainer	2	
Closed YOI	1	
Open YOI	-	
Female	2	

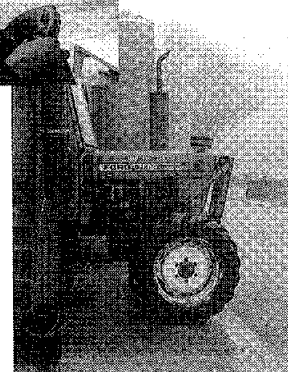
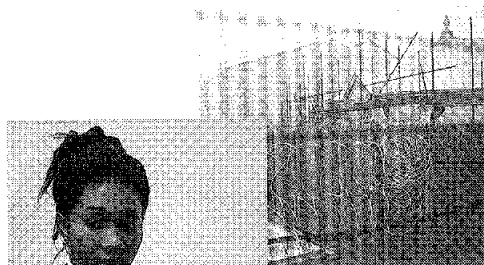
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