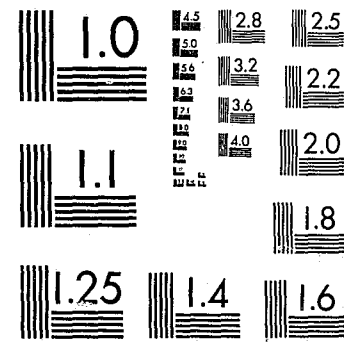


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THE ROLE OF SOCIAL WORKERS AND OTHER PERSONS  
IN THE SOCIAL REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT  
IN EMPLOYMENT OF EX-PRISONERS

Report by the Study Group of the  
1977 Co-ordinated Social Research Fellowships Programme

STRASBOURG  
1979

MFI

U.S. Department of Justice  
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FOREWORD

The Council of Europe Programme of Co-ordinated Research Fellowships in the social field is designed to enable qualified persons to pursue studies and research of common interest with a view to effecting an improvement in social work in Europe.

According to the regulations of this fellowships' scheme, the subject for study is chosen by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on the proposal of the Steering Committee for Social Affairs.

The 1977 Programme was thus devoted to a study on "The role of social workers and other persons in the social rehabilitation and resettlement in employment of ex-prisoners".

The experts appointed to form the Study Group which was set up for this purpose were:

Director of Studies: Professor M.B. Davies (United Kingdom)  
 Director of the Social Work Programme  
 University of East Anglia  
 NORWICH

Research Fellows: Dr. H. LEIRER (Austria)  
 Research Fellow  
 Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Kriminalsoziologie  
 VIENNA

Mr. R. van BEECK (Belgium)  
 Regional Inspector  
 Penitentiary and Probation Service of the  
 Ministry of Justice  
 KESSEL-LO

Mr. R. KOLSTAD (Norway)  
 Secretary General  
 Norges Vernesamband  
 OSLO

The Study Group met in Strasbourg from 2 to 4 March 1977. During this meeting, the Group gave careful consideration to the wording of the title of the study with which it had been entrusted.

discussed in detail its scope and content, the guidelines to be followed, the definitions to be adopted and the information to be collected, and finally drew up an outline of the study to serve as a working basis for the members of the Group and also for the investigations to be carried out.

The Study Group decided to concentrate its attention on the factor of employment, and only to look at other aspects of social rehabilitation insofar as they directly affected the chances of ex-prisoners getting and keeping employment. It was, however, recognised that it would be necessary for the Group to bear in mind the different fields of interest needing study in order to tackle the topic properly:

1. the prison establishments, and the extent to which they concern themselves with preparing their prisoners for employment on discharge;
2. the formal after-care facilities provided by either statutory or voluntary organisations, and the extent to which they concern themselves with resettling prisoners in employment;
3. the Ministry of Employment (or its equivalent) and its agencies, and the extent to which it makes special provisions for ex-prisoners (or conversely, the extent to which it might operate against the interests of ex-prisoners);
4. any other social work or other organisation playing a part in the resettlement of ex-prisoners (e.g. by running an advice service, by operating sheltered workshops, etc.).

For the purpose of its study, the Group further agreed on the following definitions:

Social workers: Persons, with or without a professional training, but paid full- or part-time, and occupying posts normally reserved for and occupied by those who have received training as professional social workers. (This working definition was meant to be used only in connection with this study. The question of "The Role, Training and Status of Social Workers" is dealt with in a separate Council of Europe publication and in particular in Resolution (67) 16 adopted by the Committee of Ministers in 1967.)

Other persons: Although intended to allow for many variations between countries, the term was aimed at two categories of people in particular:

- i. other persons than social workers, normally operating under the direction of social workers, but not in posts normally reserved for those who have received training as professional social workers (e.g. volunteers, paid or unpaid, ancillary staff working with ex-prisoners, etc.);
- ii. other persons than social workers, normally operating independently of social workers and engaged in the task of employment resettlement. (For example, prior to the prisoner's release, this might include those personnel engaged in prison training and education programmes; after release, it could involve employment agencies, employers or trade union officials.)

Social rehabilitation and resettlement in employment: All activities carried out with specific reference to their likely effect on improving the ex-prisoner's chances of securing and keeping employment.

Ex-prisoners: All ex-prisoners, male and female, during the period immediately following their release, including civil prisoners, those remanded in custody but freed on sentence or on a finding of innocence, and short-, medium- and long-term convicted prisoners.

Following this first meeting, information was collected with regard to seventeen out of the twenty countries participating in 1977 in the Council of Europe fellowships' scheme in the social field.

(Individual reports were drawn up by the Director of Studies and each member of the research team, on the one hand on their own countries and on the other hand on the countries visited during the study tours) which were carried out as follows:

Professor M.B. DAVIES (United Kingdom): Republic of Ireland  
(Director of Studies)

Dr. H. LEIRER (Austria): Federal Republic of  
Germany  
Italy

Mr. R. van BEECK (Belgium): France  
Netherlands

Mr. K. KOLSTAD (Norway): Finland

A second meeting was then held in Strasbourg on 1 and 2 December 1977 to exchange views on fact-findings, to compare the documentation available and to plan the draft collective report.

The report which follows, for which the Study Group takes collective responsibility, was finalised during a third and last meeting in June 1978. The Group is aware that there may be some gaps in the report, and that it cannot be considered as completely representative in view of the obvious fact that only situations known to the Fellows could be described. It must also be recalled that the information was collected in 1977 and that, since then, some situations may have evolved.

Having completed their task, the members of the Study Group were unanimous in wishing to express their appreciation for the help they were given during their study tours in the countries they visited and for the co-operation of the countries which supplied information in writing.

Responsibility for the contents of the Study Group's collective report rests with the authors alone.

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## 1. PRISONS AND PENAL PHILOSOPHY

In the course of the visits made to the penal systems of Europe, the members of the Study Group were constantly brought face to face with the frustrations and dilemmas that confront penal administrators and that are a direct by-product of attempting to introduce constructive objectives in a fundamentally negative sector of twentieth century society - the prison. Men and women are sentenced to prison in a symbolic act of exasperation or vengeance, but most of the countries visited were anxious to point to the efforts they were making to introduce and develop rehabilitative and training facilities within the prisons; some had made provision for after-care help; and some were developing sentencing models which avoided the pains of total institutionalisation and allowed selected prisoners to continue in or return to employment or training schemes in the outside world while still serving their prison term.

There was general recognition that imprisonment had certain evil aspects to it, but there was almost universal agreement that, however much it might hurt human sensibilities, it was nevertheless a necessary evil. Imprisonment rates per 1,000 show large variations (\*):

Finland	1.17	Italy	0.59
Turkey	1.12	Luxembourg	0.58
Austria	0.93	Sweden	0.55
Federal Republic of Germany	0.85	Switzerland	0.46-0.54
United Kingdom	0.80	Norway	0.38
Denmark	0.67	Greece	0.35
Belgium	0.63	Ireland	0.34
France	0.62	Netherlands	0.26
		Cyprus	0.23

Different countries emphasise their rehabilitative efforts at different stages of the prison sentence.

In France and Italy, the judiciary is involved in supervising the sentences and plays a part in planning the rehabilitative process. In the United Kingdom, prison policy has been dominated in recent years by a commitment to the development of prison industry, although it is generally recognised now that it plays little or no rehabilitative role in the majority of cases. Training courses of all kinds are to be found in many systems - they are predominantly concerned with the teaching of skilled or semi-skilled trades, but

(\*) These rates are based on information provided by the countries concerned. They should, however, be regarded as approximate as the effective dates vary, and there may be some differences in the criteria for inclusion. In general, however, the figures refer to all adults held in

also include literacy programmes, leisure classes and work for pre-graduate or undergraduate courses; everywhere, however, the actual number of prisoners participating in such courses is relatively small - in the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, it is less than 8 per cent of all prisoners who pass through the prisons in a year; in Austria, at the end of 1976, 5 per cent of all prisoners were involved in courses. And everywhere there are particular problems in providing for short-term prisoners who tend to make up the majority of all inmates and who are almost universally difficult to accommodate in rehabilitative schemes. The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the few countries where efforts are made actively to involve industry or the trade unions in the work of the prisons. Some countries use specialist staff to help prisoners find work on discharge. In the Netherlands, the emphasis is more on the prevention of institutionalisation than on the development of internal training or industrial schemes: use is made of interrupted sentences and prison leave, allegedly to good effect; and in Ireland, the cautious use of conditional release policies is said to enable some long-sentence prisoners to be eased back into employment relatively successfully. However, in most such schemes, there are generally discrepancies between the intensity of supervision given inside the prison and the tendency to pay little more than lip-service to the concept of community supervision. Ireland has plans for an ambitious experiment in which 27 probation officers will work with a caseload ratio of 1: 6 in order to provide close control in conditional release situations, and the United Kingdom has a small number of community-based innovations which enable ex-prisoners to be employed in day centres or sheltered workshops in order to be re-established in protected conditions. In Italy, too, a new vocational training centre was due to open in 1977 with a view to providing for 160 ex-prisoners. In Norway, there is a sheltered workshop for 50 ex-prisoners.

Thus it may be seen that most countries are intensifying the emphasis on rehabilitation in their prisons. In respect of the use of prison industries, the involvement of the trade unions, the employment of social workers and other rehabilitative staff inside and outside the prisons and the establishment of therapeutic régimes and sheltered workshops, there is much to learn from one country or another. In almost every case, however, the dominant problem is one of scale and of turnover: short-sentence prisoners, in particular, pose outstanding problems, and few systems even begin to pretend that they operate a rehabilitative policy with regard to most of them; and yet it is the short-term prisoners who often present the greatest problems of mental ill-health, social isolation, alcoholism and addiction, and personal inadequacy. Almost everywhere the prisons do no

more than accommodate them for short periods, while the after-care personnel are rarely able to provide more than a superficial form of supervision to facilitate their re-integration into society. It is for such people that sheltered workshops and half-way hostels have been established in recent years, but nowhere is it suggested that the provisions are numerically sufficient.

The conclusions that may be drawn from the visits made cannot be too encouraging. It was striking that the members of the Study Group rarely came across the argument that prisoners do not deserve rehabilitative help; on the contrary, most prison officers and administrators were proud of their system's particular innovations. Nobody seemed to feel the need to justify the efforts that were being made to help erstwhile wrong-doers, but at the same time there was little or no evidence in any country of prison accommodation or facilities that critics might consider inappropriately extravagant.

On the other hand, however, there was a certain amount of inconsistency, a tendency to believe that any development was better than no development; and a definite contrast between those systems which were putting their trust and their money into plans to keep prisoners more fully occupied inside prisons (irrespective of industry's value as a training facility), and those which were seeking ways to break down barriers between the prisons and the outside world - by the use of conditional release, furlough, parole, work release, weekend leave schemes - in order to minimise the destructive effects of long-term incarceration. There were also differences in the extent to which the sentencing judges or magistrates were actively involved in (and therefore aware of the effects of) the prisons, and the extent to which trade unions accepted some responsibility for enabling ex-prisoners to find work again on discharge.

## 2. PREPARATION FOR EMPLOYMENT ON DISCHARGE

In the sections that follow, some aspects are outlined in greater detail, and special attention is paid to examples of specific developments which the Study Group considers worthy of drawing to Europe's attention.

### 2.a. Education and training schemes in prisons

No European prison system operates entirely as an educational or training organisation. All claim to have a training element, and most see the provision of extended training or educational

facilities as being a humane and progressive objective. Only in the Netherlands is the idea of vocational training inside the prison viewed with distaste, and stress laid instead on the greater importance of developing opportunities for prisoners to work in the outside world.

Vocational developments and plans to bring training schemes up to date are generally a source of pride, and the shortage of resources preventing the kind of innovations felt by prison administrations to be appropriate, one of regret. In Ireland, for example, funds from the European Economic Community were helping the Ministry of Justice to employ skilled staff in well-equipped, purpose-built workshops, and this was felt to be a major step forward in a prison system which hitherto had changed but little from that inherited by the Irish government on independence.

Statistics from the United Kingdom show how proportionately few prisoners are engaged in full-time training or educational activities at any one time. The following figures show the deployment of prisoners in England and Wales on 30 June 1975:

Prison industry	43 %
Domestic work	28 %
Works department	10 %
Farming	8 %
Vocational and industrial training	6 %
Full-time education	3 %
Outside work	1 %
Pre-release hostel	1 %
	<hr/>
	100 %

The table excludes those who were sick, appearing in court, etc., but includes those allocated to borstals and training prisons, which together account for 51 per cent of the prison population.

The pattern in Norway shows that, with a total prison population of 11,851 (12 May 1977):

- about 13 per cent were engaged in elementary or secondary education and a few were studying at high school or university level (this proportion has been rising steadily since 1971),
- about 3 per cent were on furlough (permission to work outside the prison),

- about 30 per cent were engaged in different forms of training in the institution (wood or metal industry production, textile industry production, laundry, industry performed in the cells, farming, gardening, lumbering),
- about 20 per cent were engaged in "economy work" (domestic and maintenance services in the prison),
- about 25 per cent were unemployed; this group includes, among others, those suffering from illness, persons refusing to work and those on remand.

One of the problems in making valid comparisons between different countries is apparent in the above figures, because an unknown proportion of those among the 30 per cent said to be engaged in "training" activities were clearly performing work in prison industries which in other countries would not be regarded as necessarily having a training function.

A further problem faced during the course of the enquiries was that of distinguishing between the formal details about training facilities laid down in official literature or regulations and the reality as viewed by the prisoner or the prison staff. In those countries best known to the researchers, clear discrepancies between formal government statements and the actuality of prison life were evident: tailoring shops trained prisoners to sew button-holes by hand, a job undertaken only in the prison; brick-laying classes introduced prisoners to the job, but then were unable to follow it up because the inmate was put back on domestic cleaning; a great many educational classes were viewed by the prisoners as being a pleasant way of passing time, but induced in the teachers only demoralisation and despair.

Two final examples of a contrasting kind reveal the differences in philosophy between systems, but also suggest the difficulty of drawing valid conclusions about a total penal system from observations made in just one prison.

First, in Belgium, an account of the situation prevailing in a number of prisons reflects aspects of prison life apparent in all the countries visited, including those with the more advanced penal systems:

Following the instructor's departure, the industrial sheet metal centre at Hoogstraten has been converted into a centre for training fitters and welders. The

instruction provided is exactly the same as if it were being given in the community. The instructor is competent and dedicated and the workshop technically well-equipped. The Director points out, however, that the prisoners' lack of interest is very disappointing; one course is currently being taken by five pupils - the highest figure for years. The preliminary psycho-technical tests are leniently applied, with a view to achieving the required minimum number of pupils, but many pupils give up the courses very quickly.

Carpentry training was formerly provided by a qualified instructor. Since his resignation, practical training only has been given - and this is of a fairly fragmentary and superficial kind. For the first time in over a year, four prisoners have declared themselves ready to learn carpentry in the near future, but in the Director's view, it is unlikely that they will ever become properly qualified workers.

At Marneffe Prison school centre, two centres have been in operation without a break since 1957 - the masons' centre and the centre for fitters, lathe operators and welders. Training lasts six months in both centres. At the present time, each centre has four pupils, although the two courses can accommodate five and eight respectively. Here again, a lack of interest and perseverance among the prisoners is noticeable. Participants are also disappointed when they find, on completing the course, that no certificate is awarded them by an official body unconnected with the prison. The metal work workshop is sizeable and properly equipped; the bricklaying school, however, is severely hampered by lack of space.

The Director also points out that in an establishment like Marneffe, where numbers are limited, it is difficult to assign pupils who have completed the course to a technical activity matching their training. He suspects that only a few pupils go on to practise in the world outside the trade which they have learned in prison. According to the Director, many prisoners only follow the courses for the immediate advantages that go with them - quiet work in a heated workshop, the absence of pressure as far as output is concerned, and equality or near-equality of wages with prisoners who do heavy open-air work in bad weather. This underlines the need for better selection techniques.

At Tournai Prison, a centre for bricklayers and tilers has been in operation since 1956. Six prisoners attend each course; the centre is properly equipped and the teaching gives satisfaction.

The Departments concerned would like to see a greater range of trades on offer, and the following trades have thus been suggested: plastering, tiling, plumbing, motor mechanics, central heating installation, electrical skills, electro-mechanics.

At Hoogstraten, there are plans for an offset printing plant - a system which will certainly prove more attractive to prisoners since it opens up a wider range of job opportunities. The existing workshop will be enlarged and a second technician made specially responsible for the offset plant and for vocational training.

It would seem, however, that projected developments in vocational training to include other trades face certain problems, owing to the difficulty of finding members of staff with the necessary professional qualifications who are also able and willing to act as instructors in intensive vocational training centres.

In Sweden, the Study Group came across a system in which ambitious and liberal principles had been and were still being established. Here the training regimes and the industrial policies were inter-twined, and the care that had been taken to maintain the self-respect of the prisoner caught in the custodial trap was impressive. The time and opportunity were unfortunately not available to enable the Group to gauge unofficial views of these developments, and to judge whether the Government's obvious pride in them was reflected in their effects on inmates.

In 1973 major prison reforms were instituted, with the following main principles:

1. Emphasis is laid on the importance of handling offenders without depriving them of their liberty; where deprivation of liberty is unavoidably necessary, it should be organised so as to keep the offender in close contact with society.
2. To that end, offenders serving sentences of up to one year (about 90 per cent of the yearly intake) are sent to small institutions in their



own localities; only offenders serving longer terms are allocated to national prisons, but they too can be admitted to local institutions towards the end of their sentence.

3. The local institutions are intended to have open flexible regimes which will permit inmates to have intensive contact with normal society and especially with families, employers, educational facilities and leisure time associations.
4. Preparation for release must be started in good time; responsibility for this lies with the local probation office.
5. Prisoners do not forfeit the right to use the various social service agencies by reason of their sentence, and therefore the community's social service bodies should be used whenever necessary.

#### Work programmes, education and vocational training

Institutional treatment implies a policy of full employment. Every able-bodied man who can work a normal forty-hour week is required to do so. Within the prison system about 3,000 jobs are available in industry, and about 750 in mechanised farming and forestry. There are also simpler jobs in cells, and maintenance duties.

Emphasis in the manufacturing sector is on iron, steel and wood products together with the production of clothing. All work is remunerated and experiments are being carried out on paying the prisoners a wage which corresponds to ordinary wage levels in society, less income tax.

In addition to extensive programmes of general education, and the granting of permits for prisoners to participate in schooling outside the institution, it is intended to develop schemes whereby more inmates can also obtain employment in the outside community. By December 1975 about 8 per cent were working or studying outside the prison walls. Great emphasis is laid on the need to prepare prisoners for discharge and, to this end, it is planned to make employment opportunities inside as much like those in the open market as possible. Those prisoners who are thought likely to have difficulty in settling in ordinary work will be accommodated in specialised workshops with a strong therapeutic emphasis. The Ministry of Labour is actively involved in the programme.

An ambitious experiment was launched at Tillberga open prison in 1973, where inmates are engaged on normal production work for which they are paid at the same rates as those agreed with the trade unions for the open market (with due allowance made for income tax). Prisoners may go home every second weekend on leave. The aim of the experiment is to improve the social and financial situation of inmates and those who volunteer to come to Tillberga must agree to work out suitable budget plans. From 1975, the system was extended to a closed prison, Skogome. Tillberga has three pavilions with 40 beds in each, and the latter has room for about 100 prisoners, also divided into three pavilions.

Above all, it is the income the prisoners can earn at these institutions which is a central part of the programme. The motive behind this is to give the prisoner an opportunity to take care of his financial situation and to learn in a practical way to change and improve it. Together with one of the assistants, prisoners have to budget for how the income must be used. After reduction for food - for which the prisoner pays on working days - 75 per cent of the income is reserved to cover important expenses: hire purchase instalments, taxes, fines and compensations, contributions to the family budget and the rent, etc.; some money is set aside for after discharge, and for most of the prisoner's expenses on home leave. The remaining 25 per cent is for the prisoner to use as he likes.

#### The role of the trade unions

Since 1968, the trade unions have been actively involved in the development of Swedish criminal policy. In a programme adopted by the trade union congress in 1976, there is a special chapter concerning offenders and the work situation; the main points are as follows:

1. Those working within the prison system and in probation and after-care must have facilities for vocational guidance and labour training - either within the institutions themselves or available in the local labour exchange.

2. Employment within the prison institution must not be an aim in itself, but an instrument for future employment in society. In this connection, special attention is given to the wages paid within prison institutions, and it is suggested that this wage should correspond to that given in open society.
3. Training courses must be relevant to future employment needs.
4. Correctional supervisors should have contacts in industry.
5. The existing provision whereby firms employing more than fifty people are required to give special consideration to the elderly and the handicapped should be extended to make similar allowances for ex-prisoners.
6. Public authorities and state industries should change their negative attitudes and offer more jobs to ex-prisoners than they do at present.

Sweden's prison population is, of course, one of the smaller ones in Europe, and there are obviously difficulties in applying such policies to systems whose every effort may be spent in the physical task of housing and containing prison populations ten to fifteen times the size. Nevertheless, the members of the Study Group felt that elsewhere training and educational policies, though often quite costly, too often lack clear objectives, fail to take into account the psychological and social needs of the prisoner, are outmoded, bear little relation to the likely job prospects for the prisoner on discharge and fail to overcome the handicaps of being carried out within a total institution. They are, in short, little more than an improved way of helping the prisoner to pass his sentence, and pay only lip-service to the idea of re-integrating the prisoner into the economic community after release.

It is the view of the Study Group that all prison systems should move towards the idea of becoming training systems, although the inevitable cost of so doing is recognised.

Moreover, in countries with high unemployment, such development can only occur within the context of a general social policy concerned with the provision of working opportunities for the disadvantaged, among which group the majority of prisoners are likely to be numbered.

There was no evidence of any research study which had attempted to test the feasibility of adopting such an approach, and the Group suggests the need for such studies to be carried out on a comparative basis.

## 2.b. (Difficulties in running effective training programmes)

Again, only in Sweden does it appear that the major difficulties in running an integrated training programme have been overcome. In almost all other countries, problems were only too apparent - most obviously problems caused by limited resources, but also problems which appeared to be inherent in prison life.

### 1. Among the problems of resources were the following:

- the need for skilled assessment prior to training;
- the need to continually update and adapt courses to keep pace with the rapidly-evolving outside world of employment;
- the need to maintain full and active liaison with the ministry of employment;
- the need for adequate accommodation for training schemes, an absence of overcrowding and proper facilities and equipment;
- the need to pay enough high quality personnel to run the courses, to attract them into prison work, and to keep them long enough for their special skills to develop;
- the need for a sufficiently stable social, political and economic climate in the country as a whole to allow a far-sighted penal policy to be made acceptable to the public;
- the need to integrate any vocational training programme into a total therapeutic regime in order to relate employment preparation to other aspects of social behaviour and mental health;
- the need for certificates to be issued by independent institutes so that the courses can carry credibility in the outside world;
- the need to employ sufficient well-trained social workers to ensure adequate liaison with the community.

### 2. Among problems observed, the most important were:

- a continual discrepancy between the predominance of short sentences and the apparent need for traditional training schemes to have prisoners available for a sufficient period of time. This

- clearly precludes the use of a training approach in a large number of cases, although the Swedish experience suggests that it need not be so;
- the conflict between the need for large institutions in order to provide a wide range of training and employment facilities and the arguments in favour of small institutions as being more humane, more positive and more likely to achieve therapeutic objectives;
  - similarly, the conflict between the idea of bringing together prisoners from a wide-spread area into one institution with specialised facilities (e.g. to teach printing skills), and the idea of enabling prisoners to be housed in small local prisons in order to be easily accessible to their families and so to maintain ties with the outside world;
  - the conflict between the idea of having a rationally designed programme of training leading to a relatively early date of release, and the punitive or preventive policies of incarcerating dangerous criminals for long periods of time;
  - the fact that a large number of prisoners may be mentally ill or of such a degree of personal or social inadequacy as to be unable to benefit from most training courses;
  - the tendency for the working day to be interrupted by other prison activities, visits by family, lawyers, etc., thus disrupting a training programme;
  - the allegation that as a large number of prisoners have no experience of regular work, in the atmosphere of the prison ("us" against "them"), they are unlikely to respond to any opportunities provided. In other cases, prisoners may be regarded as such security risks that all strategic decisions regarding their training or education are outweighed by the overwhelming priority of preventing their escape;
  - the fact that virtually no training facilities are available to prisoners on remand, often for long periods.

Comments on the situation in England and Wales illustrate the problems well:

Although the Home Office has steadily expanded its commitment to training schemes in the prisons, it is apparent to any objective observer that there is a wide discrepancy between the aspirations of penal administrators and the reality of the prisoner's experience. Each year the Prison Department Annual Report records the number of prisoners who have passed public examinations, but in 1975 they comprised no more than 2 per cent of the total sentenced population. Of course, a much larger number participate in vocational training courses which vary in length, but which average 12 to 20 weeks. Many of the prison industries also incorporate some rudimentary training element. Most prisoners, then, serving sentences of more than eighteen months are likely to get some opportunity of a training or educational experience (the latter extends from remedial reading classes to Open University degree work).

No truly reliable attempt has been made to gauge the "adequacy" of these arrangements, although their annual cost exceeds three million pounds. Informal conversations with prison staff reveal a strong feeling of frustration that the work carried out by the trainers is rarely thought to have any long-term effect on the prisoner's work prospects or career pattern.

The attitude of prisoners and ex-prisoners tends to support this view and training and educational schemes are judged by the extent to which they relieve the tedium of prison life, rather than by any functional long-term criteria. Moreover, short-term prisoners are much less likely to benefit from the facilities available, and in 1975, 73 per cent of all adult male receptions had sentences of 18 months or less. All borstal trainees are intended to receive some training of a vocational nature, but the recent overcrowding in the borstal system has meant that a large number of trainees have had to spend periods of up to two months in the allocation centres where training facilities are not normally available. Moreover, the reduction in the effective length of the borstal sentence has meant that each trainee would expect to spend perhaps no more than five months in a training establishment.

The most active preparation for employment occurs in the pre-release hostel schemes where good-risk prisoners are moved to half-way houses, usually on the perimeter of the prison, from which they go out to work under normal conditions. In 1975, however, fewer than one per cent of all prisoners were benefitting from this scheme at any one time.

There can be no denying the good intentions of the Home Office in respect of vocational training; nor can it be said that the resources committed to the schemes have been minimal. Nevertheless, one is left with the conclusion that although the training facilities have undoubtedly made a modest contribution to the amelioration of prison life, their success falls far short of the ambitious objectives of those who see vocational programmes in prison as the key to long-term rehabilitation. Their effectiveness is hampered by other more pressing factors, in particular the rise in the prison population, which has led to chronic over-crowding in some establishments, the primacy of the security focus in prisons which must lead to vocational training being accorded a correspondingly lower priority, and the seemingly built-in inflexibility of any total institution which militates against courses operating at an optimum level of effectiveness.

When such examples are set against the brave aspirations of the Swedish system, some attempt must be made to consider the likely cost of overcoming the immense difficulties elsewhere. It is clear that in the great majority of Europe's prisons, for training and education to be given high priority, a radical change of emphasis in administration would be required, possibly a change in orientation among the discipline staff, and a vast increase in the prison budget. It is the belief of the members of the Study Group that such a policy is called for.

## 2.c. Prison industry and its role in rehabilitation

It was not the purpose of this study to carry out a detailed review of the present state of prison industry (cf. the report of the European Committee on Crime Problems: Work in Penal Institutions by K.J. Neale; Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 1976).

It is, however, appropriate to consider the extent to which it plays a part in the rehabilitation process. Attitudes in different countries vary from that in Ireland, where work is

said to be traditionally an important part of prison life, both as a form of punishment and with a view to keeping the inmates occupied, to that in Sweden, where, although all prisoners are expected to work, emphasis is laid on the principle that industrial activity should not be organised as an end in itself, but only as a preparation for employment. In the United Kingdom, where the growth of relatively sophisticated forms of prison industry has been a marked feature of penal policy in the last fifteen years, some scepticism is found among those involved in it at the shop-floor level as to whether it serves any long-term purpose. However, as one Assistant Governor put it, an industrial policy does at least mean that any man who comes to prison already imbued with the working habit does not automatically lose it.

There are similar contrasts between attitudes towards pay. Again, in Ireland, on the one hand, prisoners receive a gratuity of thirty pence per working day with a weekly bonus of thirty pence; a half of the prisoner's income is retained and handed to him on discharge. In Sweden, there are current experiments to pay prisoners a wage equivalent to wages paid in the outside world, less income tax (see above); and in Italy, some prisoners engaged in training schemes (whether inside or outside prison) are given full wages, less two-fifths, which goes partly towards a criminal compensation fund and partly towards the cost of justice. In some countries - France and the United Kingdom, for example - there are said to be difficulties in attracting contracts, especially from the commercial sector, for prison industries, and any requirement that prisoners be paid full wages, if they were to be found from within the industries themselves, would almost certainly make the gaining of contracts even more difficult.

The Study Group was surprised at (the paucity of evidence in relation to the usefulness of prison industries in the rehabilitative process). A variety of powerful arguments are frequently advanced to justify the developments that have taken place in recent years, but, apart from the common-sense assumption that it is better for men in custody to be fully occupied during the day-time, there are no research studies which prove its efficacy or reformatory powers. Moreover, there was some evidence to suggest that some intensive industrial regimes caused degrees of stress in the men, and in one prison it was said to have been recognised by the administration that six months was the longest period that any prisoner could remain in an industrial location; and efforts to introduce conveyor belt methods of production often faced difficulties because of the conflicting priorities inherent in the prison situation.

It may thus be concluded that the idea of prison industry is relevant to a custodial context: it has obvious validity as a time-passing function, might make some contribution to the economic self-sufficiency of the prison, and, in a few cases, might operate in such a way as to give the prisoner a sense of pride in his work.

On the other hand, however, there was no evidence to suggest that it has rehabilitative qualities, and the Study Group feels it is better to acknowledge that it is no more than an integral aspect of prison as a punitive, protective and containment strategy in the penal system. If it were to have a rehabilitative purpose, a great deal more attention would have to be given to the needs of prisoners than to the attraction of contracts, and the organisational aspects of industrial strategy.

It did not escape the notice of the researchers that, in this respect, the prison is no more than a mirror-reflection of the relationship in the outside world between industrial employment and the working man.

#### 2.d. Home leave/work release/furlough schemes

All countries visited make provision for at least some prisoners to be allowed out before the specified end of their sentence. The variety of arrangements include allowing compassionate leave for family reasons or at Christmas; providing home leave facilities for a period of two or three days within a month or two of the expected date of final release with a view to the prisoner seeing potential employers and getting a job; allowing prisoners out every day to work, possibly linking the arrangement with residence in a prison hostel or some other isolated section of the institution; and releasing prisoners under furlough schemes or on parole after which the prison authorities place responsibility for the prisoner's behaviour principally on himself, but usually with the help of a probation or after-care officer to whom the prisoner has to report.

The latter three schemes are all intended to ease the return of the prisoner to society, but in most countries, the day release and furlough/parole options are restricted to those who qualify for them by virtue of long sentences, good conduct and the availability of adequate support systems in the community. Hence, it is by no means uncommon for the large majority of men serving short sentences, and for a considerable minority of those serving long sentences, to leave prison without any active preparation at all.

In Ireland, a full range of provisions is operated:

The Department of Justice operates a system of conditional release which, as well as being used for compassionate purposes and to allow selected prisoners brief periods of freedom at Christmas, is also used to enable prisoners to visit potential employers prior to discharge. Conditional release can help the process of rehabilitation in three ways: prisoners may go for interview, they may be allowed full daytime release in order to take up employment whilst still resident in the prison, and they may be released full time on parole, during which time they are under the supervision of welfare officers. The Department's administrators are enthusiastic about the scheme and say that its flexibility reduces red tape and bureaucratic procedures compared with a formal parole system.

During 1976, conditional release was allowed to a total of 1,252 prisoners. This was made up as follows:

- Christmas leave	147
- release for weekends and shorter periods	579
- daily conditional release	114
- full conditional release (i.e. parole)	412

No information is available about the effectiveness of, or prisoners' attitudes towards, the home leave scheme.

In Italy, between August 1975 and January 1976, about 20,000 home leave permits were given, with the intention of enabling the prisoner to find a job with the assistance of community-based social workers.

In Sweden, information sources said that home leave permits were issued in large numbers in order to conform to the principles laid down in 1973 that every effort should be made to keep the prisoner in close touch with society. Permits are intended chiefly for inmates of local institutions, but they can also be granted to inmates in national institutions.

Under the Act that came into force on 1 July 1974, the rules for furlough were made less restrictive. Furlough is regarded as an instrument in the effort to

adjust the sentenced to society. It is not a reward for good conduct, but a preparation and a training for the coming discharge. With a few exceptions, an inmate may be granted permission to leave an institution for a specified brief period in order to facilitate his adjustment in society (short furlough), as long as there is no considerable risk of abuse. As preparation for release, prisoners can also be given the opportunity to live outside the institution before the date of release (release furlough). However, if there can be no question of conditional release because of the short duration of the term of imprisonment, i.e. if the prison term does not exceed four months, release furlough may be granted only for very special reasons.

Altogether 42,663 furloughs were approved in 1976. Of these, 3,402 (8 per cent) were abused in the sense that the inmate did not return to the institution within the time allowed and 1,142 (3 per cent) due to other misconduct, e.g. misuse of alcohol or narcotics, or criminal activities. These figures do not include the day-paroles in connection with work or studies (pre-release work) as a part of the preparation for release. Under this scheme, in 1976 about 43,000 days work were done for civil employers or at public education establishments outside the institution, which means that a daily average of 200 inmates were granted day-paroles for this purpose.

One of the eight institutions specially designed for persons with permission to work outside the institution was visited: Stångebros, in Linköping. The institution itself is situated in the centre of the city. It has single rooms or cells for ten prisoners. The cells are relatively comfortably equipped, with hot and cold water. The institution is staffed by six people, among whom are two female guards. The prisoners admitted to the institution may be either persons serving the last part of a long sentence, or persons serving shorter sentences.

In Stångebros itself, there are no work facilities, and all prisoners are expected to study at an education centre, or to be employed outside the institution in return for a regular wage. Prisoners working outside pay to the institution SwKr 15 per day. Prisoners in Stångebros who are studying outside cannot, like normal

students, obtain loans for their studies; they are, however, given free food and lodging in the institution. In each place of employment, the institution has a special contact, and the employer knows the special conditions of the employee.

On one day each week, a meeting is held to discuss new candidates for the institution. All the prisoners take part in this meeting, together with the staff and the head of the probation and after-care service in the district. In addition to this, there is an internal programme two days a week.

During 1975, 9 per cent of the total number of prisoners started on pre-release work. The percentage will be higher for 1976.

In the United Kingdom, too, a prison hostel scheme has been operating for some time (enabling residents to work outside). In 1971, it was reported that two-thirds of the residents completed their pre-release period successfully, but that one-third returned to the prison for disciplinary reasons. Since the introduction of parole in the United Kingdom in 1968, the use of pre-release hostels has declined somewhat because the sort of men who used to be thought most eligible for such provisions are also the ones most likely to be given parole at the earliest opportunity. In 1977, 50 per cent of all those who were eligible were released on parole in England and Wales; in Scotland the proportion was 31 per cent.

It appeared from the visits made that the pre-release arrangements do not of themselves overcome the negative effects of incarceration. Conditional release on a daily basis and parole or furlough do give the prisoner the kind of community experience under supervision that reflects the most enlightened approach to penal policy; but in almost all countries, such arrangements are still restricted to a small proportion of the total prison population, and tend to be offered only to those with the best home conditions. Moreover, they are offered not usually as an integral part of the sentence, but as a way of easing the man's return to ordinary life.

The Study Group would suggest that the time has come for all countries to consider the introduction of a much more flexible approach to penal policies in which imprisonment in various forms would only represent a minor element in a wide range of provisions, and no man would be committed to prison, cut off from society, for a significant period of time. There is no reason why even those sentenced to long terms under the penal code should not

in due course participate in a range of facilities only a portion of which would involve total incarceration. The rest would require full employment, deprivation of leisure time, participation in community service schemes, and subjection to close control, education and training in different residential, semi-custodial or community-based schemes. The consequent saving on the immense capital and running costs of maximum security establishments would enable a more imaginative approach to be adopted towards the creation and development of effective schemes of re-training and rehabilitation in the community.

The Study Group rejects the present system in which society wreaks its revenge, and then a large number of prison service and probation officers or social workers are employed to make "an apology for vengeance". Whatever the difficulties - and the need for a great deal of experiment and research is readily acknowledged - the Group believes that the time has come in Western Europe when the penal system should cease to be based ultimately on the prison; instead, the use of custodial accommodation should be no more than an adaptable element to be used within the prescribed limits of a specific sentence length. The implication of this argument is that there should be radical change in principle, and the concept of "a prison sentence", involving total separation from society, be abandoned. This will then preclude the necessity for pursuing policies of achieving rehabilitation from socially imposed punishments, and, instead, the process of rehabilitation will begin from the time of sentence. Despite many claims to the contrary, there was little evidence of this being done now anywhere in Europe. Indeed, if anything, there has been a retreat from such policies as they were developed seventy years ago through the borstal system in the United Kingdom to achieve just that with young adult offenders.

### 3. THE RESETTLEMENT OF THE EX-PRISONER 2

#### 3.a. Resettlement of the ex-prisoner by prison staff and the courts 16

In almost all countries studied, the Group found a similar situation: firstly, neither prison directors nor prison staff carry any ultimate responsibility for guaranteeing the employment of all prisoners on discharge; secondly, often in the prison there are one or more social welfare officers available to assist prisoners in establishing contact with future employers, perhaps with the assistance and co-operation of social workers in the community or labour exchange employees; thirdly, the most active help is given to those prisoners subject to condi-

tional release orders; and fourthly, in the case of a majority of prisoners - often those with the greatest difficulties - prison staff are unable to provide an adequate resettlement service in respect of employment. Only in France, and to a lesser extent in Italy, does the judiciary play an important part in prison administration and in these countries, the judges and magistrates share any decisions regarding conditional release for prisoners. This necessarily involves them in supervising the process of obtaining work for prisoners due for discharge.

In this sphere, more than in any other, the policy and the practice between countries is virtually uniform. Most express interest in the importance of helping prisoners find work but in no country does the prison administration acknowledge any ultimate responsibility for guaranteeing it. Moreover, with only minor exceptions, the proportion of resources devoted to this task in prisons is very small.

#### 3.b. Resettlement of the ex-prisoner by the employment ministry

In most countries the ministry of employment acknowledges the special needs of ex-prisoners, although it is not usually considered appropriate to give them a higher priority than is accorded to other unemployed persons. Emphasis is normally laid on the right of all ex-prisoners to register for work in the usual way and it is assumed that from the time of discharge they will take their chance in the labour market with their fellow citizens.

In a number of countries, the ministry of employment makes advance contact with prisoners due for release, but the researchers were unable to gauge the effectiveness of this practice with any accuracy. In one United Kingdom study (carried out in London) that was brought to the Group's attention, it was found that in two prisons only 29 per cent and 4 per cent of prisoners, respectively, received individual guidance from the Department of Employment prior to discharge. In Scandinavia, the various ministries of employment are currently considering their policy towards helping ex-prisoners. In Sweden, for example, labour exchange officials are given special responsibility for co-ordinating with each local prison; they play a part in planning training programmes during the sentence and follow up the progress of ex-prisoners on discharge; this service is roughly in line with that provided to all people assessed as having reduced working capacity. In Norway, the Ministry of Employment has given financial support to half-way houses for criminals in order to help selected offenders get and keep a job.

3.c. The role of employers and trade unions

Employers are only rarely used in the process of resettling offenders except in the obvious sense of being responsible for offering jobs. The occasional example was found of a sympathetic employer having a friendly relationship with prison welfare services, but this was almost always done unofficially. Only in Turkey does there appear to be a legal obligation on employers to offer jobs to ex-prisoners: firms with a workforce of up to fifty people are legally obliged to give suitable work to one ex-prisoner, those with a workforce of 50 to 100 to two ex-prisoners, etc. By contrast, evidence that some employers strongly resist the idea of employing ex-offenders was frequently found, with the greatest prejudice often being shown by the public services and nationalised industry.

The involvement of trade unions in resettling offenders is a recent development in two or three countries. In the Federal Republic of Germany, for example, the "Berufsbildungswerk" of the trade union organisation runs a special office with the objective of organising programmes to resettle ex-prisoners in work. It employs trained staff who are allocated to the prison and who run up-to-date courses leading to the award of certificates in various trades. The involvement of the trade union movement in this aspect of vocational training undoubtedly gives it an interest in ensuring the resettlement of its trainees after their release. In Sweden, the trade union movement has, since 1968, played an active part in the development of penal policy (see point 2.a. above) and this has meant that a growing number of trade unionists have shown some sympathy towards the particular needs of ex-prisoners on discharge; it seems likely that the trade unions, with their wide-ranging membership, are likely to play an increasingly important part in the resettlement of ex-prisoners in the future.

3.d. The use of sheltered employment

Sheltered employment for ex-offenders has been developed mainly in the United Kingdom, Norway and Italy. In the United Kingdom, projects have been sponsored by voluntary organisations, backed with government money and with the active support of the Probation and After-care Service. In Norway, the Salvation Army has two institutions which combine accommodation and employment for ex-offenders, and the Ministry of Employment runs a sheltered workshop for prisoners on work-release and ex-prisoners. In Italy, a number of training centres and workshops have been established, mostly at the instigation of voluntary or religious organisations.

Compared with the widespread provision of workshops for the physically handicapped, the idea of workshops for the socially handicapped, and especially for ex-prisoners, is still in its early stages of development and very little public finance has been committed to it. It would seem to be a field worthy of further exploration and experimentation, and the Study Group hopes that government departments generally will consider the feasibility of further innovations in this direction.

3.e. The resettlement of the ex-prisoner by after-care personnel, probation officers, volunteers

Although in some countries there appear to be virtually no provisions for the after-care of ex-prisoners by social work or allied staff, most of the states visited have seen tentative developments in this direction during the past ten to fifteen years. In the United Kingdom, a hitherto piecemeal policy was rationalised in 1966 when the statutory probation service took over all responsibilities for both voluntary and compulsory after-care, functions which have continued to increase ever since. In Denmark, the state took over the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society in 1973, and in Norway, it is expected that the work hitherto carried out by the privately run Probation and After-care Association will be taken over by the state in 1978. Finland enacted a new law on the provision of a state grant to probation and after-care which took effect in 1975, after which the Criminal Welfare Association became subject to the control of the Department of Justice.

Because these are relatively recent developments, the process of after-care is still evolving in most countries, and there is in particular some hesitancy about the degree of responsibility appropriately carried by the state in respect of people whose sentences have ended and who are therefore only eligible for voluntary aid. There is some evidence of a few specialist appointments - for example, one officer in Helsinki (Finland) has sole responsibility for finding employment for ex-prisoners from the city, and two British probation areas have after-care units. In most other respects, however, the statutory service numbers after-care as one of its functions alongside other such tasks as providing social enquiry reports to courts and supervising offenders placed on probation.

Considerable efforts are still being made in the provision of accommodation for ex-prisoners, and this is now the major remaining area in which voluntary organisations are active (although some are also experimenting with sheltered workshops, and sometimes the two are linked, as in one proposed centre visited in Ireland).



Perhaps the most established after-care system (parts of it go back to 1908), and certainly one of the largest, is that in England and Wales:

At the end of 1975, there was an establishment of 417 prison welfare officers in prisons, detention centres and remand centres. This represented a ratio of 1 : 100, but there were 45 vacant posts at the time. In December 1976, there were forty social workers employed in Scottish prisons and borstals; at the same time there were 4,869 probation officers in England and Wales, of whom 1,082 were in supervisory grades. The main grade officers carried caseloads (at the end of 1974) of 41.3 (male officers) and 36.4 (female officers). Within these caseloads, 15.1 (men) and 9.1 (women) were ex-prisoners, subject to either statutory or voluntary supervision.

At the end of 1974, 77 per cent of all probation officers were professionally qualified; most of the remainder would have completed fairly extensive training periods, but falling short of a full professional qualification. During 1974, 90 per cent of all new entrants to the service were professionally qualified, and since then it has become official policy not to employ any more untrained officers.

All responsibility for after-care and parole is concentrated in the Probation and After-care Service. The contribution of the voluntary organisations - usually with a religious base - has been steadily whittled away since the origins of social work with offenders in the late 19th century. Their efforts are now concentrated in residential care (half-way houses), in the development of experimental schemes relevant to the needs of ex-prisoners, and in pressure group activities.

In general, the responsibility for work with ex-prisoners is vested equally in all probation officers and they have few, if any, specialist resources available to them. Each probation officer develops his own local contacts, both with the employment agencies and with local employers; this means that officers who have been in a post for a long time may well have a better network of helpful contacts than recently appointed officers.

A few probation areas have appointed specialist personnel, either ancillary staff or, in a very limited number of areas, professionally qualified probation officers. A rare example of a specialist facility was quoted recently by Harding (\*):

"George Bending, a highly experienced probation officer in Leicestershire, offers an example of what can be achieved in creating a specialist job development/placement post. Mr. Bending took up his post in 1974 with a brief to develop employment opportunities for the clients of his 86 colleagues on a county-wide basis. He concentrated his first approach on building a sympathetic "bank" of 1,000 employers in the area, of whom 100 have so far given a month's trial to placed offenders. In order to maintain a regular cycle of contact with firms offering opportunities to both blue and white collar offenders, Mr. Bending's work style is individualistic and atypical of most probation officers. He leaves home at 6.30 a.m. and spends the first three hours of each day doing a round of employers, checking on their needs in an attempt to offer the firm a realistic matching process. At a later stage in the day, Mr. Bending sees, on an appointment basis, a number of referred unemployed clients from his colleagues. To date, Mr. Bending has received approximately 800 referrals a year and is able to place 300 plus. His job demands a careful listing of employment needs to match the differing occupational experience of referred clients. To preserve his own credibility with employers, trade unions and the employment services, Mr. Bending also provides a modest follow-up service to organisations who have agreed to employ offenders in the area."

Some probation areas have developed specialist links with voluntary agencies in order to provide a job referral facility to ex-prisoners. Very recently some of the big urban areas have similarly teamed up with voluntary agencies to create and develop sheltered workshop schemes; the highest priority for admission to these schemes tends to be given to young adult offenders as an alternative to imprisonment, but a few instances have been recorded of places being made available to ex-prisoners.

(\* see reference on page 37

The Probation and After-care Service generally tends not to have a particularly close working relationship with the local employment exchange, although there are areas where officers have made special efforts at establishing links. In one recent Home Office research study it was suggested that there was room for much greater local liaison between the two departments; the problem is that whereas the Probation Service's commitment is wholly to work with offenders and ex-prisoners, the Department of Employment must necessarily take a broader view of society's demands upon it.

This kind of situation is reflected on a smaller scale elsewhere - in Austria, for example, where no more than 10 per cent of the probation service's caseload are ex-prisoners, there has been established recently a specialist after-care institution in Vienna, specifically to help ex-prisoners into employment. In Italy, social workers are used to control and help prisoners on conditional release schemes. In the Federal Republic of Germany, private and state organisations are co-operating in the establishment of "Zentralstellen", which are special programmes for the resettlement of ex-prisoners; the first was established in Munich in 1970, and is said to have worked well. In Norway, the number of ex-prisoners under supervision by the Probation Association rose from 358 in 1963 (20 per cent of the caseload) to 1,154 in 1977 (58 per cent of the caseload).

In hardly any of the schemes is a therapeutic approach adopted, with after-care simply being offered, or - in the case of conditional release or parole schemes - imposed as help-cum-supervision. It was, once again, in Sweden that the most marked differences were apparent. For the close integration between the custodial sector and the community sector means that, in many respects, the term "after-care" is not always appropriate:

Swedish probation and after-care is organised in 62 districts each headed by a consultant. These consultant districts are well staffed with highly qualified personnel, and the caseload of social workers engaged in the supervision of probationers and parolees is moderate (about 35 each). The districts supervise all offenders in the community or in prison; they are responsible for pre-sentence enquiries, and may, at the request of an accused person, appoint a special "trustman" to help him in the period before sentence.

The consultant districts have access to half-way houses and hostels because of the frequency with which they are presented with problems of accommo-

dation. In 1975, they used an average of 83 beds per day. In addition, some consultants have agreements with the municipal authorities by which they have at their disposal a certain number of flats which they may offer to clients on parole or probation. These flats may gradually - and on certain conditions - be transferred to the client, but then other flats are offered to the consultants from the municipality.

Relations between the consultant districts and the labour exchanges are close, and it is anticipated that current developments will lead to even greater co-operation between them. The labour exchange service nominates specialist personnel to liaise with the probation and after-care service and with the prisons, but most prisoners are expected to rely principally on the normal labour exchange service.

In addition to the organised state probation and after-care service, there is in Stockholm a private organisation which runs three institutions for criminals:

- Daderö - is a half-way house, giving vocational training in and outside this totally open institution;
- Björka - receives people who technically are still in prison but are approaching the end of their sentence and are working outside the institution and earning regular wages;
- Sörgården - is situated outside Stockholm and receives ex-prisoners with problems with narcotics or alcohol, and in need of psychiatric help and social training; they all take part in a "milieu" therapy programme.

These three institutions may receive twelve, fourteen and twelve people respectively, but the average is eight to nine each. Because of the turnover, each institution may receive and have for treatment about forty people a year.

Both the consultant organisation and the private after-care organisations employ private supervisors. These are lay workers, although some of them may have various

forms of professional education and training. The private supervisor is appointed by the probation and after-care service and supplements the work of the social worker. His more independent status enables him to meet and contact the discharged prisoner or the probationer on an unofficial basis, and to be one ordinary member of society who has some responsibility for the discharged prisoner and his successful rehabilitation and resettlement in work. The supervisor usually works with only one discharged person at a time; he is paid a monthly salary, part of which covers his expenses, and the rest of which is taxable income.

It is estimated that about 75 per cent of parolees or probationers are under the direct supervision of a private supervisor, of whom there were 9,400 in 1975. They are organised in local associations, which also have members who come from other sectors of society using private supervisors: the child welfare service, the medical service for alcoholics, etc. The local associations for the supervisors are in turn organised in a federal association, which receives an annual state grant to cover expenses. The federal association of private supervisors is sometimes consulted by the Department of Justice on penal matters.

Sometimes, if a prisoner is put on an educational course outside the institution, special arrangements are made to attach him to a private supervisor recruited from the local branch of the trade union movement. This has the advantage of emphasising the role of society rather than the penal system in re-integrating the offender in the community.

In conclusion, then, the normal pattern is for there to be a steady trend towards a state take-over of voluntary effort, while at the same time emphasis is laid in many countries on the potential role for the volunteer. In general, however, there is an appearance of unclear objectives; and the agency's limited resources almost always mean that the amount of material aid that can be given to homeless and unemployed ex-prisoners is very slight.

Although much has been made of the growth of after-care, the visits made to the eleven countries lead to the conclusion that the policy in most countries lacks any clear direction and, in particular, is choosing to ignore the potential cost of providing a fully effective after-care service for all prisoners and for as long as it may be needed.

### 3.f. The resettlement of the ex-prisoner by (conventional social services)

Throughout most of Europe, social work with offenders is practised by specialists - employees of a state service or of voluntary organisations who work mainly or solely with offenders, with the courts and with penal institutions. Of course, they will be concerned with many aspects of the generic approach to social work: family counselling and therapy, casework, group work and occasionally community work, material aid; contact with most age groups; and, with a particular interest in deviance theory, with the unemployed and, often, with addiction and alcoholism. In order to make such people competent to undertake the task, there has been a growing emphasis on the importance of training, and, in recent years, on generic social work training in particular.

Partly in the wake of this trend, there has emerged in a number of the countries visited a lively and sometimes acrimonious debate as to whether the interests of offenders could be better served if probation and after-care officers no longer worked in isolation from the steadily growing conventional social services, but were absorbed by them. If this were to happen, the task of preparing reports for the courts and penal institutions, the provision of welfare facilities in prisons, and the supervision of offenders in the community would all be taken on by social work departments administered by central or local government.

The members of the Study Group were particularly anxious to note whether any evidence existed to indicate the likely effects of such a change of policy, but they found that only in Cyprus and Scotland had the social welfare department taken over responsibility for penal system social work. In Cyprus, the task of providing after-care facilities is limited by the fact that the prison population in the country is only 150, and that the proportion of prisoners to population is the smallest of all Council of Europe member States. One social worker has been seconded to the prison service to prepare prisoners for release, and after-care is in the hands of 37 other social workers in various parts of the country who "are not exclusively engaged in work connected with the employment of discharged prisoners, but who do generic social work". One third of the group is professionally qualified, although all have undergone intensive in-service training. The Social Welfare Department is described as carrying out its responsibility for resettling ex-prisoners in work very satisfactorily, but, unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain evidence about the precise effects of accommodating the needs of ex-prisoners and other offenders within a generic caseload.

In the Federal Republic of Germany legislation governing social aid also covers the readaptation and re-employment of ex-prisoners. Such persons have to face special difficulties when it comes to participating in the life of the community, and social

welfare agencies accordingly help them to overcome those difficulties if they are unable to do so on their own. Their help consists of all measures necessary to avert, avoid and reduce those difficulties, or prevent them from becoming more acute; it also consists of advising ex-prisoners and their families, assuming some responsibility for them, assistance with finding and maintaining a home, securing and keeping a job, and obtaining where appropriate some kind of certificate testifying to completion of studies and occupying free time in a reasonable manner.

The social welfare agencies secure the help for this purpose of departments and associations also concerned with the rehabilitation of re-employment of former prisoners. As the most important feature of such measures is personal contact, social workers have to fulfil a very special mission in this context.

Within the United Kingdom, Scotland has, since 1970, operated a generic social work model very like that in Cyprus, but on a much larger scale. Local authorities are responsible, through their social work departments for providing welfare officers in prisons, and for supervising, mostly within generic caseloads, all offenders placed on probation by the courts or released on parole by the prisons, or requesting voluntary after-care help upon discharge. Unfortunately, no research has been published on this, although some observers consider that the reform has confirmed many of the fears that were expressed before implementation that offenders within a generic caseload would be treated with low priority. The United Kingdom Government claims that in parts of Scotland where the incidence of social problems is not high, the quality of service provided for adult offenders is no worse and probably slightly better than before re-organisation. However, unofficial information available suggested that in the major cities the quality of supervision provided for parolees was less than adequate while voluntary after-care had almost ceased to exist. One writer has recently alleged that the declining quality of social work with offenders constitutes a crisis in Scottish penal policy. Research currently being completed by Professor Phyllida Parsloe in Aberdeen University may throw some light on this matter, but it would seem advisable for the Scottish experiment to be monitored and reviewed extremely carefully by any other European country planning to genericise social work in the penal system.

#### 4. SPECIAL PROJECTS

In the course of their visits to member States of the Council of Europe, the researchers were often shown projects of which their hosts were understandably proud, and although the Study Group has deemed it important in its report to emphasise that these projects do not, by any means, counter-balance the overwhelmingly negative impression with which it was left, it was nevertheless continually struck by the imagination and industry which many individuals and organisations were devoting to the implementation of new ideas. This section gives a brief record of a selection of the projects, together with an indication of contact agencies from whom further and more up-to-date information might be obtained.

#### Belgium

The Guidance Service for the Handicapped is a unique project in the Flemish region committed to arranging for a variety of handicapped people to be trained in commercial or industrial skills. Its terms of reference include a commitment to ex-prisoners and each year it arranges for the vocational training of about six ex-prisoners along with other handicapped people. The service is sponsored by the University of Gent, is staffed by seven or eight full-time personnel and is responsible to the Ministry of Employment.

Contact agency: Dienst voor begeleiding en opleiding  
van Minder-validen  
Pasteurlaan 2  
9000 GENT

#### Denmark

In October 1975, the Prison and Probation Service established a new department in a former hostel for young people, the Ringgarden. The Ringgarden has a restricted geographical area within which it is responsible for the penal system social work of all offenders. Its employees maintain contact with offenders from the time of their arrest, through possible imprisonment to discharge and resettlement. The aim of the system is to try and avoid any changes in social worker contact with clients, so providing continuity and ensuring a commitment to a rational policy of long-term rehabilitation. The Ringgarden has special liaison facilities with other social services in the area and can also provide short-term accommodation for its own clients.

Contact agency: Department of Justice  
Kriminalforsorgen  
Klarebodene 1  
COPENHAGEN

#### France

In 1975, the prison administration set up an "Association sur la création d'emplois dans les prisons (ACEP)" along the lines of the associations already existing to provide employment for the physically and mentally disabled. The main work of this organisation is to provide spokesmen and inspectors for the administration vis-à-vis firms in the private sector, which they visit in order to arrange jobs for prisoners through state-controlled industrial undertakings or on a concessionary basis. This arrangement has the advantage that the administration is less involved in an activity which may entail difficult advertising, information and supervision problems. The results obtained by this method are encouraging.

Contact agency: Ministère de la Justice  
4 place Vendôme  
PARIS

Federal Republic of Germany

The Federal Ministry for Youth, Family Affairs and Health is sponsoring currently a pilot project, "Contact point for delinquent women" in Frankfurt/Main.

At this contact point, women discharged from prison are given advice and care. It establishes links with organisations and authorities able to give them assistance, provides after-care, and sees that a meaningful use is made of leisure-time.

Contact agency: Beratungsstelle für haftentlassene Frauen  
Freiligrathstrasse 50  
FRANKFURT - BORNHEIM

Republic of Ireland

The Department of Justice has allocated funds for a major experiment to provide intensive community supervision for young offenders (16 to 21), given conditional release from custody. There will be 27 welfare officers in the scheme, each supervising six young men who would otherwise be in prison. Contact will be on a daily basis and a major component will be the provision of work training facilities and the encouragement of work motivation.

Contact agency: Probation Division  
Department of Justice  
DUBLIN

Italy

The Bottega Artigiana (Florence) is a firm owned, organised and administered by the "Consiglio di Aiuto Sociale" and it manages two workshops. About 50 ex-prisoners and some of their families are employed at Bottega Artigiana along with some prisoners on day release and other persons with no prison experience. Fifty per cent of the employees there are known to have no chance of getting a job anywhere else because of their psychiatric condition.

Contact agency: Bottega Artigiana  
c/o Procura Generale  
Via S. Gallo 52  
FLORENCE

Norway

In one area, the Probation and After-care Service is running a day centre which is attended by ex-prisoners and other offenders during working hours or on some evenings. The day centre provides both elementary and secondary education and two of the three teachers employed there are paid by the educational system. The day centre's aim is to resocialise its clients with a view to their settling back into ordinary life.

Contact agency: Norges Vernesamband  
Box 6750 St. Olavs Plass  
OSLO 1

Sweden

The Stockholm Probation Treatment Centre (FBC) is a social-medical organisation and a separate unit within the National Prison and Probation Administration's probation services.

FBC can be described as a treatment and service unit whose job is for a shorter or longer period, in whole or in part, to deal with those clients who are referred to it from one of the seven probation districts in the greater Stockholm area.

During the time that a client is registered with FBC an attempt is made to improve his or her mental state and social situation, as well as to offer practical help which can lead to a better adjustment to society in a variety of ways. As soon as FBC's task is finished or FBC finds that it has been unsuccessful and cannot be of further help to the client, the case is sent back to the district from which it came and which has retained formal responsibility.

Contact agency: Frivårdens Behandlingscentral  
Box 17092  
104 62 STOCKHOLM 17

United Kingdoma. The Onward Industries Workshop, Manchester

This is a sheltered workshop project established by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders jointly with the Greater Manchester Probation Service. There is a liaison probation officer attached and it is intended for particularly disadvantaged offenders for whom there is no other training or work available. Special efforts have been made to achieve a balance between social work and commercial standards, and wood is the main working medium.

Referrals come from the Probation Service and they include some who are hardened ex-prisoners. The project is funded by a variety of grants, although it is hoped that the Department of Employment may eventually be persuaded to make a substantial contribution to it.

Contact agency: NACRO  
567a Barlow Moor Road  
MANCHESTER M21 2AE

b. The Apex Trust

This has been established for eleven years, and has successfully carried to completion a number of experiments all with the aim of placing ex-prisoners in work; since 1970, the Trust has devoted its placement service exclusively to white-collar offenders. It claims to be aiming at a potential catchment of 10 per cent of the prison population.

Apex concentrates its efforts both in the prisons and among employers; with the latter, it adopts an educative role in order to persuade them to take a more positive attitude towards the needs of white-collar ex-prisoners. Apex is aiming to build up a bank of 1,000 sympathetic employers.

Currently in one prison it is piloting a careers advice service available to all prisoners, and in three prisons, it is providing quarterly courses and training in the techniques of being interviewed for white-collar work.

Contact agency: Apex Trust  
31 Clapham Road  
LONDON SW9 0JE

c. The Probation Service

The Probation Service has in the past five years begun to establish day centres, some of them authorised under the Criminal Justice Act 1973. They are intended to provide a sheltered facility for inadequate recidivists and although they are not primarily for prisoners on discharge, they are geared to the needs of persistent offenders, many of whom have a long record of short terms in prison. The day centres incorporate occupational activities, therapeutic elements and community service and the hope is that those offenders who go through them will be better able to establish themselves in a steady job afterwards.

Contact agency: Probation and After-care Department  
Home Office  
Queen Anne's Gate  
LONDON SW1H 9AT

5. THE ROLE OF RESEARCH

The body of research concerned with the after-care of European prisoners is not large, but a number of relevant studies - either completed or in progress - were drawn to the attention of the members of the Study Group, and it seemed worthwhile to briefly summarise them in this section.

Austria

One research project is planned by the "Österreichisches Institut für Berufsbildungsforschung" on the chance of ex-prisoners being resettled into employment.

The "Ludwig Boltzmann Institut für Kriminalsoziologie" in Vienna will also probably carry out two research studies: one on the integration of social workers in the vocational training schemes for prisoners planned by the "Bundesministerium für soziale Verwaltung" (Federal Ministry of Social Administration) and the other on the social and living conditions of ex-prisoners.

Denmark

The prison authorities have undertaken a provisional evaluation of the introduction of a strong training emphasis in two prisons; a report is available, and the project will be followed up two years later.

Finland

"The need for after-care in a prison release situation" by Vuokko Karsikas has been published (in English) by the Prison Department of the Ministry of Justice (7 March 1977). The study provides an accurate profile of the social and personality characteristics of men leaving prison on parole. In common with other studies (for example, those listed from the United Kingdom), it finds unemployment and alcohol to be major problems; the need for suitable accommodation is also a factor; and the reconviction rate within one year of release is about 25 per cent. The study makes no simple recommendations, but concludes that the resources of Finland's Prisoners' Aid Society are insufficient to cater for the needs of ex-prisoners.

Federal Republic of Germany

The University of Frankfurt/Main (Dr. Brakemaier-Lisop) was engaged in 1975 and 1976 on a study, on behalf of the Federal Ministry of Youth, Family Affairs and Health ("Bundesministerium für Jugend, Familie und Gesundheit"), of the social situation of ex-prisoners. It revealed the shortcomings invariably presented by research work and enabled new knowledge to be gained concerning co-operation between prison establishments and after-care services and the intermeshing between these different institutions.

Italy

Major reforms of the prison system were carried out during 1975/76 and current research is attempting to analyse the effects of those reforms; no results are yet available. At the "Cattedra di Antropologia Criminale" of the University of Modena (Prof. Francesco de Fazio) some research has been carried out into the rehabilitation of ex-prisoners which claims to show that organised training courses in prisons and the provision of support by social workers and others afterwards are effective in helping ex-prisoners to settle back into employment.

Netherlands

Research is being done into alternative forms of work in an effort to solve the problem and to enable apprenticeship in social skills to be achieved through work.

The following studies may be mentioned:

- "Sollicitatiekansen van delinquenten"  
(Prof. Dr. W. BUICKHUISEN and F.Ph. DIJKSTERHUIS, 1971)

- "De gavage uit, de maatschappij in"  
(Dr. M. MOERINGS, thesis, Catholic University of Utrecht, 1977).

Norway

A descriptive account of the nature of the problem presented by ex-prisoners has been completed. It complements that by Karsikas in Finland, but further emphasises the problems of accommodation faced by Norwegian discharged prisoners - especially those making for the urban region of Oslo. Some slight improvement was achieved during the twelve-month supervision period, but no impressive claims are made for the ability of the probation association's officers to do more than give modest assistance to those willing to accept it.

Sweden

Research studies have been produced in relation to the special work done by the Stockholm Probation Treatment Centre with unemployed probationers and parolees, and in relation to the effects on reconviction rates of sending prisoners to the special training prison of Tillberga. One experimental penal regime, in which shared responsibility for decision-making between staff and prisoners was tried, has been subjected to research review. The research report describes the experiment, and records that, while the prisoners were generally positive towards the experience, reconviction rates were not affected, and staff attitudes were mixed. Nevertheless both staff and prisoners said they thought there should be further investment in similar experiments.

United Kingdom

The literature in the United Kingdom on social work with ex-prisoners is substantial and growing steadily. The following are among the more important references:

- "Accommodation and Homelessness on release from prison"  
(J. CORNEN et al, Brit J. Social Work, forthcoming, 1979)
- "Prisoners of Society - attitudes and after-care"  
(M. DAVIES, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974)
- "The functions of the Peter Bedford Trust and its relationship to Employment"  
(R. GROVER, NACRO, 1976)
- "Employment and Probation and After-care"  
(J. HARDING, NACRO, 1976)
- "The Apex Specialist Employment Service"  
(P. LUMKIN, NACRO, 1976)
- "The Onward Industries Workshop"  
(J. MCKINNON, NACRO, 1976)
- "Some male offenders' problems"  
(W. McWILLIAMS, HMSO, 1976)
- "The social consequences of conviction"  
(J.P. MARTIN and D. WEBSTER, Heinemann, 1971)
- "On Licence: a study of parole"  
(P. MORRIS and F. BEVERLY, Wiley, 1975)
- "Bulldog Employment Project"  
(G. PRATT and C. CROCKFORD, Inner London Probation and After-care Service, 1976)

- "Social work in prison"  
(M. SHAW, HMSO, 1976)
- "Explorations in after-care"  
(I.A.C. SINCLAIR et al, HMSO, 1970)
- "The prisoner's release"  
(K. SOOTHILL, Allen and Unwin, 1974)

Two other studies are in progress:

- Current research is being undertaken by the Industrial Training Research Unit of London University. Research staff are training prison officers to operate full-time pre-release courses intended to help prisoners come to realistic assessments of their own abilities and chances. Training may then be given to compensate for any identified difficulties, such as inability to face job interviews, combined with carefully-chosen packages of industrial job experience designed to convey the real flavour of an outside job as well as teaching skills that will help the prisoner toward getting that job.
- Research is being conducted at York University on the immediate post-release experience of discharged prisoners.

Davies' book is a general review of prison after-care in Britain. Most of the other studies listed (e.g. Sinclair) provide some descriptive accounts of the ex-prisoner's circumstances, and most of them also describe various forms of social work carried out either before or after release; the reports by Grover, Lumkin, McKinnon and Pratt present information about more ambitious developments like sheltered workshops. The report by Shaw is an account of an unusually successful experiment in which the provision of intensive casework contact prior to release appeared to have a startlingly positive effect on the probability of ex-prisoners avoiding re-conviction.

All the studies argue the need to acknowledge the wide variations of need felt by different prisoners on discharge. On the one hand, Martin and Webster argue that the social consequences of imprisonment are not always as damaging as is often supposed, and that the ability of many ex-prisoners to find work quickly should not be ignored. Similarly, Morris and Beverly, in their study of parolees, report that one-third of the discharged prisoners they interviewed went to a job which had previously been arranged - usually by the parolees themselves - and they say that only 13 per cent of the parolees were unemployed three months after they had been released.

By contrast, the plight of homeless ex-prisoners is highlighted by Corden and by McWilliams; almost two-thirds (of a sample of 119 homeless ex-prisoners) were assessed as having very poor employment prospects: "It was clear ... that almost all of these men had not worked in any regular way for many years and the officers thought it unlikely that they would do so in the future".

There is considerable documentary evidence, then, in the British research literature to show that the resettlement of ex-prisoners in work does not present uniform problems. For all of them it can be a critical period, but the ease with which they cope with it varies immensely.

Research to date has been overwhelmingly descriptive, although some countries have begun to appreciate its potential as a means of monitoring innovative strategies in the penal system. Only tentative attempts have been made to employ experimental research techniques, although it is widely believed that this is ultimately the only way in which research conclusions can play a dominant part in planning and development. There is, however, another role for research: by encouraging creativity and imagination, by providing rapid feedback to administrators and practitioners, research can do a great deal to open up a wide range of new opportunities for penal reform. At the same time, its remorseless exposure of the problems presented by hardened offenders and their apparent likelihood of resisting attempts to improve their lot serve to prevent idealistic theorists from claiming too much for their ambitious schemes.



6. FINAL REMARKS

The members of the Study Group had hoped to find during their visits a great many ideas about improved ways of preparing ex-prisoners for re-employment. However, although most prison governors were able to recount anecdotes of a man who had learnt his trade in a prison and had then got a steady job afterwards, such tales were clearly remembered because they were exceptional.

The researchers also saw some very enlightened schemes of industrial training and met some prisoners reading for degrees by correspondence, but everywhere, the fact could not be denied that overwhelmingly, the achievements were generally much more modest: the maintenance of men in activity for the duration of a wholly negative period of their lives. During the few talks held with prisoners, they were found to be notably less enthusiastic about highly-praised administrative innovations; and even the teachers, the discipline staff and the governors were unable to present their work as having positive value in the long term.

Similarly, in the context of after-care, there were men and women in state employment or voluntary service committed to innovative strategies in respect of sheltered workshops, hostel accommodation, walk-in employment bureaux or social advocacy; but, though impressive at times, such adventurous strategies were relatively few, and in most countries, the average ex-prisoner has to fend for himself in a harshly competitive environment.

The Study Group concludes that, if the prison system remains unchanged, the tasks of rehabilitation inside or after-care in the community can never be successfully pursued because they are essentially in conflict with the destructive, punitive, vengeful philosophy which underlies the prison sentence. The notion of rehabilitation can only be taken seriously if the use of imprisonment as an end in itself is abandoned, and programmes of individualised training sentences are put in its place.

7. PROPOSALS

The Study Group would like to propose four recommendations in the light of its studies.

1. One overwhelming feature of the prisons in all countries visited is the essentially negative climate characterising them. Despite the obvious efforts being made in most countries to bring about improvements, the first proposal must be that the task of preparing prisoners for resettlement in employment can only be carried out efficiently if all prisons are encouraged to develop a commitment to training to an extent hitherto unknown. The Study Group suggests that this involves not only a clear vocational emphasis in all prisons but also that programmes of social training and rehabilitation must become a part of everyday prison life. These will involve the recruitment of some specialist personnel, including social workers, but the Group believes that the main task of developing training regimes should be taken on by the prison service. The Study Group does not think it is helpful to the prisoners, to the prison officers or to the climate of the institution for there to be a clear distinction between staff responsible for the task of discipline and control and staff responsible for the more positive aspects of training and development.

The members of the Study Group believe that this proposal involves a departure from the idea of prisons as being primarily custodial in intent; it gives them the clear objective of training persons who break the law to strive towards a socially acceptable way of life. Anything less than this will, in the opinion of the Group, be unlikely to achieve the aim of rehabilitating ex-prisoners for resettlement in the community.

2. In considering the role of the various persons involved in rehabilitating prisoners, the Study Group was struck by the way in which most of their efforts are hampered by the rigidity of the prison structure. It believes this to be a necessary characteristic of any total institution, and would like to see prison systems moving towards more flexible models of operation. This proposal is, in any case, a necessary corollary of the first suggestion, and reflects the Group's view that every man or woman sentenced to a period of imprisonment should

experience a carefully-designed range of treatments and experiences culminating in his release under supervision. The Study Group therefore envisages that instead of serving the whole of a sentence in a prison, under maximum security or open conditions, the offender will gradually move through a range of facilities, the majority of which will involve contact with the community to a much greater extent than currently happens.

3. The Study Group has given careful consideration to ways in which prisons and prisoners can be brought into closer connection with the community. These include the greater use of volunteers and the possible location of small institutions in local urban settings; however, the Group was most attracted by the potential involvement of trade unions in the resettlement of ex-prisoners, and suggests that consideration should be given in all countries to the participation of trade unionists in schemes of industrial training and work counselling, both before and after prisoners are released.
4. Special attention has, of course, been paid to the role of social workers in the prisons and in after-care organisations, and the Study Group would wish to impress upon all countries the important part that they play, not only in the provision of casework skills, but in the development of group counselling techniques, in the development of effective liaison between the institution and the community and, perhaps above all, in the promulgation of a positive approach to the prisoner and his eventual need to become re-established in society. The Group envisages the social worker playing an increasingly key role in the development of penal systems, and would wish to emphasise the importance of employing only trained personnel whose creative skills will ensure a strong developmental perspective in penal policy and practice.

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