

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

YOUTH CUSTODY THROUGH CARE: THE ROLE  
OF THE COMMUNITY BASED PROBATION OFFICER

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

PhD

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by

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACOP	Association of Chief Officers of Probation
ACPO	Assistant Chief Probation Officer
ACTO	Advisory Council on the treatment of offenders
AO	Associated objective
BASW	British Association of Social Workers
CACA	Central after-care association
CCPC	Central Council of Probation Committees
CDO	Court Duty Officer
CETS	Church of England Temperance Society
CI	Circular Instruction
CJA	Criminal Justice Act
CNA	Certified Normal Accommodation
CPO	Chief Probation Officer
DPAS	Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society
EDR	Earliest Date of Release
F1150	Prison File
FMI	Financial Management Initiative
HOC	Home Office Circular
HPS	Humberside Probation Service
KOA	Key Output Area
MIRC	Management and Information Research Committee
NACRO	National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders
NADPAS	National Association of Discharge Prisoners' Aid Societies
NAPO	National Association of Probation Officers
PCM	Police Court Mission
PO	Probation Officer
PSI	Post Sentence Interview
SER	Social Enquiry Report
SLPO	Seconded Liaison Probation Officer
SNOP	Statement of National Objectives and Priorities for the Probation Service in England and Wales
SPO	Senior Probation Officer
SPOB	Seconded Probation Officers in Borstal Experiment
SWIP	Social Work in Prisons (Schemes)
TC	Throughcare
TC1-TC8	Throughcare forms
TPB	Training Plan Board
TR	Temporary Release
YCC	Youth Custody Centre



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## INTRODUCTION

Following implementation of Part 1 of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 in May 1983 the semi-determinate sentence of borstal training was replaced by the determinate sentence of youth custody. Consequent upon these changes was a statutory requirement of the Probation Service or Social Services to supervise all those released from youth custody centres. This statutory supervision would run until the date when the sentence would have expired had no remission been granted, subject to a minimum of three months and a maximum of twelve months, (and always subject to expiry on the offender reaching the age of twenty two). As an alternative to release on statutory youth custody supervision, offenders could be released on parole licence with the requirement that should the licence expire before normal supervision would have done, that it was followed by a period of supervision which continued until the date on which it would have ended had parole not been granted.

These rather complicated legislative changes had quite extensive implications for the 'throughcare' of young adult offenders sentenced to custody. Both the probation and prison services were afforded the opportunity to review and reformulate their objectives, principles and procedures for throughcare, producing for the first time official national guidelines for throughcare policy and practice, in 1983. In 1984, however, throughcare was allocated a relatively low priority in the Government's Statement of National Objectives and Priorities for the Probation Service in England and Wales, (Home Office 1984a) and has subsequently been a major issue in the National Association of Probation Officer's 'withdrawal of

probation officers from prisons' policy (NAPO 1986a).

Early in 1986, the Home Office Research and Planning Unit commissioned a major piece of research on young offender throughcare to be carried out by Professor A Keith Bottomley and Ms Alison Liebling at the University of Hull's centre for Criminology and Criminal Justice. The primary focus of this research was upon the provision of throughcare within Prison Department establishments for young male offenders although a limited comparative study of throughcare provision for young adult female offenders was also carried out. Bottomley and Liebling's study (published in 1987) examined the views and experiences of staff and trainees in youth custody and detention centres and made it clear that:

The picture that emerged naturally reflects the the problems and priorities of throughcare from the perspective of those in custody, and may not always appear to give due weight to the problems and priorities relating to throughcare from the perspective of the probation service and individual probation officers working in the outside community.

(Bottomley and Liebling, 1987, p3)

Consequently, the Economic and Social Research Council funded this linked PhD which is intended to complement Bottomley and Liebling's study and redress any imbalance contained therein.

The purpose of this thesis is twofold and can be summarised as follows: to describe, analyse and evaluate the provision of youth

custody throughcare by the community based probation officer and Service on a national and local basis; and develop a conceptual framework within which throughcare must be viewed. The thesis is an analysis of the provision and organisation of throughcare to youth custody clients by the community based probation service within the existing framework and guidelines, which it is argued, are inadequate, insubstantial and lead to a reactive rather than proactive service to the client.

My central arguments are that; 1) the official guidelines and principles have not clarified an already confused understanding of throughcare; 2) priorities and resources mean that throughcare has barely progressed beyond the more traditional notion of welfare; 3) although clients and probation officers may differ in their basic understanding of what throughcare is about, their practical experience of the scope of the work involved converge; and 4) a greater understanding of throughcare as a concept must be had before a consistent approach can be made, based upon a broader perspective of success than that offered solely by recourse to reconviction rates.

The aims and structure of the thesis are as follows:

Chapters 1-3 trace the origins and developing nature of after-care for adult and young adult offenders in England and Wales, the changing legislative procedures for young adult offenders, and the emergence of the throughcare concept and official recognition of throughcare from these processes.

Chapter 4 restates and expands upon the research problem and background to the research, describes the data collection methods and draws attention to some methodological issues which need to be taken

into account in the practical as well as theoretical implementation of a study such as this.

Chapter 5 examines the national situation in terms of the Probation Service's provision and methods of organisation of throughcare following the Criminal Justice Act, 1982 and subsequent restrictions on throughcare imposed by low priority and limited resources.

Chapter 6 offers a description and preliminary evaluation of the provision of youth custody throughcare within a local Probation Service (Humberside). The organisation of throughcare at this level is examined and an assessment of the work carried out during the various stages of throughcare based upon work recorded in case records, is offered.

Chapters 7 and 8 provide the main description, analysis and evaluation of the provision of youth custody throughcare within Humberside Probation Service. The chapters examine the probation officer perspective and client experience of throughcare during the custodial and supervision parts of the sentence and make comparisons with other research and literature in the discussions.

Chapter 9 summarises the major findings of the research, attempts an evaluation of youth custody throughcare, considers the need for a conceptual framework for throughcare within which the community based probation officer must work, and offers a good practice model for throughcare.

PART I: THE EMERGING CONCEPT OF THROUGH-CARE

CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPING NATURE OF AFTER CARE FOR ADULT PRISONERS  
IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Before any analysis can take place of the provision of through-care to young adult offenders by the Probation Service, there must first be a firm understanding of through-care as a concept. The main aim of this and the following two chapters will be to trace the major developments in the welfare and after-care of both young adult and adult prisoners in England and Wales, examining the key issues resulting in official recognition of through-care.

Although through-care as a concept has its roots embedded in the most appropriate and effective method of carrying out after-care, the systems of after-care for adult and young adult prisoners in England and Wales have not developed in the same way. For this reason, they will be dealt with separately in the following two chapters, with common strands and concepts being drawn together in the third chapter when we approach a definition of through-care.

The nature of after-care and involvement of the Probation Service in it has been well documented over recent years, (see for example; Home Office, 1963; King 1958, 1969; Martin 1965; Jarvis, 1972; Davies, 1974; Bochel, 1976), but it is felt that a brief review of the key developments and issues must be given here if we are to fully grasp and understand the conceptual and practical aspects of a through-care approach.

(i) After-care of adult offenders to 1953.

The idea that offenders released from penal establishments in England and Wales should receive some form of assistance, or after-care, has not developed or progressed in any systematic or coherent manner. There has been a long history of financial restrictions, proposals by various bodies to take on extra work, and various conflicts of responsibilities portrayed most vividly by the respective roles of the voluntary organisations set up to provide after-care and the Probation Service, and the ongoing debate on the role of the probation officer in prison.

This section will examine the provision of after-care by the voluntary sector from the 19th Century to the publication of the Report of the Committee on Discharged Prisoners Aid Societies,' in 1953 (The Maxwell Report). It will address the various administrative changes which have taken place and gradual recognition that a cohesive approach to after-care was necessary.

Despite the fact that imprisonment has a long history, the idea that those released from prison establishments should receive some form of assistance is a relatively new one. Historically, offenders have been variously tortured, humiliated, locked away, treated and controlled. The early prison philosophy was based on punishment and degradation, but as attitudes changed from the beginning of the nineteenth century, it became less acceptable to the public conscience that people were being made subject to inhumane conditions within institutions. The origins of this more caring and humane attitude and



consequent belief that prisoners should be offered help on release lay in the Protestant ethic that people were rational beings, able to exercise free will and make their own decisions. They should therefore be dealt with on an individual basis, and prisoners should be allowed time for "reflection and expiation", (Priestley 1972, p.222).

The rehabilitative model was stated coherently for the first time in this country in 1895 with the Report of the Departmental Committee on Prisons, in 1895 (The Gladstone Report), and this will be examined in more detail in chapter two, when looking at the penal and after-care system for young adult prisoners. However, there had arisen before the Gladstone Committee report, a system of aid on discharge being provided by various religious voluntary organisations. Two parallel systems emerged, working independently from each other and having no central co-ordination until much later in their development. It may be useful to look at how these two systems, i.e. the Police Court Mission (P.C.M.) formed by the Church of England Temperance Society (C.E.T.S.), and the various Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies (D.P.A.S.), developed.

The Probation Service, with its origins in the C.E.T.S. Police Court Missions, had for many years as its basis the same Protestant Christian Ethic (King 1969, p13). The C.E.T.s which was formed in 1873 to 'reclaim' individuals touched by the demon drink took its title and aims seriously, although aid was often given grudgingly and selectively. Dependency on handouts was not considered appropriate, and in any case views were concerned at the harm which the indiscriminate handing out of aid could do to the self sufficiency of

the poor. The role of the Police Court Mission has been explored in detail recently by Bill McWilliams (1983; 1985) in a series of essays examining the history of ideas underpinning the English Probation System (McWilliams 1983; 1985; 1986; 1987). McWilliams (1983) points out that the early ideals of the missionaries were based on notions of mercy and it was this which made sense of the relationship between the offender, the missionary and the sentencer and provided the key to understanding the missionaries place in the courts (p137). However, it is more appropriate at this point to concentrate on the missionarie's role in after-care rather than solely with the courts and the reciprocal relationship between each of the parties involved. In 1876, Frederick Rainer suggested that the work of the C.E.T.S. be extended from dealing solely with drunkards to include offenders. Rainer made a small donation and this led to the appointment of the first Police Court Missionary. Initially, in the guise of after-care, the missionarie's role was to meet men at the gates of prison on the day of release, buy them breakfast and invite them to sign 'the pledge' to abstain from drinking. As reported by Jarvis (1972), the first missionary, George Nelson, made 117 visits to prison in his first eight months of work, and also held 13 prison meetings (p3). Nevertheless, despite this area of work, their primary task was to:

visit regularly police courts for the purpose of dealing with individual drunkards, both charged and convicted, with a view to restoration and reclamation.

(Jarvis 1972, p4).

Their involvement in both areas of after care and court work was however, essentially moralistic and as Sewell Stokes, himself a former probation officer says:

What used to irritate me about the ones I came across [missionaries] was the aura of evangelism that hung about them like the faint odour of mothballs, and seemed a hindrance rather than an asset to the work in hand. They never quite managed to give a delinquent advice without making it sound like a sermon.

(Stokes, 1965 pp 163/164)

However, two factors seemed to be responsible for limiting the expansion of the after-care and court work of the missionaries. The first was that funds were raised on a charitable basis and in and of itself this limited any further development of role. In addition to this was the fact that there was undoubtedly some duplication of work by the parallel system of after-care provided by the various Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. Secondly, as noted by McWilliams (1983, 1985), the missionary ideal of saving the souls of offenders through 'divine grace' was swept aside because of "the rising trade of the scientific diagnosis of offenders" (1985, p 257), and because of a basic ontological flaw in the ideal. As McWilliams points out:

The missionaries began to embrace a determinist understanding of the nature of man and, no matter how subtle they were in that embrace, this meant that they had no real defence left against the overarching determinism of the social diagnosticians, and thus their vision based on religion could be supplanted by the diagnostic vision based upon a form of science.

(McWilliams 1985 p.257)

While the P.C.M. was struggling against these various ideological and financial problems, the various Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies (DPAS) were also in the business, perhaps to a larger

extent, of providing aid to men released from prison. The Aid Societies, like the P.C.M's were moved by a philanthropic spirit and religious conviction. As pointed out by The Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders (Home Office, 1963), the Aid Societies wanted to "relieve distress among their fellows and to seek their moral reformation" (App B, para 1). The work of the Aid Societies was first given statutory recognition in the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Act, 1862, which empowered visiting Justices to approve societies and donate to these societies an amount of money for the benefit of each discharged prisoner. The Aid Societies however grew up spontaneously and independently of each other with no central planning until 1937 when the National Association of Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies (NADPAS) was set up offering some measure of desperately needed centralisation. Two Reports of importance to this centralisation of the Aid Societies, and which also touched upon the role of the probation officer in the after-care process, were the Report of the Salmon Committee in 1935, Employment on Discharge (Home Office, 1935) and the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction (Home Office, 1936). As pointed out by Soothill:

There was a conflict between the 1935 committee and the 1936 committee in that the former was in favour of extending the help given to the aid societies by probation officers while the latter wanted to limit the dependence on the probation service. (Soothill, 1974, p.42).

It is important to mention here that N.A.D.P.A.S. agreed to accept responsibility for appointing welfare officers to prisons, a fact mentioned by Soothill as being:

very relevant to the history of the development of after-care, for it was this move which probably extended the reign of the discharged prisoners' aid societies for a further ten years after 1953.

(Soothill, 1974, p.43).

The first prison welfare officer (P.W.O.) appointed by NADPAS appears to have been Frank Dawtry in 1937 to Wakefield Prison. As pointed out by Jepson and Elliot (1986a) however, the extension of further appointments was slow and by 1953 there were only seven prisons with a full-time resident welfare officer (p.124).

This was one of the issues addressed by the Maxwell Committee which reported in 1953. Before looking at this report in detail, it is necessary to look at the nature of the work performed by the Aid Societies.

The primary aim of the Aid Societies was to provide short term accommodation for released prisoners while they looked for work. In the years following the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Act in 1862 there was an increasing dependence on public funds. This increasing dependency on Public funds in the 1930's was becoming ever obvious, and by 1950 many of the societies found it was all that they could do to supply money for immediate practical needs. In response to increasing concern about the functions (including the appointment of welfare officers to prisons, and after care), and finance of the various Aid Societies, the Maxwell Committee was set up and reported in 1953. As pointed out by Davies, the Maxwell Report:

effectively transferred most of the societies' responsibilities for giving material aid to men on discharge to public agencies,

and led to a switch of emphasis away from money and clothing towards constructive after-care and casework.

(Davies, 1974, p.5).

So let us take a closer look at the report.

When looking at the functions and finance of the societies, the Maxwell Committee was asked to address the issues of extending after-care provision and the staffing of the various societies. The Committee made it perfectly clear that NADPAS had not kept abreast of developments in the application of casework to work with offenders and their families. The Committee considered that:

The central object of after-care is to provide such guidance and moral support as will help the ex-prisoner cope with his personal and peculiar difficulties and to withstand the spirit of apathy and defeatism in which many are liable to drift back into crime. Efforts to encourage and assist a prisoner form suitable plans for his future life should usually start in the early days of his sentence. For the purpose of counselling and guiding him in this matter information is needed as to his character, history and circumstances, and consideration must be given to any such personal and domestic problems as may make it difficult for him to make a fresh start on release and to circumstances such as bad companionship, living conditions, or unsuitability of employment which may be obstacles to his leading an honest life.

(Home Office, 1953, para 76).

In addition to this recognition of the need for early involvement with the prisoner, in particular those who are more isolated from family and friends and therefore in need of emotional as well as

material aid, the Maxwell Committee felt:

... that the immediate material needs of prisoners can now be met in most cases by the social agencies of the State; and that the lifting of this burden from the Aid Societies should enable them to sift and select from those with whom they deal the special cases where guidance and support for some period after discharge will be required if a relapse into crime is to be avoided.

(Home Office, 1953, para 88).

The Committee recommended therefore "that in future the Aid Societies should shift the emphasis of their interest from 'aid on discharge' to personal 'after-care'" (para 89), and should select those prisoners who by virtue of personality or environment were lonely or discouraged and for whom help was needed most to ensure they stay away from a life of crime.

Having concluded that the Societies should concentrate efforts on the personal and individual assistance of selected prisoners, the Committee then examined the most appropriate and effective methods of carrying this out. The Committee, while applauding the efforts made by the current prison welfare officers, felt that if a method of selective and individualised after care was desirable, then special training and qualification in social work would be a major advantage (Home Office, 1953, para 98). The Maxwell Committee was, then, in favour of trained social workers becoming P.W.O's, and indeed expected "that suitable candidates for these posts might often be found from within the ranks of the Probation Service" (para 110).

It is, further, of vital importance here to note that the Maxwell

Committee felt that:

The appointment of a Prison Welfare Officers [by NADPAS] will release the Welfare Officer of the local Aid Society of the work which he now does inside the prison, and set him free to do outside the prison the field work which will be essential if the Prison Welfare Officer is to give Aid Societies such assistance as we contemplate.

(Home Office, 1953, para 116)

Maxwell emphasised that the P.W.O. would deal with the problems caused by the prison sentence while the officer in the community would deal with family, accommodation or other problems outside, often identified by the P.W.O. There was seen to be a "need for constant and close co-operation between him [the D.P.A.S. officer in the community] and the Prison Welfare Officer" (Home Office, 1953, para 116).

In other words, the PWO appointed by NADPAS was to prepare adequate case histories of the prisoner and submit plans for the future of selected vulnerable prisoners to the Aid Society. The Aid Society would then act upon these plans, in close consultation with the P.W.O, and conduct, where necessary, home visits both during custody and following release. The welfare officer outside was to act as a field worker and after-care agent. However, this seems to imply that there was to be a division of responsibilities between those PWO's appointed by NADPAS and those field officers appointed by the local aid society. This point was noted by Jepson (1983, p1) who quite rightly pointed out that this inevitably created feelings of uncertainty and misgiving amongst those involved in the local Aid Societies.



As mentioned at the beginning of this section, these feelings are representative of the conflict of responsibility which has dogged this area of work since its inception, and which will be analysed in more detail in Section III, when discussing the respective roles of the community based probation officer and his seconded counterpart. However, a final note on the Maxwell Report. Not only was there to be early involvement with the prisoner, and the completion of case histories, but the P.W.O. was also:

to help prisoners during the period of their imprisonment by making enquiries on their behalf about family matters or other matters which are causing them anxiety; to do what they can to mitigate the numerous difficulties which beset a man or woman whose social ties have all been suddenly snapped by a sentence of imprisonment; and by such means to establish with the prisoner a relationship of confidence.

(Home Office, 1953, para 99).

Here then, along with the role of the community based agent was a recognition of the potentially damaging effects of that sudden transition from community to prison. It added a further dimension to the overall task of providing a more caring and humane service to the prisoner. The Maxwell committee recognised the impact both on and of those people close to the prisoner and also the need to build up the offender's confidence in the after care agent. These were seen to be major extensions of the after-care process. The recommendation made by the Maxwell Committee, 1953 of involving trained social workers in the prison welfare task was in line with some popular opinion at the time that full time trained social workers should be employed in

prisons to keep in touch both with prisoner's families and to link the home and discharged prisoners with the relevant community agencies, (Report of the Howard league conference, 1951). Nevertheless, developments in this area over the next decade were slow, and this period, leading to the Report of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders, *The Organisation of after care*, in 1963 (The ACTO Report), and culminating in the Probation Service taking on statutory responsibility for prison welfare work in 1966 will be examined in the following section.

(ii) 1953-1966 The growing involvement of  
the Probation Service in after-care

The years between the Maxwell and ACTO reports, saw an ever increasing awareness of the role of, and scope for, the Probation Service in the after-care of adult offenders in England and Wales. Events started to crowd into one another with the appointment of Mr. R. Butler at the Home Office in 1957 who raised hopes of a new approach to the treatment of offenders.

As a result of this hope for a new approach, the Advisory Council on the Treatment of offenders (Home Office, 1958), was set up to consider the idea of extending statutory supervision to ordinary ex-prisoners. The Council was to look at the categories of prisoners for whom statutory supervision would be appropriate. As pointed out by Davies (1974), however, although the Council's recommendations were largely positive and were incorporated in the Criminal Justice Act, 1961, which provided for the possibility for the compulsory after-care for a wide range of medium and long term prisoners, "because of the shortage of probation officers, this part of the Act never came into

operation", (Davies, 1974, p57). The basic recognition however was for the increased involvement of probation officers in after-care, and the main effect of the deliberations of ACTO in 1958 was to highlight the Probation Service as the major candidate to be taken into account in any re organisation of after-care. It undoubtedly influenced ACTO 1963.

Associated with the issue of compulsory after-care and the Probation Service was the concern expressed in the 1959 White Paper, *Penal Practice in a Changing Society* (Home Office, 1959, White Paper) about the ever increasing crime rate among the 16-21 year old age group. Although it does not directly concern us here when tracing the adult after-care system, it is interesting to note that the concern was such that the problem was referred again to the Advisory Committee on the Treatment of Offenders, who reported in 1959 (Home Office, 1959) and recommended that all sentences of training for the young adult offender group should be followed by a period of statutory after care, to be carried out by the Probation Service (p.22). The Home Secretary, as quoted in Bochel said that:

Nothing we can do for a young man whilst he is in prison is of any value unless we can negotiate the readjustment to freedom successfully.

(Bochel 1976 p.190).

This is important in that there was at the time a growing recognition that the systems of prison and borstal after-care had been "fused together" (Hood, 1965 pp 76/77). However, the borstal system will be analysed in detail in Chapter 2, and some conclusions drawn about the nature of the prison and borstal systems in chapter 3.

With all the discussion and concern about the increasing role and

function of the Probation Service in providing professional case work to offenders and always bearing in mind that N.A.D.P.A.S. was progressing rather slowly in the process of appointing welfare officers to prisons, the Departmental Committee on the Probation Service, under its chairman R.P. Morison reported in 1962 (The Morison Report).

The Departmental Committee under Morison was set up to enquire into and make recommendations on, among other things:

(a) all aspects of the probation service in England and Wales and in Scotland .....

(Home Office, 1962, p.1).

When addressing the issue of the role of the Probation Service in after-care, the Morison Committee was in favour of their taking over the responsibility for those offenders released both from borstals and prisons:

We think, rather, that, within the home and family environment, there is a broad band of social casework which probation officers can appropriately undertake because it is concerned with offenders and others who have come into the ambit of the courts.

(Home Office, 1962, p.44).

In line with the Maxwell Report, the Morison Committee realised the necessity of continuity between custody and release:

The employment of probation officers as after-care agents may also, in many cases, provide a useful homogeneity in the approach to, and responsibility for, an offender at the different stages in his career; and while as a result,

probationers may appear to be exposed to some risk of 'contamination', our information suggests that the risk, which is not confined to contacts of probationers with after-care cases, can be met by judicious arrangements of the probation officer's interviews.

(Home Office, 1962, para 104)

This notion of 'contamination' was also mentioned in the 1936 Report of the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction (Home Office 1936) in connection with borstal boys. Fears of contamination were then explained away by suggesting a well planned timetable and emphasised that the main fear was in probation officers not having sufficient time available for after-care given all their other commitments. As pointed out by Soothill, (1974) the proposals in the Morison Report were radically different from those in the 1936 Report in that the former was strongly in favour of extending the role of the Probation Service. It was also interesting that the 1936 Committee described the supervisory functions of the probation officer without using the terms 'social casework', a concern referred to in the Morison Report, (Soothill, 1974, p46/47). The Morison Committee emphasised the importance of the term 'casework' again echoing Maxwell in noting that planning was now an important factor in the continuity of after-care. It may be useful to quote from the Morison Report while looking at casework and the developing nature of after-care:

Casework, as we understand it, is the creation and utilisation, for the benefit of an individual who needs help with personal problems, of a relationship between himself and a trained social worker .... It is a basic assumption of all casework that each

person is a unique individual whose difficulties are the product of complex and interacting factors .... There may, in the first place, be scope for altering external influences by helping the individual to change his home or economic circumstances, his habits or companions. Here, although the need may sometimes be for direct material assistance, the caseworker's aim will be to encourage people to help themselves rather than be helped; to co-operate rather than obey. The caseworker will plan constantly for the time when his support, advice and assistance are no longer available.

(Home Office, 1962, pp 24-25).

If we accept the above quotation from the Morison Report as a theoretical model for after care in the period preceding and following the ACTO Report (1963), we can see when looking at ACTO's deliberations how they had been influenced by the previous reports. The scene had been set for increased involvement of the Probation Service in after care. As Bill McWilliams argues:

... the period in the history of ideas of the probation service which spans the decades from the late 1920s to the late 1960's is best characterised and most deeply understood by reference to the concept of diagnosis .... The chosen medium for both the diagnosis and treatment of offenders by probation officers eventually came to be those theories and methods advanced by the various schools of social casework.

(McWilliams, 1985, p260).

Within the context of these developments, the Advisory Council on the Treatment of offenders carried out a complete and comprehensive

review of the after-care arrangements for offenders, and reported in 1963, (Home Office, 1963).

With the ACTO Report of 1963 came a much broader definition of after-care, but central to it was a recognition that:

After-care is essentially a form of social casework. It calls for team work within the institutions in which offenders are detained, a concerted effort in the community, and the employment in both spheres of persons with the appropriate social casework training.

(Home Office, 1963, pi).

ACTO's terms of reference were:

To review the arrangements for the organisation of statutory and voluntary after-care for persons discharged from prisons, borstals, detention centres and approved schools; to consider whether any changes are necessary or desirable; and to make recommendations.

(Home Office, 1963, para 1).

Some general principles were considered essential to the success of after-care, and it is important to take a look at these principles both from a conceptual and practical point of view and as foreshadowing the later articulation of throughcare.

- (1) After-care must be designed to meet the needs both of society and of the individual offenders.
- (2) The nature and quality of the after-care service provided should be fundamentally the same and available for all offenders, irrespective of the particular type of sentence which they may have

served.

- (3) After-care is a form of social work which requires in those under-taking it special qualities of personality and special training and experience.
- (4) After-care, to be fully effective, must be integrated with the work of the penal institutions in which the offender serves his sentence, and must be conceived as a continuing process throughout his sentence and for as long as necessary after his release.

(Home Office, 1963, para. 59).

Although these principles were considered essential to the provision of an adequate level of after-care and the fourth is very close to later definitions of 'throughcare' which will be discussed more fully in chapter 3 their application was thought to be rather weak and some suggestions were made to remedy this by:

- (1) the amalgamation of compulsory and voluntary after-care into a common service;
- (2) the employment of professional social workers on after-care work both in penal institutions and in the community;
- (3) the decentralisation of the arrangements for after-care, accompanied by a strengthening of the lines of communication between the social worker in the institution and his colleagues in the community; and



- (4) a greatly increased understanding of the part to be played by members of the community in the rehabilitation of offenders.

(Home Office, 1963, para 71).

To these ends, ACTO recommended that after-care in the community, both compulsory and voluntary should be undertaken by "an expanded and reorganised 'probation and after-care service' whose two primary functions should be reflected in this title". (para 217(7)).

In line with the Maxwell Committee, ACTO recommended the appointment of social workers to prison who "should be the normal channel of communication in social casework matters with the various outside agencies". (para 217(3), *italics added*). It is also relevant to note here the fundamental distinction made between the prison and borstal after care systems:

... whereas the system of borstal after-care is closely integrated, with the system of borstal training as a whole, and is indeed an essential part of the penal treatment, this has been less true of compulsory after-care as it has been applied to prisoners. For them, compulsory after-care might rather be described as a means of ensuring that special attention is given to the needs of certain groups of offenders who are regarded as having completed their sentence. (Home Office, 1963 para 15, *italics added*).

Basic to the ACTO approach towards after-care came an emphasis on integration, and, in theory the development of a system closer to that of the borstal system. This emphasis on integration was stressed by Morrison when commenting on the effects of ACTO on after-care:

The underlying theme of the recommendations was integration: the integration of statutory and voluntary after-care, the integration of after-care with the local community and, most importantly as far as the relationship between the Prison Service and the Probation Service was concerned, the integration of 'institutional care' and 'after-care'.

(Morrison, 1974, p11).

The approach outlined in the ACTO Report 1963, also made it clear that the prisoner's family should be "included within the ambit of after-care" (Home Office, 1963, para 21), and there was emphasis put upon the fact that the ultimate aim included more than tackling criminality per se. It was involved in the total resettlement process of the person into the community:

More is required of the community than the provision of material help. While a person about to be discharged from a penal institution needs to have deficiencies in clothing made good and to be given immediate financial aid, these provisions are incidental to the main task. The prime purpose of after-care in the community is to offer the discharged prisoner the friendship, guidance and moral support that he needs if he is to surmount the difficulties that face him in the outside world. Those difficulties are often of a personal or domestic nature; they have sometimes contributed to his former delinquency and may impede his full and lasting social adjustment. (Home Office, 1963, para 98).

This ultimate aim then of coping with the difficulties faced in the outside world was to be achieved through a basic integration of all the relevant aspects of work during and after custody. However, the

integrated task proposed by ACTO whereby the Prison Service provided institutional care, the Probation Service provided community care and the social worker inside the prison liaised between the two, was not fully adopted by the Government and the Probation Service became responsible for prison welfare work in 1966. It may be useful to briefly look at the reasons for this decision, as it is important to the extent that the circumstances reflected the general climate within which the role of the seconded probation officer had to be established.

Shortly after the publication of the ACTO Report, and before formal approval from the Treasury was obtained to convert the prison welfare officers into civil servants, the Prison Department received a letter from the now Probation and After-Care Department, stating that in their opinion:

The only way we can achieve the main purpose of the Report [ACTO] is to have the Prison Welfare Officer a member of the Probation Service. This means that we should require Probation Committees to second suitable people to fill welfare posts in prisons within their area<sup>1</sup>

As pointed out by Jepson and Elliot (1986a), the pros and cons of this new recommendation were discussed at length by representatives of the Prison and Probation Departments, and in the end "the fine balance between the 'independent' Probation-based P.W.O. and the P.W.O. as an integrated member of the prison team was resolved in favour of the former" (p127). The reasons for this were given first in a Note of Office Discussion on 25.11.64 which expressed:

- i) the fear that '... particularly while the total demand for

trained officers considerably exceeded the supply, few officers of good quality would seek appointments as institution social workers either direct from training or after a spell doing probation and after-care work'.

(quoted in Jepson and Elliot, 1986a, p.128).

The second reason given for the decision to involve probation officers in the prison welfare task was given in a further paper by the Home Office to the Probation Department.<sup>2</sup>

It is inevitable that After-Care should be begun by one social worker in a prison and continued by another in the outside world; it is vital that these two should work in the closest harmony and with full understanding of each other's problems and methods; it would be easier if each had had personal experience in the other job.

(quoted in Jepson and Elliot, 1986a, p.128).

Consultations ensued with the relevant organisation(s) - viz NADPAS, the Associate<sup>ion</sup> of Prison Welfare Officers, the Central Council of Probation Committee, the National Association of Probation Officers (NAP0), and the Conference of Principal Probation Officers. None of the organisations were in favour of the scheme proposed by ACTO (although there was no evidence of members of the prison staff being consulted), and the Home Secretary announced in the House of Commons on July 4th 1965 that:

... I have reached the conclusion that the quality of the welfare service, and the inter-change and collaboration between it and the probation and after-care service, which are essential to an effective system of after-care, will be best ensured by

filling prison welfare posts by the secondment for limited periods of probation officers, rather than by perpetuating a separate prison welfare service.

(quoted in Jepson and Elliot, 1986a, p129).

This culminated in the Home Office Circular 241/1965, 'The Prison Welfare Service' announcing that:

With effect from 1st January 1966 it will be the responsibility of the probation committee in whose area a prison is situated to fill a prison welfare officer post(s) at that prison by the secondment of a probation officer(s).

(HOC 241/1965, para 1).

This section has traced the developing nature of after-care to prisoners in England and Wales, from the early voluntary tradition to the greater involvement of professionalism by the Probation Service. Events culminating in the ACTO report, (Home Office, 1963), and entry of probation officers into prisons in 1966 saw the demise of the various voluntary agencies in their traditional role. In 1966 NADPAS was dissolved and replaced by the National Association For the Care and Resettlement of Offenders, (NACRO). The casework approach was flourishing, reflected in the title of Mark Monger's book published in 1967 "Casework in After-Care." As mentioned by Bochel in relation to the emphasis on A-C in the 1949 Probation rules and the changes in 1966:

The decision [to involve P.O.'s more fully in after-care] was highly significant for the future of the service in setting it on a course of development destined in the long run to alter the

balance of its work and to carry it closer to the custodial elements of the penal system.

(Bochel, 1976, p 185).

The involvement of the Probation Service in the prison welfare task in 1966 no doubt did change the balance of its work, and brought it, with the after-care task, closer to the custodial part of the penal system.

Indeed, much of the ensuing period, since 1966 had been involved with defining the role of probation officers in prison and their relationship both with the prison officer and their community based counterparts. The terms welfare, casework and shared working were in increasingly obvious usage following the re-organisation of after-care, and the notion of throughcare now increasingly entered the debate. The following section will trace the developing role of the probation officer in the welfare and after-care of adult prisoners in England and Wales, with emphasis being put upon the respective roles of the probation and prison officers within the institution and how this working relationship developed following the re-organisation of after-care in 1966. The redefinition of roles, and shared working approach led to the growing recognition of throughcare as an ideal and in some cases to the tentative acknowledgement of its practical reality.

### (iii) 1966-1988 The shared working approach

The period between the re-organisation of after-care and official recognition of throughcare for adult prisoners in 1986 in the joint circular Prisoner Throughcare-Shared working (C/I 25/1986; HOC 64/1986), had as its major landmarks, the various Home Office

Circulars which attempted to define the prison welfare task; the Midlands experiment and various other related schemes aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of custodial casework; the various 'Social Work in Prison Schemes'. (S.W.I.P); and the increasingly common usage of the term 'throughcare' to describe the welfare and after care task.

It is perhaps best to continue the chronological approach in dealing with the main issues in this area of work which was becoming increasingly aware of the necessity for a 'joint approach'.

As pointed out by Jepson and Elliott there was, particularly between 1966 and the 1974 Discussion document *Social Work in the Custodial Part of the Penal System*<sup>3</sup>, a shift:

from a pre-occupation with defining, in principle and in practice, the role of the probation officer in prison to an increasing concern with the relative contributions of the probation officer and the prison officer to the social work/welfare task of the prison.

(Jepson and Elliot, 1986a p139).

This was as a result primarily of two Home Office Circulars, the first of which, HOC 241/1965, as mentioned in the previous section formally announced the entry of probation officers into prisons as welfare officers. Although this circular appeared in the year preceding those covered in this section it is necessary to quote further from it as its main thrust took effect after 1966. The circular attempted to define the role of the probation officer in prison, and stressed the importance of a recognition that a prisoner must be guided in the direction which would make him more receptive to

after-care:

The seconded officer will be the member of the prison team with particular responsibility for helping the prisoner in his relationships with individuals and organisations outside the prison. He will be concerned with making plans for the prisoner's after-care and will advise and assist in any immediate problems which may arise during his sentence; such advice and assistance may not always be directly related to after-care but will be a means towards establishing a relationship of confidence with the prisoner and making him more receptive to after-care.

(HOC 241/1965 para 7).

The involvement of the seconded officer was then seen to be central to the after-care process and a relationship of confidence based on planning and co-operation were to be his major tools in offering assistance to the prisoner. Two years later, HOC 130/1967, *The Role and Function of the Prison Welfare Service*, further developed the role of the Prison Welfare Officer (P.W.O.), specifying his functions thus:

The prison welfare officer should have a four-fold role within the prison; as a social case-worker, as the focal point of social work, as the normal channel of communication on social problems with the outside and as the planner of after-care.

(HOC 130/1967, para. 3).

Here we have a reiteration of the central role of social case work in the welfare of the inmate, and also a recognition that the P.W.O. should be responsible for more than just routine day to day practical problems. Contained within HOC 130/1967 was also the decision to



introduce one of the major innovations in this area of work during the late '60s and the 1970's, the so called 'Midlands Experiment'. The experiment was intended to consider:

the place of social work in prison programmes and various other matters such as the form which case records and statistical records should take and assistance and accommodation which welfare officers require. To this end, after consultation with the Advisory Council, the Secretary of State has decided to introduce an experiment at Birmingham, Ashwell and Gartree prisons beginning at the same time as early release on licence (parole).

(HOC 130/1967, para 5).

In the three experimental prisons, P.W.O.'s were increased to a ratio of approximately one officer to 100 inmates in an attempt to determine what the officers' role should be and how they should co-operate both with staff within the prison and probation officers in the community. Four reports emerged from this study, two remain unpublished, and two stimulated much debate at the time, when examined in conjunction with other similar evaluative projects. Perhaps it may be useful to take a look at these 'studies in casework' and the contribution which they made to the wider debate on the effectiveness of casework in prison on certain aspects of after-care, namely reconviction rates.

One of the studies emerging from the Midlands Experiment was that of Maragaret Shaw. The study had two main purposes:

to examine the practical problems associated with on-going

casework in the prison setting, and to see whether more extended contact with welfare officers had any effect on the behaviour and attitudes of the prisoners concerned.

(Shaw, 1974 p.90).

The welfare departments in Ashwell (open) and Gartree (closed) prisons were used in the evaluation. The progress in prison and after release of an experimental group of men chosen at random and offered a series of weekly interviews with welfare officers for the final 6 months of their sentence, was compared with that of a control group, who while not denied access to the welfare department were not offered on-going interviews. Both the control and experimental groups were interviewed immediately before release on a number of topics including their views on the welfare system and the prison generally. Briefly, Shaw (1974) found that the experimental group was more appreciative of the welfare department, and use of the welfare department by controls was related to the extent of social support and contact from families and friends outside prison rather than to any opinion of the value of the welfare service. Experimentals felt that they had made some progress in dealing with personal difficulties, and this was confirmed by the welfare officers, (Shaw, 1974, p42). Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the study however was that after a 2 year follow up period after release, "fewer 'experimentals' than 'controls' had been convicted of further offences. This difference could not be accounted for by variations in offending history, social background or chances of reconviction" (Shaw, 1974, p93). However, overall Shaw could not identify with any certainty whether it was casework techniques, greater contact with after-care officers, or just more attention which had led to the better response overall by the

experimental group. (Shaw, 1974, p93).

The results reported by Shaw appeared very encouraging, and were supported by a similar study carried out in Denmark by Bernsten and Christiansen (1965). This study reported a lower reconviction rate amongst an experimental group of high risk short-term prisoners who were given 'treatment' involving assistance with practical problems prior to release. The experimental group was also given assistance with more emotional problems such as marital difficulties, depression and alcohol abuse. The control group received 'traditional' treatment in the prison. Bernsten and Christiansen reported a high success rate, measured by fewer reconvictions in a five to eight year follow up period for the experimentals when compared to the controls.

However, it may be as well to dwell on these findings a little longer. The results have not been replicated. Fowles, (1978), for example in a study closely paralleling Shaws and considered complementary to it, found no such 'treatment effect'. Fowles quite rightly points out that welfare work should not be assessed solely by recourse to reconviction rates:

The degree to which it [ie social work in prisons] contributes to the provision of humane conditions of containment, the maintenance or improvement of family relationships and better social functioning, although less easily assessed, is also an important consideration. (Fowles, 1978, p.22).

In line with the lack of a 'treatment effect' found by Fowles, was the blow to the casework approach given by the results of the IMPACT study, Folkard, et al (1976). The experimental group who received

some attention and 'treatment' during sentence, did not differ significantly in terms of reconviction in a one year follow up period. There was "no evidence to support a general application of more intensive treatment" (Folkard et al, 1976, p.22).

There have been in addition, several criticisms levelled at the methodological approach of the Shaw and Bernstein studies. Shamba and Wood, (1972), in response to the provisional publication of Shaw's results, (Shaw and Jarvis 1971) claimed that there may have been a 'Hawthorne Effect' operating in that those improvements were due solely to increased attention - a fact which was acknowledged by Shaw in the final publication of the results (Shaw, 1974 p93). As Cornish and Clarke (1975) point out, Shaw's study was also open to criticism for the manner in which it lumped together the prisoners from two different regimes when analysing the reconviction rates. Cornish and Clarke found that when Shaw's results were analysed in terms of the individual nature of the regimes, population, etc., in each prison, a more conservative estimate of the association between extended social casework and reconviction rates emerged. Results for the open prison failed to show any significant difference between the experimental and control groups, while for the closed prison, the association, while still significant, was considerably reduced. Cornish and Clarke also raised the alarm bells with regard to the Bernstein and Christiansen study. Here, there was concern about the definition of 'reconviction' rates. A re-analysis of the data based on a broader definition of reconviction resulted in no significant differences between the experimental and control groups.

A further study emerging from the Midlands Experiment was that of Julie Holborn (1975). Holborn's study had four broad aims:

1. To examine prisoners' perceptions and their problems. This included both the problems that worried them during their sentence, and also their perception of their criminal behaviour;
2. To examine the kind of help prisoners wanted from prison welfare officers in prison and from probation officers outside; also to find out whether or not the men were satisfied with the help they had received from prison welfare departments;
3. To examine the way in which the working of the prison welfare departments was affected by prisoner's attitudes;
4. To consider the implications the findings have for casework in prisons.

(Holborn, 1975, p57).

Looking briefly at Holborn's findings, it was noted that those prisoners who had had contact with their home probation officer while inside, were more likely to opt for voluntary after-care (Holborn, 1975, p122). The indications were "that prison welfare officers and outside probation officers were not linked together in prisoners' minds but regarded as members of separate services" (Holborn, 1975, p122). In addition to this, Holborn points to the fact that "contact with the probation officer responsible for after-care is vital if the service is to be used effectively" (p126) and "work done by prison welfare officers may be wasted if prisoners do not have the support of a probation officer when they test out their good resolutions" (p126).

When looking at the implications for casework in prisons of her findings, Holborn noted that someone had to deal with problems imprisonment created, but if PWO's were swamped by these problems they became deflected from the task of rehabilitation. Secondly, prisoners seemed unable to grasp the fact that caseworkers were available to give "insight - orientated work" (Holborn, 1975, p 125), and became caught in a 'welfare cycle', whereby the use of the PWO for practical issues reinforced belief that this was what they were there for and promoted further requests for help in this area. Holborn made it clear that "if the institution is to afford an environment conducive to successful treatment, all the staff must be involved" (p126). She did feel, however that, in conjunction with Shaws findings:

... together, the two studies provide some basis for optimism about the development of casework with offenders.

(Holborn, 1975, p.127).

Further experimentation and evaluative work was being carried out at this time on the effect of casework and after-care, and before resuming a discussion of the wider context of the shared working debate it may be appropriate to look at the results of one such study. Implications for the after-care and welfare of prisoners of the above and following studies will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 3. For now, let us outline a study of after care reported by Silberman and Chapman (1971), who examined the workings of three after-care units, with the official aim:

to provide social casework .... based on adequate diagnosis.

(Silberman & Chapman, 1971, p 45).

Briefly, findings were not encouraging. The after-care units were



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found to be inadequately equipped for functioning as welfare agencies, and also, had difficulty in carrying out their social casework functions (p45). Reasons given for this failure to carry out casework were because:

(a) The lack of extensive pre release contact with clients was accompanied by insufficient liaison with those working in prisons who had an opportunity to become acquainted with clients' problems.

(b) After-care had to concern itself so much with clients' material needs that probation officers found themselves bargaining with clients about the allocation of material resources instead of being able to establish casework relationships with them and assist them with their personal difficulties.

(c) The lack of therapeutic and remedial resources meant that however well a probation officer diagnosed a client's problem he might still have little to offer him.

(Silberman & Chapman, 1971, p45).

Immediately, we can see that there was a basic breakdown in the relationship between those probation officers working in the community and those relevant welfare officers inside the prison. Immediate practical problems were taking the emphasis away from a casework approach and in any case resources to fulfil any casework approach were not always available. Silberman and Chapman, were in their conclusions, rather sceptical about the effect of casework in after-



care and felt that where possible, additional help must be given, as well as material aid, to tackle basic underlying problems.

This then is a brief examination of the research carried out in the period following acknowledgement of the social casework approach to after-care proposed in the ACTO Report (1963) and which formed the basis for the Probation Service's entry into prisons. The implications of these studies will be assessed in Chapter 3 when the broader issue of the developing nature of after-care and emerging concept of 'throughcare' are addressed. Suffice to say here that the casework approach to after-care was suffering a crisis of identity towards the end of the 1970's.

We began the discussion of intensive casework with the initiation of the Midlands Experiment in CI 130/1967. I also mentioned that four reports emerged from this study; those of Shaw and Holborn have been discussed. However, one of the unpublished reports, which appeared in 1970 prior to the Prison/Probation Conference at Bournemouth the following year, is of special interest to us here, and brings the discussion back to the broader context of the developing nature of the after-care task.

This unpublished report is interesting and significant in its title: *The Place of Social Work in Prisons - The Nature and the content of voluntary Through-care.* (1970) As pointed out by Jepson and Elliot (1986a), the significance to the shared working debate was the use of the term 'through-care', implying as it did that social work in prison was concerned not only with what happened on release, but with problems of the sentence itself (p142). The document stated:

No apology is made for the use of this word 'through-care',

which is known already to have a minority of adherents within the Service. The phrase 'after-care' has so many limitations implicit in its connotation - suggesting as it can do that only at a given point in time certain responsibilities fall due. Through-care suggests continuity of concern, an ideal which is the essence of this project.

(quoted in Jepson and Elliot 1986a, p142).

This 'project' was concerned primarily to "examine the impact of casework practice upon a group of short sentence men and their families" (quoted in Jepson, 1983, p.10), and as pointed out by Jepson (1983), it exposed the problems and frustrations in initiating and sustaining an interest among prisoners in voluntary through-care (p.11). The study stressed the importance of the initial and the pre release interviews in prison, and underlined the critical nature of the liaison between the community based probation officer and the PWO's, "especially with the emergence of the P.W.O in the role as facilitator of communication between the client and the field workers" (quoted in Jepson, 1983, p11). The report stressed the importance of the three way relationship between the probation officer, PWO and prisoner (including his family).

The fourth report emerging from the Midlands experiment was also referred to in Jepson and Elliot (1986a, p.142), and was concerned with the relationship between prison officers and the PWO. This report recommended that:

Opportunities should be made available at every establishment for experimentation in the field of welfare/prison staff interaction .... It should become accepted practice of selected uniform staff being attached to Welfare Departments and

Probation Officers for both observation and training through participation.

(quoted in Jepson and Elliot 1986a p 142).

The overall impact of the Midlands Experiment then was to bring to light three concepts affecting the role of the probation officer: the shared task to be carried out was emphasised; the effectiveness of social casework in the aftercare task; and throughcare. At the same time as this research was being carried out developments in the welfare of prisoners progressed with emphasis upon the shared working approach. In 1973 a joint Prison Probation Study Group was set up<sup>4</sup> to examine the role and functions of P.W.O's in the light of experience since 1966. The group did look briefly at the role of probation officers in borstals, but a major issue here was the Home Office's growing recognition of throughcare. A sub committee of the group submitted a report<sup>5</sup> prior to their main report *Social Work in the Custodial Part of the Penal System* (1974), which stated that:

... The original emphasis on his [SPWO/PWO] role in after-care has now shifted to throughcare in recognition of this link.<sup>6</sup> The logical consequence of this is that he should assume more of an advisory or consultancy role in supportive work with prisoners, thus giving prison officers the opportunity to do more personal day-to-day social work. The seconded probation officer could then apply his knowledge, skills and experience and his contacts with outside resources to on-going work with individual prisoners, including the involvement of probation officers and voluntary associates; group work; general participation in institution training and treatment programme;

liaison with prisoners' families; and interpretation of the two services to each other.

(quoted in Jepson and Elliot, 1986a, pp 147/148).

The Discussion Document, *Social Work in the Custodial Part of the Penal System* (1974) followed the study Group's work and recommended, amongst other things the development of an atmosphere within the institution in which prisoners could deal both with their problems and the consequences of their behaviour. There was also the statement that the prison officer/inmate relationship should be recognised as the basic working relationship with the institution.

The major result of this discussion document, as outlined in CI 1/1977 *Social Work in Prison* was the setting up of Social Work in Prison Schemes (S.W.I.P.) with the following objectives:

- (a) to improve the assistance available to prisoners;
- (b) to foster more effective relationships between staff of the two services, including staff based outside the prison;
- (c) to enable prison staff to participate more fully in work within the establishment in the field of inmate welfare; and
- d) to enable probation staff to concentrate on arrangements for release and other aspects of social work for which the Probation Service has particular responsibility.

(CI 1/1977).

The S.W.I.P. schemes have been exhaustively examined recently by Jepson and Elliot (1986a), but since they represent a major step

forward in the welfare and after-care debate during the later 1970's and early 1980's, it is necessary to offer a brief résumé of the structure and operation of the schemes.

Jepson and Elliot felt that a S.W.I.P. scheme had to include 3 essential elements before it could be classed as such:

A scheme (i) which involves the sharing of responsibilities deemed to be within the competence of a Probation Department by seconded Probation Officers and Prison Officers; (ii) where such responsibilities include the involvement of prison officers in welfare applications from prisoners; and (iii) which is explicit and has received the approval of both the Probation and Prison Services.

(Jepson and Elliot, 1986a p9).

Related schemes consisting of personal officer schemes were also examined, as were informal group work schemes not officially recognised as shared working, but which in essence performed similar functions.

Of the 65 prisons examined, 19 were found to have a SWIP scheme in operation (group 1), 13 had a lapsed scheme (group 2), and 33 had no record of a SWIP scheme (group 3). No one factor precluded the successful establishment of SWIP scheme and importantly, large prisons, overcrowding and staff shortages were not considered adverse, (Jepson and Elliot 1986b, p31). Jepson and Elliot identified four SWIP models. In model A, prison officers were attached to the prison probation department full time for continuous period of between 3 months and 2 years. In model B, officers were attached part-time or for very limited continuous periods eg one week in every two or three

months. Officers in model C were not attached to the probation department but, with the agreement of probation staff, undertook specific welfare tasks on a full or part-time basis. The officers involved in these 3 models did not do SWIP work as part of their normal duties but were detached from their normal prison duties. Officers in Model D did perform SWIP tasks as part of their normal duties, (Jepson Elliot, 1986a, p14).

Jepson and Elliot noted that most of the 32 schemes in Groups 1 and 2, (ie which had a scheme in operation or which had lapsed) belonged to either model A (9) or model D (16) with only a small minority classified as B (3) or C(4). In addition, between the two extremes of models A and D, A had a significantly lower lapse rate (2/9) than D(8/16), (Jepson and Elliot 1986b, p31).

Jepson and Elliot discuss some of the implications for these findings, importantly noting that model A, in its structure, conflicted with one of the original objectives of SWIP laid out in the 1974 discussion document and CI 1/1977 in that there should be as many officers involved in the welfare of inmates as possible and that the environmental atmosphere should be generally conducive to working out problems. In this respect, models D and B were by definition more in line with these objectives and sentiments than A and C.

Of importance also in the evaluation of the SWIP schemes was the extent to which the schemes addressed the following issues.

1. Prisoner - ability to deal with welfare problems.
2. Prison Officer - expertise and job satisfaction.
3. Probation Officer - professionalisation and job satisfaction.

4. Relationships between staff.
5. Objectives of the prison.
6. Relationships staff/prisoner.
7. Relationships with outside agencies.

(Jepson and Elliot, 1986a, p64).

Jepson and Elliot examined the extent to which the scheme mentioned measured up to the original objectives (mentioned earlier) and the criteria stated above. The overall impression obtained was that the established schemes did seem to contribute to a more effective regime when measured by the criteria. Comments were usually positive, and relationships etc did seem to improve within the prisons. Jepson and Elliot do point out however that schemes cannot exist in an atmosphere of indifference, and that the outside Probation Service should also have taken a greater interest in the schemes. The schemes needed mounting and there was needed "a very positive lead from the Home Office, since it was eight years since the experiment was first introduced and clearly the experimental stage was long over", (Jepson and Elliot, 1986a, p74).

### Summary

This chapter has traced the origins of after-care in England and Wales for adult prisoners, from its origins in the voluntary religious bodies to the emphasis on social casework. The main body of ideas on after-care and shared working can be broadly compared with the various stages of thought which have influenced the work of the Probation Service generally, as proposed by McWilliams (1983; 1985; 1986; 1987). These stages were, briefly, a pleading in court based on meaning for the offender, dominant from the late 19th Century to the 1930's,

followed by the period of diagnosis to the 1970's. As McWilliams points out:

The current understanding of the service had its roots in the 1960's and developed in the 1970's, and because of its characteristics it may most appropriately be identified as the phase of pragmatism.

(McWilliams, 1987 p97).

Looking at the after care task since its reorganisation in 1966, and the main approaches and concepts which have been prevalent, there was emphasis on the general role and effectiveness of social casework in the welfare and after-care of adult prisoners, and on the shared working approach dominant in the 1970's and early 1980's. However, of importance here was the official recognition in the joint Government circular in 1986 (HOC No 64/1986; CI No 25/1986) *Prisoner Throughcare-Shared Working*, of the concept of throughcare. The term had been used in several reports mentioned above during this period, but remained a rather elusive concept. The emergence of throughcare and its official recognition in work with adult prisoners will be examined in more detail in chapter 3, but first it is necessary to examine the developing nature of after-care/throughcare in the penal system for young adult offenders, in particular the borstal and youth custody disposals. This will then set the scene for a definition of throughcare in its ideal and practical form.



#### FOOTNOTES

1. Extract from letter from Probation and After-Care Department to Director of Prison Administration quoted in Jepson and Elliot (1986a, p.127).
2. Paper The Future of the Prison Welfare Service by Home Office to Advisory Council for Probation and After-Care, 24.2.65.
3. A discussion document by the Home Office Prison Department and the Home Office Probation Department Oct, 1974 (C/I 48/1974).
4. Study Group on Social Work in the Penal System 1973.
5. Report of the Sub Committee on Welfare Work in Medium and Long Term Training Prisons in Jepson and Elliott 1986a p. 147.
6. "He [P.W.O] links the prisoner's past, present and future and his inside and outside situation, and is also the link between introduction staff and his probation officer colleagues and the social work agencies outside" (In Jepson and Elliot 1986a p 147).

## CHAPTER 2

### FROM BORSTAL TO YOUTH CUSTODY - LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF AFTER-CARE

This chapter will be divided into five sections, aimed at establishing the major influences and philosophy surrounding the penal system for young adult offenders. The developing nature of after-care and emerging terminology and concept of through-care can be fully understood only in conjunction with the nature of the system as a whole, and for this reason sections (i)-(iii) will provide an overview of the changing legislative procedures and philosophy underpinning the system. Section (i) will take us from the Gladstone Report in 1895 to the Younger Report in 1974 tracing the major initiatives and changes in the system for young adult offenders. Section (ii) will examine the various proposals and political realignments which culminated in the Criminal Justice Act, 1982; and section (iii) will look in more detail at the '82 Act which abolished the Borstal system and introduced Youth Custody. We will then retrace our steps somewhat in sections (iv) and (v) and consider the developing nature of borstal after-care from the inauguration of the Borstal System in 1895 to the reorganisation of after-care in 1966 following the recommendation on the Report of Advisory Committee on the Treatment of Offenders in 1963. Section (iv) will offer a resume of the major developments in borstal after-care to the reorganisation in 1966, and section (v) will trace developments from 1966 to the introduction of the Youth Custody System in 1983 following the Criminal Justice Act, 1982.

(i) 1895-1974 Legislative procedures and philosophy underpinning the Borstal System

The Borstal System emerged as a result of the radical recommendations of The Report of the Departmental Committee on Prisons (1895), more commonly referred to as the Gladstone Report/Committee. There was at this time, growing recognition that a penal system based primarily on punishment, deterrence, and degradation was ineffective against both crime and recidivism. Consequently, there was a move towards the reformation of the individual offender and the seeds of the rehabilitative ideal were sown. The Gladstone Committee felt:

that the system should be made more elastic, more capable of being adapted to the special cases of individual prisoners; that prison discipline and treatment should be more effectively designed to maintain, stimulate, or awaken the higher susceptibilities of prisoners, to develop their moral instincts, to train them in orderly and industrial habits, and, wherever possible, to turn them out of prison better men and women physically and morally than when they came in.

(Home Office, 1895, para 25).

The Gladstone Committee was particularly concerned with the age at which a person was most likely to embark upon a life of crime, and concluded that the most 'dangerous' age lay between 17 and 21. As a result, the Committee recommended that an experiment be set up:

a half-way house between the prison and the reformatory ... with a staff capable of giving sound education, training the inmates in various kinds of industrial work, and qualified generally to exercise the best and healthiest kind of moral influence ...

Further ....

special arrangements ought to be made for receiving and helping the inmates on discharge ...

and there should be

... proper individual treatment.

(Home Office, 1895, para 84b).

The experiment was set up at Bedford Prison by the then Chairman of the Prison Commission, Sir Evelyn Ruggles Brise, following a visit to the American State Reformatory System at Elmira. The American system, which was based on the moral, physical and industrial training of young prisoners and emphasised the need for supervision on release, was in line with Ruggles Brise's own belief that every young criminal was a potentially fine and upstanding citizen whose criminal tendencies were due either to "physical degeneracy, or to bad social environment" (Fox, 1952, p.331). It was therefore the duty of the State to try and 'cure' him. The experiment at Bedford was considered a success, extended to the village of Borstal in Kent, and the first specialised form of custodial treatment for the 16-21 year old was introduced in Part 1 of the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908. The term 'Borstal' was preferred to the term 'juvenile - adult reformatory' coined by Ruggles Brise, and inmates were to be 'reformed' by a period of training<sup>1</sup> of between one and three years in the establishment, followed by a one year period of supervision after release. The indeterminacy of the custodial part of sentence was stressed, and the youth was released only when it was considered that he had benefited enough from his incarceration to 'lead a good and useful life.'

The fundamental principles of the early borstal system were

outlined as:

(1) strict classification, (2) firm and exact discipline; (3) hard work; (4) organised supervision on discharge.

(Police Commissioners Report, 1900-1901, p.13; quoted in Hood, 1965, p.15).

However, admission to a borstal was neither automatic nor an easy task. The young criminal could only qualify for a period of borstal training, if as Gladstone stated, the court felt that:

by reason of his criminal habits and tendencies, or associations with persons of bad character, it is expedient that he should be subject to detention for such term and under such instructions and discipline as appears most conducive to his reformation and the repression of crime.

(H.C. Debates, May 1908; quoted in Hood, 1965, p.20)

This in effect placed constraints on those offenders who could be sentenced to Borstal Detention, although the system trundled along slowly until the arrival upon the scene of the new commissioner in charge of borstals, Sir Alexander Paterson, in 1922.

Paterson introduced a paternalistic approach to the borstal system. Borstal boys were basically fine young lads who would no doubt benefit from an environment consisting of all that was good, honourable and just in society. To these ends, Paterson introduced the House System based on the public school model, whereby a youth could enter into a team spirit, take on responsibility and foster a close and meaningful relationship with his housemaster. All in all there was an air of optimism and claimed success for Paterson's borstals in the inter-war period. Liaisons between after-care officers and borstal staff were

good and reconviction rates were low. Indeed, the system was considered so successful that it allowed room for further innovation, and in the 1930's, open borstals were introduced at North Sea Camp, Hollesley Bay Colony and Usk.

However, problems were also becoming evident. Despite Paterson's famous dictum that 'it is men, not buildings, that will change the hearts and ways of misguided lads', the men could not prevent the rising crime rate and consequent overcrowding in the borstal system. The overcrowding became a major problem after the Second World War and this led to a decline in enthusiasm about the rehabilitative ability of the system, (Hood, 1965, Chapter 3). In theory, the length of training depended on the youth's progress, but in practice, the overcrowding and consequent pressure for places within the system led to an erosion of the original aim of placing a youth in a centre most suitable for his individual needs, and shorter programmes than perhaps had at first been envisaged were generally involved.

Other problems were also becoming evident. These problems were, primarily, a conflict between the Judiciary and the Prison Commissioners which included the length of sentence considered necessary for reform; problems inherent in trying to define 'criminal habits and tendencies', and the number of absconds from open settings, (Hood, 1965, chapter 2).

The Borstal ideology was in decline, and, as pointed out by Mark Monger, despite all its merits, the borstal system was never quite able to distance itself completely from the prison system:

If it is not to be doubted that many liberalising influences have passed from borstals into the prisons network, it would be over-sanguine to think that the reverse process has been

altogether absent.

(Monger, 1967, p.157).

The Criminal Justice Act, 1948 attempted to resolve the situation, but after a brief discussion of its recommendations, it will be seen that the situation did not improve much as a result.

The legal basis for the borstal system, as laid down in the 1908 C.J.A. was revised by Section 20 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. This retained the basic principles and framework of 1908 but introduced changes deriving mainly from the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Young Offenders, 1927. The 1948 Act aimed to take the final steps in the lengthy process of removing young people under 21 from the realms of the prison system. Its recommendations included; the setting up of separate remand centres for young adult offenders; limiting the powers of the magistrates courts to imprison young adult offenders; offered alternatives to custody in an attempt to avoid short sentences of imprisonment; and removing the limitations of criminal habits and associations from the qualifications necessary to enter borstals in order to make them less restrictive, (Fox 1952 p.338). Although the notion of 'borstal training' had been around since the inception of the system, it was only under the '48 Act that 'borstal detention' officially became 'borstal training', "giving prominence rather to the need for training than to the existence of formed criminal habits" (Prisons and Borstals: *England and Wales*, Home Office, 1960, p.55).

Emphasis was given to the indeterminate nature of the sentence, (now it was minimum 9 months, maximum 3 years), and the unity of the process, first in custody and then in 'controlled' freedom. The '48

Act also merged the various after-care associations into the Central After-Care Association in an attempt to "ensure that the supervision and after-care of .... different classes of offenders should be treated on common principles" (Home Office, 1963, App B para 21). However, the after-care of young adult offenders will be explored in detail in sections 3 and 4 of this chapter.

Following the '48 Act, borstals were intended to be the most important element in the custodial system for young adult offenders (now 16-21 years old). Although the Act also introduced Detention Centres, Hood points out that:

they were never meant as a real alternative [to borstals]: both types of institution were meant for different types of boys. There was certainly nothing to suggest that detention centres were to be part of a graduating course to borstal.

(Hood, 1965, p.74).

However, there were now three distinct forms of custodial sentence available for the young adult offender. The first custodial option was detention in a detention centre, the second option was borstal training, and the third was imprisonment. The first option was based primarily on deterrence, the second rehabilitation and the third was of a punitive nature. The nature of these options as pointed out by Emmins:

meant that the detention centre was considered appropriate for offenders who had been in little or no previous trouble and whose present offence was not too serious, whereas borstal was for the more hardened offender provided there was a good chance that he would be reformed by the training he would receive. Prison remained in reserve for the young offender who had



committed an offence grave enough to warrant it, and who seemed unlikely to benefit from the borstal regime.

(Emmins, 1982, para A.1).

Although the '48 Act had intended to elevate the status and extol the virtues of the borstal system at the expense of the prison system, the widening of the categories of offenders who could now be sentenced to borstal training further helped to weaken the borstal ideology. Overcrowding remained a problem and absconds and reconviction rates continued to rise. This, in conjunction with the results of some research carried out by Sir George Benson which pointed to the fact that sentences of imprisonment, borstal and detention produced similar results in terms of reconviction, meant that it was easier to justify sending youths to detention centres for short periods of time where the costs would be substantially lowered, (in Hood 1965 pp.86/87).

Borstal boys were now to undergo tighter and more disciplined regimes, open borstals were to be phased out and designated escape proof borstals were to be introduced. According to The Times newspaper however, this would "shatter the fundamental concepts of the present system", (17th/18th September, 1951).

In the context of these problems and particularly the increasing level of reconviction<sup>2</sup>, the Government passed the Criminal Justice Act, 1961. The '61 Act, which came into force in August 1963 aimed to make borstal the only option available for those serving sentences of between 6 months and 3 years. Basically, the courts' powers to sentence young offenders to imprisonment were further restricted and borstal training was intended to be the main custodial sentence for 17-20 year olds. In addition to this,

Detention Centres were intended to completely replace short term imprisonment. However problems arose with the system as the borstal sentence was the only one available for terms of between 6 months and 3 years (below 6 months it was Detention Centre; above 3 years, imprisonment) yet the courts were only empowered to pass a maximum of 2 years borstal training. The problem was then, what happened to those whom the courts wished to sentence to between two and three years borstal training - which they now no power to impose.

In addition this meant that the borstal sentence was not now to be based on the judicial assessment of the training and rehabilitative needs of an individual offender, but it was an undifferentiated sentence for a fixed age group based, in practice, primarily on the grounds of offences committed and previous criminal record. As Hood points out:

the prison and borstal systems had been fused together. The new system was not a result of the abolition of imprisonment, but a natural result of the growing similarity of the regimes of the closed borstal institutions and the young prisoner's prisons. The fundamental distinction between the respective roles of imprisonment and borstal was destroyed. Above all, the post-war years have seen a remarkable fall in the prestige and public favour with which the reformatory principles of the borstal were formerly held. (Hood, 1965, pp.76/77).

In addition to confusing the reformatory role of the borstal with the punitive role of the prison, the '61 Act also lowered the minimum age at which a youth became eligible for borstal training from 16 to 15. However, in the White Paper, *People in Prison* (Home Office 1969), the Home Office reaffirmed its belief that discipline and security

should not undermine the rehabilitative ideal of the borstal, (bearing in mind here the flurry of activity<sup>3</sup> in the area of control and security following several notorious prison escapes including those of Ronnie Biggs from Wandsworth in 1965, and George Blake from Wormwood Scrubs in 1966). In the 1969 White Paper, the Home Office did however admit that 70% of those released from borstal were reconvicted within three years of release and stated that "The Government's view is that there should be a fundamental review of the system" (para 159).

The result was the Report of the Advisory Council on the Penal System - Young Adult Offenders (Home Office 1974 - The Younger Report)

(ii) 1974-1982 Proposals for change: from the Younger Report to Youth Custody.

Proposals for a radical shakeup in the borstal system came with the Report of The Advisory Council on The Penal System under the Chairmanship of Sir Kenneth Younger, Young Adult Offenders in 1974. This was a comprehensive and detailed review of the sentencing and treatment of young adult offenders. It had as its terms of reference:

to review the arrangements for the treatment of young offenders aged 17 and over, with particular reference to custodial methods of treatment (including after-care arrangements), and the powers of the courts; and to make recommendations.

(Home Office, 1974, para 1).

The after-care arrangements proposed will not be addressed in this section, being concerned here mainly with the changing legislative structure and general penal philosophy leading to the abolition of the borstal system and introduction of Youth Custody in the Criminal Justice Act, 1982.

As mentioned in the previous section, problems facing the borstal system and which the Younger Committee attempted to counter, included a siphoning off of many 'good bet' offenders who would have previously been sent to borstal, overcrowding and consequent shortening of the time actually spent in borstal, and problems of providing adequate treatment and training inside which were relevant when the youth was released. There was, in addition, a concern that executive bodies were subjecting some offenders to unnecessarily long periods of custody to ensure that they benefited fully from their 'training', and courts were in some cases reluctant to send young offenders to a borstal when a regime there had nothing specific to offer them. The Younger Committee was careful to take into account the debate between the courts and the Prison Administrators on the roles and functions of the borstal system. Regarding custodial sentences, the Younger Committee proposed a new generic sentence to be called the 'Custody and Control Order' (para 27) which would be available when a court decided that a custodial sentence was unavoidable. The Custody and Control Order was to become the only custodial order available to the courts and the distinction between young prisoners' centres, borstals and detention centres was to disappear. In addition:

The length of the custody and control order would be fixed by the court in each case in the light of the seriousness of the offence, the offender's record and circumstances and the public interest generally. The order would provide for a period spent in custody followed by supervision in the community of a probation officer: these periods would be regarded as a single continuum, the timing of the offender's transfer from custody to supervision being a matter of executive decision ...

(Home Office, 1974, para 30).

The Committee felt that it was fundamental to their concept that those responsible for the offenders treatment should decide on the time of transfer (para 33). Under a new licence body - the Licence Advisory Committee, release was to be under control of licence subject to the offenders' individual needs, the likelihood of further offences and the effect of public confidence (para 35). The Younger Committee emphasised that:

under our proposals, the sentence of the court would not be a sentence of custody for a fixed period, but a sentence laying down the maximum period during which the offender would be subject either to custody or to control in the community. For the authorities to transfer an offender from custody to control in the community at some time within that period would be an implementation of and not a departure from the court's decision.

(Home Office, 1974, para 35).

The sentence would have a minimum length of three months and a maximum which would be no longer than the maximum term of imprisonment which could have been imposed had the offender been over 21. This was in line with the borstal ethos that insisted a lengthy period of custody was necessary if any proper 'training' was to take place. The regime however was to be broader under the new system and primarily of an educational nature in as wide a sense as possible. A further proposal of the Committee was:

It would be easier to translate into practice the concept of custody forming a continuous process with control in the community if offenders were normally held in custody near to

where they are later to be released to supervision in the community.

(Home Office, 1974, para 49).

This would ensure, according to the Committee, that community based probation officers would have greater opportunity to liaise with the staff of the establishment and get to know the offender prior to release. It would also ease the difficulties faced by families who wished to visit the establishment. This idea of "neighbourhood establishments" (para 55) was experimented with in the 1970's with the 'Neighbourhood Borstal' and related schemes, and will be examined in greater detail in section (iv) of this chapter. Before looking at the proposals of the Younger Committee in the broad area of penal policy and its influence on subsequent Labour and Conservative papers in this area, it may be useful to stress again that Younger viewed the whole sentence as a continuum and emphasised the role of the Probation Service:

We prefer not to call the period of control "after-care" so as to avoid the implication that the probation officers' role is simply one of resettlement. On the contrary, control in the community is an integral part of the implementation of the order of the court and lasts as long as the order is in force.

(Home Office, 1974, para 185).

The recall facility for breach of the control order was to be more flexible than that currently operating in the borstal system.

However, although the committee believed the decision concerning release should be with those bodies having contact with the offender, they did not deal successfully with the problems caused by an indeterminate sentence, particularly from the Judiciary's standpoint

and for this reason may have been politically sensitive.

Advantages of adopting the Younger approach included the fact that useful information could be gathered during the sentence about the inmate and as the Executive were not bound by the tariff system they could release an offender before he could adapt to prison life and therefore counter some of the effects of the impact of imprisonment wearing off during sentence. However, the negative effects of Executive discretion may have been that it led to feelings of a 're-sentencing' procedure in that in practice the information, such as the persons character and ties with family, taken into account by the court when sentencing, would be taken into account again by those deciding upon release. There was further, no evidence to suggest that the probability of reconviction was related to the length of time spent in custody. From the prisoner's point of view, he was left in suspense about his release date with no formal means of appeal and was powerless against Executive decisions. It can finally be mentioned here that Hood (1974) points out that the major problem of the Committee's recommendations was their determination not to commit themselves to a distinctive penal policy (p. 388).

Thus, the Younger Committee proposed a radical new system for young adult offenders, based on flexibility and continuity. However the response, four years later by the Labour Government in the Green Paper, *Youth Custody and Supervision : A New Sentence* (Home Office 1978), did not accept the Younger Report in anything like its original form.

In its considerations of the Younger Committee's proposals, the Labour Government welcomed the idea of a single generic sentence for

young adult offenders, to replace the existing tripartite system. However, there was extreme concern over the degree of executive discretion in the arrangements proposed for release. The Green Paper felt that this would cause much unrest amongst members of the Judiciary who felt that the courts should play the major part in deciding how long an offender should remain in custody:

The general response seemed to be that there should be clearly defined limits to the executive discretion so as to ensure that a fixed minimum period of any sentence should be served in custody and that there would be readily understandable rules for release, as with remission and release in relation to adult offenders.

(Home Office, 1978, para 22).

However, even Government consideration of the practicability of a new generic sentence with a smaller amount of executive discretion, was not possible because "the general financial situation would make major changes of the kind proposed impossible in the foreseeable future" (Home Office, 1978, para 23). The financial costs imposed by adopting a neighbourhood establishment approach were also prohibitively expensive, ie a new building programme would be necessary as would the introduction of a new administrative structure to assess the progress of each inmate on the more sophisticated level proposed by the Younger Committee. Really then, many of the proposals put forward by Younger were rejected because they would be costly in building and manpower terms.

The Green Paper, as mentioned earlier was in favour of a generic sentence:



The Government believes that an erosion of the distinction between three sentences should be recognised and accepted, and that the surviving distinctions should be revised to provide a single sentence. This would relinquish the existing nominal distinction between offenders on the basis of the regime to which the particular form of sentence directed them, and would substitute the more realistic distinction based on the length of sentence considered appropriate by the court, taking into account all the circumstances of a particular case including, for instance, the seriousness of the offence and the need to deter others.

(Home Office, 1978, para 28).

The new sentence was to be called Youth Custody (para 37) and the Green Paper suggested a minimum term of either five days or four weeks to ensure that the courts' powers to pass sentence were not restricted in certain cases where a shorter period of imprisonment might otherwise have been imposed (paras 40/41). However, there was emphasis on the fact that courts must consider a non custodial option before imposing a sentence of youth custody upon an offender (para 44). The object of custodial treatment was to be educational in the broadest sense and it was hoped that many young offenders would serve their sentences in establishments reserved for those under 21 and whenever possible, near their home environments.

The regimes in the youth custody centres were to be based on the approach outlined by the Younger Committee, aiming specifically at preparing the offender for his return to the community. It was to provide a continuum between the custodial and supervision phases of sentence (Home Office, 1978, paras 58-61). Emphasis was to be put

upon a shared working approach between probation and prison staff in the light of the recent experimentation in this area of work with adults (para 62), and the offender was to be encouraged to keep in contact with his family during sentence. Home leave was actively encouraged (Para 63). Looking at the arrangements for release, the Green Paper recommended that all youth custody sentences be subject to a fixed period of remission of one third of sentence (as for adults), (para 69), and all offenders, except those sentenced to less than 3 months would be subject to supervision by the Probation Service, aimed at helping the offender avoid further offending and provide him with practical support and assistance in finding accommodation and employment (paras 84/85). To promote success in these areas, it was envisaged that links between the offender and his probation officer would be fostered before release, as would links between the probation officer and prison officers. Work during the supervision period was to be focused and the period was not to be much greater than that spent in custody (para 88). The period of supervision would vary with the length of sentence imposed and there was to be the power of recall for breach of conditions (paras 89-102).

Really then, the Labour Government's proposals were not as extensive as those of the Younger Committee. Reasons for this seemed to include the need to avoid political repercussions, an awareness of swings in public opinion, and perhaps inevitably the need to appease judicial criticism, and also keep within the financial budget and available resources.

However, with a General Election and change of Government in 1979 a year after the Green Paper, we were to see a change of direction in

the approach towards legislating for young adult offenders. The Conservative Governments White Paper, Young Offenders (Home Office 1980), moved away from treatment concerns and executive discretion, and proposed the retention of the Detention Centre. The main proposals contained in the White Paper for young adult offenders aged 17 and under 21 were summarised as:

(a) repeal of section 3 of the Criminal Justice Act 1961, which restricts the powers of the courts to imprison young adult offenders;

(b) replacement of sentences of borstal training and imprisonment by a single determinate sentence, provisionally described as "youth custody";

(c) a guarantee that offenders sentenced to a medium length term of youth custody, fixed initially at over 4 and up to 18 months, will serve their sentences in designated training establishments;

(d) retention of the detention centre with shorter minimum and maximum periods of detention at a separate institution, suitable for most male offenders sentenced to short terms of custody;

(e) supervision of all young adult offenders on release from youth custody or detention centre, for a period of not less than three nor more than twelve months.

(Home Office, 1980, para 1).

The White Paper stressed the importance of the determinate nature of the sentence, and also foresaw a sentence which enabled the "court to have a clear appreciation of the actual consequences of passing a particular sentence" (para 11). The regime of the youth custody centre was to be modelled on the best of the borstal system and would

be designed to help the youth cope on release. Further change included the fact that under the youth custody system, time spent on remand would count towards the sentence which, as for adults would attract one third remission. The Conservative White Paper was thus against giving the administrative authorities control over the type of establishment in which the offender would serve his sentence and in addition did not intend to provide for a wide administrative power to grant flexible release (para 26). In agreement with the Labour Green paper, the Conservative White Paper was in favour of the decision to recall for breach of supervision being a judicial, not an administrative one. This was not to apply to those who breached their parole requirements who could legitimately be recalled to the establishment without recourse to the courts.

The Conservative Government generally stressed the need for a firmer and more disciplined approach in their White Paper, particularly emphasised in the retention of the short, sharp, shock method of treatment in the detention centre. The Conservative Government was aware of the concern expressed in response to Labour's Green paper that the Government should be more concerned with developing alternatives to custody than with changing the pattern of custodial sentencing. However, the White paper dealt mainly with custodial provisions, feeling that this was the area in which legislative change was most needed (Home Office, 1980, paras 2, 3, 8).

The Criminal Justice Act, 1982 closely followed the recommendations of the White Paper, and as such can be considered to reflect the tougher stance towards crime, and law and order generally, espoused by the Conservative Government.

(iii) The Criminal Justice Act, 1982

Part 1 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1982 which came into effect on 24th May 1983, made substantial changes to the sentencing powers of the courts in relation to young adult offenders. It gave the courts stronger and more flexible powers to deal with young offenders, including both custodial and non custodial measures.

The existing custodial sentences of imprisonment for offenders under 21 years of age and borstal training were abolished, (Sections 1(1) and 1(3)). Essentially, s.6 provided for where an offender aged between 15 and under 21 was convicted of an imprisonable offence and the court considered that a sentence of more than four months was necessary, then the sentence must be one of youth custody. Custodial sentences however, were only to be passed on young offenders if for specified reasons there was no appropriate alternative. As mentioned the two new sentences which could be imposed were the detention centre order, or a period of youth custody. Those provisions applying to youth custody will be explained here.

Restrictions were placed on the imposition of a custodial sentence to cases where it was unavoidable and the court was satisfied that no other method of dealing with the offender was appropriate for one of the following three reasons:

- (a) because he is unable or unwilling to respond to non custodial penalties; or
- (b) because a custodial sentence is necessary for the protection of the public; or
- (c) because the offence was so serious that a non custodial sentence cannot be justified

(CJA 1982, Section 1(4)).

Further, if a custodial sentence was to be imposed;

- 1) The reason had to be stated in open court,
- 2) A social enquiry report had to be obtained, and
- 3) The offender was entitled to be legally represented.

As noted earlier, youth custody was to be the normal sentence if a period of over four months incarceration was considered. Magistrates courts could not impose a sentence of more than 12 months - this had to be referred to the Crown Court. In addition, the person concerned must not be younger than 15 years old nor older than 20 when convicted of the offence. As with imprisonment, there was to be one third remission for good behaviour and time spent on remand was to count towards sentence. Young adult offenders serving sentences of between 4 and 18 months were guaranteed a place in a youth custody training centre. Other offenders serving youth custody sentences were also to be sent to such centres, but only to the extent that the availability of places and other considerations made this possible.

The youth custody centre was to be a training establishment, based broadly on the borstal system:

They will aim to lay emphasis on individual assessment and personal development in work, training, education and positive preparation for release to life in the community, and to offer a range of activities including employment, employment training, a group personal officer scheme (in which trainees come under the oversight of and are advised by particular officers) and a physical education programme. So as far as possible the aim will be to prepare a programme suitable for the individual

offender which takes account of the length of his sentence, bearing in mind that youth custody sentences, unlike sentences of borstal training will be determinate.

(HOC 42/1983 Criminal Justice Act 1982:

Implementation of Part I (Young Offenders).

The general distinction between the detention centre order and youth custody was reflected in the fact that a full training regime could only be provided for offenders serving substantial sentences. A less elaborate, but nevertheless positive and disciplined regime was considered more appropriate for offenders serving shorter sentences. The logic behind providing for separate Detention Centre and Youth Custody sentences was to give the courts some indication of the consequences of the custodial sentence they imposed. As pointed out by the Home Office, May 1983:

It is not intended that the courts should determine sentence length in order to place an offender in a specific regime. In particular, although young offenders serving youth custody sentences will so far as possible be subject to a training regime, the length of sentence imposed on a young offender should not be determined on the basis of training needs which might be met in custody. In other words the length of sentence necessary should be determined first. The nature of the sentence to be imposed then follows from the provisions of the Act. (4)

Turning finally then to the provisions in the Act for the supervision after release of young offenders.

Section 15 of the Act required a person under 22 who was released

from a youth custody centre to be under supervision for a minimum of three months or one third of sentence if that is longer, and a maximum of 12 months. The supervision ended on the offender's 22nd birthday if it had not ended before and was to be carried out by either the Probation Service or by Social Services. For those offenders on parole, the period of supervision would commence when the parole licence expired, and end on the date when his sentence would otherwise have ended (that is, if he had not been granted remission or released on licence).

In order to ensure effective supervision arrangements, and emphasise that supervision was an integral part of the sentence, courts were to inform the offender at time of sentencing that he must complete a period of supervision and comply with the requirements of this supervision. Failure to comply with the requirements constituted an offence punishable by a fine of not more than #200 or an appropriate custodial sentence. Conviction for breach of supervision did not affect the continuation of the supervision period which would expire as normal, even if the offender was in custody.

These provisions contained in the 1982 Criminal Justice Act provide part of the broader framework within which the current research was carried out. Having outlined the broad history and legislative developments for young adults, we can now retrace our steps somewhat to consider the changing role of after-care provision in the borstal system, which provided the basis for the formulation of throughcare in the new youth custody system introduced in 1983.

#### (iv) Borstal after-care to 1966

This section will trace the origins and developing nature of the borstal after-care system to the reorganisation of after care in 1966



following the Report of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders (Home Office, 1963).

Inherent in the borstal system since its inauguration by Ruggles Brise at the turn of the century, and included on a statutory footing in the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, was the provision of an after-care service to those released from the institution. The Gladstone Committee (Home Office 1895) felt that after-care should be an integral part of the sentence and in discussion of the 1908 Act, Gladstone remarked that "the most essential part of the Borstal System was what was known as the after-care system" (H.C. Debates Nov 1908, quoted in Hood 1965 p.164).

Between 1901 and 1904, after-care was carried out by the London Prison Visitors Association, a Voluntary body which in 1904 changed its name to the Borstal Association (B.A.). This "soon developed into a real organisation for helping and keeping in touch with the discharged Borstalites" (Hood, 1965 p.163). Nevertheless, despite the fact that after-care was from the beginning of the borstal system to its abolition in 1982, seen to be "vital to the whole borstal system and the chances of success of the individual" (Home Office, 1960, p. 61), no statutory recognition of support in terms of funding was given until the amalgamation of the various voluntary aid bodies in the Central After-Care Association (C.A.C.A.) and the extension of the role of the Probation Service, under the Criminal Justice Act, 1948.

Until this time, the Borstal Association, in line with the various Discharged Prisoner's Aid Societies, was a philanthropic organisation, enlisting help from the Church of England Temperance Society, the Society of Friends and anyone else who was willing to offer

assistance. As with the adult system however, there was an emphasis on helping the deserving, a certain 'hedging of bets', and desire to maintain credibility with their contacts, especially the courts, by trying to ensure as high a 'success rate' as possible. Those who had previously been recalled for breach of supervision licence were considered to have squandered their chance, and as pointed out by Hood (1965), "this meant that the Association was refusing to help those who probably were in most need of help". (p.180).

A new dimension to the after-care task was provided by Paterson in the 1920's and 30's, during which period the housemaster/trainee relationship was intended to enhance the role of the outside after-care agent by involving him more closely in the training process. The success of this and other elements of the after-care process will be discussed later in this section. The nature of this relationship was to be emphasised by viewing the borstal sentence as the sum of two parts. As Paterson outlined in the Prison Commissioners little grey book *The Principles of the Borstal System* (1932):

The Borstal Association represents one half of the Borstal System. Its method of after-care starts to discover the lad and plan his future from the date of his conviction, following him through the institution, finding him employment and guiding him for some years after his discharge.

(Paterson, 1932, p.18).

and

Borstal training falls into two parts. In the first part a lad is trained in custody at an institution: in the second part he enjoys the comparative freedom of licence on supervision, and is under the training of the Borstal Association. (Paterson, 1932, p.31).

Within this statement of principles lies the fundamental approach to after-care which involves following the youth through his sentence and enhancing co-operation between all the relevant parties. The administrative aspects of carrying out after-care have in essence, remained unchanged from borstal to youth custody but this connection will be elaborated upon in chapter 3. Within the borstal system, the probation officer or borstal associate would interview the youth on reception to the establishment and inform him of the aims and practice of after-care. There was at this point of sentence an undertaking by the officer to visit every month and sort out any problems or anticipated problems on release, "on which he wanted advice or immediate help" (Hood 1965 p.183). A pre release plan was also discussed, aimed at improving the chances of his successful resettlement in the community. As mentioned earlier, and pointed out by Hood, during the custodial phase of sentence there was also to be, as an integral part of the after-care process, the:

development of close relationships between the staff in the institutions and those planning after-care.

(Hood, 1965, p. 183).

In addition to a relationship being built up between the three principle players, ie the inmate, the housemaster and the after-care agent, there was also the question of the youth's home circumstances to consider. As Fox points out:

For plans to be made there must be full knowledge of the local conditions to which the inmate will return - the home and family, the prospects of work and the social 'milieiu'. To obtain this knowledge the Borstal Division<sup>(5)</sup> works through its

local associates who today [1952] are the members of the Probation Service assigned to this reorganised part of their statutory duties.

(Fox, 1952, p.394).

It can be noticed from this statement that probation officers were becoming more actively involved in the after-care process with a growing recognition that, with their professional status, they were perhaps in the best position to give both practical aid AND an effective 'casework' service.

We can identify four essential components at this point in the provision of an effective after-care service for young adults. There was emphasis on early intervention; an increasing reliance on professional casework rather than on purely practical aid; a good working relationship between establishment staff, probation officers and the inmate; and an awareness by the probation officer of the complexity of the situation facing the youth on release. As pointed out by Hood, following the '48 CJA:

More intensive after-care on the lines of the work with borstal boys has commended itself, the main elements of which are the planning from the beginning of the sentence, the home visiting and contact kept during the sentence, and the lengthy period of supervision which includes not only help in finding a home and a job but also more personal casework.

(Hood, 1965, p.188/189).

These elements were necessary because, as pointed out by the Home Office:

the young person who must again face the outside world meets tremendous difficulties, material and emotional and the

importance of intelligent after-care cannot be overstressed. (Home Office, 1960, p. 61).

To enhance the process further there was the facility of Home Leave. The principle underpinning Home Leave was a belief that the reliance of the young borstal boy on his housemaster increased further the difficulty of making the sharp transition from custody to freedom, particularly if there had been, through some fundamental breakdown in the ideal of the system, a failure on the part of the home probation officer to initiate or maintain contact during custody. Home Leave however, had to be earned, but once this had been achieved, it entitled the youth to be released for four (later raised to five) days back to his community before his official release date. The period of Home Leave, of necessity because of its brevity could only really be used for short term practical issues - primarily for the youth and his probation officer to check on employment and accommodation, and where necessary "for attention to home relationships or other matters with a bearing on the lad's home coming" (Lowson 1970, p.91). Home Leave had as its ultimate aim, a linking of the two phases of sentence to form a continuum of training.

Overall, Home Leave could be used for a wide range of purposes, for example "to visit sick or dying relatives" (Fox 1952, p.370). Much success was claimed for the scheme in several Governors reports published in 1948, and reported in Fox, of the kind mentioned below:

Generally I am convinced that Home Leave is extremely valuable and in many cases has been the making of some of our lads. Strained relationships with parents have been satisfied, especially so in cases where they have the lads back for a few

days just to see what they are like. Numerous parents have written saying what a difference they notice in the lads.

(Fox, 1952, p.371).

Home Leave was also seen as being useful in opening the lads eyes to the reality of the outside situation and in dispelling any false fantasies they might have had. Success was also claimed by virtue of the number of lads who returned to the establishment on completion of the Home Leave period, one Governor saying:

Of all the additional forms of training that have fully come into being during the 12 months [after initiation] I consider Home Leave one of the most important. 142 inmates have been recommended and sent home, and of these, all with the exception of one returned to the institution to time, having so far as one may judge used their leave to the best advantage.

(Fox, 1952, p.371).

Turning to contact with the establishment and looking at aspects of this in more detail now we can identify some of the problems associated with it. Elements of the training process can be considered as relying upon one another. There was a twofold purpose for the probation officer during any visits to the borstal, as pointed out by Le Mesurier (1935):

The experience of going all over a borstal institution and getting practical insight into the devoted work done there, apart from visiting any individual cases is one earnestly recommended to probation officers, who will find much that is valuable and enlightening to them.

(quoted in Monger 1967, p.159).

There was to be, in addition to Home Leave and continuity, an overall assessment of the youth's situation within the borstal. However, although encouragement was given to the probation officer to visit, it seems that in practice it was not, according to Hood:

a constant feature of the preparation for release, and that even correspondence was probably very limited and usually only carried out with the most difficult cases.

(Hood, 1965, p.182).

This failure of the probation officer to visit or write, and thereby fulfil a basic requirement of adequate provision of after-care has also been noted by Mark Monger (1967), who adds that the supervision period suffered in its content as a result. Referring to the post Second World War years, Monger notes that:

the attitude and approach of the after-care agent could only be formed appositely through taking the trouble, where geographically possible, to ascertain the nature of the experience in borstal through which the lad has passed, and what this experience has meant to him. On this basis, and on this basis alone, after-care in the past and up to the present time [1967], could be purposeful and hopeful; short of this, it could and can only be a matter of hit-and-miss.

(Monger, 1967, pp.158/159).

Monger continues:

it is hardly to be doubted that in the past, much borstal after-care has been of a hit-and-miss kind, in the sense that the agent began with much less knowledge of his client than might have been expected bearing in mind that impressions and information had been accumulating at least for two years.

(Monger, 1967, p.159).

Lack of correspondence and geographical difficulties therefore appeared to weaken the practical application of the after-care philosophy even though the original intentions of the borstal system had included an allocation of the youth to an institution close to his home to combat these very weaknesses.

The decision in the 1963 ACTO Report on after-care, to retain the borstal after care system as it was and not introduce qualified social workers into borstals will be discussed in the following section, when emphasis will be put upon developments in the neighbourhood borstal and related schemes.

In addition to fears that probation officers were not making regular visits, were fears, expressed in The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Prisoners (1935) that "almost all probation officers are overworked and the Borstal lad comes off 'second best' in comparison with probationers, nor have they time to visit the institution as often as desirable" (para 51). The priorities involved in dealing with after-care cases have long been recognised. The Report of the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction (1936), expressed concern that during supervision, probation officers would not have the time to provide the type of after-care programme most suitable for the youth and would as a matter of course put after care low on their list of priorities (p.88). Perhaps it is as well to bear this in mind when we come to examine the Home Office's Statement of National Objectives and Priorities for the Probation Service in England and Wales (Home Office, 1984a), in chapter 5.



However, with problems such as those mentioned above, surrounding the borstal system, along with the general decline in the borstal ideology, as outlined by Hood (1965), it would seem that the process of training and after-care was not all it should have been. As Monger points out:

In the post-war years it has not been realistic, if indeed it ever was, for an after-care agent to make the assumption that a lad had passed through a period of treatment and training which was based on any recognisable philosophy, apart from one of the most rudimentary kind, nor that his needs had been scientifically and systematically met during training.

(Monger, 1967, p. 158).

If this was the case, and the treatment and training were negligible then the task facing the probation officer was even more difficult, particularly if he himself, as mentioned earlier, had not managed to visit the establishment. The breakdown may also have had something to do with the fact that the borstal staff's primary task was an administrative one of running an institution and their training did not really encompass the after-care ideal. With the formation of the Central After-Care Association in 1948, which offered an immediately recognisable body responsible for after-care and resettlement there may have been even less incentive for the borstal officer to become involved in the welfare aspect of sentence. Couple this with the rising crime rate, overcrowding and growing dissatisfaction with the system and we can see where the breakdown in the training process arose. Nevertheless, attempts were made to standardise the training of borstal staff directly responsible for the welfare of the trainees. Courses were run at The Prison Service

College, although the perennial problem remained of the housemaster being seen as part of the prison system, and therefore possessing more custodial than caring qualities. As Monger (1967) points out, the difficulties in the liaising aspect of after-care, between probation officers and borstal staff, lay not primarily in structure or role, but in differences in training and the consequent approaches adopted (p.160).

It may be useful to now take a closer look at the nature of the supervision phase of sentence. The licence was conditional and lasted one year. To ensure that the youth understood what was required of him during supervision, the conditions were presented to him by the Governor of the borstal before release. Conditions were that the youth must go to the place stated by C.A.C.A. on his release, not to change his address without informing his supervisor and generally do what he was told. He had to perform the work given him to a satisfactory standard and above all he was not to break the law or mix with undesirables. The sanction of recall was available if the lad did not behave himself or satisfy his supervisor that he was abiding by the rules. However, as pointed out by Fox (1952), breach proceedings were "not invoked without most earnest consideration" (p.396).

The licence period had traditionally had this strong supervisory element in addition to the physical and emotional aid given throughout the period. It had always been regarded as an integral part of sentence for this reason, but was not always appreciated by the young offenders. As Lord Moynihan pointed out in 1955:

They [borstal boys] do not seem to realise that they have not

finished their sentences and that they should prove their worth before being accepted as normal citizens again.

(H.L. Debates 4th May 1955, quoted in Hood 1965, p.193).

Lowson (1970) also noted the lad's resentment towards the supervision period. He found that youths generally viewed their probation officer in a favourable light, but were resentful about having to complete a long period of supervision after custody. It was the system of after-care that they appeared to be in opposition to (p.124).

It seemed that as a recognition emerged of the need for qualified social workers to take over the after-care role completely, part of this favourable attitude to probation officers care about. In fact, as pointed out by Hood, probation officers:

(Hood, 1965, p.174).

gained their prestige with the boys, not through social superiority or humanitarianism but through specific skills which could be valuable to the boy in solving not only his problems of finding employment but his personal difficulties as well. However, it was not until the thirties that the probation officers finally established themselves as the chief after-care officers. (Hood, 1965, p.174).

It can be seen then, that borstal after-care always had the potential capacity to be carried out on a more intensive basis than that provided for adults. Essential components consisted of a joint approach between the housemaster who provided care in the establishment and the probation officer or after care agent, who was primarily concerned with care on release. The two liaised to the ends of providing an overall effective service to the offender. Where

possible, the trainee was to be interviewed by the housemaster on reception to assess needs and problems, and the probation officer was to visit or correspond in an attempt to build up a relationship for the supervision period. The family and other relevant community agencies were to be included in the general process, in an attempt by the housemaster and probation officer to gain as complete a knowledge as possible of all current aspects of the trainees' experiences and what these meant to him. Home Leave was seen as being instrumental in lessening the traumatic effect of the breaking of links with the housemaster and sorting things out for release. It also gave the youth and the probation officer the chance to meet on a relatively neutral basis and discuss a realistic release plan. However, as pointed out earlier, it has been recognised (eg. Monger 1967) that the entire after-care process was not in practice as intensive as this suggests, and was often of a hit-and-miss nature. Priorities and geographical distances also precluded such an intensive approach.

The growing importance of the casework model with offenders, as outlined in chapter 1 was also of relevance therefore to work with young adult offenders. Casework was to be carried out in the borstal by housemasters, and outside by probation officers. This meant that after-care involved much more than just aid-on-discharge, it involved help with emotional problems as well. The youth, in return, was expected to respond favourably to the training offered him in the borstal and abide by the conditions of his licence on release. He was to work hard and make the most of the opportunity, otherwise it was back inside, a rather drastic measure but one which added the extra measure of control to the licence.

The publication of the Report of the Advisory Council of the Treatment of Offenders (Home Office, 1963) which was to radically reorganise the provision of after care to offenders, is interesting in its observations and recommendations about the borstal system, especially regarding the provision of casework inside the establishment.

The ACTO Report recognised that the success of the borstal training rested on the shoulders of the housemaster. It continued:

he must know each boy and his home background; he must be aware of the outside influences that may have had some bearing on the boy's delinquency or affected his attitude to society, and with which the boy may have to contend when he goes out. The housemaster is thus well placed to fulfil, as a natural extension of his present training functions, the after-care functions performed in prison by a specialist social worker. We believe it to be possible and desirable to entrust the main social casework functions in boys' borstals to the housemasters, provided their recruitment and training are revised with these extended duties in mind. Then specialist social workers would not be needed in borstals. Indeed, their appointment might discourage the housemaster from accepting the responsibility for after-care planning which we believe to be within his capacity.

(Home Office, 1963, para 92).

ACTO emphasised the fact that the training of housemasters in casework techniques would need to be more intense and should be built up sufficiently to enable him to be responsible for the institutional side of after-care. It did point out however that the degree to which this could be carried out in the short term was uncertain, and for

this reason:

specialist social workers may be necessary, at any rate as a temporary measure, and perhaps permanently, in institutions dealing with the more difficult types of case.

(Home Office, 1963, para 93).

In this respect therefore, the ACTO Report drew an important distinction between the provision of casework within borstals and prisons. The major thrust in borstals was toward developing the role of the housemaster, whereas in prisons it was the introduction of trained social workers (later overturned in favour of probation officers). However, the same basic principles of after care in the community following release, as outlined in chapter 1, were to apply to borstal trainees as to adult prisoners.

It is appropriate to look now at the developments in borstal after-care following the reorganisation in 1966 which culminated in the Criminal Justice Act 1982, and the official recognition of throughcare for young adult offenders in the Youth Custody system in the relevant Home Office circulars in 1983.

(v) 1966-1983: Developments in borstal after-care

Borstal after-care experienced a period a relative calm, in comparison with the hectic experimentation and debate surrounding the adult system, following the ACTO Report (1963) and reorganisation of after-care in 1966. ACTO (1963), as mentioned in the previous section, did not suggest any major changes inside the borstal. The ACTO report felt that housemasters, given social casework training should retain the after-care function within the institution although:

We do not, however rule out the possible need in some borstals

to appoint, exceptionally, specialist social workers. Where such appointments were made, they would have the added advantage that the presence of a skilled social worker would contribute to the social work education of the borstal staff.

(Home Office, 1963, para 93).

The probation Service assumed responsibility for the welfare work in Detention Centres, Remand Centres and Borstal Allocation Centres in 1969, and in Young Prison Centres the following year. As quoted by Jepson and Elliot, on the decision of the study Group on Social Work in the Penal System (1973):

The suggestion that probation officers should be introduced into training borstals, on a selective and experimental basis, was discussed at a series of regional meetings between governors and principal probation officers in 1972 and subsequently at the joint National Conference at Moreton-in-Marsh in May of that year ... The employing authorities have now agreed in principle to three full-time and two part-time posts, at a senior level ... Portland, Wellingborough and Hollesley Bay (full-time) and part time to Wetherby and Gaynes Hall.

(Jepson & Elliot, 1986a, p.145).

However, the experiment appears to have faded somewhat into obscurity with very few references to it to be found in all the subsequent debates and numerous working parties on the shared working issue in adult prisons and the respective roles of the seconded probation officer and the prison officer. For example, Jarrett (1977) when discussing borstal 'throughcare' at Hollesley Bay, one of the borstals included in the S.P.O.B. experiment, does not make mention of the role of the seconded officer, concentrating on the effectiveness

of liaison schemes in terms of increased contacts and reduced costs, between the community and the institution.

Although a response by the British Association of Social Workers (B.A.S.W.) to the Government's discussion document *Social work in the custodial part of the penal system* (1974), was entitled *The Future of probation officers in borstals and prisons* (B.A.S.W. News 21.8.75), the vast bulk of this response was concerned with adult prisons and the debate concerned therein. Indeed the only specific mention of borstals is in connection with the various neighbourhood borstals schemes, not with the S.P.O.B. experiment.

The dearth of information on this experiment was however overshadowed by experiments in after-care workshops and the neighbourhood borstal and related community schemes in the 1970's. It may be useful to offer a brief resume here of the nature of these workshops and schemes.

Rutherford and Rogerson reported the setting up of an after care workshop at Everthorpe Borstal near Hull. They felt that the high recidivism rates of lads released from borstals had indicated that "borstal and its after-care arrangements have become increasingly out of touch with the social situation and expectations of trainees" (Rutherford and Rogerson, 1971, p. 68).

In response to this concern they set up the workshops in an attempt to "bring about organisational changes which would make the institution relevant to the situation facing the young men on release" (Rutherford, 1986, p.132). The overall aim of the workshops was "to bring about changes in after-care practice and in the way that after-care is defined by both probation officers and offenders" (Rutherford,



1973, p.3).

The workshop extended over a period of three years and sessions in the institution focused on offending behaviour, types of crime, etc. Members of local agencies such as the police, magistrates and probation officers were invited to take part. The after-care workshop put lads from a particular town together (usually Manchester or Liverpool) and generally involved six to ten probation officers, 20 trainees and several borstal staff. A 'spill over' from this was a single probation officer visiting the institution and seeing up to 8 lads from the same home area every few weeks and continuing this after release. This allowed for a greater amount of flexibility during supervision than a traditional one-to-one model.

Rutherford (1986) points to several major issues arising from the Everthorpe experiment. He notes that the institution was much more resistant to change than the Probation Service. Probation Officers were adaptable, whereas borstal officers were limited by custodial constraints. There was also the point raised by Rutherford, that the experience of custody postponed the critical work which had to be done:

From the borstal setting it was not possible to reach out sufficiently to persons and groups outside the criminal justice system. Spill-over from the institution into the localities of the young people clearly has much less potential for bringing about change than efforts firmly rooted in the community. (Rutherford, 1986, p.136).

A interesting observation has been made by Martin Davies (1974) on the Everthorpe workshop. Davies appreciates the need for such explorations, although he does point out that such partial community

involvement is different from the situation to which the youth will return on release. Davies feels it is essential to:

recognise any elements of inconsistency and incompatibility between the custodial part of the sentence and the community based period of after-care. Such comings - together which are facilitated in the Everthorpe Workshops may reduce areas of misunderstanding or they may harden entrenched attitudes. What they cannot do, any more than can parole, is to minimise the complexity of the personal and environmental problems presented by the borstal residents on their return home; nor to overcome the dilemma posed by the fact that borstal sentences are essentially last resorts in the punitive scale for adolescent offenders, and that the success of trainees after release (if 'success' is what we are looking for) must depend on the primary effectiveness of the training programme rather than on the impact of after-care supervision which is likely, in normal circumstances to be little different from that previously provided for the same offenders on probation.

(Davies, 1974, p.76/77).

However, although Davies is undoubtedly correct in his assertion that attitudes may be further entrenched or misunderstandings may be reduced, perhaps the linking of the two phases of sentence - custody and supervision can alleviate the complexity of some of the offender's problems and the supervision period therefore made more obviously relevant to the offender. It seems that it is the linking of the custodial and supervision parts of sentence in this way which ensures that they are viewed, as was originally intended, as a continuum.

Several other workshops developed along the lines of the Everthorpe model during this period. For Example, Loughran reports the developing nature of one in Liverpool which had as its focus, simply:

to establish closer relationships between the trainees and after-care officers by participation in shared activities.

(Loughran, 1973, p.74).

The trainees were paroled for five days to return to Liverpool from Everthorpe for the workshop. Initial responses were that, "trainees and probation officers seemed to benefit by a clearer understanding of each other, leading to a positive relationship being formed" (p.76).

It is of interest to note here that a further scheme in the large housing conurbation of Kirby near Liverpool, reported by Alan Wiffin in 1972 had as its title *Group Work: An Experiment in Borstal Through Care*. Wiffin reported that his own sense of commitment to the youths was raised during the after-care workshop, and this rubbed off on the lads. He also reported a much greater ability to "form strong relationships on an individual basis through intensive contact during the six months pre-release period." The group had met on many occasions prior to release, was relatively small and all the lads were released on the same day. These factors, as well as general maturation were considered by Wiffin to have contributed to what he considered was success over a twelve month period.

Along with the workshops operating at this time, was the period of experimentation with the 'Neighbourhood Borstal'. The idea that where possible trainees should be placed in an institution close to their home was a major part of the borstal philosophy from its inauguration, was reiterated in the Younger Report (1974) para 49, and endorsed in the Labour Green Paper (1979) and Conservative White Paper (1980)

described in sections (i) and (ii) of this chapter.

In May 1973, it was decided to experiment with two borstals - Hindley and Hewell Grange over a two year period initially. As stated by Loughran:

The aims and objectives were to develop a closer relationship between the Prison and Probation Services; to enable the borstal to learn more about the trainees' social environment; to enable the borstal to engage in activities with families, ex-offenders, mixed groups, etc., and to develop closer links with employers, institutions and social agencies. In return the borstal will be able to offer service to the community.

(Loughran, 1976, p.54).

Looking at the Hindley experience of the neighbourhood approach, the catchment area included lads residing only in Merseyside and Greater Manchester. The trainees were placed in groups according to where they lived and were allocated a group officer who was to liaise with the probation office for that neighbourhood. The Probation Services' responsibilities were to appoint specialist officers to work with an average caseload of 30 (pre release and post release). As Loughran points out:

The neighbourhood project involves close co-operation by staff of both services at all levels and an integral part of the project is the development of partnerships between probation and borstal officers. Together they are responsible for the assessment of trainees, the planning of training programmes and their implementation. New facilities and approaches to the treatment of young adults are being developed both in the institution and from the community. (Loughran, 1976, p.55).

Results indicated that close links had been established between the community and the institution, and the institution did become more aware of the trainees' social environment. This was enhanced through home visits by the group officers and communication with the community groups. Similarly, the Probation Service was learning to work more closely with the Prison Service. However, as might be expected, progress was slow in the area of the Prison Service developing fixed links with community agencies and their ability to offer a service to the community was hampered by "lack of finance, prison rules and failure in the past to approve imaginatively planned projects" (Loughran, 1976, p.56).

The Neighbourhood Borstal experiment and the various workshops were an attempt at the shared working approach which was being vigorously debated in relation to adult establishments at the time. There was one significant difference however. The principle sharing was between the probation service in the community and the borstal staff, without the intermediary or link of the probation officer within the establishment. As pointed out by Loughran:

Any cooperation between the Probation Service and the Prison Service is almost bound to be concerned with through care/after-care.

(Loughran, 1976, p.56).

In line with Morrison's observations (1974) on the adult system, Loughran points to the fact that the Neighbourhood Scheme suffered in that it was difficult for two Services with different organisational structures, to combine in joint ventures, establish lines of communication and determine and implement common policy and practice.

However:

The Hindley borstal experiment has offered the Prison Service the opportunity to establish identity by participating more fully in the care and rehabilitation of offenders. The Prison Service must clarify what it stands for and undertake a commitment to the joint task of throughcare in all penal establishments if it believes it has a part to play in developments outside penal institutions.

(Loughran, 1976, p.57).

Although the experimentation in the Neighbourhood Borstal and related schemes was no doubt innovative and encouraging, there was nowhere near as much discussion revolving around it as there was for the shared working and casework approach being put forward for adult prisoners. Emphasis in the borstal system was put upon the role of the community based probation officer, whereas the adult system was pre-occupied with the role and functions of the seconded officer following the 1966 take over by the Probation Service. The ACTO Report (1963), as mentioned above, left the institutional provisions of after-care for young adults much as it had always been although it did appreciate the need for extending the social work training of the housemasters charged with providing the care. The terminology of throughcare was coming into ever increasing use, particularly in relation to the welfare and after care of adult prisoners, but as noted in this section, the term was also being applied to the borstal situation, emphasising as it did the ideal continuity of the custodial and supervision phases of sentence.

Within the relatively stagnant area of borstal after-care however, came the new legislation of 1982 which was to abolish the borstal system, introduce the new sentence of 'Youth Custody' and shift

emphasis from the after-care task to throughcare (H.O.C. 58/1983; CI 24/1983).

Chapter 3 will examine the first official recognition of throughcare for both young adult offenders following the 1982 legislation in 1983, and for adult offenders three years later in 1986, and outline the national guidelines for the provision of throughcare. Prior to this however in the chapter, a general discussion will take place of the emerging concept and terminology of throughcare, shifting emphasis as it did to a broader definition of the service provided to offenders pre and post custody than was inherent in the welfare and after-care approach.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Although the term 'Borstal Training' only replaced 'Borstal Detention' statutorily after the Criminal Justice Act, 1948.
2. In 1960, 64 per cent of youths released from borstals were reconvicted once, and 39 per cent twice or more after two years from discharge - in Hood 1965 p. 212.
3. Of vital importance to the future direction of the Prison Service were: Home Office 1966 (Mountbatten Report)  
Home Office 1968 (Radzinowicz Report).
4. Criminal Justice Act 1982: Summary of Young Offender Powers.  
Home Office, May 1983.
5. Developed after amalgamation of the borstal after-care agencies into C.A.C.A. in the 1948 CJA.



### CHAPTER 3

#### THE EMERGING CONCEPT AND OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THROUGH-CARE.

By tracing the origins and developing nature of the after-care task for both adult and young adult offenders in England and Wales in the previous two chapters, we arrived at the point of official recognition of throughcare, (1983 for young adults, and 1986 for adult offenders). We can now backtrack somewhat and examine more closely the developing nature of the throughcare concept. Section (i) of this chapter will offer an analysis of the major issues involved in the "throughcare ideal", tracing its development from a recognition that after-care must begin on the day of sentence; through the evaluation of the intensive casework and shared working approaches to the welfare of inmates. Its contribution to the humane containment and preparation of prisoners for release will also be examined, illustrating that the throughcare ideal emerged in the broadest possible terms and was therefore seen for many years, and perhaps even now, as a rather ill defined and rhetorical concept.

Section (ii) will offer a description of the national guidelines for the youth custody and prison systems, paying particular attention to the guidelines for youth custody whilst emphasising important differences between the two. The description of national guidelines as laid out in the relevant circulars for young offenders (HOC 58/1983; CI 24/1983) will then offer a basis for examining the organisation and provision of youth custody throughcare both nationally and on an individual Service level - the issues with which this thesis is primarily concerned.

(i) The emerging concept of throughcare

The idea that after-care should begin as early in the sentence as possible was long recognised in the borstal system, and indeed the prison system for adult offenders also, as pointed out in the previous chapters. Early intervention and visits or other communication by the community based probation officer was seen to be an essential part of providing an effective service to the young adult offender on his release. The relationship between the housemaster who was charged with providing care for the youth inside the borstal, and the community based officer responsible for after-care was seen to be a vital one. The family and general community position was further viewed as contributing to the success or failure of the 'training' and supervision period. As pointed out in Chapter 2, the custodial and supervision phases of sentence were viewed as a continuum, and herein lay the basis of the throughcare concept for young adult offenders.

The term 'throughcare' came to be used particularly in connection with adult offenders and especially during the period of experimentation and development in prison welfare and after-care following the Report of the Advisory Council in the Treatment of Offender, (Home Office, 1963), (ACTO). The foundations for the extended after-care task proposed in the ACTO Report, (1963) had been laid 10 years previously in The Report of the Committee on Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies (Home Office, 1953), (The Maxwell Report). This report recognised that "Efforts to encourage and assist a prisoner form suitable plans for his future life should usually start in the early days of his sentence" (Home Office, 1953, Para 76). There was also a need to collate all relevant information on the lad

while he was inside, which must relate to his wider social circumstances and problems. The shift from aid-on-discharge to personal after-care, and recommendation for a social work approach explained in the Maxwell Report led to a greater awareness of the problems facing the youth.

Similarly, Pauline Morris in 1960 stated that:

the process of readjustment must begin when a man first goes into prison, and cannot be, as so often at present, totally divorced from all aspects of prison training.

(Morris, 1960, p3).

Morris continues:

only if proper diagnosis is made at the time of conviction, followed by positive planning for the future and constructive activity on discharge, can there be any real hope for successful rehabilitation. Nor must the man be treated without reference to his family and other social groupings outside the prison.

(Morris, 1960, p20).

The discussion involved in Morris's article on after-care stressed that "after-care must be interpreted as the final phase in a process of social rehabilitation begun inside the prison at the time of conviction" (p31). The importance of these aspects of the after-care task were reiterated in the ACTO Report (1963), the main emphasis of which was described in chapter 1.

Briefly, in addition to the ideas proposed by Morris (1960), the ACTO Report (1963) pointed out that after-care was a form of social casework, which called for teamwork within the institution, and a concerted effort from the community. After care, to be fully effective had to be integrated with the work of the institution in

which the offender served his sentence, and had to be viewed as a continuing process throughout and following custody. There was to be co-operation between the institution staff and the Probation Officer in the community, with the social worker inside liaising between the two.

Perhaps the clarity of definition of after care can be emphasised a little further, being vital to the emergence of and growing use of the term throughcare to describe this provision of continuing social casework to the prisoner. Mark Monger (1964) notes that most people subject to after care have certain things in common, viz, they have all been subject to the custodial experience, they face resettlement problems of one kind or another, and they place the supervising officer in a state of uncertainty regarding his previous and current problems. Given these common factors, Monger outlined two forms of after-care to deal with them. The first is 'prepared after-care' by which:

is meant work which is carried out with an ex-offender on the basis of a relationship already formed and in operation.

(Monger 1964, p99).

The second form of after-care is 'immediate after-care' by which:

is meant work carried out with an ex-offender with whom it has not been possible to form any real relationship before he emerges from the institution.

(Monger, 1964, p99).

It is the former type of after-care which concerns us here. Without this contact during sentence, Monger feels that the situation between the client and probation officer (in the community) will not

have had time to develop. The offender will be released into the community, perhaps with no family support, many personal problems, lack of self confidence and desire to avenge himself on society. Further, the probation officer will be in the dark with regard to these problems. If however:

there has been a thoughtful and efficient amount of preparation for the time when the offender would become subject to after-care, this gloomy picture may well be transformed. The original pre-sentence situation may be understood by the after-care agent and he will also have been able to make some attempt to assess the effect upon the offender of the period within the institution. Contact will also have been made with the offender's family or efforts made to find some substitute family if he is isolated. This work will also have had its effect upon the offender. He will feel less cut off from the world, less that time is rushing on and only he is standing still and forgotten; he will have had help in coming to terms with his sentence; above all, he will have in the after-care agent a person who will understand how he feels about himself when he is released and who will act as a bridge, sometimes as an interpreter, or even as a refuge, during the first critical months and thereafter as well.

(Monger, 1964 p101/102).

Monger (1967) confirms this approach saying that "The idea of after-care beginning on the day of sentence is often interpreted literally, in the sense that it is held to be the duty of the probation officer to visit the offender in the cells immediately after sentence has been imposed (Monger, 1967, p 103). Monger (1967)

further says that an accepted part of after care was correspondence and visits during custody, work with the family, joint work with institution staff and use of pre release leave (pp 101-120).

There was then an emphasis on these developments in after-care as has been pointed out by John Pendleton who notes:

It had been said often enough that after-care should start at the moment when the offender is sentenced, or even earlier. At long last [remember this is 1973] this notion has been put into practice. Many departments have already developed a system of "through-care". While the "outside" probation officer handles the family, the workers on the "inside" (the prison welfare officer) sees the husband who is in detention, with both workers collaborating. Such effective co-operation also helps to counter the distinct and destructive phantasies that so frequently arise in the situation. Moreover, suspicions exist not only between husband and wife, but also between the two workers, and it is essential to counter these.

(Pendleton, 1973, p15/16)

Raban points to the change in emphasis following the ACTO Report (1963):

Meanwhile the Probation Service in the field has also undergone change. The idea of after-care (post release) has been extended to one of through-care (post sentence), building on some of the principles contained in the ACTO Report.

(Raban 1987, p.84).

Hollingsworth (1979) also noted that "it became the slogan that after-care began on the day of sentence" (p249) and then went on to describe the procedure for turning this into a practical reality -

post sentence interview, and the respective roles of the 'inside' and 'outside' workers.

Regarding the use of the term 'throughcare', it appeared in the title of an unpublished report from the Midlands Experiment, discussed in Chapter 1, entitled The Place of Social Work In Prisons - The nature of <sup>and</sup> the content of voluntary through-care (1970). Although this following quote was used in the previous chapter, I think it needs re emphasising here, to illustrate the change in approach in terminology anyway which was occurring at the time:

No apology is made for the use of this word 'through-care' which is known already to have a minority of adherents within the Service. The phrase 'after-care' has so many limitations implicit in its connotation - suggesting as it can do that only at a given point in time certain responsibilities fall due. Through-care suggests continuity of concern, an ideal which is the essence of this project.

(quoted in Jepson and Elliot, 1986a, p142 -  
Italics added).

The term throughcare was also used in the title of an article by Wood and Bunningham in 1970 - After-care or Through-care? and in the body of the Discussion document Social Work in the Custodial Part of the Penal System (1974) where it was stated that:

... The original emphasis in his [SPWO/PWO role in after-care has now shifted to through-care.

(quoted in Jepson and Elliot, 1986a, p 147).

The term was also used in the title of an unpublished study of a borstal after care workshop by Alan Wiffin in 1972 Group work - An experiment in borstal Through-Care.

We can see therefore that the principles outlined for after-care in the ACTO Report (1963) were being interpreted and used in terms of this new concept called 'throughcare'. In 1974, in an article entitled A.C.T.O. Eleven Years On. Morrison noted a basic requirement of the throughcare approach:

... the two services [prison and probation] have a joint task - of integrating institutional care and community-based care, i.e. "through-care" ...

(Morrison, 1974, (p.12).)

Indeed, John Pendleton in 1973 went as far as to say that:

It is being increasingly realised that "through-care" is more effective than "after-care". (Pendleton, 1973, p18)

and in an editorial note to Pendleton's article it was stated that:

The new English System of through-care and parole supervision is one of the most promising chapters in modern criminology.

(editorial note, IJOTCC 1973, p24).

It may be useful now to examine further the implications of Pendleton's assertion above that throughcare was more effective than after-care. This would seem to imply that the two concepts are different, that the procedures and ideals are not the same. Is there an implication that after care would have been more successful if it had been throughcare? It should be remembered that the underlying principles outlined thus far regarding throughcare were formulated first in the borstal system and then stated by Pauline Morris (1960) and the ACTO Report (1963) in relation to after-care. The point could be made that throughcare includes after-care but that after-care does not include throughcare, and therefore without it is not as



successful. Perhaps, to elaborate upon this a little further, and illustrate some of the confusion involved it may be useful to dwell on the ideas put forward by Martin Davies (1974). Davies' analysis of through and after-care is I feel a central part of the discussion in this chapter, and therefore it is necessary to quote quite extensively.

Davies says that we must be careful with the throughcare ideal. He felt that throughcare, involving as it does institutional visits and practical and individual help for the wife or family on the outside:

represents a radical change of approach for the probation service, but it also illustrates an intrinsic danger in the after-care officer's position in the developing penal system, for it is important to ensure that through-care does not deflect the service from its still emerging responsibility for after-care. The two concepts are quite different. Through-care is essentially a way of involving the probation officer even more actively in the prison; after-care is a way of employing an agent to reduce the pains of transition. The notion of through-care is clearly an important breakthrough in the humanization of imprisonment if it can be developed in such a way that it is universally available, is not struggling for survival in a hostile system, and what may well be the same point - is acceptable to the main body of prison officers. If however, though-care were to be under-resourced and merely imposed upon an unwilling system, it could hardly hope to fulfil the aspirations expressed by those who advocate it.

(Davies, 1974, p177/178)

Davies goes on to say that:

The idea of through-care is a well intentioned attempt to reduce the impact of imprisonment, especially perhaps on the family of the offender, but it would be unfortunate if it deflected energies away from the still under-developed, under-resourced after-care service which, it can be argued, represents an important attempt to repair the damage inflicted without undermining the punitive nature of the original sentence - something which some might not wish to see brought about.

(Davies, 1974, p 178, Italics added).

Martin Davies addresses several issues in these statements. He quite rightly, given the current debate on the role of the seconded probation officer in prison (discussed later in this section), notes that a throughcare approach may be threatening to prison officers who want to carry out a welfare role. He also notes that the penal system was still coming to grips with the changes imposed by the ACTO Report and the reorganisation of after-care. The Probation Service was still responding to their increased duties when the concept and term throughcare began to emerge. If we argue however that throughcare includes after-care, and enhances it by virtue of encompassing it with extra preparation for release, rather than reducing after-care effort by offering a distinct alternative, then Davies argument is a little hard to follow.

This difficulty in interpretation has been pointed out by John Pendleton in a comment on Davies' stance on the purpose of after-care and throughcare:

as surely through-care is a method which supersedes after-care and which is as much concerned with what happens to an offender

after discharge as during imprisonment. In fact, one of the hypotheses behind the through-care approach is that by early intervention (at sentence or before), with concern and help being offered to both the offender and his family by maintaining their contact during sentence, his chances of an effective transition and resettlement are enhanced.

(Pendleton, 1975, p14).

Nevertheless, Pendleton does make the point that if Davies' view of the deleterious effects of imprisonment are correct, then:

through-care is probably only a more humane and sophisticated way of seeking to ameliorate the total separation and emptiness of custody by reducing the polarisation between outside and in.

(Pendleton, 1975, (p.14).

Staying with this debate for a moment, Keith Soothill (1976) makes the point that if throughcare aims to go further than simply ameliorating the deleterious effects of imprisonment (in an increasingly security conscious system it must also be remembered here), then it must "prepare the offenders more appropriately for release while in custody so that he can more effectively settle after release" (p8). Soothill feels that this is one of the fundamental aims of the throughcare approach. He further feels that:

It would be wise perhaps to begin to consider "through-care" as much a movement in allowing the prisoner the opportunity to involve himself more actively in his own rehabilitation as well as "an important movement in involving the probation officer even more actively in prison.

(Soothill, 1976, (p.9).

It would seem therefore that throughcare in theory and in practice had its origins in the growing awareness of a need to extend the traditional after-care task. New approaches to the welfare of the prisoner were being experimented with including the idea that after-care should start on the day of sentence and have as its basis a joint approach by all parties involved. By the mid 1970's, the term throughcare was being used to describe early intervention, joint working, planning for successful rehabilitation on release and assistance in family problems. There was also the idea that this ideal of throughcare should not only seek to ameliorate the deleterious effects of imprisonment, offer a more humane approach to the welfare of prisoners and the incarcerative experience, but should act as a link between custody and supervision, ensuring the two phases are viewed as a continuum with the ultimate aim of assisting the prisoner resettle in the community and refrain from reoffending. Further evidence for the need for after-care to be developed in the direction of throughcare came from the results of research eg Midlands Experiment.

As noted in chapter 1 the casework model was having its heyday during the '60's and early 70's, and part of the emphasis on this approach was reflected in the Midlands Experiment described in the first chapter. The idea of offering prisoners intensive casework before release was however, as noted earlier, not altogether successful or convincing in its ability to reduce the level of reoffending on release. In the Holborn (1975) study however, it was noted that those prisoners who had had contact with their home probation officer were more likely to opt for voluntary after-care on release (p122). Nevertheless, the indications were "that prison

welfare officers and outside probation officers were not linked in prisoners' minds but regarded as members of separate services" (Holborn, 1975 p122). There was then a basic failing in this aspect of the experiment. Further, Holborn noted that:

A major implication of this study for casework practice is that a prisoner's contact with the probation officer responsible for after-care is vital if the service is to be used effectively. Work done by prison welfare officers may be wasted if prisoners do not have the support of a probation officer when they test out their good resolutions .... It seems probable that after-care will remain vague and amorphous in many prisoner's minds, unless it is tied down to the probation officer who has made himself known and discussed his role in relation to the prisoner's particular problems.

(Holborn, 1975, p.126 *Italics added*).

Within the casework model then, it would seem that many of the elements contained in the throughcare ideal were not being practised. In the Shaw study (1974), again it is questionable whether the 'intensive casework' approach was sufficient to warrant it being described as throughcare in its ideal form. What this would appear to indicate then is the recognition that a more intense approach to prison welfare and after-care, based on the throughcare ideal, would be more successful than the simple casework approach to welfare. The throughcare concept was developing when the casework model was floundering. It may be conjectured that the Midlands Experiment would have been more effective if throughcare in its ideal form was being practised, and there had been close collaboration between those

involved in the prisoners well being. Throughcare it is proposed here offered a new sense of direction and potentially a way of solving the 'amorphous' state in which after-care now found itself.

Indeed, it is interesting to note that in 1971, a similar assertion was put forward by Brian Southwell in relation to the perceived and actual success of the probation officer's ability to visit the institution:

It is said that after-care should start the day the man is sentenced, and that regular contact is essential to develop a relationship which would continue after release. This works fairly well with the short-term prisoners in a local prison who can be visited fairly regularly, but the man who is serving a long sentence many miles away, has to make do with a letter every six weeks if he is lucky, and one hopes that the prison welfare officer will have some influence in persuading him to get in touch when he comes home. After-care in these cases is no great success: in fact, to cover our failure the term after-care is already being modified to through-care with the emphasis seemingly on care for the family.

(Southwell, 1971, p22, Italics added).

A similar assertion was put forward by Monger, Pendleton and Roberts (1980/81), who said that:

The sooner the Probation Service is retitled 'The Probation and Through-Care Service' the better.

(Monger, Pendleton and Roberts, 1980/81, preface).

Indeed it was in the 1982 Criminal Justice Act that the words 'and after-care' were dropped from the title of the probation and after-care service - the Act which gave the first official recognition of

throughcare.

It should be pointed out however, that in 1981, Walker and Beaumont made the following statement:

In most areas 'through-care' is talked about rather than really attempted. Probation officers use the term to describe an approach far from the original meaning. For most people, through-care means little more than making a link with a prisoner before release in order to have some foundation for work on discharge...'*Through-care*' is already a decayed concept and that may be just as well, for any attempt at systematic '*through-care*' is likely simply to divert resources from a more realistic provision of after-care services.

(Walker and Beaumont, 1981 p63, italics added)

This statement however falls into many of the confusions of definition between after-care and throughcare but it is interesting that an assertion can be made that a concept is decayed without that concept even having been properly formulated or stated.

The increasing use of the term throughcare and its conceptual development was further evident in the 1970's through the development of the shared working approach to the welfare of prisoners.

The emphasis on the shared-working approach initiated in CI 1/1977, stressing as it did the importance of communication and co-operation between the prison officer, seconded probation officer and field probation officer in the welfare of the prisoner added further impetus to the concept of throughcare. The term, and ideal of throughcare was now receiving much attention, but as David Haxby (1978) pointed out, the Probation Service had still not translated these ideals, as

embodied in the ACTO Report (Home Office, 1963) into reality. Haxby noted that:

Before through-care can become a reality for all offenders, many changes must take place. Through-care implies a concern for the individual through-out his sentence, and collaboration between institutional staff and the community service can only occur if institutional staff recognise the importance of individualising treatment within the institution.

(Haxby, 1978, p 263/264).

The developing nature of the SWIP schemes has been fully covered in Chapter 1 and so only the debate surrounding the throughcare issue will be addressed here, covering the respective roles of the Prison and Probation Services.

The period of experimentation with the SWIP schemes, initiated in CI 1/1977 and officially concluded in the joint CI 25/1986; HOC 64/1986 stressed the shared working approach to the welfare and after-care of prisoners. Building upon the principles of integration embodied in the ACTO Report (1963), the schemes aimed to involve the prison officers to a much greater degree in the welfare of prisoners. The role of the seconded probation officer received much attention in this process, and the term throughcare came to be used increasingly to describe the principles involved, aims and rules of the shared working approach. Throughcare came to be, consequently a major issue in NAPO's policy of withdrawal of seconded probation officers from prison passed in 1981 "after 15 years of vigorous debate" (NAPO, 1986a, para 1). And indeed, there was debate about the roles of those involved in providing a service to the offender. Perhaps it may be as well however to give NAPO's definition of throughcare as it was under the



throughcare ideal that much debate took place:

NAPO sees through-care as the particular contribution that the Probation Service makes to the humane containment of those sentenced to imprisonment and the means by which it is most likely to effectively achieve its statutory duty to provide an after-care service which aims to advise, assist and befriend prisoners in their efforts to resettle in the community.

The purpose of through-care is to minimise the damage suffered by those sentenced to imprisonment, to assist them in maintaining links with the outside world and their community and to work with them to achieve their least problematic integration into society. Properly resourced, prioritised and imaginatively organised through-care would allow the Probation Service to make its most significant contribution to a reduction in the incidence of re-offending.

NAPO believes that a comprehensive through-care system can best be achieved by the withdrawal of seconded prison probation officers so that all probation resources can be used flexibly to meet prisoner's needs.

(NAPO, 1986a, Paras 15 - 17).

It is interesting to note in this statement that the distinction between statutory after-care and throughcare (voluntary) was made and throughcare was the means to achieve the statutory duty to an effective level. The issues of humane containment, minimising damage caused by imprisonment, maintaining links with the outside community and effective re-settlement in the community particularly with a view to reducing reoffending were all addressed as contributing to the

throughcare task.

However, the issue of withdrawal from prisons has caused much heated argument. In opposition to NAPO, the Association of Chief Officers of probation (ACOP) are in favour of probation officers remaining in prison. The pros and cons of the situation have involved views that the seconded officer is an additional link in the communication chain that hinders rather than helps the provision of throughcare, (Stone, 1982). Crook (1982), felt that the shared working ideal had somehow lost its way and Morrison (1974) pointed out some of the difficulties of involving two services with different aims and philosophies in carrying out a 'joint task'. There have in addition to this been calls for greater involvement of the community based probation officer (Evans and Vincent 1983), although this issue has not been without its critics. For example the fact was that Corden et al (1979) found that only 40% of prisoners did in fact have contact with their home officer by either letter or visit, and Crook has said that:

it has been interesting to hear welfare liaison officers complaining about the standard of 'throughcare' offered to some prisoners.

(Crook, 1982, p17).

Lacey and Read (1985) have also echoed these murmurings of discontent, saying that seconded probation officers "so often and so angrily testify about the through-care shortcomings of their fieldwork colleagues" (P.65). Bearing this in mind, Crook (1982) points out that if NAPO want to implement a withdrawal policy, they "must first ensure that its membership raises the standard of throughcare it offers" (p17). Staying with the shared working debate for a moment

and the role of the seconded officer in the throughcare task, Stone (1982) feels that the reason for the breakdown in an effective service is due to the fact that the seconded officer is limited by both a lack of direct contact with outside networks and an inability to follow the prisoners through to those networks on release (p19). The issue of differing philosophies of the Probation and Prison Service has in addition been addressed by Morrison (1974), Jarrett (1977) and Stanton (1985). Jarrett (1977) and Stanton (1985) point out that myths still exist about the nature of the others task, as Stanton notes:

everybody knows what is wrong with the relationship between the Probation Service and the Prison Department, everybody knows that there is an essential difference of philosophy between one and the other, but nobody is going to be indelicate enough to articulate this publicly ... there is only a superficial understanding of each other's roles, a deep mistrust of each others' motives and downright contempt for each other's value systems.

(Stanton, 1985, p107).

However, before returning the discussion to the wider context of the concept of throughcare, it might be useful to re emphasise the role of throughcare in the shared working approach to the welfare of prisoners. As Lacey and Read point out:

It is a 'shared task', not of social work which prison officers are neither recruited, trained or qualified to undertake, but of through-care: that is, of being attentive to the needs, problems and capacities of prisoners in order to achieve the objectives outlined in the Control Review Committee.<sup>1</sup> It is important to

emphasise that this joint task is designed to ensure that various specialists within the prison work together to attend to the through-care needs of prisoners.

(Lacey and Read, 1985, p62).

Throughcare then was a concept changing with the various approaches adopted to deal with the welfare and after-care needs of prisoners. The developing role of the prison probation officer in providing a simple 'welfare' service and casework approach to the involvement in the shared working schemes is reflected particularly by the fact that their official name of 'prison welfare officer' was only changed to 'probation officer' in 1977.

The throughcare concept was taken to encompass many different aspects of the work carried out by the Probation and Prison Services, with no coherent or specific definition of what was actually involved or how effective it was. In this respect, Hollows and Woods stated that:

there is considerable evidence that the gap between the rhetoric of through-care and its reality is quite substantial. Again, some of the greatest needs highlighted are not those for in-depth casework, so much as for social work provision of a more varied and community based kind.

(Hollows and Wood, 1983, p91).

The situation was then of a fragmented reality of welfare work (inside) and after-care (outside) but only a rhetoric of throughcare. With this rather confused situation prevailing, ie, the nature and effectiveness of casework and doubts on the future of the shared working approach, came the first official recognition of throughcare as an integrated process with defined principles.

The first official recognition of throughcare came with the two Government Circulars for young offenders following the '82 C.J.A. - HOC 58/1983 to the Probation Service and CI 24/1983 to Prison Department establishments which laid out the legislative procedures, principles and procedures for throughcare. These were followed by CI 37/1984 Throughcare and Supervision of Life Sentence Prisoners and in 1986 throughcare for the bulk of the adult prison population was acknowledged in the joint CI 25/1986; HOC 64/1986.

The following section will outline the basic principles and procedures involved in throughcare as laid out in these circulars, emphasising in particular those arrangements for young adult offenders, but also examining those principles for adult offenders which appeared three years later. These reflect the culmination of many years of debate and uncertainty about the role and effectiveness of traditional after-care and its relationship to 'throughcare', and provide the framework within which the main empirical research was carried out.

(ii) The Official recognition of throughcare

As outlined in chapter 2 sections (ii) and (iii), Part 1 of the Criminal Justice Act 1982, which came into effect in May 1983 made substantial changes to the sentencing powers of the courts in relation to Young Adult Offenders. It abolished the borstal system and imprisonment for offenders under 21, but retained the Detention Centre and introduced a new sentence of Youth Custody for offenders aged between 15 and 20. The two circulars for young offenders<sup>2</sup> set out the objectives and procedures relating to throughcare following Part 1 of the Act. The legislative provision under section 15 of the Act

provided that all people sentenced to detention centre orders or youth custody who are released from custody before the age of 22 would be under the supervision of a probation officer or social worker of a local authority social services department. The conditions for release have been outlined in Chapter 2 Section (iii) but it should be pointed out that CI 18/1987<sup>3</sup> introduced half remission for those inmates serving a youth custody sentence of less than 12 months. This took effect from 13th August 1987. Those serving more than 12 months continued to be eligible for 1/3 remission. Alternatively, young adult offenders could also be released on parole if they were serving 18 months or more and had served at least a third of it, or 12 months, whichever expired the later.

The officially stated principles and objectives of throughcare for young adult offenders will be described now. This section will examine the guidelines with particular reference to Youth custody throughcare as it is essential to have a firm understanding of the official stance before any description and evaluation of the provision and organisation of throughcare nationally and in Humberside can take place. Emphasis will be put upon the role of the community based probation officer. Finally, this section will refer briefly to the throughcare provision for adult offenders drawing comparisons and pointing out the major difficulties.

### Principles/Objectives of throughcare for Young Adult Offenders

The underlying rationale of throughcare had four related aspects; described in HOC 58/1983 as:

First, that a custodial sentence did not occur in isolation but

had to be viewed in the context of what preceded and what would follow it.

Secondly, that even while a young offender was in custody links with the outside community would need to be maintained and developed, possibly by several agencies.

Thirdly, that a custodial sentence can lead to changes in the person's attitude or circumstances which required the joint action of the prison and other services.

Fourthly, that the person's progress while in custody should be the concern of both the institution and the service which was concerned with his position in the outside community (HOC 58/1983, para 4).

These four principles were then explained more fully, and it was emphasised throughout the circulars that they could be viewed as shared objectives towards which the prison and supervising services should be working once the young offender had come into custody.

(i) Experience before and after custody

Since most young offenders in custody would have had previous contact with the probation and/or social services, the young offender establishment should ensure it makes use of the knowledge of the trainee built up by the supervising services, and it was important "that there should be good cooperation between the services during a young offender's time in custody and that prison and field staff share responsibility for ensuring that he is properly prepared for release under supervision" (HOC 58/1983 para 5).

(ii) Home Links

All links with the community, including parents, wife and children were relevant, and any other community agencies which may have a

continuing interest in him should be encouraged to maintain contact. "These relationships may need attention to minimise further offending and to assist the young offender's resettlement. ... All those matters will remain primarily the concern of the supervising services while the young offender is in custody" (HOC 58/1983 para 6).

(iii) Consequences of custody

A custodial sentence may result in both positive and negative changes in a person's attitudes, aptitudes and circumstances. In order to enable him to capitalise upon the positive changes upon return to his normal environment, and to cope with the effects of any adverse changes, there needs to be cooperation between the young offender, the prison establishment and the supervising service during his time in custody. An essential part of the throughcare task would therefore seem to be maximising the positive influences and opportunities, and minimising the negative aspects and consequences of a custodial sentence.

(iv) Contribution of supervising services to the regime

Once a young offender has entered custody, the prison service has the responsibility of holding him and the primary responsibility for the regime to which he was subject. However, the person's progress while in custody is of joint concern to the prison and supervising services, which may be able to contribute to training programmes in a number of specific ways (eg discharge groups, temporary release schemes, social skills training). In addition, "the supervising service ought to provide and the establishment should take account of information relevant to the training needs of the particular



individual" (CI 24/1983, para 8). There was a clear onus, therefore, upon both services to work together towards a regime that best met the needs of each individual.

(b) Throughcare provision within establishments

The basic responsibility for the provision of throughcare in establishments for young offenders clearly lies with prison staff. The throughcare task to be carried out by prison staff includes liaison with the home supervising officers, completion and despatch of the new throughcare forms (TC1-8), and preparation for release.

The accompanying circular on regimes for youth custody centres (CI 40/1983)<sup>4</sup> emphasised the role of personal officer schemes. The personal officer is to be the point of reference for the trainee assigned to him, he is to help the inmate 'adjust' and cope with his sentence, he is to take part in evaluation of the trainees progress, and was responsible for contact with the home supervising officer. Basically, his role was to be similar to that of the old borstal housemaster.

In addition to the development of personal officer schemes, the other new staffing development of central importance to throughcare (for male young offenders, serving sentences of up to three years) was the introduction of seconded liaison probation officers, (usually of senior probation office grade)<sup>5</sup>. Their role is essentially:

- (i) to liaise between the establishment and the field services in order to facilitate and develop cooperation;
- (ii) to interpret the needs, problems and practices of the various services to each other;
- (iii) to assist and consult with prison service staff in carrying out their tasks in the throughcare field;

- (iv) to encourage the development of good throughcare practice;
- (v) to be available exceptionally as a direct social work service within the establishment when cases are referred of inmates who have particularly difficult problems;
- (vi) where necessary to participate in assessment of trainees for parole or release on life or section 53 licence (CI 58/1983 para 9).

However, the home probation officer is to retain responsibility for all professional social work with the offender or his family during the sentence. He is also to have the opportunity to contribute to the planning of the trainees regime and the assessment of his progress, and may be able to play a part in the training programme itself.

(c) The operation of throughcare by the Probation

Service at the social enquiry stage.

In almost all cases, Section 2 of the CJA '82 required that a Social Enquiry Report, (SER) would be requested by the court before passing a custodial sentence. If a custodial sentence seemed likely, it is necessary for the supervising officer to be provisionally identified at the stage of completing the SER in order to facilitate early contact between the probation service and the institution. The name of the supervising officer is to be made known to the Court Duty Officer and not be included in the SER or communicated to the court before sentence (HOC 58/83 para 17).

(d) Action by court duty probation officer (C.D.O.)

Where a custodial sentence is a possibility the C.D.O. is to ensure that the supervising officer or other contact is identified by the person who prepared the SER.

If a custodial sentence is passed, the CDO has a duty to interview him and explain the liability to and requirements of supervision after release, and should then complete a post sentence report form, (TCI). This should include any immediate information about the young offender which may affect his welfare, allocation, or content of training plan. It should then, with any other relevant documents be sent to the institution receiving the youth (HOC 53/1983 para 19).

(e) Cooperation between prison and supervising services during sentence

The new arrangements highlight the need for greater cooperation and rapid communication at all stages between Services. Probation Officers should contact the establishment as soon as possible after sentence with the aim of cooperating with it in formulating a training plan.

It is also desirable for there to be a named liaison officer in each probation area to be contacted about throughcare matters generally.

Establishments are to offer the probation officer the opportunity to be involved in the trainees' regime and assessment, and designated supervising officers may contribute to the initial training plan.

Where a significant proportion of trainees came from a particular area, liaison schemes may be developed involving organised individual and group projects, at regular intervals and possibly temporary release projects" (HOC 58/1983 para 25).

The establishment is expected to keep the supervising officer informed of significant developments during a trainee's time in custody. Form TC2 (exchange of information) is to be used for this purpose. Similarly, the Probation Service can also use this form to

inform the establishment of such matters as important home and family developments. "The exchange of information form was to be the normal means of communicating between establishments and the supervising services" (HOC 58/1983 para 26).

(f) Temporary release (TR)

Provision for the temporary release of young offenders continues to be available and is expanded under the new youth custody legislation. It can be used not only for compassionate reasons but also for specific purposes and projects which may contribute to the training and development of the individual trainee and help prepare him for release. A separate CI has been devoted to the subject of TR (CI 28/1983). Temporary release for training or resettlement proposals is available for:

(a) Community service work - "to reaccustom the trainee to life outside the establishment, to help him acquire a sense of responsibility and purpose and to give assistance to people on projects which can benefit from it" (CI 24/1983, para 32).

(b) Supervising service projects - normally in groups but sometimes individually, if numbers were insufficient or if there was a special need. Supervising officers were encouraged to put specific proposals to establishments, and to discuss ways in which they could be coordinated (both in content and training) with the institutional programme.

(c) Home leave - normally allowed, for those serving six months or more net, shortly before release, and to be organised in consultation with the supervising officer. It was intended "to enable a trainee to resume contact with his family, if he has

one, to find lodgings if he has none, to approach potential employees, to resolve difficulties associated with returning to the community, to attend interviews or gather information about education or training courses, and to meet the probation officer or social worker responsible for his supervision after his release".

(CI 58/1983, para 30).

It is open for the supervising probation office to initiate proposals for TR and the Temporary Release Proposal (FORM TC3) is designed for use by either the Governor or the supervising officer. However, when a probation officer makes a proposal, the final decision will of necessity rest with the establishment.

(g) Final preparation for release

Apart from the normal range of administration arrangements that need to be sorted out before a youth is released from custody (eg travel warrants, cash, nature of supervision etc), other arrangements have to be made in consultation between the two Services. Seven days before release, the supervising officer should be sent a completed discharge report (revised p. 17 of the F1150; TC6) or short stay discharge report (TC7). The discharge report is to give largely factual information about the programme the trainee has undergone and significant achievements or problems (HOC 58/1983, para 35). There is no requirement for the supervising officer to report back to the establishment on a former trainee's progress after release.

(h) Supervision on release from a Youth Custody Centre

Conditions for those young offenders released on parole licence are exercised in accordance with HOC 46/1968 - as for adults released on parole licence. "All other young offenders released following youth

custody sentences and detention centre orders will be subject to compulsory supervision under the terms of a Notice issued on behalf of the Secretary of State and, if a parole licence expires before ordinary young offender supervision would have done, completion of a parole licence will be followed by a period under young offender supervision. The nature of supervision will be a standard form (TC8) although the details of the reporting instructions will need to be added in each case. The supervising officer will need to notify these to the establishment in good time before release and where necessary the establishment will send form TC5 (reporting instructions) for completion" (HOC 58/1983, para 36).

The Probation Service has a statutory duty during supervision which includes the two main elements of (i) supervision and (ii) the provision of a social work service to the trainee.

There is no power under the '82 Act to modify, suspend or cancel any of the requirements of a young offender's supervision. However the nature of supervision does provide the supervising officer with discretion to determine the frequency of contact. However, "relaxation of the frequency of contact after a young offender has satisfactorily completed part of the statutory period of supervision would be a matter for professional decision after all factors including the needs of the offender, the interest of society and the responsibility of the supervising service have been considered" (HOC 58/1983, para 39).

Due to the reduced length of supervision from that operating in the borstal system, the pace of supervision was to be reconsidered "and an opportunity is presented for throughcare to take on a revitalised

meaning and to seek to make an impact on the client and his pattern of recidivism" (HOC 58/1983, para 39).

If an ex trainee fails to comply with a requirement of supervision it is up to the supervising officer, in consultation with his senior to decide whether to prosecute under section 15(II) of the CJA 1982. There is a recommendation that probation areas should consider their policies for breach as breach of supervision is to be considered a serious matter and attempts should be made avoid widely differing practices within areas.

Separate circulars were issued dealing with regimes in young offender establishments; CI 40/1983 being concerned with youth custody centres. This was a further aspect of the implementation of Part 1 of the 1982 CJA and among the regime objectives which appear to be particularly or potentially, of direct relevance to the establishments' throughcare responsibilities were, briefly, the following:

- ...(e) to promote and to assist the offender to make use of opportunities to acquire or develop personal resources, interests and skills which may help him on release to cope with the demands of contemporary society without reverting to crime;
- (f) within the constraints of (a) [viz, 'to restrict the offender's liberty for the period indicated by the sentence of the court'] to foster such links with the outside community as will benefit both the community and those in custody;
- (g) in cooperation with the service which will be responsible for supervision after release, to make arrangements for the offender's return to the community, assisting him where practicable to follow up any skills and interests.

It was expected that (e) should be a distinctive feature of youth custody regimes, which all establishments should place considerable emphasis on achieving, by offering help to trainees and encouraging them to make constructive use of their sentences.

Opportunities for contacts with the outside community, (f), were expected to vary with the trainees, the geographical location of the establishment, and staffing and other resources available to it.

All youth custody centres and detention centres were expected to carry out function (g), 'also known as throughcare' in respect of all trainees in their charge. Furthermore, 'preparation for release and cooperation with probation services and local authority social services departments were to be actively pursued from the outset of the sentence (CI 24/1983, para 6).

In the light of the general regime objectives, youth custody centres were thus expected to offer a distinctive training regime, with an emphasis on "individual assessment and personal development in work. training courses, education, physical education, social relationships and positive preparation for release to a law-abiding life in the community" (CI 40/1983 para 7). Furthermore, it seems to follow that Y.C.C.'s were expected to provide integrated training regimes that began to prepare an offender for release from the day on which he was received into custody, and that throughcare was an essential and inextricable part of that integrated regime.

Finally, it should be pointed out that in YCC's stress was laid on individual sentence plans, which should be formulated during the induction period:

The sentence plan should be based on an assessment of the



trainee's needs and aptitudes, and should take account of the facilities available in the establishment, any external resources likely to be available and the trainee's expected circumstances on release (eg family, housing and employment situation). In formulating the plan, account should also be taken of any views expressed by the supervising service and the trainee's family.

(CI 40/1983, para 14).

The acknowledgement by the Home Office of throughcare for life sentence prisoners came one year later in the joint HOC 55/1984; CI 37/1984 Throughcare and Supervision of Life Sentence Prisoners. The guidelines involved a comprehensive overview of the stages of a lifer's sentence and the throughcare arrangements necessary at the different stages. The detailed provisions will not be covered here, involving as they do the Home Office in the three way partnership of responsibility for lifers. Suffice it to say the guidelines for the throughcare of lifers, with an addendum of 24th April 1986 to include children and Young persons detained in secure child care establishments, were much more comprehensive than those which appeared in 1986 for the remainder of the adult prison population - ie joint HOC 64/1986; CI 25/1986.

This joint statement appeared three years after the recognition of the throughcare task with young offenders and followed the recommendation of the Report of The Working Group on the Review of the role of the Probation Service in Adult Establishments (1985). This report was primarily concerned with how the social work needs of prisoners could best be met, and to review the literature. The working Group had commissioned three pieces of work, two of which

appeared in Review of the Role of the Probation Service in adult establishments: An account of a Workshop Held at Heathlands Hotel Bournemouth 7-9 June 1983. These pieces of research were Social Work Needs of Prisoners: A Survey (Williams, Nooney & Ray 1983) and Social Work in Prison: A Literature Survey (Jepson, 1983). The third piece of research commissioned was Jepson and Elliotts exhaustive review of the SWIP schemes Shared Working between Prison and Probation Officers (1986a).

The Working Group (1985) defined throughcare as:

facilitating in every way as supportively and constructively as possible the progress of prisoners from the community, through the prison experience, to their return to the community.  
(Report of the Working Group on the Review of the role of the Probation Service in Adult Establishments, 1985, p.14)

The shared working approach is considered the most appropriate method of carrying this out and the prison officer/prisoner relationship is seen to be central to the task. The seconded probation officer is to use his social work skills to help the prisoner, social work skills being defined as:

the professionally developed ability to engage with a prisoner to help identify problems and review possible relations and work through the feelings involved in this process.

(Report of the Working Group ... 1985, p.16).

The Working Party concluded that:

the prisoner throughcare function is of central importance to the total regime and is critical in relation to the achievement of other Prison Service objectives. The priority accorded to

this function and the resources allocated to it should reflect this.

(Report of the Working Group ... 1985, Recommendation 26).

The joint circular (CI 25/1986; HOC 64/1986) which followed entitled 'Prisoner Throughcare - Shared Working' was a weak and insubstantial, (only three pages long), acknowledgement of throughcare. The Circular formally concluded the period of experimentation in shared working which had been started by CI 1/1977. Although it appeared three years after the acknowledgement of young offender throughcare, the adult CI/HOC "does not affect those young offender throughcare arrangements, which are however entirely consistent with it" (CI 25/1986; HOC 64/1986, Para 10).

The CI/HOC:

sets out Home Office policy in regard to the welfare social work needs of adult prisoners, acknowledged in the Prisons Board statement of the task of the Prison Service promulgated as Annex A of CI 55/1984 ... to promote, inter alia, "help and advice with personal problems". Paragraph (iv) records an obligation "to enable prisoners to retain links with the community and where possible assist them to prepare for their return to it". This CI/HOC should, therefore be seen as an explanation on how progress in this area of work is to be achieved and as guidance on recommended practice, rather than as a new and additional initiative. (CI 25/1986; HOC 64/1986 para 1).

In the process of achieving these responsibilities the Prisons Board had broadly endorsed the principles of prisoner throughcare and shared working recommended by the working party. In addition:

This CI/HOC affirms a Home Office commitment to the concept and practice of shared working and the development of the prisoner throughcare function in all prison establishments. 'Throughcare' implies a positive response by the Prison and Probation Services to the welfare and social work needs during and after imprisonment. The expression "prisoner throughcare" relates to the support given to prisoners while in prison. Prisoner throughcare is an integral part of the regime and influences the nature of that regime. The way in which an establishment performs this function is just as much a part of its management responsibilities as maintaining security and control and producing prisoners to court.

(CI 25/1986; HOC 64/1986, para 2).

Here then was a major aim of throughcare; it was to be integrated into the prison regime and was intended to help prepare the prisoner for his return to the community. However the circular confirmed:

the acknowledgement of a function does not imply the provision of a particular level of resources to the Service or to individual establishments; it will be for management at all levels of the Service to discharge its function(s) to the best of its ability within the provision made.

(CI 25/1986; HOC 64/1986, para 4).

Within existing resources then, a shared working approach to throughcare was seen as being the norm, and "the prison officer/prisoner relationship - based on day-to-day involvement with prisoners and developed alongside the custodial role - is central to prisoner throughcare" (para 5). However, all other staff with a

contribution to make (eg psychologists, chaplains) should be consulted as and when necessary. The most effective method of carrying out throughcare was seen to be that of implementing an integrated wing team approach (as identified by Jepson and Elliot, 1986a); with effective means of communication via written and recorded means. Again, although it was acknowledged that prison officers involved in the shared working approach to throughcare should have access to fully equipped offices, recognised by all as used solely for throughcare purposes, it was admitted that overcrowding may preclude this in certain prisons.

Finally, there was the recognition that throughcare should be properly monitored "to ensure that realistic objectives are set, standards are maintained and improved and practices are adapted to changing circumstances" (para 9).

We have now arrived at the position where throughcare has received official recognition throughout the Prison and Probation Services. Having traced the history of the after care task, and the emerging concept and recognition of throughcare. I will now outline the underlying basis of the current thesis, including its aims, objectives, hypotheses and methodology.

## FOOTNOTES

1. 'The Report of the Control Review Committee' (Home Office, 1984): "To enable prisoners to retain links with the community and to assist them in their preparation for return to it" (para 108 (vi)).
2. Hoc 58/1983 'Throughcare and supervision of young offenders on release from custody'. CI 24/1983 'Throughcare for Young Offenders'.
3. 'Half Remission: The Prison (Amendment) Rules 1987; The Youth Custody Centre (Amendment) Rules 1987; and the Detention Centre (Amendment) Rules 1987'.
4. CI 40/1980 'Regimes in Youth Custody Centres'
5. The nature and extent of the probation officers role in long term YCC's for males, and in YCC's for young women remained largely unchanged by the legislative changes introduced by Part 1 of the CJA 1982.

## PART II YOUTH CUSTODY THROUGH CARE IN PRACTICE 1983-1988

### CHAPTER 4

#### METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first restates and expands upon the research problem and outlines the aims, purpose and arguments of the thesis. Section (ii) offers a background to the research, giving an outline of Humberside Probation Service and Everthorpe Youth Custody Centre. Within this setting, section (iii) describes the data collection methods used during the course of the study and section (iv) draws attention to some methodological issues which need to be taken account of in the practical as well as theoretical implementation of research such as this.

##### (i) The research problem

The basis of the current problem has been outlined in the introduction and developed in the previous three chapters. I have argued in these chapters that official recognition of throughcare occurred well over a decade after the term 'throughcare' first came into common usage in the Probation Service, and only after it seemed that the other approaches to the well-being and after care of the prisoner had failed to produce any encouraging results. The principles and practical application of throughcare outlined in the various Home Office Circulars must be viewed in conjunction with the emergence of the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities which gave throughcare a relatively low priority, and also as has been argued and is a main theme of this thesis, were provided without an adequate conceptual framework or proper definition of throughcare.

The purpose of this thesis is twofold and can be summarised as follows; to describe, analyse and evaluate the provision of youth custody throughcare by the Probation Service on a national and local basis, and develop a conceptual framework within which the throughcare task must be viewed. The thesis is an analysis of the provision and organisation of throughcare to youth custody clients by the community based Probation Service within the existing framework and guidelines, which it is argued are inadequate, insubstantial and lead to a reactive rather than proactive service to the client.

My central arguments are that 1) The official guidelines and principles have not clarified an already confused understanding of throughcare; 2) Priorities and resources mean that throughcare has barely progressed beyond the more traditional notion of welfare; 3) Although probation officers and clients may differ in their basic belief in what throughcare is about, their practical experience of the scope of the service converge; and 4), A greater understanding of throughcare as a concept must be had before a consistent approach can be made, based on a broader perspective of 'success' than that offered solely by recourse to reconviction rates.

The aims and structure of the thesis are as follows:

- i) Trace the developing nature of after care in England and Wales and the emergence of the throughcare concept from this process.
- ii) Describe the organisation of youth custody throughcare within the Probation Service nationally following the Criminal Justice Act, 1982.
- iii) Describe and evaluate the provision of youth custody throughcare at a local level. This has three aspects:
  - a) An examination of work carried out.
  - b) An examination of the views of the community based probation



officer and his/her experience of throughcare.

c) An examination of the views of the client and his experience of throughcare.

iv) Offer a conceptual framework within which throughcare must be viewed and attempt a definition of throughcare based on the findings of the research.

v) Discuss the implications of these findings for the Probation Service in terms of policy and practice.

The first of these aims has been carried out in the previous three chapters, providing a basis for the remainder of this thesis.

Several different sources of data were used in achieving the aims outlined above, and these sources, together with some issues in practice and broader methodological concerns will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

## ii) The research setting

### a) Humberside Probation Service

Humberside, which is England's newest county, is made up of two distinct geographical halves - what used to be East Yorkshire north of the Humber Estuary, (now N. Humberside), and North Lincolnshire south of the Humber, (now S. Humberside). Although the Humber Bridge was an attempt at linking that two halves there still remain many organisational and philosophical differences in the county and this is reflected in Humberside Probation Service (H.P.S.). Each 'bank' has its own Assistant Chief Probation Officer (ACPO) with responsibility for the appropriate teams, and different prison department establishments are served by the courts. As a result of these organisational differences, and given the fact that N. Humberside has

a varied geographical nature and mix of rural and city teams it was decided to concentrate the research in this area which was considered to be reasonably representative of Humberside as a whole.

The major city in N. Humberside is Kingston-upon-Hull with a population of approximately 270,000. The county is predominantly rural and the city has the Humber estuary to the south and open country on all other sides with easy access to the coast on the east and north east. The city of Hull is among the country's leading seaports and as an inner city programme authority, the council has made startling progress on the renovation and rejuvenation of the city centre and Old Town Docks area. The current research (1986-1989) was then taking place at a time of major change and innovation in Hull.

Humberside Probation Service employs around 120 officers at any one time, ranging from its Chief Probation Officer (CPO) to approximately 101 maingrade officers. Four teams serve various parts of Hull City and the remaining officers are dispersed throughout the more rural areas, for convenience sake in this research named team No. 5. A more detailed examination of the teams and their structure will be given in Chapter 6 when describing throughcare in practice in the County.

b) Everthorpe Youth Custody Centre

The establishment used for the purpose of interviewing trainees was HMYCC Everthorpe, a closed YCC<sup>1</sup> situated in a rural setting just off the M62 about 14 miles west of Hull. The YCC has a certified normal accommodation (CNA) of 376 and trainees are aged between 15 and 21 years. Trainees are allocated to one of 4 House Units shortly after arrival, on which they eat, sleep and spend recreation time. During the day most leave the house to attend classes or to work. The personal officer scheme was in operation in the YCC, and following the

1982 CJA, a seconded liaison Senior Probation Officer was based in the centre to assist both field and establishment staff and offer advice on general welfare and social work matters.

A more detailed description of the major influences on the YCC during the course of the fieldwork (November 1987 to March 1988), is given in Chapter 7 when examining throughcare in practice from the perspective of both the probation officer and the client.

iii) Data collection.

a) National postal questionnaire.

A short questionnaire addressing issues of throughcare organisation was sent to the Chief Probation Officer of all 56 Probation Services in England and Wales. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix (1a) from which it can be seen that 5 main areas of interest were identified, viz:

- Throughcare policy, practice and resources.
- Specialisation and liaison schemes.
- Temporary release workshops/projects.
- Post release supervision period.
- General points regarding youth custody throughcare.

These areas of organisation were selected, after a review of the literature and discussion with one of Humberside Probation Service's Assistant Chief Probation Officers (ACPO), to cover the widest possible subject area in a short questionnaire. The length and nature of the questionnaire were designed so as to gain maximum response from those to which it was addressed. Before the questionnaire was sent to each Service it first had to be approved by the Association of Chief Officers of Probation's (ACOP) Management and Information Research

Committee (MIRC), and with some adjustment to its original (lengthier) format, approval was given to involve the Probation Service, on 14th September 1987. After MIRC had notified all Probation areas that I would be approaching them, (through the in-service information bulletin), the questionnaire was posted, with a standard letter of introduction and explanation, (see also Appendix (1b) for a copy of this letter). Thirty nine Services (70%) responded to this initial request for information, and after a follow up letter, (appendix 1c), to those not responding, a further 9 Services (16%) returned the questionnaire. This meant the questionnaire obtained a total response of 48, (86%). A list of those Services responding can be seen in Appendix (1d). It should be noted however that 2 of the Services responding did not complete the questionnaire, but rather forwarded documents, surveys etc which they felt relevant, offering a note of explanation.

b) Humberside Probation Service - Youth Custody Throughcare Case Records.

A data-collection schedule aimed at describing the quality and quantity of youth custody throughcare in N. Humberside including reconviction rates in a six month follow up period was drawn up, (See Appendix (2) for a list of the topics addressed). The schedule was based on the various Home Office Circulars for YC throughcare, the HPS policy document, an analysis of a sample of case records, and general throughcare procedures identified in chapters 1-3 and in the literature survey contained in the discussions of chapter 7 and 8.

The schedule was divided into 6 broad sections:-

1. Background information and criminal history.

2. Current sentence details.
3. Work carried out prior to sentence and at court.
4. Work carried out during custody.
5. Work carried out during supervision.
6. Six month follow up period reconviction rates.

The sample of case records was drawn from a list of all YC cases terminated in N. Humberside between 1st August 1986 and 31st July 1987 provided by the Research and Information Officer based at H.P.S. headquarters. From this list of 138 cases, every other name was chosen for inclusion in the sample, ie 69 names. In the event, some of these files were misplaced, unavailable or transferred to other Probation Services so that a total of 55 case records were examined. These cases were distributed between teams as summarised in table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Distribution of case records by team

Team	Total no. of cases in team	No. of cases in sample	Samples as % of cases in
1	30	10	33
2	22	9	41
3	21	8	38
4	40	15	38
5	25	13	52
Total	138	55	40

The proportion of cases from each team ranged from one third to just over one half.

(c) Interviews with probation officers

Initially I approached the Senior Probation Officer of each of the 5 field teams in N. Humberside to find out the structure of the teams and to identify those officers with responsibility for youth custody cases. Thirty two officers were identified and these officers were contacted (by telephone) to request their participation in an interview regarding their throughcare work with these clients. All officers agreed and three (who were identified by the S.P.O's) were used in a pilot of the semi structured interview.

A copy of the questions used in the interviews can be found in Appendix (3). The schedule was divided into 5 broad sections.

1. Throughcare responsibilities.
2. Definitions and purpose of throughcare
3. Work carried out during custody (with offender, family and establishment).
4. The post release supervision period.
5. Background information.

Prior to the interview, officers were asked if they objected to the interview being tape recorded. Only 4 refused permission to be recorded. Many officers elaborated upon their answers to set questions, and to offer a break in verbal exchanges, the officers were given prompt sheets with certain questions and were asked to rate certain areas of throughcare in terms of perceived importance. The interviews lasted on average fifty minutes although the shortest was forty minutes and the longest took place over an entire afternoon due to interruptions from clients, telephone and coffee.

d) Young Offender case records and interviews.

During the custodial part of the sentence.

Permission to interview trainees and examine their case records for background information was given by the Governor of HMYCC Everthorpe in August 1987. The file searches interviews took place between 25/11/87 and 15/3/88. It was decided, (in conjunction with the Governor V) that the most appropriate way to do this was to allocate one day a week to carry out the necessary tasks. The day chosen was the day on which a 5 aside football tournament for prison staff took place. It was felt that participation in this would help me to integrate with the institution and get my face known, thereby enhancing the chances of co-operation by officers. There were no restrictions placed on my movements around the YCC although the fact that I did not have any keys proved to be rather an annoyance at times. There was also no restriction placed if I decided to come into the YCC and conduct interviews on any day other than that initially agreed. All members of staff were extremely co-operative and helpful during the course of the research.

The initial task was to identify those lads in the YCC from N. Humberside and intending to return there on release, as it was intended to carry out a follow up interview during their supervision period. Everthorpe YCC operates a card index system of their inmates and the card gives the court of origin and their address on sentence. This, and the reception sheets which were compiled every week on those lads just admitted to the YCC were the only methods of indentifying Humberside lads, short of going round each individually and asking them. There was then a search of the card index for a list of those already in the institution and due to be released before the research

finished in the institution and who would be eligible to be interviewed during supervision. There was also a constant check on those receptions who, when released would also fall within the timescale of the research for interview on supervision - this was an ongoing process. Overall, during the time spent in the YCC, a list of 36 names was obtained, of these 36, 28 were interviewed, the remainder either having been released before the earliest date of release (EDR) marked on their cards, were not actually from Humberside, or were transferred to another establishment before I had interviewed them.

Prior to the interview the trainee's prison file (F1150) was examined. A copy of the questions contained in the schedule used to record the information considered relevant to throughcare issues is contained in appendix (4a).

A total of 28 lads were interviewed. Of these 28, 3 were interviewed only at the induction stage, 4 only at pre release, and 21 either at both stages of sentence or were asked questions from both the induction and pre release schedules towards their release dates. A copy of the questions contained in the interview schedules can be found in Appendix (4b). These interviews were not tape recorded, lasted approximately 20-30 minutes and the structure of the sections was fairly rigidly adhered to. Some prompting was necessary as many trainees were a little reluctant to talk (initially), or admit to having any problems. However, they were encouraged to elaborate upon any questions when they felt inclined. The interviews took place initially in the Senior Probation Officer's office which was located in one of the houses and therefore conveniently situated for the trainees to either make their own way to, or be brought by prison



officers. However, when the SPO moved to the main administration block it was necessary to interview wherever possible, and lack of office space meant that this was usually in the television room (when not being used). The lack of office space and often privacy did however illustrate to me some of the problems faced by probation officers when visiting their clients.

During the supervision part of the sentence.

The procedure for trying to contact those youths who had been interviewed during custody was that I firstly contacted their supervising officer and asked if my interviewing of their client would cause any undue disruption of work being carried out during supervision. This was primarily done as a matter of courtesy, and no officer felt that any disruption would occur. It was then decided that the most appropriate way of contacting the youths for interview was to attend the probation office at the same time they were supposed to be seeing their supervising officers as part of their supervision requirements. This also added the bonus of observing in practice the consistency and level of reporting and of the number of clients not turning up when supposed to do so. I left it to the discretion of individual P.O's as to whether I could sit in on the officer/client session and then interview the client afterwards, or simply interview the client following his/her discussion with the officer.

A copy of the questions asked during the supervision interviews can be found in Appendix (5). In the event, of the 28 Humber side youth interviewed during custody, it was only possible to conduct a follow up interview with 12. Four of the remaining 16 did not turn up on 3 occasions to their reporting session with their supervising officers (none were breached); 4 youths supervision period had expired by the

time I tried to interview them; 3 had moved from Humberside; in 2 cases there was no record of the youth; 2 were reconvicted; and 1 was still inside having lost a substantial amount of remission.

In order to supplement this depleted interview sample, P.O.'s were asked to provide a list of all those youths currently under YC supervision and who were due to report to the office in the following month. Twenty two youths were identified and a brief history was obtained. At least 2 attempts were made to see each of the youths but of the 22 only 7 were actually interviewed. The remaining 15 did not turn up to their allocated reporting session, (again none were breached). Further attempts were made to add to the sample by spending a period of one week in probation office no.1 in an attempt to intercept clients as and when they did turn up. Only 2 were interviewed in this way.

Overall, a total of 77 attempts were made to interview the youths, (plus the weeks 'placement'), and a total of 21 were actually seen, (12 had been interviewed prior to supervision, 9 had not). This is symptomatic of one of the underlying problems faced by probation officers with YC clients - they often/generally don't turn up, and when/if they do it is often an hour/day/week late. The only advantage for me was that officers became used to me sitting about in the office drinking coffee, and they were extremely helpful in all other aspects and in offering additions to their own interviews (furthermore we could empathise regarding the amount of time lost waiting for these clients). This may have contributed to the fact that I was permitted to 'sit in' on the interview/session between the PO and client in 5 cases, and then interviewed the client myself privately (perhaps after

TWO interviews these clients didn't turn up again either!).

Interviews with offenders on supervision were substantially shorter than those carried out during custody, averaging 10-15 minutes. This was often due to the fact that they wanted to leave the office as quickly as possible, one lad telling me that he was late for the pubs opening.

#### IV) Methodological issues

##### a) Postal questionnaire

One of the aims of this thesis, outlined at the beginning of this chapter and in the introduction, was to describe the way in which Probation Services had organised youth custody throughcare since implementation of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 and the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities (SNOP), 1984. As mentioned, a copy of the questionnaire constructed for this purpose can be found in Appendix (1a).

Given the fact that there are 56 individual Probation Services in England and Wales from which information was required it was decided that the postal questionnaire was the only feasible method of obtaining the data required. The advantages and disadvantages of using a postal questionnaire and issues of wording and length, etc have been well documented, (eg Goode and Hatt, 1952; Sellitz, et al, 1959; Mann, 1968; Champion and Sear 1969; Moser and Kalton, 1971; Berdie and Anderson, 1974; Hoinville, Jowell, et al, 1977), and so only issues with a direct bearing on obtaining information from the Probation Service will be addressed here.

The time scale involved in the research, the fact that the respondents were spread throughout the county and difficulties in arranging interviews with the CPO's (who may not even have the

specific knowledge necessary to answer questions) meant that a questionnaire had to be the tool used for obtaining the information. However, many problems identified in the literature were not applicable here. Respondents were all literate and in possession of the ability to fill in a questionnaire. Information was not of a personal nature and the difficulties pointed out by Moser and Kalton (1971 p. 260) of more than one person completing the questionnaire were not a problem here. Indeed, the more people offering as broad a range of knowledge as possible was welcomed. Also, the fact that a questionnaire was used and had space available for some comment fulfilled many of the advantages pointed out by Moser and Kalton in the following statement where advantages were seen ...

... with questions demanding a considered rather than an immediate answer. In particular, if the answer requires - or would be more accurate as a result of - consultation of documents, a questionnaire filled in by the respondent in his own time is preferable.

(Moser and Kalton, 1971, p. 258).

The fact that policy documents, timetables etc were requested, and consultation with colleagues may have been needed meant that the potential embarrassment involved in a face to face interview when information was not immediately to mind was avoided. A further point to be noted was the fact that the questions were NOT of an attitude seeking nature and so the elaboration and chance for expansion of answers (Hoinville, Jowell, et al, 1977, p. 126) which could more fully be obtained by interview were not required. The "inflexible method" (Moser and Kalton, 1971 p. 260) contained in the questionnaire

was necessary in this case to limit information to the factual essentials, while offering room for comments as can be seen from the design of the questionnaire (Appendix 1a).

In the initial stages of designing the questionnaire it had to be borne in mind that it was addressed to the CPO of each area Probation Service and when not answered by him/herself, the questionnaire was passed on to another member of the Service with direct responsibility for YC throughcare. In this respect, the close links developed with the ACPO holding responsibility for all throughcare matters in N. Humberside, became very important. The ACPO kindly agreed to act as 'consultant' on the content and structure of the questionnaire, knowing as he did from experience, the types of questionnaires which got discarded in his (and therefore probably many other C.P.O.'s and A.C.P.O.'s) bin. "Technical expressions and so forth" which Moser and Kalton (1971, p 260) warned about were therefore included given the knowledge of the respondents and the questionnaire was kept as short and structured as the nature of the data required allowed.

Once the questionnaire was drafted it was necessary to obtain permission from the ACOP 'Management and Information Research Committee' (MIRC) to circulate it to individual Services. MIRC assesses the viability and potential benefits for the Probation Service (singular) of all intended research, and after analysis of my questionnaire returned it with suggestions for further increased clarity. It was then approved on 14th September 1987, with a proviso that I delayed dispatching it for one month until they had completed the formalities of informing all Services, via their In-Service information bulletin, that I would be approaching them for information.

Several measures were taken into account to minimise the risk of non response. As pointed out by Goode and Hatt:

There must be an appeal to the respondent himself, which persuades him that he ought to participate.

(Goode and Hatt, 1952, p 177).

There must, in addition to this, be an emphasis on why the respondent should take the trouble to reply. Given the emphasise towards priorities in their work , reinforced by the relatively low rating of throughcare in the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities (Home Office, 1984), I assumed that there would be an inherent interest in throughcare:- its organisation, deficiencies, and evidence of good practice which could be developed - and this would act as an incentive to contribute to the 'pooling' of existing knowledge and structures. Although throughcare received a relatively low priority in SNOP, it is nevertheless an area of work which demands attention and resources and therefore, I anticipated, anything (even 'student' research) which may enhance its successful provision would be attractive to CPO's. There was also the fact that it had been approved by MIRC, thereby showing official recognition and support, (although of course this in no way guaranteed a response).

In addition to these 'built in incentives' to respond, was a stamped addressed envelope! No one likes to see an unused stamp go to waste, even if the respondent did not have to pay personally to return the questionnaire (done through the Probation Service's mailing costs). It also emphasised the fact that a mere student, desperate for information was willing and keen enough to pay for it. This appeal to the financially aware members of the Probation Service

(given all it's restrictions and priorities) was perhaps in line with Homans observation that:

People who write about methodology often forget that it is a matter of strategy, not of morals. There are neither good nor bad methods but only methods that are more or less effective under particular circumstances in reaching objectives on the way to a distant goal.

(Homans, 1949, p. 330).

Two months after the despatching of the questionnaire, complete with the covering letter, a follow up reminder letter was sent out. This was to counteract for (1) the fact that the 'pending trays' of many professionals are often overflowing with the less urgent and lower priority tasks (sic); (2) some people feel guilty about having forgotten to reply and pestering can pay off; and (3) letters have been known to go astray in the post. Also, as pointed out by Hoinville, Jowell, et al (1977) "the use of reminders ... is by far the most productive" way of maximising response levels" ( p.131).

Overall, the 86% response rate to the questionnaire was considered highly satisfactory and a complete vindication of the structure, content and inherent interest factor of the questionnaire.

A final point which needs emphasising here is that the questionnaire method of obtaining information, necessarily relies on the respondent saying what happens. In terms of policy and practice, this may be very different to what actually DOES happen in reality. In the context of this postal questionnaire this fact was acknowledged, and partially compensated for by the fact that the official documents/timetables, etc were requested in addition to statements by the respondents.

b) Case records

Two different types of records offering information on my offender sample were used in the research. The first were the prison records (F1150's) which offer a history of the individual's criminal career, details of his current sentence, progress through the institution, comments and contacts by the probation officer and others involved, and usually a copy of the Social Enquiry Report. The F1150 is stored in the central administration block of the youth custody centre, and there is also a copy of relevant information and further details of work carried out in the 'wing dossier' kept in the unit in which the inmate is allocated. When necessary, the wing dossier was consulted but generally information was obtained only from the F1150. The prison files were used to provide background information on the inmate sample, including age, family and accommodation details, pre convictions etc. They were also used in conjunction with interview data on the number of throughcare contacts and problems encountered, etc.

The Probation Services' case records, like the prison file usually contains a list of pre convictions and general background information. However analysis of these records was mainly concerned with the Part C 'Record of Contact', within which was contained the number of, and reasons for, contact with the client during custody and supervision, and any problems encountered or dealt with. There was also a section (in some files) summarising progress and problems. Also of particular interest in the probation record was the Social Enquiry Report which offered information on many aspects of the client's history and problems.



Many statements have been made criticising the use of official records and statistics in research, and account was taken of these warnings in the current data collection phase. Some pertinent issues will be addressed here.

Robert Merton (1956) argued against the use of official data in assessing the rates of deviant behaviour. Merton claimed that the official statistics were "unreliable" because "successive layers of error intervene between the actual event and the recorded event, between the actual rates of deviant behaviour and the records of deviant behaviour" (p.31). Merton (1956) also pointed out that official data was neither suitable nor organised for future [sociological] research because they were not collected with the same definition in mind that future research might employ.

A seminal critique of official data was put forward by Kitsuse and Cicourel (1963) who, with particular reference to criminology noted that:

... criminal statistics fail to reflect the decisions made and discretion used by law enforcement personnel and administrators, and the general accommodations that can and do occur. An offender's record, then, may never reflect the ambiguous decisions, administrative discretions, or accommodations of law enforcement personnel; a statistical account may thus seriously distort an offender's past activities.

(Kitsuse and Cicourel, 1963, p. 138).

Further debates, along these lines, that official records cannot automatically be assumed to reflect the events which they describe can also be seen in Miles and Irvine (1979), and in Bulmer (1980). These problems were acknowledged during the course of this research,

inconsistencies were noted, and comparisons made with what P.O.'s said they did.

In addition to this point is one raised by Rees (1981) in the context of health care. Rees points out that:

Records ... cannot be examined for what they contain in isolation from those factors which a competent reader brings to the process of interpretation, or from the circumstances that surround their construction and use.

(Rees, 1981, p.68).

However, Rees (1981) also points out that competent readers in the setting make sense of the record in the light of their knowledge of the usual circumstances of construction. Just because the words do not appear on the page does not mean that the meaning or 'message' cannot be grasped:

Details or 'facts' then, do not have to be explicit for a reader to discover them, they can be beneath the surface of the account and still be 'seen' and their significance incorporated into the resulting construction of that patient's career.

(Rees, 1981, p.68)

Before discussing this issue in more detail with regard to SER's it may be useful, also in this context to note that Moser and Kalton, when discussing records say that ...

... it is up to the surveyor to derive what help he can from it. He must, however, first consider carefully its suitability for his purposes.

(Moser and Kalton, 1971, p.240).

In response to this, I was aware of the information which I

required and had to accept the fact that case records, incomplete as they may be, offered the only objective way of cross referencing interview replies (where memory may have been a little faded).

Several of the points mentioned above and of relevance to the specific nature of case records, and the SER's contained therein were also expanded upon by Moser and Kalton with particular reference to professionals such as probation officers:

... much material collected in the form of case records by, for example, probation officers ... is of interest to the sociologist and psychologist, nor can one doubt that it deserves more widespread dissemination and systematic analysis than the original social worker can give it. But such material has the limitation for the research worker that it can only represent a highly specialised population - the cases that happen to come before social workers. Even when this limitation does not apply ... there are other major obstacles to the use of existing case records. Records written without thought for subsequent classification and analysis are unlikely to lend themselves to these purposes. For one thing the data are often incomplete ... Also, the terms used in the records are likely to be vague, while classification requires precise definitions. For this reason the records are, and must be treated as, subjective statements; the comparison and aggregation of the findings of different workers is, to say the least, difficult.

(Moser and Kalton, 1971, p.241).

Nevertheless, Moser and Kalton go on to say that in certain situations "case record material ... could be a valuable supplement to data

obtained by direct study" (p.242).

Looking at some of these warnings, I would like to note that I was only concerned with a "specialised population" coming before the probation officer. Vague terms and hence subjective statements were in addition interpreted in the context of the remainder of the reports. Although it had to be acknowledged that case records are often incomplete, the meaning derived from omission is equally applicable to probation officers records as to any other professional group.

With regard to the fact mentioned throughout this section and in much of the research literature (eg Moser and Kalton 1971) that records are not constructed or compiled for the purposes of future research, and often information is missing, I will offer a brief summary of some of the issues involved in this.

Silberman and Chapman (1971) note that in probation case records "it was found that some case papers contained duplicated and sometimes contradictory information" (p.3). The lack of consistency in probation records and SER's has also been mentioned by McWilliams (1975) in a study of homeless offenders:

The main sources of information for the present study were probation officer's records and social enquiry reports. Extracting particular items from records is well known to be difficult since the absence of items of information may mean either that the information is not available or that it is available but the officer has failed to record it ... For example, it was found that details of the offender's childhood was mentioned in some social enquiry reports and some case records, but this was by no means consistent.

(McWilliams, 1975, p.8).

Looking in more detail at social enquiry reports and their relevance to the current research, containing as they do much background information on problems and home circumstances some issues surrounding their usefulness and their general role in the courts have been addressed, (eg Herbert and Mathieson, 1975; Home Office 1979), and problems of SER's by Samuels (1973).

However, for the purposes of this research, since it was anticipated that most SER's would have been compiled in Humberside (in reality, ALL were actually compiled in Humberside) it was felt important to take account of Humberside Probation Services SER policy document which outlined its purpose and limitations.

The document emphasises that in Humberside:

- (i) The social enquiry report does not arise out of the needs of either the prosecution or defence. It is an independent document produced by a probation officer in his capacity as social work advisor to the court...
- (iii) The social enquiry report is a document produced at a particular time for a specific court hearing. It should not be written with a view to any other use being made of it.

(Humberside Probation Service, Policy Document No. 3 'Social Enquiry Reports'; Principles i and iii).

These points were acknowledged in the context of this current research, although some benefits have also been identified:

- (i) The content of social enquiry reports should be focused on the offence, the culpability of the defendant, factors which affect his social functioning, and the impact his offending and any

previous disposals has had on himself and those around him. Details of past history or present circumstances which are not relevant should be omitted.

(H.P.S. Policy Document No. 3 'Social Enquiry Reports', Methods (i).

Issues such as unreliability, incompleteness, 'hidden' meanings, compilation for different reasons and the fact that the researcher must be aware of the use he/she as an individual has of the files were all taken account of. In the event, the files in some cases were incomplete but general information and records of contact were fairly standard.

c) Interviews

Both probation officers and offenders were interviewed on their perceptions and experience of throughcare. The issue of tape recording is discussed fully in section d) of this chapter, with this section being concerned with the more general methodological issues surrounding the use of the interview as a research tool.

The disadvantages, drawbacks and inadequencies of the interview in research have been well documented, (eg Benney and Hughes 1956; Becker and Geer 1957; Cicourel 1964; Webb et al 1966; Manning 1967; Moser and Kalton 1971). These include assessing whether the respondent is telling the truth; why should he tell the truth; problems associated with the interviewee giving answers which he feels the interviewer wants to hear; bias on the part of the interviewer; idiosyncrasies on the part of the respondent; the need to probe on occasion; a too lengthy and complex interview schedule; and so on.

Of particular interest here is the observation made by Manning (1967) that the professional, (in his case the lawyer), "won't divulge

his work because it is so intimately bound up with client confidences" (p.303). This problem, given the emphasis on client confidentiality in social work, may equally apply to the probation officer in interview. Expanding upon this point, Manning goes on to say that:

In studies of occupations and professions, in addition to the potential difficulties which can arise from a relative lack of substantive knowledge, informants often distract or conceal information from the interviewer.

(Manning, 1967, p.306).

Linked to this point was a recognition that account had to be taken of the political and organisational factors which can affect respondents' willingness to discuss certain matters, (see for example Stevenson and Parsloe 1978). This point will be discussed more fully with particular reference to the Probation Service, as a complex institution later in this chapter. Whyte (1960) offered some solutions for the researcher on how to deal with the problem of respondents 'unburdening' themselves in the interview, and given the many grievances expressed about lack of money, time etc. by probation officers; and complaints about not getting a flat etc. by offenders, these points were well received.

Nevertheless, accepting the problems which exist, as Moser and Kalton (1971) point out, the interview must be viewed as an interactive process:

... the interview is a social process involving two individuals, the interviewer and respondent. The outcome of this interview must be seen in this light, and must take into account the interaction of interviewer and respondent ... the total process

is a complex one.

(Moser and Kalton, 1971, p.272).

Given the fact that there are many limitations to the interview and the interview process is a complex one, Webb et. al. do still point out that:

... if one is going to be limited to a single method, then certainly the verbal report from a respondent would be the choice. With no other device can an investigator swing his attention into so many different areas of substantive content, often simultaneously ...

(Webb et. al. 1966, p.172/173).

The fact that more than one method of data collection was used in this current throughcare research, does not obscure the fact that the interview does have its advantages as a research tool.

Following Merton et. al. (1956), the type of interview used for both probation officers and offenders was a semi structured or focused one. Merton et. al. explain the logic being this approach:

First of all, the persons interviewed are known to have been involved in a particular situation .... Secondly, the hypothetically significant elements, patterns, processes and total structure of this situation have been provisionally analysed by the social scientist. Through this content or situational analysis, he has arrived at a set of hypotheses concerning the consequences of determinate aspects of the situation for those involved in it. On the basis of this analysis, he takes the third step of developing an interview guide, setting forth the major areas of inquiry and the hypotheses which provide criteria of relevance for the data to



be obtained in the interview. Fourth and finally, the interview is focused on the subjective experiences of persons exposed to the pre-analysed situation in an effort to ascertain their definitions of the situation. The array of reported responses to the situation helps test hypotheses and, to the extent that it includes unanticipated responses, gives rise to fresh hypotheses for more systematic and rigorous investigation.

(Quoted in Sellitz et. al. 1959, p.264/265.)

The main purpose of the interview was then to "focus attention upon a given experience and its effects" (Sellitz et. al. 1959 p.264). After formulation of the research problem, (outlined earlier in this chapter and in the introduction) the schedule was an orderly and sequential framework of throughcare topics which left room for expansion and exploration of answers. As pointed out by Sellitz et. al.:

This type of interview achieves its purpose to the extent that the subject's responses are spontaneous rather than forced, are highly specific and concrete rather than diffuse and general, are self revealing and personal rather than superficial.

(Sellitz et. al. 1959, p.263).

An important issue in interviewing is the use of the tape recorder and this will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

#### d) Tape Recording

To tape or not to tape, this dilemma has been well documented over the years (eg Sellitz et. al., 1959; Belson 1967; Moser and Kalton, 1971; Lofland, 1971; Douglas, 1976; Hoinville, Jowell et.al., 1977; Boyd and Westfall, 1978).

For the purposes of this current research, interviews with probation officers were tape recorded (where the officer was willing), those with offenders were not. Reasoning behind this decision lay primarily in the fact that the P.O. interview was much longer (anticipated to be up to one hour); there was more room for expansion of answers, P.O.'s were expected to digress more, and following Bottomley and Liebling's findings (1987), offenders needed much more encouragement to answer and tended to be more monosyllabic when they did.

However certain issues surrounding the tape recording of interviews need to be mentioned here as account was taken of the problems inherent in such an approach. Hoinville, Jowell et. al. (1977) have pointed out some basic comparative issues in the recorded or extensive note taking approaches and note a lack of spontaneity when copiously writing everything that is said:

Tape recording is also frequently used for depth interviews; alternatively the interviewer may take extensive notes or make a verbatim record in longhand or shorthand .... Taking notes is probably the least desirable method of recording, since the respondent's own words tend to be lost. Recording in longhand is also undesirable because it involves slowing the respondent down and may interrupt both spontaneity and flow.

(Hoinville, Jowell et. al. 1977, p.23).

Similarly, Moser and Kalton (1971) note that tape recording sets the interviewer "free to concentrate on the interview" (p.281), although they also draw attention to the fact that there is a risk of reducing response rates and accuracy of reporting, especially on

sensitive subjects. In counter to this however, the dilemmas of what to record and whether to paraphrase are avoided.

Many of the problems pointed out by Belson, for example that interviewers deviated frequently and markedly from their instructions (1965), and that tape recording reduced the accuracy of responses from certain classes of respondents (1967) were avoided or not relevant to this research in that I conducted all interviews myself and the interviewees could be considered a relatively homogeneous set of professionals who, given the fact that their responses were given in confidence and aimed at improving service, were assumed to have responded honestly.

It has also been pointed out by Sellitz et. al. (1959) that when tape recording it is possible that:

... one loses the direction of the remark and the gestures, nods and bodily postures which are often needed for a full comprehension of the behaviour of the speaker as well as that of the recipient of the remark.

(Sellitz et. al. 1959, p.230).

Sellitz et. al. (1959) also point out that tape recording helps reduce fatigue or 'overloading' on the part of the interviewer (p.232).

However, there are other drawbacks in tape recording, as pointed out by Lofland:

But there are dangers in tape recording, too. Some people have found themselves not listening to the interviewee because they assume they have it all down on tape. One device for fighting against this tendency is to take sparse notes - key sentences, key words, key names, etc. - in the course of the interview

itself, to keep account of what has already been talked about and what remains to be talked about. Having the advantage of the tape recording, this becomes note taking in the best sense. One takes notes on the interview for the purpose of remaining "on top" of what is going on in the interview.

(Lofland, 1971, p.89).

Although I used an interview schedule and therefore knew which questions had been asked, I did nevertheless feel it important to make notes as appropriate during the interview. Important points were jotted and I also felt it offered extra encouragement to the usual nods and 'uh huh's', when the interviewee could see me scribbling enthusiastically (particularly at times when I wanted him/her to expand a bit more). Overall, Lofland (1971) does argue that, "For all intents and purposes it is imperative that one tape record or otherwise preserve the interview itself" (p.88). He feels that if the interviewer is always trying to write down all that is being said he is unlikely to be able to fully attend to the interviewee. Problems of writing the points down - even in shorthand - decreases ones interviewing capacity and ...

Therefore, if conceivably possible, tape record. Then one can interview.

(Lofland, 1971, p.89 author's italics).

Nevertheless, doubts have been expressed about the reliability of research based on tape recordings of interviews and other social interactions, (Douglas, 1976), and also about the interpretation of recorded data, (Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979).

Douglas (1976) stressed that we must be aware of the fact that

different people react differently in different settings and the overall effect which this might have on interactions. So far as this point can be tackled in practice, and at least acknowledged, I would point out that all probation officers interviewed were aware of my research long before the interview, had time to prepare themselves for the "shock" and I knew several on a social level beforehand. The tape recorder was, in addition very small (i.e. it could be fitted into a jacket pocket quite easily) and I also asked officers before the interview began if they objected to being taped. Of those who allowed themselves to be taped, (only 4 refused), some were slightly nervous initially and there were occasional shifty and frightened looks in the direction of the recorder, (which I was careful to place near at hand but out of sight so that it could be switched off if the telephone rang or a client came in); this soon passed and there was no evidence to suggest that it inhibited interaction and the flow of the interview. Many probation officers do themselves, in any case, use tape recorders during their own client interviews and so are, to some extent, used to them.

The interpretation of data obtained through recorded means has been addressed by Schwartz and Jacobs who explain:

... clearly, words uttered during a conversation will not stand still on a tape so that they can be recovered in the same way at each listening, independent of time lapse, the particular listener, or the social situation in which the listening is done. Background assumptions about 'what's going on', 'who is who', or 'what this is all about' run so deep that they can literally affect one's hearing. Here, as in most other instances in the doing of social science, 'nothing is that

simple'.

(Schwartz and Jacobs, 1979, p.44).

However, by transcribing the tapes myself as soon after the interview as possible and also jotting down pointers to the respondent's state during the interview, such as 'hesitated', 'confused', 'bored' etc., I hoped to obtain as full a picture of the whole context of the interview as possible.

The process of transcribing interviews is a long and rather laborious process although it was felt that the benefits of the extra data obtained through the use of the record outweigh this fact. In addition, it has been pointed out by Hoinville, Jowell et.al. that:

Ideally, taped interviews should be transcribed in full, but this is sometimes too time consuming and wasteful since digressions get transcribed along with the other material.

(Hoinville, Jowell et. al., 1977, p.24).

Since it was quite obvious what were total digressions from the subject in hand rather than useful additions, the transcriptions were subject to some editing. Nevertheless, each taped interview did take an average of 4/5 hours to transcribe.

Overall, taping was considered not to have detracted from the interview in any way - rather enhancing it and much extra raw data was obtained through the use of this method.

#### e) Triangulation/Multiple Methods

Several methods of collecting data have been used in this research - case records, postal questionnaire and interviewing. This use of multiple methods in the study of the same object has been analysed by Campbell and Fiske, (1959); Webb et. al., (1966); Stacey (1969) who referred to 'combined operations'; Douglas (1976) - 'mixed

strategies'; Denzin (1978) - 'triangulation'; and Burgess (1982) - 'multiple strategies'. Denzin (1978) identified four types of 'triangulation' of which data triangulation and methodological triangulation are particularly relevant in the context of this research. Data triangulation involves the examination of single events using different people, times and situations. Methodological triangulation entails the use of different methods to study the same events. Although authors such as Becker and Green (1957) argue for the use and point out the advantages of, particular methods, others such as Webb et. al. (1966); Douglas, (1976); and Denzin, (1978) advocate this use of multiple methods. As Webb points out:

When a hypothesis can survive the confrontation of a series of complementary methods of testing it contains a degree of validity unattainable by one tested within the more constructed framework of a single method.  
(Webb et.al., 1966, p.174).

and

Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes. If a proposition can survive the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures, with all their irrelevant error, confidence should be placed in it.  
(Webb et. al., 1966, p.3).

Denzin also explains the underlying purpose of using multiple methods:

The rationale for this strategy is that the flaws of one method are often the strengths of another; and by combining methods, observers can achieve the best of each while overcoming their

unique deficiencies.

(Denzin 1978, p. 302).

However, this multi method 'triangulation' approach is not without its critics, and it should be remembered that although the results may be corroborated by the different methods and data sources, inferences drawn may still remain invalid (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). As in the statement by Webb et. al. (1966) above, triangulation involves the use of data to counteract possible threats to the validity of the analysis. As Hammersley and Atkinson emphasise:

One should not, therefore, adopt a naively 'optimistic' view that the aggregation of data from different sources will unproblematically add up to produce a more complete picture. Although few writers have commented on it differences between sets or types of data may be just as important and illuminating. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, p. 199).

Many of the conclusions in this thesis are then based on data collected in a variety of methods and considered to be complementary to each other. Some sources such as observations of client/probation officer interaction could have been usefully included for triangulation but unfortunately practical difficulties in consent from P.O.'s and availability prevented this from being extended.

#### f) Researching Complex organisations

The final two sections have a slightly different emphasis from those above. Instead of being concerned with specific problems inherent in the use of research 'tools', the first is concerned with difficulties involved in conducting research within a large and 'complex' organisation. I feel it is important to acknowledge the



fact that this type of research presents its own problems and must be taken into account when examining the overall research strategy. The second section describes the overall context of the research in terms of its links with a previous major piece of work in this area.

There has certainly been no dearth of information on the nature and functions of the complex organisation, (see for example, Selznick 1948; March and Simon 1958; Thompson and McEwen 1958; Etzioni 1961a, 1961b, 1964; Blau and Scott 1963; Lefton and Rosengren 1966; Silverman 1970; Scott 1981; Argyris 1983).

We are particularly concerned here with the role of the Probation Service as a complex organisation since the bulk of the research involved national and local structuring and organisation of throughcare for offenders sentenced to youth custody. However, the following can equally apply to the Prison Service as a complex organisation. The 'complex', or 'formal' organisation has been widely defined but as the following examples show, usually consists of goal setting and rational structures:

Trades unions, governments, business corporations, political parties, and the like are formal structures in the sense that they represent rationally ordered instruments for the achievement of stated goals.

(Selznick, 1948, p.25).

In the analysis of complex organisations the definition of organisational goals is commonly utilized as a standard for appraising organisational performance.

(Thompson and McEwen 1958, p. 23).

Since the distinctive characteristic of these organisations is that they have been formally established for the explicit

purposes of achieving certain goals, the term "formal organisations" is used to designate them.

(Blau and Scott 1963, p.5).

Organisations are social units (or human groupings) deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals.

(Etzioni, 1964, p.3).

Certainly, the emphasis on objectives and priorities, and the goal setting behaviour evident in the approach of the Probation Service to its work illustrates this role of its functioning as a complex organisation. The Statement of National Objectives and Priorities on a national level, and its effects, in conjunction with the various Home Office Circulars, and the policy documents produced by individual Probation Services, on the throughcare task at a local level are an indication of this. Also, as discussed earlier, the fact that Humberside Probation Service produced a 5 year Corporate Plan outlining throughcare responsibilities and requiring teams to identify Key Output Areas (KOA's) emphasises the drive in the Probation Service towards this achievement of goals. The various policy documents etc produced to these ends is also a characteristic of the complex organisation:

The formal character of organisations is also reflected in the explicitness of their objectives. Most organisations will possess documents relating to their establishment and will have formulated explicit statements of purpose in charters and constitutions.

(Scott 1965, p.264 in March ed. 1965).

Nevertheless, the achievement of organisational goals is by no

means a straightforward task. We have already seen from the developing nature of after care and emerging concept of throughcare that difficulties in definition abound. If this is the case, then the practical implications of carrying out the principles must also be a difficult issue to perform and assess. This has been recognised by Thompson and McEwen in the broader context of the achievement of organisational goals and was taken into account in the current research:

But as goals call for increasingly intangible, difficult-to-measure products, society finds it more difficult to determine and reflect its acceptability of that product...

(Thompson and McEwen 1958, p.24).

It could be argued here that attempts to 'measure' throughcare must indeed take account of intangibles, as well as the more obvious recourse to reconviction rates, and this point is referred to throughout the course of this thesis. Silverman (1970) has pointed out many difficulties in the study of the achievement of goals in a complex organisation, although in the end, as pointed out by Thompson and McEwen (1958), "the definition of organisational goals is commonly utilized as a standard for appraising organisational performance" (p.23).

Finally in this section another point needs to be made about the nature of complex organisation, and in particular those made up of professionals. It has been recognised that the clients themselves are integral factors influencing the organisation, (Parsons 1961; Blau and Scott 1963; Lefton and Rosengren 1966). As pointed out by Lefton and Rosengren:

... there has recently been an increased awareness of the need

to regard clients as critical factors in organisational structure and functioning.

(Lefton and Rosengren 1966, p.804).

This must be particularly relevant and accepted when studying the Probation Service, whose very existence revolves around the service provided to clients, and for the purpose of this thesis, particularly throughcare to youth custody clients.

This brief section on the role of the Probation Service as a complex organisation recognises the need for the Service to be acknowledged as a goal and client orientated Service. The production of policy documents, corporate plans, KOA's, and the like, which have been discussed earlier must be seen in this broader context. Many of the points raised are equally applicable to the Prison Service although emphasis has not been put upon this and the structure of this system is not as relevant to the bulk of the thesis which is concerned primarily with the provision of throughcare by the Probation Service rather than the Prison Services.

g) Linked Research

This research, focusing as it does on the throughcare issues and practices from the perspective of the Probation Service(s) and officers in the field supervising youth custody clients is linked to research recently carried out by Professor A. Keith Bottomley and Ms Alison Liebling also based at the University of Hull. Bottomley and Liebling (1987) approach throughcare from the institutions perspective.

Conclusion

Now that the aims and central purpose and arguments of this thesis

have been stated it is appropriate to present and examine the main empirical data obtained during the course of the research. This will begin with a description of the organisation of youth custody throughcare within the Probation Service on a national level, followed by an analysis of throughcare in practice at a local level and a drawing together of the findings in a coherent conceptual framework within which it is argued, the successful implementation of a throughcare policy must be applied.

FOOTNOTE

1. Everthorpe is now a Young Offenders Institution following the introduction of the unified sentence for Young Offenders in October 1988.

## CHAPTER 5

### NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF THROUGH-CARE: POLICY AND PRACTICE

The Probation Service has been the subject of much change, expansion and scrutiny since the Criminal Justice Act, 1982. Not least amongst the areas of work in which it has attempted to reassess its methods has been throughcare. This chapter will examine the national situation in relation to throughcare and will consist of two sections. The first will outline national priorities and restrictions and will draw on the major documents produced and response to them. The second section will review the results of a postal questionnaire sent to each of the 56 Probation Services in England and Wales. This will describe the various responses to the '82 Act, and particularly the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities (SNOP), (Home Office 1984a), for the Service, and outline national organisation of throughcare.

Although there has been much discussion recently about the future role and functions of the Probation Service, eg the Control and care debate (Harris 1980; Jordan 1983; Raynor, 1985) and the role of casework in the rehabilitation model (eg Bottoms and McWilliams 1979), this chapter will deal primarily with the direct impact of various documents and initiatives on the throughcare task.

#### (i) National objectives and priorities for throughcare

The legal basis for the youth custody system and the throughcare task was provided by Section 1 of the CJA 1982 and subsequent HOC's.

As pointed out by Parker et al (1987), there were many contradictions in the '82 Act, reflecting the wider political attitude

to law and order. Whilst the Act gave courts new custodial sentencing powers, in particular by allowing magistrates and judges to specify determinate periods of custody for young offenders, it did also strengthen their powers to use alternatives to custody where at all possible. However, at the same time as the Act appeared, so too did the Government's Financial Management Initiative (FMI).

The aim of FMI was to promote in each Government department and organisation a system in which managers at all levels have:

- a. a clear view of their objectives and means to assess and, whenever possible, measure outputs or performance in relation to those objectives;
- b. well defined responsibility for making the best use of their resources, including a critical scrutiny of output and value for money; and
- c. the information (particularly about costs), the training and the access to expert advice that they need to exercise their responsibilities effectively.

(Home Office, 1982, para 13).

The initiative was launched on 17th May 1982 and departments were called upon "to examine the way they manage all aspects of their programmes and to work out the best patterns of managerial responsibility financial accountability and control" (para 14).

Sir Derek Raynor had conducted a series of assessments of how efficiently Central Government Departments were operating. What FMI did was to stimulate fresh thinking in defining functions, tasks and responsibilities and improving management information systems. The Statement of National Objectives and Priorities was the document



which applied the FMI to the Probation Service. However, as Parker et al point out, this was only one of various directives arising at the same time, almost in synchronisation, and causing much concern amongst the various relevant agencies, here the Probation Service:

The pressure for change has come in a variety of forms including the 1982 Criminal Justice Act and accompanying Circulars, the Financial Management Initiative Scheme, the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities for the Probation Service (SNOP) and the DHSS Intermediate Treatment Initiative.

(Parker et al 1987, p22).

These directives have been administered by managers painfully aware of the political ethos and financial climate from which they have emerged.

The political ethos is reflected by Faulkner who says of the FMI initiative:

The principle on which the present Government operates across the whole field of public expenditure - is that resources must determine the policy and not that the policy can determine the resources. This means that each service or programme is given a budget and is expected to get on and do the best job that can be done with it.

(Faulkner, D. The Future of the Probation Service  
IN Probation: Directives, Innovation and Change in  
the 1980's NAPO, 1984).

Before looking further at the controversy surrounding SNOP, it may be useful to take a closer look at the document, and its content.

The SNOP document was quite clear about the future role of the Probation Service which had thus far escaped the financial cuts

imposed by the Government in other departments.

SNOP was to be part of the Home Office's developing strategies for dealing with all aspects of crime, and emphasised that the Probation Service must work in close collaboration with all other agencies in the criminal justice system. The Probation Service was seen to make a unique contribution in providing a link between the offence and the offender and the wider social context in which offending takes place. For this reason the resources available to the Service were to be used to full effect in an 'efficient and effective' manner and the SNOP directive was to be used as a basis on which area services can construct their own plans and deploy their own resources to best effect (para 2).

The Statement outlined the main duties of the Probation Service as being:

the provision of advice to the courts; the supervision of offenders in the community subject to probation, supervision and community service orders; the provision of welfare services to offenders in custody; and the after-care of offenders released from custody including the supervision of those released on licence.

(SNOP, Home Office 1984 a, para 3).

Due to the changing nature of the Service however, and its ever increasing responsibilities at a time when both the crime rate and public concern about crime were rising, "the Probation Service has constantly to ensure that its work is effective, that it is relevant to the needs of the community which it serves and that it has the confidence both of the courts and of the public at large". (Home

Office 1984a, para 6, italics added).

Co-operation between the Probation Service and other agencies was to be apparent at both local level, and centrally with the Home Office.

It was made perfectly clear however that although the Probation Service would be allowed to expand by just over 3 per cent in 1984/85 as compared with the previous year:

the response to changing needs and circumstances cannot always be the provision of extra resources. The first task must be to check that existing resources are being deployed in a cost effective way.

(Home Office 1984a, 1984, para 7).

Priorities therefore had to be adjusted and new methods of working within the existing resources had to be adopted. In pursuance of the main purpose of the Service, which was to provide supervision in the community for those offenders for whom the courts decided it was necessary and appropriate, the Service had as its principle tasks:

- (i) the provision of reports to the courts which may include reasoned advice on sentencing;
- (ii) supervising offenders subject to probation, supervision and community service orders;
- (iii) providing throughcare for offenders sentenced to custody, and exercising supervision after release in cases where required by law.

(Home Office 1984a, Purpose III).

In fulfilment of these purposes and the discharge of its statutory responsibilities, the Probation Service was to attain 4 objectives, viz, working with the courts, supervision in the community,

throughcare and other work in the community.

The throughcare objective was defined thus:

- (vi) assisting prisoners while in custody, and in preparation for and following release;
- (vii) ensuring that offenders under statutory supervision comply with the requirements of their licences, and assisting them so far as possible to make a successful and law-abiding adjustment to ordinary life.

(Home Office 1984a objective C).

However, one of the issues causing most concern in the SNOP document, in addition to the fact that the role of the seconded probation officer was not mentioned in the process, nor work with the family, was the broad order of priorities to be followed and particularly the position of throughcare in this order:

- a. offenders should be dealt with by non custodial measures.
- b. Preparation of Social enquiry reports.
- c. "Sufficient resources should be allocated to throughcare to enable the Service's statutory obligations to be discharged (including the reduction in the minimum qualifying period for parole). Beyond that, social work for offenders released from custody, though important in itself, can only command the priority which is consistent with the main objective of implementing non-custodial measures for offenders who might otherwise receive custodial sentences".
- d. Wider work in the community.
- e. Civil Work.

(Home Office 1984a para vi).

The ambiguity regarding throughcare in the Statement of Objectives and Priorities is particularly evident here, especially when referring to 'statutory obligations', and throughcare's relationship to after-care. For example, the Statement says that the Probation Service's duties include the provision of welfare services to offenders in custody including the supervision of those released on licence (para 3). Also, when outlining the Purpose, Objectives and Priorities of the Probation Service, principle tasks included:

providing throughcare for offenders sentenced to custody, and exercising supervision after release in cases where required by law.

(Home Office 1984a purpose III (iii) italics added).

This distinction between work carried out during custody and the statutory duty to comply with supervision requirements was also noted in the definition of throughcare:

C Throughcare

- (vi) assisting prisoners while in custody, and in preparation for and following release;
- (vii) ensuring that offenders under statutory supervision comply with the requirements of their licences, and assisting them so far as possible to make a successful and law abiding adjustment to ordinary life.

(Home Office 1984a priority C).

There would therefore appear to be an implied distinction between the non statutory duties of the Probation Service during custody and the statutory 'after-care' requirements of youth custody supervision or licence.

The Statement continued:

The extent to which this order of priorities will involve a redistribution of resources or a change in the existing priorities of area probation services will vary according to the circumstances of the service concerned. In general it may be expected that priority (a) will continue to engage an increasing proportion of the Service's total resources; that (d) will engage an increasing amount of energy or management effort but not necessarily of total manpower; and that (b), (c) and (e) will involve some reappraisal of methods to establish the scope for using the existing or a slightly reduced level of resources to better effect.

(Home Office 1984a para VII).

SNOP was thus the first occasion on which the Home Office had attempted to openly direct and determine the objectives and priorities of the Probation Service. As pointed out by Whitehead (1987), SNOP also differed radically from previous reports relating to the Probation Service. The Statement was concerned specifically with the purpose, tasks, objectives and priorities of the Probation Service in the five spheres of court work, supervision of offenders in the community, throughcare, community work and civil work (Whitehead, 1987, p393). Reports such as the Morison Report (Home Office, 1962) were concerned with staff training, salaries, recruitment etc. Whitehead also points out that there was a shift in ideology for the Probation Service contained in the Statement of Objectives and Priorities. Although the document uses the language of support, guidance and advice; endorses social work with offenders; and

advocates crime prevention and mediation and reparation; it is not primarily concerned with rehabilitation. The major emphasis of the document is that the Probation Service contributes to the reduction of crime during the period the offender is on supervision. As Whitehead says:

This constitutes a more modest goal for the probation service than previously, and as such is a significant ideological shift. (Whitehead, 1987, p.393).

This has implications both for the definition and purpose of throughcare, given the rather tenuous evidence suggesting that casework may have an effect on reoffending and the fact that throughcare encompasses a scope much wider than solely reoffending.

However, in conclusion, Whitehead (1987) says that what SNOP prescribes may well be different from what happens in practice in area Probation Services in future (p393). The extent of this can be assessed from an examination later in this section of Charles Lloyd's (1986) study of the Probation Services' response to SNOP and also in the next section of my own more recent survey aimed at evaluating youth custody throughcare practice in response to SNOP. However, it should be pointed out that although area Services may respond differently to the guidelines outlined in the Statement some concern has been expressed about the general status of throughcare in both the SNOP document and in probation practice.

Lacey and Read (1985) for example feel that the low priority afforded throughcare in SNOP may confirm existing weaknesses and further encourage 'out of sight, out of mind attitudes' (p61). Along these lines, Stone (1986) feels that the Statement may have given

local Services an excuse to continue to allocate throughcare a low priority. It may be useful to quote at length from Stone in this:

We know very little about the construction of throughcare and after-care relationships, the gate-keeping processes that are adopted to reach out to or deter customers, though one suspects that we have often opted for our own version of a 'quiet life' by creating tricky motivational hurdles for prospective clients to leap, and have cooled out many of the labelled 'unredeemables', the failures we have been unable to offer service to at the pre-sentence stage, the least attached, the reluctant and the truculent, etc. Thus some services have responded to SNOP by a variety of bureaucratic rationalising devices - such as setting tighter time limits for involvements, allowing fewer visits to institutions, setting mileage ceilings, having selection criteria such as working only with those serving 6 months or more, or by giving this kind of work lower weighting in workload measurement.

(Stone, 1986, p34).

So, did SNOP merely reinforce what Services were already thinking or doing or did it energise people into looking at the concept afresh? NAPO (1986a) mention that the general throughcare scene was gloomy although there were some examples of good practice within the general situation. They mention that throughcare and after-care have traditionally been accorded low priority by successive Governments (para 18-19) and that the Government's response to the situation, as outlined in the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities for the Probation Service (SNOP) announced in May 1984, was "deeply



disappointing"(para 20). They feel that it could lead to the abandoning of voluntary after-care, but do admit that:

One effect of SNOP has been to force the Probation Service to take the case for throughcare from the back of the filing cabinet and reconsider its place within service provision.

NAPO, 1986a para 21).

Nevertheless, NAPO did feel that the Home Office's view of throughcare as expressed in SNOP was dangerously short sighted and dominated by misplaced notions of cost effectiveness (para 20). Of course, the main emphasis of the Statement was on the best use of resources, or 'value for money' and it is perhaps inevitable that when this is the case, non statutory duties (into which category much of throughcare falls eg, visits and correspondence during custody, and anything over and above the bare minimum of reporting regularly on supervision - the offender is only legally bound to report as and when told to by his probation officer. What is discussed is completely up to him and he cannot be breached for refusing to participate in a 'rehabilitation' or 'resettlement' project/programme). As pointed out by Raynor (1984), who notes the need for local differentiation in responding to SNOP, any attempt to state consistent and comprehensive national objectives for a locally organised service is of itself an innovation (p43).

Before looking at the first survey of national response to SNOP (Lloyd 1986) it may be useful to point out a further aspect of the document, mentioned by John Hicks (1986).

Hicks (1986) makes it clear that the basic approach of the SNOP paper to through care was conceptually flawed (p25). Hicks was quite rightly concerned that SNOP had made the same vulnerable group of

offenders a high priority on probation but a low priority during and after a custodial sentence. After all, those most at risk of further custody are those currently serving a prison sentence. It was made clear by Hicks that the Probation Service should articulate its objectives and priorities, but must always bear the above in mind. He notes that:

If the Prison Department makes resettlement its fourth priority and SNOP gives throughcare low priority, the combined effect can only be to reinforce the revolving door syndrome.

(Hicks, 1986, p25).

As mentioned, Raynor (1984) acknowledged the need for local differentiation in interpretation of the draft document **National Purpose and Objectives** which formed the basis for SNOP.

Parker et al (1987), in an attempt to evaluate the Probation response [to SNOP], and as part of a larger project looking at the impact of the 1982 Criminal Justice Act, administered a questionnaire to all Probation Services in England and Wales (Parker, et al, 1987, p26). A 69 per cent response rate was obtained after extensive consultation with the Home Office and ACOP. The questionnaire was not specifically concerned with throughcare, rather the change in general policy, SER's, community supervision for both juveniles and adults and sentencing 'packages' following the '82 Act and SNOP. It will not be analysed in detail here, suffice to say, the Services responding in the sample were not representative on a national basis, with those not responding, tending to be the less heavily populated and more rural areas, probably due to genuine difficulties in collating the information requested. 71 per cent of

the areas responding to the questionnaire had recently produced a new or revised policy statement although this did not necessarily indicate a wholesale change in policy. Parker et al reported disparate reactions to the '82 Act, some services enthusiastically compiling local versions of SNOP and a style of management compatible with it. Other Services however were less welcoming, some admitting with resignation that the Act must be accepted but trying to find a 'middle ground'.

The most comprehensive survey of direct response to SNOP was that of Lloyd (1986). Lloyd's analysis focused on changes in local policy statements specifically in response to SNOP. The study was concerned NOT with what Probation Services were doing in response to SNOP, but with how local PS's had articulated their objectives and priorities in relation to the theoretical framework of the document.

Lloyd examined 45 local policy statements, noting that SNOP was the first overt attempt by central Government to influence local probation services (p2). He observed great diversity in the content and quality of the local statements. Three main reasons for this diversity were identified:

firstly, and most importantly, there are the individual influences and pressures acting locally on each area; secondly, there is the nature of the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities (SNOP), which in some places is open to a wide range of interpretation, and thirdly there is the fact that some documents in the analysis do not represent final responses to SNOP, but are draft statements, or simply local documents produced prior to SNOP.

(Lloyd, 1986, p1).

When looking at the Probation Services' response to SNOP in terms of throughcare, Lloyd (1986) noted their difficulty in defining 'throughcare' and this resulted in a wide range of responses. He found that the major obstacle in comprehending this priority was in defining statutory obligations. Lloyd concluded that the throughcare priority was ambiguously phrased in SNOP. Judging by the local statements, Lloyd felt that statutory obligations tended to be interpreted as statutory 'after care' a point which has been discussed earlier in this section.

Nevertheless, there was concern amongst Services that voluntary after-care was under threat from SNOP. Concern was also expressed that there was a complete absence of discussion in the Statement of Objectives and Priorities of the role of the seconded probation officer, and of work with the family. Indeed, ACOP had noted these omissions in the draft copy of SNOP in their initial reply to the document, but obviously little notice was taken of their concern and the resulting SNOP paper emerged virtually unchanged. Lloyd felt that this vague threat in SNOP led to even vaguer responses in local statements (p29) and many local services couched their objectives in general and abstract terms.

However, 42 of the 45 services who responded did mention throughcare specifically in their local policy statement although:

The rather ill-defined nature of some local objectives, and their great variety made a purely quantitative content analysis impossible.

(Lloyd, 1986, p29).

Regarding throughcare therefore, the resulting analysis was divided

into three parts; defined as statutory throughcare; statutory and voluntary throughcare - and voluntary throughcare, with the terms 'throughcare' and 'after-care' being used interchangeably in the discussion. The analysis deals primarily with the situation for adult prisoners and will not therefore be reproduced here, suffice to say that it includes the role of the prison probation officer, work with the family, volunteers, prison visits and the use of facilities such as the 'drop in' centres and briefly the place of specialism in the youth custody throughcare task.

Few services provided a system of priorities similar to SNOP and Lloyd suggested that this may have been because many areas did not have reliable information on resource allocation available. Another reason may have been that the Probation Service is statutorily required to undertake many of its duties, thus restricting its ability to manipulate its resources. Lloyd also notes that prioritising tasks means prioritising clients, something to which many Services are morally and philosophically opposed.

Before moving on to an analysis of national organisation of throughcare specifically, it must be noted that the Probation Service's response to SNOP was met with much caution. Probation - The Next Five Years (1987) was a joint statement by the Services' employers (CCPC), managers (ACOP) and field staff (NAPO). In response to SNOP:

The aim of this briefing document is to recommend ways in which the probation service could operate more effectively in assisting the government in restricting the increase in crime and at the same time reducing the use of custodial sentences.

(Joint Statement, 1987, para 1).

The Joint Statement was also concerned with improving the overall

efficiency of the criminal justice system. It pointed out that SNOP now needed much elaboration and amendment, then dealt with 5 broad areas of probation work and outlined the priorities for development in each (para 11).

The five areas of work were

- a) increased community involvement
- b) increased use of non custodial options
- c) improved service to the courts
- d) improved service to civil courts
- e) improved throughcare and resettlement work with prisoners.

The three organisations responsible for the Joint Statement believed that the low priority given to work with sentenced prisoners by the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities was mistaken and now needs to be fundamentally reconsidered (para 19).

It emphasises the fact pointed out by Hicks (1986) that those at most risk of reoffending are those currently in custody, but does admit that resources devoted to throughcare have always been limited. Nevertheless, the time had now come when throughcare needs a higher priority:

Throughcare and resettlement work with prisoners needs renewed effort and a higher priority.

(Joint Statement, 1987, para 19).

Within this broad objective, the Joint Statement saw the need for developments in 3 areas. 1) Throughcare and resettlement work: 2) statutory after-care work: and 3) social work in prisons.

It is interesting to note the breadth of definition of throughcare here, and the compartmentalising of its various components.

Throughcare and resettlement are seen as excluding statutory after-care, and also social work in prisons, which it was noted in the previous chapters formed a central part in the emerging throughcare concept. At the risk of labouring the point in this section, again it can be seen that there is an implied difference between statutory and non statutory work with prisoners, sometimes it is called throughcare and sometimes after-care. This interchanging of terms cannot fail to confuse the issue and lead to ambiguity in the field when it comes to implementing the policy.

However, the Joint Statement did call for experimentation in high standards of contact and positive provisions of resettlement services for release. A plea for earlier release and greater involvement of prison officers in welfare work in conjunction with increased contact between the community based Probation Service and prisoners, was also made. The most obvious fact about this is that these issues have been discussed and experimented with at length, with still little positive response coming from the Probation Service. The Joint Statement did not tackle the issues in a convincing or radical manner and made no reference to NAPO's policy of withdrawal of probation officers from prison. However, leaving these and other criticisms aside for a moment, the main recommendations concerning throughcare were:

- \* Improved throughcare with prisoners
- \* greater contact with prisoners and improved resettlement services
- \* evaluation of the impact of such work on re-offending rates
- \* support for a review of parole and the introduction of

- unsupervised conditional release for short sentence prisoners
- \* greater involvement of basic grade prison staff in welfare and resettlement work with prisoners.

(Joint Statement, 1987, Recommendation (e)).

There was no mention made of work with the offenders family and perhaps the silence in both SNOP and the Joint Statement can be taken to indicate disfavour in a priority orientated approach to work with offenders.

There is no doubt that an official response to SNOP was sorely needed since the Probation Service had now experienced the full impact of the CJA, 1982. The Joint Statement does give a strong commitment to throughcare and the integration of the work of the Probation Service with that of other relevant community agencies. However, as pointed out by Rungay (1988), a major criticism of the Joint Statement is that it ignores the full thrust of policy within the criminal justice system as a whole and consequently if this is correct, invites an unrealistically benign view of the difficulties facing the Probation Service in asserting its role there. Also, by ignoring internal divisions within the Probation Service, itself, Rungay feels that the Joint Statement represents an inadequate basis for the formulation of policy and practice.

The Joint Statement confirmed the already low priority and lack of motivation in the throughcare task mentioned earlier in this chapter. As Rungay points out, there is an ambivalence in the Service which also reaches out to the relative attractiveness of various aspects of responsibility.

The commitment to a 'renewed effort and higher priority' for through and after-care is laudable but the joint statement's



attention is concentrated on what is seen as SNOP's misplaced identification of this as lower-priority work.

While it has accepted the principle of through and after-care, the probation service has never whole-heartedly demonstrated this in practice.

(Rumgay, 1988, p200).

The reluctance of some probation officers to work in prisons and their general preference for non-institutional forms of contact has emphasised this half hearted approach. Rumgay continues:

In according through and after-care low priority SNOP identified the reality of its ranking among the competing demands of the service.

(Rumgay, 1988, p200).

As noted earlier, there was no mention of the role of the seconded probation officer or work with the family, and, although the Joint Statement (1987) recommended that the Probation Service should offer much more contact with prisoners from its community base (Joint Statement, 1987, para 20 (iii)), this is made without reference to NAPO's policy of withdrawal of probation officers from prison (1986a).

This section has offered a resume of the current national situation with regard to throughcare policy and its ideals. The major documents and initiatives have been discussed, along with mention of any evaluative research in this area. The Criminal Justice Act, 1982; Financial Management Initiative; Statement of National objectives and Priorities; and the resulting Joint Statement offer a framework within which the Probation Service is required to provide throughcare to offenders, intending to offer a way forward whilst drawing attention

to pressures and restrictions. the following section will examine the organisation of youth custody throughcare nationally, looking at issues of policy and practice, and drawing primarily on the results obtained from a questionnaire sent to all 56 Probation Services in England and Wales, and also from other relevant documents literature and surveys.

(ii) National Organisation of youth custody throughcare: issues of policy and practice

Having examined the various documents and initiatives concerning throughcare in the previous section it now seems appropriate to assess the response of the Probation Service in terms of policy and practice. Following the Criminal Justice Act, 1982, the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities was a potential threat to the provision of throughcare to offenders sentenced to Youth Custody. This section will analyse the national situation regarding youth custody throughcare since the 1982 Criminal Justice Act, providing a background of restrictions and failed and successful implementation of policy, against which an in depth study of Humberside Probation Service can be more fully understood and assessed.

The section draws primarily on the responses to a short questionnaire addressing specific aspects of youth custody throughcare, sent to the Chief Probation Officer, (CPO) of each of the fifty six Probation Services in England and Wales. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix (1a). Other documents and surveys obtained through previous contact with Probation Services, researchers, and in the literature will also be assessed, giving as broad and complete a picture of the national organisation of youth custody throughcare as possible.

The questionnaire, and the following analysis was concerned with six specific issues of youth custody throughcare.

- a) Throughcare policy practice and resources;
- b) Specialisation;
- c) Liaison schemes;
- d) Temporary release workshops;
- e) The post release supervision period;
- f) General satisfaction with youth custody throughcare and areas for improvement.

In addition to the published and stated policy and practice<sup>c</sup> by Services, it was felt necessary to include the views of individual probation officers and in some cases youth custody trainees where they offered a contribution to the discussion and/or illustrated the problems of fully implementing a throughcare policy.

After a follow up letter, the total number of Probation Services responding was 48 (86%), although 2 did not complete<sup>L</sup> the questionnaire, forwarding instead their policy or other relevant document with a note of explanation. The main analysis is therefore based on the 46 questionnaires completed and returned. A list of those services responding and not responding can be found in Appendix (1d). Apart from London City, it would seem that those Services not responding (total = 8) were in the more geographically remote counties although there was nothing to indicate that this was the reason for not completing the questionnaire. One Service did in fact make it completely clear in a letter that they were not willing to participate in any more student research projects regardless of the nature of the project.

a Youth custody throughcare: policy, practice and resources

38 of the 48 services responding, (79%), had produced a document of one sort or another aimed at either standardising or improving the level of throughcare for either adults, young offenders or both. Of these 38 Services, 33 sent copies of their documents. The format of these documents are summarised in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Type of throughcare document produced since 1982

Type of document	Total Respondents	
	No.	%
1. Policy paper/practice guideline/ minimum standards document - for ALL prisoners, including Youth Custody trainees	11	(33)
2. Policy paper/practice guideline/ minimum standards document - for Youth Custody Trainees only	9	(28)
3. Outline of legal position for Youth Custody following '82 Act	4	(12)
4. Guidelines for supervision/breach of Youth Custody	3	(9)
5. Guidelines for specialist teams/ temporary release	3	(9)
6. Area review of Youth Custody and standards to be followed by policy	2	(6)
7. Targets/priorities/objectives for Youth Custody clients	1	(3)
TOTAL	33	(100)

In addition to the differing nature of the documents, there was much variation in the general content. Some were no longer than one side of paper, offering a brief statement of procedures, whilst others included a detailed description of the legislative provisions for youth custody throughcare and procedures necessary for the

implementation of an effective throughcare policy.

Looking in more detail at the documents; since throughcare is a relatively ill defined concept, it was expected that some form of definition or statement of aims and objectives would be attempted before outlining the procedures necessary to implement the policy. However, only 11 documents outlined their throughcare aims, objectives or offered a definition. Table 5.2 summarises these aims and objectives. Some Services had more than one aim, objective or definition.

From table 5.2 it can be seen that offering assistance to offenders in custody and preparing them for release has been grouped with attempts to assist the offender make a successful reintegration back into the community. The reason for this was the emphasis placed in the original statements of aims, etc., on the transition from custody to supervision and the most effective means of successfully achieving this. The preparation for release and reintegration into the community were seen to be a continuing process. The contribution of throughcare to reducing the risk of reoffending (which was often referred to as the ultimate aim), was noted in 8 documents (73%) as was the awareness of a need to maintain or develop links with the family and/or wider community whilst inside. In addition, 5 Probation Services (45%) recognised the need to alleviate some of the harmful effects of imprisonment itself and the problems which it created. Throughcare was also seen in 3 cases (27%) to involve a linking of the offenders past and present experience with anticipation for his future situation.

Table 5.2 Aims, objectives and definitions of throughcare

Aims, Objectives, Definitions of T/C	Total Definitions	
	No	(%)
1. Offer support in custody and prepare for release	6	(55)
2. Assist offender in his efforts to reintegrate back into community	3	(27)
	9	(82)
3. Reduce the risk of reoffending	8	(73)
4. Maintain/develop family and community	8	(73)
5. Mitigate harmful effects of imprisonment	5	(45)
6. Assist offender by recognising his past, present and future experiences	3	(27)
7. Ensure offender completes period of supervision satisfactorily	2	(18)
8. Establish links with offenders sufficient to warrant non-custodial sentence if he reoffends	1	(9)
TOTAL	36	(327)
*Total no. of respondents = 11		

It is interesting however to note that only 2 services (18%) felt that throughcare was concerned with ensuring that the young offender successfully completed his period of statutory supervision, and one Service, perhaps rather pessimistically felt that throughcare should ensure that sufficient links were made with the offender to warrant a non custodial sentence should he reoffend.

The 33 policy documents/guidelines were analysed with regard to the general procedures for throughcare laid out in HOC 58/83; CI 24/83, viz, duties at court, during sentence and after release. Twenty six Services (79%) either mentioned these duties or reproduced relevant sections of the Circulars and the remaining 7 (21%) concentrated

specifically on either procedures for supervision, specialisation, temporary release, breach, parole or a general review of standards. Indeed, 8 services had carried out a review or evaluation of either youth custody throughcare generally or temporary release specifically. These reviews ranged from large scale surveys of practice (eg in the South West Region, reported by Bridges, 1988), to smaller scale area reviews (eg Middlesex).

Bearing in mind that throughcare should involve good communication and liaison between establishment staff and the community based probation officer, 22 Services (67%) mentioned this specifically in their policy document. Emphasis tended to be on maintaining existing links or building up a good relationship with institutions where one did not already exist.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the publication of the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities for the Probation Service in England and Wales in 1984, (Home Office 1984a, SNOP), part of the Conservative Governments' Financial Management Initiative aimed to give its departments a clearer idea of functions, tasks, responsibilities and make the most efficient use of resources in achieving objectives, gave throughcare a relatively low priority behind work with the courts and in the community. So to what extent has the priority afforded throughcare in SNOP affected its reported provision by the community based Probation Service?

In fact, 34 Services of those completing the questionnaire (74%) stated that the provision of youth custody throughcare had NOT been affected by the content and direction of SNOP. However, this may imply that throughcare was already receiving a low priority and SNOP simply reinforced the traditional lack of attention to this area of

work especially as only 3 Services who qualified their answer that they had not been affected stated that youth custody throughcare had always received a HIGH priority and the SNOP document therefore had little or no relevance for them and they had chosen not to adopt it. One Service noted that although they had not been affected by SNOP there had been some anxiety about it, although they did not specify what this anxiety was.

However, 12 of the 46 Services responding (26%) did report having been directly affected by SNOP. Of these only 3 claimed to have been positively affected. One Service had set up a specialist team as a direct result of SNOP, the aim being to contain work and improve consistency of service. One specialist team stated that throughcare had always received a high priority and SNOP spurred them into further improving their service in an attitude of "we'll show you". This team also emphasised the fact that clients should not be downgraded simply because they had the label of 'prisoner' attached to them rather than 'probationer'. Another Service reported that the more economic use of resources inspired by SNOP had resulted in a more thorough provision of throughcare.

This left 9 Probation Services reporting that they had been adversely affected by SNOP. Just how these Services said they had been affected can be seen in table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Adverse affects of SNOP on the provision of youth custody throughcare reported by 9 services

1. Closure of YO unit due to emphasis on providing schedule 11 probation orders.

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2. Specialist youth custody T/C officers are directed to preparing SER's on new clients and performing court duties when staff shortages in these areas of work occur



3. Governors not agreeing to finance temporary release for homeless offenders.
4. Difficulties in balancing staffing between court and resettlement.
5. Input restricted to fulfilling the bare essentials of statutory supervision.
6. Difficulty in fully implementing policy against competing interests from other priorities.
7. Youth custody throughcare is under resourced.
8. Generally low priority.
9. Indirectly, SNOP reinforced already unpopular area of work and has been used to justify the traditional lack of attention to throughcare.

Some of the effects of SNOP on the priority and resources given to throughcare would therefore appear to be quite severe. The closure of a young offender unit and the directing of specialist youth custody officers from their throughcare responsibilities to preparing social enquiry reports would appear a major obstacle to maintaining or affording throughcare a consistently high priority. The priority afforded youth custody throughcare nationally in SNOP was generally seen to be a problem which was difficult to solve at local level given the other 'more pressing' commitments. Concern was expressed in several cases about the unwillingness of Governors to finance homeless offenders to take part in temporary release workshops, even though a probation approved hostel/lodgings had been guaranteed. Often it was these very trainees who were in most need of temporary release or who would have benefited most from it.

Overall then the majority of Probation Services responding to the questionnaire had produced a throughcare policy document or other practice guideline. Definitions, aims and objectives tended to concur

in addressing issues of preparation for release, reintegration back into the wider community after release, reducing the risk of reoffending and maintaining or developing links with the family and community during custody. In pursuance of these aims, most Services claimed to follow the guidelines offered in the relevant throughcare circulars, and tried to minimise the potential effects that the publication of SNOP could have had on throughcare.

(b) Specialisation

Probation Services were asked if they had a policy on youth custody throughcare specialisation, and what their current arrangements were for providing throughcare. Of the 46 Services who completed the questionnaire, 15 reported (33%) having a policy of sorts of youth custody throughcare specialisation although it was pointed out in some cases that this was only partial and 'policy' may have been too strong a word to use! Nationally, there are a number of ways and models of organising youth custody throughcare Table 5.4 broadly outlines these different models and the number of Services employing them. It must be pointed out however, that the nature of the replies and content of documents made it difficult to categorise on a purely quantitative basis and terms used such as 'partial' specialisation have been incorporated as accurately as possible in the following bands.

Table 5.4 National Organisation of Youth Custody

throughcare - specialisation

Model	Total Models	
	No	%
1. Specialist officers in more than one but not all teams	10	(22)

2. One specialist team	8	(17)
3. More than one specialist team	4	(9)
4. Specialist officer in all teams	4	(9)
5. Left to discretion of individual teams ...no statement of results	3	(7)
6. Officer with specialist responsibility in a single team	2	(4)
7. One specialist team with other specialists throughout county	1	(2)
8. No specialist provision	12	(26)
Statement of agreed objection to specialisation	2	(4)
	14	(30)
TOTAL	46	(100)

Thirty two Services responding to the questionnaire, ie 70 per cent, do therefore have some Provision for specialisation. Two Services have a statement of agreed objection to specialisation, 8 Services did not provide a reason for not adopting a specialist approach, but 4 did point to problems of logistics, geography and lack of numbers of clients as a reason for maintaining a generic approach to youth custody throughcare. These 4 Services pointed to the fact that the wide geographical dispersal of a few clients in a large rural county did not warrant the expenditure of resources and commitment needed to set up and run a specialist service. It simply was not feasible and couldn't work. These factors would then appear to determine the implementation of some degree of specialisation within a Service.

Looking in more detail now at youth custody throughcare specialisation there are several issues which emerged from an examination of the policy/practice documents, and other literature, reports and surveys. A further dimension was added by assessing the views of individual probation officers in Humberside - looking at

their understanding and experience of the specialist approach, and how this fits in with the nature of the county and various models which are available nationally. The various documents and comments were analysed to gain an insight into reasons for adopting a specialist approach, problems in so doing, and the general advantages and disadvantages for the Probation Service, probation officer and client in implementing this approach to youth custody throughcare.

A comprehensive review of young offender throughcare encompassing the specialist approach in Essex following the Criminal Justice Act, 1982 was carried out by Kay Foad (1984). Essex Probation Service developed a specialist youth custody team in response to the shorter periods of supervision generally introduced by the '82 Act. It was anticipated that a specialist approach would lead to the development of positive relationships with trainees inside; a greater focussing of liaison efforts with establishments; an ability to initiate pre release groups; ensure that reporting standards were consistently maintained; opportunities to offer practical support and counselling would be increased, ensure a home visit within two weeks of release would take place; and experiment with group supervision, (Foad, 1984, pp24/25).

A review of these aims found them all to have been achieved, except for the last - the setting up of post release supervision groups. In addition, specialists felt that they were gaining a better insight into difficulties associated with rehabilitation and recognised the need for a structured approach to supervision in order to avoid the state and effects of anti-climax experienced by many clients after a few weeks back in the community. However, it should

be pointed out that difficulties had been experienced in maintaining standards due to demands of other work and priorities, although "the consensus opinion in the office is that this is a viable scheme and positive innovation", (Foad, 1984, p25).

Although Mid Glamorgan Probation Service felt that their objectives with clients could be best met by a specialist approach, in that specialisms offered a more efficient and cost effective use of resources, North East London Probation Service offered a word of caution. They felt that throughcare with youth custody clients could be carried out just as conscientiously with a generic set up as with a specialist one. In this respect we can take a brief look at a large scale survey of youth custody throughcare carried out in the South West Region and reported by Andrew Bridges (1988).

This survey, encompassing all 5 youth custody centres in the South West Region, examined a profile of 2000 receptions and 1000 pre-release as to their throughcare CONTACT. Three areas of contact were analysed:

1. Intensity of visits - average number of visits per Youth Custody trainee as a whole and from each Probation Area.
2. Consistency of visiting - proportion of trainees who had NO visit.
3. Consistency of contact - proportion of trainees who had neither a visit nor a letter during custody.

Results indicated that the more geographically remote areas of Dyfed and Cornwall scored relatively poorly in terms of visiting although Cornwall did have a 100% record of contact by either letter or visit. Generally, those areas which had either partially or wholly organised youth custody throughcare into a specialist service appeared to have an advantage on the 3 measures above.

Oxfordshire and South Glamorgan provided the most consistent throughcare service to youth custody clients. However, some other areas with specialist provision did NOT 'score' so well, particularly Dorset and Avon. Further, those areas without specialisation, who nevertheless chose to treat throughcare as a high priority achieved good results; Wiltshire in particular scored highly in terms of consistency of contact. As Bridges points out:

...specialisation may be an advantage in providing an effective throughcare service, but it is by no means essential. It can be done effectively by the 'ordinary' probation officer as well. (Bridges, 1988, p19).

Oxfordshire, it can be seen above scored consistently highly in their level of throughcare contact. The approach to youth custody throughcare in Oxford has received much attention, reported by Scott-Denness (1984), who notes that there was an emphasis on group casework both inside and outside the institution, focusing on the main areas of employment, finance, personality problems and further planning (p97). In response to my own survey (and in documents sent) the Oxford specialist youth custody team identified what they felt they were good at as a specialist team, viz:

1. Good throughcare work generally.
2. The running of groups in YCC's.
3. The running of temporary release groups.
4. Understanding and using the youth custody legislation to the clients' benefit.
5. Acknowledging and to an extent working with the group dimension which was considered crucial to tackling the offending behaviour of many young people.

However, the youth custody team were not sure if they could claim any great expertise in social work with these clients per se, and made the point that it could be difficult to extend their duties from youth custody clients alone to young offenders generally. This, they felt would make too many inroads into the caseloads of other field teams and could break the geographical link between local community resources and clients.

The emphasis on group work in the Oxfordshire approach was also mentioned by the South East London Probation Service in relation to its young offender unit (formerly borstal unit) which had as an objective to enable regular contact to be made with both the establishment staff and the client thereby enabling experimentation to take place with post release group projects.

Before moving on to examine the views of the Humberside probation officers on the place of specialisation, and offer a general assessment of the pros and cons of adopting a specialist approach to youth custody throughcare, it may be useful to take a look at an in depth study of the problems inherent in setting up and maintaining a specialist service.

Merseyside Probation Service conducted a comprehensive survey of youth custody throughcare in their region in October 1984, a copy of which was sent in response to my survey, (Crolley and Burgess 1984). This focused on the provision of specialisation, the initial aim being to provide an overview of Divisional Structures and portray staff opinions about specialism and its workings. Analysis of staff responses showed that the central factor in operating youth custody throughcare was poor staff morale. So, what were the reasons for this disillusionment?

Merseyside adopted a policy of specialisation in response to the introduction of Youth Custody in order to cope effectively with the difference of the throughcare task. Difficulties arose immediately in that management failed to consult NAPO about local implementation of the policy. Branch members felt that the policy statements both changed the emphasis of their work and appeared to run counter to NAPO policy (although it did not specify what "NAPO policy" was). They felt that there was a shift in emphasis from social work principles to containment and surveillance and this led to fears of a grave deterioration of service. Really, the main emphasis of the review was the effect on individual morale in the achievement of organisational objectives. Social isolation and officers being left to work things out on their own; feelings of abandonment by colleagues were rife; and officers identified a lack of opportunity to engage in full team membership wherein the different skills and interests of all staff could be utilised either to match client with probation officer, or contribute to team development. The structure of specialisation, which was arbitrary and left to the discretion of each team so there was no uniformity and no communication - everyone was doing their own thing, meant that specialism bit deep into the practice of team functioning and created role conflict and ambiguity when clients were transferred from one officer to another, one office to another. During supervision it was felt that management was antipathetic to the principle of community/neighbourhood work and the licence was found to be operating at a rather mechanical level.



All maingrade Probation Officers with responsibility for Youth Custody throughcare in North Humberside were also interviewed and this area was covered.

Thirty two officers were interviewed in all, although 3 of these were used in the pilot study and therefore, the following observations are based on the answers provided by the 29 officers used in the main study. These officers were asked if they felt that youth custody throughcare would be best provided by a specialist or generic approach with the following results:

14 officers were in favour of a specialist approach

5 officers were in favour of a generic approach

7 officers were not sure or felt it depended on whether the individual officer was 'patch' orientated, and more importantly on the size and nature of the area.

3 officers recognised that a better service may be provided by a specialist approach but preferred to maintain a generic workload themselves.

Of those 14 who felt that specialism offered a better method of providing YC throughcare, a total of 8 came from the same team. This was in fact the total number from this city team who held YC cases and who operated a semi specialist approach anyway, although some P.O's. held many more cases than others. Only 2 respondents came from the rural teams. The major benefits to be reaped from a specialist approach were seen to be that clients got a consistently better service for what were becoming increasingly more complex problems. There were also the issues of throughcare being given a low priority if it was provided for by a generically based Service, and the

opportunity to focus efforts more effectively, often by a group approach to issues such as accommodation and employment. Perhaps surprisingly, only one officer mentioned increased job satisfaction as a benefit deriving from a specialist approach.

Although these officers were in favour of specialising, there was an awareness of some of the problems associated with the approach. As one probation officer stated:

... personally I would be quite happy for it to be dealt with by a specialist team. However, the problems with this and having specialist teams is that often they soak up resources ... sadly it would mean less probation officers around to deal with the rest of the workload ... If however I could be assured that a specialist team could be set up within the resources given now, then I would be very happy with it.

(Probation Officer interview No. 2).

Nevertheless, 5 officers were in favour of retaining a generic approach and 7 were not sure. Of those 5 who were strongly in favour of the generic workload, it was mentioned that new officers would gain only limited experience through specialisation, and also the motivation of the individual officer was of paramount importance:

I don't think it [the T/C task] particularly has to be done by a specialist. If you are the type of officer to devote time and effort to clients needs then we [genericists] are just as capable as a specialist team.

(Probation Officer interview No. 14).

Of the 7 who weren't sure whether a specialist approach was desirable, the general feeling was that the determining factor had to be the nature of the area - whether it was rural or urban. As might

be expected most of those who opted for the generic approach, or who weren't sure came from the less central teams. As one officer put it:

That's [specialisation] a nice idea but depends on the area you are talking about. I mean in a city centre office that's great, yes, I do [think specialisation is a good idea] ... But in a team like ours with rural spread it is virtually impossible to do it in that way because the centres of population are too far apart.

(Probation Officer interview, No. 24).

The final group of 3 Humberside probation officers, although recognising that specialists may give a 'better' service felt that because they enjoyed a mixed caseload would prefer to retain the generic set up within the country. The uncertainty of this was expressed thus:

I think it's [T/C] probably best served by a specialist team although personally I like the idea of having the opportunity to have a generic caseload ... Do you see what I mean? ... I realise professionally and in the interests of the clients themselves that a specialist team would probably definitely provide the best service although on a personal note I quite like the idea of having a varied caseload, getting experience with all different sorts of cases. -(Probation Officer interview (Probation Officer interview No. 12).

Some advantages and disadvantages inherent in specialisation have been mentioned in the previous discussion of the Probation Service's response to the Criminal Justice Act 1982 and SNOP. Some of those have also been articulated by probation officers directly involved in the specialist throughcare approach and we can now examine these

before offering a general summary of the benefits and drawbacks of implementing some degree of specialisation within a Service.

Atkinson and Chidgey, (1987), reported on some of the findings of adopting a specialist approach to throughcare and other areas of work in their region, (Dorset). Specialisation in Dorset was set up as a response to perceived inequality of workload across the county. In addition to addressing this workload imbalance, there was an expectation that specialisation would lead to an increase in expertise, the development of imaginative work practices, increased credibility and impact with others involved in that area of work, and a general increase in job satisfaction and the Service's effectiveness. From the point of view of the client, his needs could be met without pressure from other priorities, and they would receive a generally more consistent service while inside. The point was made by Atkinson and Chidgey that with a larger team, resources could be concentrated in one direction, therefore offering more scope for group work and other projects. It appeared a basic factor in Dorset's decision to adopt a specialist approach that a regional team had a much larger client market to tap and therefore potentially a much greater chance of making a success of any particular project.

However Atkinson and Chidgey were not altogether convinced of the overall benefit of a completely specialist Service. They noted that the change from a generic to specialist approach was quite a dramatic shift in personal and professional practice and had a number of implications for workload management, personal autonomy and developments in teams and team work. Atkinson and Chidgey reported that workloads had remained high and pressures of work constant, leaving little opportunity to actively set up the projects which had

been initially envisaged. There was a loss of informal networks built up by local teams and clients often had the problem of seeing several probation officers throughout their criminal career and indeed, single sentence. The other costs tended to be in the form of intangibles, and for staff included boredom with the same area of work which was often repetitive, a loss of touch with other aspects of work (which may affect career prospects) and the need to be in close proximity to other members of staff for support.

The Kilburn youth custody throughcare team (1986), also point out many of the pros and cons of adopting the specialist team approach. As also pointed out by Atkinson and Chidgey (1987), the Kilburn team (who are based in Brent, Middlesex), feel that they can respond quickly to the imposition of a YC sentence, offer more continuity pre and post release, pool knowledge from officers to best meet client needs, offer more variety of experience and choice to the client and increase personal commitment from mutual responsibility. On the personal level, the Kilburn team note a reduction in stress levels, increase in job satisfaction and a more efficient use of time. Benefits to the client include regular visits during sentence based on planning for release, and day to day availability during supervision enabling the team to respond to problems created by homelessness and poverty. There was in addition the opportunity to develop a wide fund of local knowledge, (something which Atkinson and Chidgey felt would be lost by a specialist approach), and enhance community links. This enabled them to act almost in the capacity of a referral agency for housing and employment. The specialist approach also offered more chance to develop temporary release schemes.

Against these benefits there were seen to be very few drawbacks. Among the reservations mentioned were limits on individual control over time and task setting, increased accountability for day to day performance and a continual commitment to the implementation of decisions that individual officers may or may not personally support. The Kilburn team point out however that "these minor costs of a collective approach are in our view, heavily outweighed by the benefits" (Kilburn Youth Custody Team, 1986, p102).

The advantages and disadvantages of adopting a specialist approach discussed in this section are summarised in the following tables 5.5 and 5.6.

Table 5.5 Advantages of adopting a specialist approach to youth custody throughcare.

<p><u>A. For Probation Service(s)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- More efficient and effective use of resources</li> <li>- Throughcare offered a higher priority.</li> </ul>
<p><u>B. For client.</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Receive a consistently better service:- <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>More regular contacts during custody leading to more positive relationship</li> <li>Focus on specific areas, esp. employment, accommodation &amp; offending</li> </ul> </li> <li>- More group work during custody</li> <li>- Offer more continuity between custody and supervision</li> <li>- Greater use of temporary release</li> <li>- Ensure consistent reporting standards during supervision</li> <li>- Opportunity for home visits during supervision</li> <li>- More group work during supervision</li> </ul>

(Table 5.5 contd.)

- More day to day availability for client & more choice of expertise offered.

C. For probation officer

- Increase in expertise
  - Equalising of workloads
  - Greater opportunity to liaise with establishment
  - Development of imaginative work practices
  - Increased credibility with others involved in system
  - Increased job satisfaction
  - Fewer other pressing priorities
  - Total pooled knowledge from like specialists
  - Increased personal commitment from mutual responsibility
- ... Effective, efficient, reliable, consistent AND caring?

Table 5.6 Disadvantages of adopting a specialist approach to youth custody throughcare.

A. For Probation Service(s)

- Problems of rural/geographically remote areas:-  
(logistics, resources, motivation, lack of numbers)
- Difficulties in maintaining standards because other priorities DO crop up
- Encroaches upon other team boundaries and caseloads
- Co-ordination between management and field staff
- Inconsistency between needs of an individual and demands of formal organisation

B. For client

- May have several different probation officers during one sentence

(Table 5.6 contd.)

- Loss of traditional one-to-one relationship
- Geographical link between home and local office may be broken
- Affected by problems & consequences suffered of probation officers

C. For probation officer

- Difficulties in initial change in workload management
- Workloads do remain high and pressure of work constant
  - adverse effect on ability to initiate project work
- Boredom with repetitive task
- Loss of contact with other colleagues and areas of work (isolation) (affecting promotion) (loss of moral)
- Lack of all round experience for new officers
- Loss of informal community networks built up by local
- Shift from social work to surveillance
- Other pressures and priorities often do enroach
- Officers may prefer a generic caseload
- Limits on individual control over time and task setting
  - ... Consistent, effective, reliable, efficient, caring but rather mechanical and repetitive.

(c). Liaison schemes.

In my national survey Probation Services were asked if they operated any special liaison schemes with youth custody centres in their own probation region and/or in other regions.

Twenty Four Services, ie 52 per cent of respondents reported operating a scheme in their own region, 21 (46%) did not and 1 (2%) didn't know. Nine Services (20%) operated a liaison scheme in both their own AND other regions, and 1 Service (2%) operated a scheme in a different region but not their own.

Overall, of those Services who did operate liaison schemes, 12 had



some provision for specialisation (13 if we include the Service who operated a scheme outside but not inside their own region), and 12 did not. There was therefore nothing to indicate that in practice, specialisation led to a greater likelihood of initiating or maintaining a liaison scheme with a youth custody centre.

However, what exactly is meant by 'liaison scheme'? Services were asked to give brief details of what their scheme involved. Responses indicated a variation in content, although most did involve direct contact between the community based Probation Service and the youth custody centre in pursuance of an identified objective.

Broadly, the nature of the schemes can be divided into the categories offered in table 5.7. Some schemes involved more than one aim a purpose.

Table 5.7 Nature of liaison schemes

<u>Type of scheme operating</u> (Total No. of Services operating a scheme = 25)	Services Operating scheme	
	No.	%
1. Specialist/liaison officers visit (no defn. of what they do or how links are forged) ... depends on team.	6	(24)
2. Pre release work which includes establishment staff	5	(20)
3. Regular visits (usually monthly) to do individual work	4	(16)
4. Regular visits (usually monthly) to do group work	4	(16)
5. Regular temporary release for clients/home leave	4	(16)
6. Officers stay overnight to conduct group & individual work	2	(8)

7. Specialists within teams are allocated specific institutions	1	(4)
8. Operate scheme but don't know what it is	1	(4)
	Total	27 (108)

The most commonly adopted model then is one in which a nominated officer, often dependent upon the nature of the team forges links with, and makes regular visits to, the institutions. In some cases, the nature of the work was undefined whilst in others the primary task could be either group work, individual work or work which also included members of the youth custody centres staff in pre release courses. Generally, the group work occurred in those establishments which were locally placed and contained sufficient numbers of clients from a specific area to warrant the investment of resources and in which there was the potential for groups to be continued after release. For 4 Services, a liaison scheme consisted of regular temporary release - on both an individual and group basis. However, it is interesting to note that 2 Probation Services - Devon and Mid Glamorgan - were rather more adventurous in this area and designated liaison officers would stay overnight during visits in order to conduct group and individual interviews with clients.

The development and existence of specialisation and liaison schemes are often identified as being important in the initiation and maintenance of temporary release (T/R).

The following section will look at the T/R facility in more detail and the extent to which Probation Services run workshops in the community.

(d) Temporary Release

Temporary release (TR) was traditionally available in the Borstal

System for compassionate reasons, or for 'home leave'. However, when Part I of the Criminal Justice Act (1982), came into force in May 1983, the role and scope for, TR was greatly extended. As emphasised in HOC 58/1983:

Temporary release may be authorised for compassionate reasons (eg serious illness or death of a close relative) and particularly from youth custody centres, for specific purposes which contribute to the training and development of the young offender in custody and preparing him for his release. These include home leave (subject to sentence length); projects or programmes for groups of trainees; individualised programmes where numbers are insufficient for group projects; and employment and other interviews.

(HOC 58/1983, para 27).

It can be noticed that home leave was now regarded as a form of TR and was available for a trainee:

... to approach potential employers, to resolve difficulties associated with returning to the community, to attend interviews or gather information about education or training courses and to meet the probation officer or social worker responsible for his supervision after his release.

(HOC 58/1983, para. 30).

The facility for temporary release has therefore progressed beyond its more traditional borstal purpose (see chapter 1 above). In addition to the tangible aspects of seeking accommodation and employment, attending interviews and maintaining or renewing relationships; TR also has the purpose of testing trainee's maturity and ability to cope in the wider community, as well as ensuring their

aspirations and hopes are more realistic than idealistic when eventually released.

Temporary release does also offer the Probation Service the opportunity to become more involved in the work of the establishment. The opportunity is there for the Probation Service to initiate T/R although the final decision to release or not to release must rest with the institution. However, as John Hicks points out:

It would be my contention that it is the Probation Service's professional responsibility to take an intrusive stance towards custody and to grasp every opportunity to establish links between the experience of imprisonment and planning for release in the relevant local community. This cannot be done if the Service is not prepared to get embroiled with prisons. This professional responsibility rests not simply with main grade officers and their teams: it equally rests with senior managers of the Service as a primary objective in their working links with the Governors of local establishments (Hicks, 1986, p 23).

There is then, much scope for temporary release, particularly TR workshops or projects, where groups of lads from the same home area are released from either a single or several youth custody centres to attend a probation run scheme in their own community.

This section will review the provision of temporary release workshops/projects nationally, drawing primarily on the responses to the questionnaire sent to the 56 Probation Service, but also referring to other documents and relevant literature where appropriate. Probation Services were asked if they had organised a temporary

release workshop project in the 12 months prior to receiving the questionnaire; they were also asked to send any relevant workshop timetable/programme or if this was not possible, give brief details of the general focus of the workshop(s), location and numbers attending. When assessing the provision of the T/R workshops, the problems involved in their initiation and maintenance, aims, issues and procedures involved were examined.

To offer a practitioner's point of view of temporary release and their understanding of the scope for, and availability of, group and individual projects, the responses of Humberside probation officers will also be analysed. By examining the awareness and experience of individual officers regarding temporary release, as well as the general issues involved in initiating and maintaining a project we are able to arrive at a better understanding of how guidelines or policy can be translated into practice (or not).

Twenty six Probation Services, ie 57 per cent of those replying had organised at least one T/R workshop/project in the 12 months prior to completing the questionnaire. Six Services (13%) had one in the planning stage; 13 (28%) had not organised a scheme and 1 (2%) did not know. It is interesting to note that only 10 of the 26 Services (38%) who operated T/R workshops also identified themselves as operating some form of specialist approach towards youth custody throughcare. The fact that less than half of those T/R workshops were run by specialist services indicates that a concerted effort from a generically based service CAN be just as effective (if not more so) in initiating and running the workshop.

This is in opposition to the findings of Mr WH Hobbs, Senior Probation Officer at HMYCC Hindley, in his survey of T/R dated July

1985. In this survey he states that:

...generally, it is the specialist youth custody team which mounts the probation workshop, presumably because they are able to provide the staffing resource needed to service a formal five day workshop.

This finding was based on a survey of 17 youth custody centres. Other issues addressed, such as the criteria for TR and awareness of the Probation Service of their opportunity to initiate temporary release workshops will be discussed in the main body of this chapter.

Of those Services NOT carrying out a TR workshop, the reasons most commonly cited are summarised in table 5.8. Some Services made multiple responses.

Table 5.8

Reasons for NOT carrying out a temporary release workshop.

Reason (Total No. of respondents = 13)	Total Services identifying reason	
	No.	%
1. Lack of resources (money, staff, time, commitment)	12	(92)
2. Problems inherent in geographically remote area	8	(62)
Too few numbers of clients at any one time to warrant release	8	(62)
3. Persuading YCC's to release trainees, (esp. more difficult trainees)	6	(46)
4. Difficulty in establishing eligibility of trainees	5	(38)
5. Lack of co-ordinated structure for throughcare generally and temporary release specifically	5	(38)
6. Lack of conviction of Probation Service/Officers that T/R is effective and desirable	3	(23)

7. Co-ordinating releases from different YCC's	2	(15)
8. Fear of projects going wrong and alienating community	1	(8)
Total	50	(168%)

The major problems identified in the initial setting up of a T/R workshop revolve around resource constraints and the geographical nature of the area within which the Probation Service operates. From the point of view of liaising with the YCC, it should be noted that 6 Services faced difficulties in persuading the YCC to release trainees, often the more 'difficult' or troublesome cases who are often the ones most in need of temporary release. On occasions also there was a lack of a co-ordinated structure between management and teams which was seen to be necessary to mount a successful workshop.

As might be expected, those Services who HAD organised a T/R workshop also encountered some problems. These problems were similar to those above, apart from the fact that in practice, the most commonly encountered difficulty was in persuading the YCC to release certain trainees. Problems of resources and a rural countryside were again prominent although, with determination, in these cases not insurmountable. A factor which was noted as contributing to the success of a workshop was careful planning. This involved presenting a copy of the intended programme, often with a standard letter of explanation to the establishment(s) involved. This programme and letter would contain details of the purpose, content and cost of the workshop, emphasising the relevance of the experience to the youth and his training in the institution. It was also seen as important to stress the approved nature of the lodgings at which the trainee would

be staying, precise times at which they would be returning to the YCC, and present (if possible) a copy of a 'contract' which the prospective participants would be required to sign before being allowed to take part in the workshop.

Other problems included knowing in advance what the optimum number of participants would be, but generally it seemed as though Services opted for between 6 and 10 trainees. There was then the perennial problem of trainees misbehaving inside and being put in segregation, thereby from the establishments point of view, excluding them from the TR scheme. Also, programmes had in the past been marred by the lack of motivation and disruptive behaviour of a few individuals. The drawing up of a 'contract' before the workshop began, did however seem to ease this problem. Several Services also pointed out that the Prison Department would not pay for homeless offenders to be accommodated in local approved lodgings/hostels during the workshop. There was much confusion as to why this should be. Some YCC's also restricted travel money and subsistence and again 'played safe', using the money and subsistence restrictions as an excuse not to release the more difficult trainees. A final problem to be mentioned here is that of parole. Trainees who qualified for parole either no longer qualified for the T/R workshop, or if they had been refused parole, again some YCC's would no longer agree to release them.

The aims and objectives involved in setting up the workshops were also examined from the timetables/programmes etc. returned with the questionnaire. Often there was a reiteration of the aims and purpose of T/R specified in HOC 58/1983; CI 24/1983 (outlined earlier in this section), but it may be useful to present the general aims, objectives and purpose of the workshops outlined in the various programmes.



Often the aims etc were rather ill defined, but Table 5.9 outlines those factors which were seen by Probation Services to be important reasons for initiating T/R workshops.

**Table 5.9 Aims, objectives and issues involved in setting up a temporary release workshop**

1. Opportunity for supervisor and client to meet, improve/develop their relationship and plan for supervision - (draw up a 'contract' for supervision?)
2. Reintroduce trainees back into community and dispel any false fantasies which may have arise while inside  ie <u>contribute to successful reintegration</u>
3. Allow time to sort out problems, especially offending, accommodation, employment and relationships
4. Supplement similar schemes within the institution.
5. Provide closer links/liaison with institution. Reduce tension in YCC by offering 'light in tunnel' for trainees.
6. Introduce trainee to a structured programme and get him used to controlling his behaviour in the community.

As mentioned above it was difficult to categorise the aims and objectives of the workshops, but it seems that T/R does have the potential for improving the relationship between supervisor and client with resulting consequences for the ability to plan properly for the supervision period. It also provides trainees with the opportunity to begin thinking about problems they are likely to encounter on release, and perhaps do something about them. Often they have built up fantasies of what it will be like when they get out, (get a luxury flat, good job, girlfriend, etc.), forgetting that these were not so easy to obtain before sentence, let alone after. An important aspect

of the workshops was the initial hope that problems associated with offending behaviour could be tackled, and emphasis was also put upon supplementing work carried out in the institution. Stressing this aspect in the aims of the workshop, and tackling problems associated with custody may also augur well in the initial attempts to actually get the trainees released on temporary release. It is important that the point was made that a T/R workshop must not be granted or withheld as a privilege or punishment. Nor must it duplicate the work of the YCC or unduly disrupt appropriate arrangements for education, etc.

Nevertheless, once organised, with sufficient numbers of trainees participating and appropriate levels of motivation from probation officers, the problem arose of what to actually cover in the workshop. Table 5.10 outlines the most common topics addressed. Some workshops consisted of several topics.

Table 5.10 Most common topics addressed in temporary release workshops

<u>Topic (Total No. of respondents = 10)</u>	<u>Topics addressed</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Offending behaviour	9	(90)
Welfare rights/the law/DHSS & other agencies	9	(90)
Employment	9	(90)
Social skills	8	(80)
Constructive use of leisure time	6	(60)
Family and other relationships	5	(50)
Outdoor pursuits afternoon (eg sailing, swimming)	5	(50)
Requirements of supervision	5	(50)
Practical problems (cookery, money, bills)	5	(50)
Accommodation	5	(50)

(Table 5.10 contd.)

Drink/drugs/glue	4 (40)
Victims	3 (30)
The police	2 (20)
Consequences of custody	2 (20)

These topics are based on 10 T R workshops programmes sent with the questionnaire. It is immediately obvious that the workshops cover a reasonably wide range of subjects, each workshop usually addressing 4 or 5 topics over a period of 3-5 days. The issues addressed tend to be of a practical and immediately useful nature, offending behaviour and the persons welfare rights and entitlement to benefits from the DHSS figure prominently in most workshops. As might be expected issues of employment, accommodation, drink and drugs, requirements of supervision, cookery, bills and social skills were also addressed.

It may be that the issues of victims, the police and consequences of custody are further down the list because they are dealt with in the institution, but this was not stated in any of the documents sent.

The extent to which these issues were successfully achieved is not known, either the responses did not indicate 'success rates' or admitted that they simply did not know. From other surveys and response to a letter sent to all those probation officers who identified themselves as carrying out research into youth custody through care (Index of Probation Projects, 1986/1987), there was some additional material available on the monitoring of TR workshops. Northumbria Probation Service for example reported that statistical inference on the success of their workshops was not possible but however:

there is no clear evidence that the project had a decisive

impact on further offending ..... The result, however, is no more or less than could be expected under normal post-release conditions and it is necessary to consider why the projects impact was limited.

(Response to letter requesting information on workshop).

In summary, Northumbria pointed out that of the other objectives, using and making leisure and training more relevant; creating a link between custody and supervision; and offering a chance to develop relationships between P.O.s and clients, were also not completely fulfilled. Northumbria concluded:

More generally, it is questionable how much change can realistically be expected during a period of less than five days - and the first taste of freedom for some time. It is therefore important that the workshop is seen by both clients and supervising officers not as an isolated event but part of a process.

(Response to letter requesting information on workshop).

S.E. London stated in relation to the effect of TR on reconviction that "As yet, however, we cannot provide long term statistics on re-offending rates". East Sussex felt that intuitively the response to their TR workshops had been "on the whole, a positive one. The majority of our clients who have participated in institutional groups and temporary release programmes have appeared to benefit from this experience and have been well prepared and positively motivated towards post-release supervision." Miss G. Thornton, Senior Probation Officer in Northallerton YOC mentioned in a letter/survey dated 20 November '84 that the Probation Service had generally been slow to

take advantage of TR and should aim to initiate more projects.

To complement the responses to the questionnaire regarding national organisation of temporary release workshops, the views of individual probation officers - their understanding of the concept and ability to, or experience in, organising release on either a group or individual basis - were analysed.

The 29 probation officers in North Humberside with responsibility for youth custody clients were asked what they understood by the term 'temporary release' and under what circumstances they felt it could be granted. Four groups of respondents were identified.

#### Group 1

Fourteen offices were able to offer some definition of temporary release, although none had had first hand experience of it, and in several cases the response was a bit of a stab in the dark. The most commonly mentioned reasons for which the officers understood TR to be available were to re-establish family and other relationships; attend funerals and jobs and other interviews, etc; look for accommodation, employment or attend a course; re-establish community links; and develop responsibility for self and ones own actions. Indeed, 2 officers felt that TR was granted automatically if the youth was serving a long enough sentence.

The confusion of many officers was quite apparent when asked about temporary release. Looking in more detail at some of the responses, one officer expressed this confusion:

I'm not sure ... but I assume it would be for special circumstances such as seeing the family or some training opportunity integral to sentence or part of activity arranged by the institution. Is it something the Probation Service should be

aware of? I don't know much about it or what can be done.

(Probation Officer interview No. 7).

Another officer implied a lack of knowledge of the principles involved in the initiation of T/R and illustrated the breakdown in communication between the Prison Department and Probation Services:

DMcA. What do you understand by temporary release for youth custody clients?

PO. Oh, I don't know. I've never come across temporary release ..... is it initiated by the P.O.?

DMcA. Yes it can be initiated by the PO.

PO. Then I find it very sad indeed. Such a wasted opportunity.

(Probation Officer interview no.2)

There is then some vague notion that it is a good idea, but tends to be viewed with a reluctance to personally accept responsibility for a group project and a lack of inclination to pursue it for individual clients. A further example of this was:

It's underused ..... looking for job interviews etcetera. I certainly haven't used it.

(Probation Officer interview no. 19).

It should be pointed out however that 9 officers were able to give a fairly definite answer without much thought, although many of these officers did want to stress that they themselves had never used temporary release. One officer summed this up thus:

I've never had any YC trainee released on temporary release. My understanding of the situation is that he would be released temporarily for a particular family situation like a wedding or funeral. Or he could I believe be released temporarily to attend a pre-release course run outside the institution by the

particular Probation Service. At least I imagine he could be released under the temporary release for that ... that's if we mean it to be something distinct from home leave.

(Probation Officer interview no. 11).

#### Group 2

Ten officers (34%) had not heard the term temporary release before, had never come across it in practice or stated that they would be hard pressed to offer any explanation as to what they understood by it.

#### Group 3

Three officers (10%) appeared totally confused and asked if TR was the same as home leave, guessing that it must have something to do with sorting out family problems. One of these officers did not think it was a good idea, even though he understood very little by it, again guessing that any release which entailed having to return to the institution would be disruptive and cause restlessness in the youth.

#### Group 4

Two officers (7%), both of whom had worked for several years in the borstal system were adamant that TR for youth custody clients was not a good idea. They felt that TR no longer served a useful purpose. As one officer said:

I always thought temporary release in theory was to sort out accommodation problems and in the days when there was employment, try and get a job set up. I don't know what purpose it serves today, I really don't. I suppose it's nice for them to get out for a week ... but they have to go back. I think

emotionally ... I'm not sure it's a good thing really ...  
somebody comes out for a week and has to go back.

(Probation Officer interview no. 12).

Before concluding this section on temporary release, the views of the recipients of the service, ie the youth custody trainees, will be examined. This provides a comparison between the nature of the projects and the desire of the clients to actually attend. Do the youths themselves see any point in the workshops, and if so what do they understand by them?

Twenty eight youth custody trainees, all returning to North Humberside on their release were interviewed during their sentence in Everthorpe Youth Custody Centre. Only 1 had been released on home leave before his parole date and he claimed to have found it useful for "getting things sorted" (trainee interview no.28). However, the remainder, who had not experienced temporary release, (no. = 27), were not so sure about its potential value. Thirteen youths (48%) said that they would have liked to have been let out on temporary release, but 14 (52%) said that they had either 'not put in for it' or would not have wanted it anyway. As one youth said, he, "had never bothered ... I'd have gone pinching and that" (Trainee interview no. 6), and another pointed out:

Well, I didn't know if I'd come back. I wouldn't have run, just stayed at home until they picked me up. But that's just the same isn't it? No I'd prefer just to stay in.

(Trainee interview no. 10).

This was the general feeling of those who didn't much care for the idea of temporary release. It is similar to the results obtained by Keith Bottomley and Alison Liebling (1987) who asked youth custody



trainees if they would like to have been let out on temporary release and found that almost two thirds expressed no real interest in such opportunities. The reasons given by these trainees were that they would be tempted to abscond, or that it was a distraction (Bottomley and Liebling, 1987, p 40).

It would therefore appear to be up to the Probation Service to take the initiative and emphasise the benefits and scope of temporary release when planned and structured.

This section has offered a descriptive analysis of national provision and organisation of temporary release workshops, along with the views of the usefulness of the facility and general desirability. The wide and extensive powers to release temporarily have not been fully adopted, and many of the reasons why have been discussed.

(e) Special arrangements for the post release supervision period

Probation Services were asked if they had any special facilities or arrangements for the post release supervision period, such as drop in centres, family therapy or group work.

Of the 46 Services who completed the questionnaire, 33 (72%) did say they provided something other than one to one reporting, 13 (28%) did not. Table 5.11 summaries the availability and range of these facilities for youth custody clients. Some Services had more than one facility available.

Facility	No of Services providing facility*
Drop in centre	19
Groupwork (esp.offending behaviour,	

(Table 5.11 contd.)

social skills and alcohol/drug abuse)	17
Day centre	7
"Range of above facilities" - depends on team	4
'Special reporting scheme'	2
Family therapy	2
Courses	2
Accommodation unit	1
Summer camp	1
	Total 55
*Total no of respondents = 33	

The most widely available facility for clients coming out of youth custody centres, is the 'drop in centre' although in some Probation Services this is not used for these younger offenders. The drop in centres usually consisted of access to pool tables, table tennis, etc. Sometimes they were referred to as 'activity centres' where clients could sign in on specified days or afternoons. Occasionally, the family therapy sessions and various courses were held in the drop in centres or the day centres which often doubled as a drop in facility. Seventeen Services mentioned offering some form of groupwork in addition to/or the traditional one-to-one reporting. The content of the groups ranged from problems associated with offending behaviour to social skills training, alcohol and drug abuse, and education. Several Services did qualify their answer saying that groupwork or 'drop in' were available only where specialist officers were operating.

Some Services mentioned having a general range of facilities

available although it very much depended upon the team as to which were used at any one particular moment in time. Two Services operated a 'special reporting scheme' although it is a little unclear as to what is actually meant by this, and 1 Service has a special accommodation unit. An interesting addition to these facilities is the one made by a Service of a summer camp wherein the youth, under the supervision of probation officers go on a mini break for a few days, learning new skills and developing an interest in outdoor activities.

(f) General satisfaction with youth custody throughcare and areas for improvement.

Finally, Probation Services were asked if they were generally satisfied with the standards of youth custody throughcare in their Service, and if not which areas could be improved and whether there were any plans to implement change in the near future. They were also asked to add anything further about youth custody T/C that they felt to be important and which had not been addressed in the body of the questionnaire.

Twenty two Services (48%) were satisfied with the standard of YC throughcare in their region, 19 (41%) were not satisfied and 5 (11%) were satisfied with some aspects but not others.

Nevertheless, although 22 Services were generally satisfied, there were certain reservations about appearing too complacent. Indeed 4 of these Services (18%) did say that there was always room for improvement and to say otherwise would be dangerously naive. As one Service put it:

Improvements are always possible. Our G.P. [good practice] guideline does aim to establish consistent practice. Further work is required to determine that our aims have been addressed.

Other comments were that they were never satisfied, or that even though the question was difficult to answer they felt that clients did receive a generally good and consistent throughcare service.

Again, the 5 Services which were satisfied with some areas but not others recognised that throughcare had the potential to be improved and although some teams carried out the work to a satisfactory level there was room for targeting of other teams and clients.

In those 19 Services which were not satisfied, there was admitted to be good and bad practice and this was where the dissatisfaction arose. Interestingly, one respondent made the following claim:

Back to priorities. It must be right to put major resources into helping people going into YC but I am often uneasy of the reduced service to the individual that the successful implementation of this policy causes. The fewer people there are in YC the more difficult it is to organise cost effective visiting/liaison schemes or specialist inputs following release.

This comment does illustrate many of the problems discussed throughout this chapter in the implementation of a successful throughcare policy for youth custody clients. In particular the lack of numbers of clients to warrant a specialist approach or ability to organise anything over and above the base minimum of standards. The following list summarises the areas of youth custody throughcare which Probation Services identified as either not being satisfied with or needing improvement. Unfortunately, responses did not include details

as to whether any steps had been taken to actually improve these areas or if any plans were being made to do so. The list is based on all 46 responses to the questionnaire, not just those who stated dissatisfaction at their own YC throughcare prison.

The areas of youth custody throughcare reported as requiring further initiative and improvement were:

1. Research and monitoring into the effectiveness of a) levels of contact both pre and post release; b) breach procedures.
2. Temporary release/liaison schemes/group work.
3. Greater focusing on objectives and effectiveness.
4. Motivating clients to do more than the bare minimum of licence requirement.
5. More effective targetting of clients.
6. Motivating staff to work with a difficult client group.
7. Improvement of Community links pre and post release, esp. with family.
8. Co-ordination of local efforts towards increased priority.
9. Fewer notices breaking down.
10. More county inter-team work.
11. More specialisation.
12. Improving links with YCC's.
13. Avoiding complacency.

This chapter has provided an analysis of the organisation, in terms of policy and practice, of youth custody throughcare since the Criminal Justice Act, 1982. The major landmarks since the Act introduced Youth Custody and offered guidelines for throughcare in the Circulars, have been the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities in response to the Governments Financial Management

Initiative, stressing as it does cost effectiveness and efficiency; and the Probation Service's Joint Statement on the future of its work, produced in response to SNOP.

Overall, there did appear to be a move towards the production of policy documents/practice guidelines since the '82 Act, although these varied greatly in their content. Almost three quarters of Probation Services responding to a questionnaire concerned with throughcare issues, reported that the provision of youth custody throughcare in their region had in fact NOT been affected by the relatively low priority afforded it in the SNOP document. The potential effects of the underlying move to give throughcare a lower priority and implied restricted resources in comparison with other areas of work seemed to be countered by feelings of resentment at local level and a determination that this important area of work should not suffer because of a 'tightening of the purse strings'. However, just under one quarter of Services did report being directly and negatively influenced by SNOP and obviously this must be a cause for concern.

Several factors were identified as contributing to the successful implementation of a throughcare policy. Most Services broadly followed the Home Office guidelines contained in the Circulars, and also identified temporary release and liaison schemes as enhancing throughcare service delivery. Although specialisation was often identified as increasing the chances of mounting a TR or liaison scheme, and as offering more focus for both work carried out during custody and supervision, it was not always necessary if the motivation and commitment were present in a generically based Service. Nevertheless, fewer than half the Probation Services in England and

Wales were satisfied with the standard of youth custody throughcare in their region. There was a feeling that improvements in this area of work were always possible, although unavoidable obstacles such as too few clients in the rural communities to warrant large expenditure of resources sometimes prohibited a concerted effort to improve throughcare.

The following chapters will look at the provision of youth custody throughcare at a local Probation Service level, offering an analysis of how this fits into the national picture. The views of individual probation officers and youth custody trainees will be drawn on, as will description of work actually carried out, in an attempt to assess the relationship between policy and practice.

## CHAPTER 6

### YOUTH CUSTODY THROUGH-CARE IN PRACTICE I: ORGANISATION AND CONTENT

This chapter will offer a description and preliminary evaluation of the provision of youth custody through-care within a local Probation Service serving a Shire County. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first provides the organisational context within which the main empirical data was collected, and locates Humberside Probation Service within the national situation described in the previous chapter; it gives a summary of the through-care policy document and Corporate Plan and the organisation of the teams (partly resulting from the corporate plan) used in the fieldwork. Section two is an analysis, based upon examination of case records, of the through-care process in North Humberside. The different stages of through-care will be assessed and key issues and factors highlighted, offering part of the total evaluation which will be continued with an analysis of the probation officer perspective and client experience, and comparisons with other research, in chapters 7 and 8.

#### i) The Organisation of through-care within Humberside

##### Probation Service

Within the national organisation of through-care, Humberside Probation Service (H.P.S.) is fairly representative. There is a broad spread of teams throughout the county, and at the time of the fieldwork (ie. August '87 - August '88), there were not any full time through-care specialists, (this compares with thirty per cent of Services nationally). Humberside Probation Service had produced a through-care policy paper and code of practice since the Criminal Justice Act, 1982; and had been affected by the Statement of National



Objectives and Priorities (Home Office 1984a) in that they had experienced "difficulty in fully implementing [this] policy against competing interests from other priorities", (Response to questionnaire sent to all Probation Services in England and Wales). Nevertheless some teams did have negotiated links with certain institutions although no temporary release workshops had been organised in the 12 months prior to the beginning of the fieldwork due to a lack of resources. This was a common factor identified by other Services which had not run TR workshops, and, in accordance with a total of 41% of other Services, H.P.S. were not satisfied with the standard of throughcare in the County.

As mentioned above, H.P.S. was one of the 38 Services nationally to produce a throughcare policy document of one sort or another since the '82 Act. Humberside's document consisted of a 'policy paper' and 'Code of Practice'; and defined throughcare thus:

Throughcare defines a service which engages prisoners and their families in a planned resettlement process with the aim of reducing the risk of reoffending.

(H.P.S. Throughcare policy document, Sept, 1986)

The document noted that throughcare "in its many forms" accounted for 37 per cent of the Service's workload and outlined 8 principles of throughcare. These principles, and sections relevant to the provision of throughcare by the community based officer, are reproduced in Appendix (6).

A second document considered relevant to the current research in that it required teams amongst other things to produce a list of Key Output Areas (K.O.A.s) including throughcare, was the Corporate Plan.

Discussion of this is necessary before I outline the organisation of the teams used in the research, as the Corporate Plan was being implemented during the course of the fieldwork and the identification of K.O.A's by teams may have influenced their ability to provide throughcare.

The Corporate Plan, produced in 1987 was intended "to guide the work of Humberside Probation Service during the next five years" (p.1). The Plan called for the production of policy documents in all the main areas of work, (the 'throughcare' document had already been produced independently from this), and outlined eight Strategic statements with supporting plans of action. The Statements of interest to this current throughcare research were:

1) Client focus

This entailed individual officers being responsive to the needs of clients which were to be systematically identified and monitored in terms of achievement. Teams were expected to produce community profiles to these ends and work was to be undertaken to develop service policies and responses to problems such as employment, accommodation, education and addictions.

2) Practice development

This involved identification of target areas and evaluation according to the policy documents.

3) Effectiveness

The Service was to be committed to the concept of effectiveness in which client needs were primary and measurement was by what was achieved rather than what was done.

The Corporate Plan, produced as a result of SNOP stressed effectiveness through objectives; work was to be focussed and

evaluated according to policy. Although objective setting was by no means new to H.P.S, it was given a new momentum by SNOP and the Corporate Plan was in effect the most comprehensive and thorough objective setting process since the Service's inauguration in 1974.

One year after the Corporate Plan was produced and my fieldwork was well under way, (July 1988) the field teams had responded by producing their key output areas and associated objectives (A.O.'s). Throughcare was mentioned by all five teams participating in the research although no team placed it in a position of highest priority. Of the five teams covering the N. Humberside region, 4 served Hull City and surrounding areas while the other team covered the rural part of the country and consisted of officers being situated in different areas/towns with a Senior holding responsibility for their functioning. Looking at the structure of these teams in more detail then.

#### Team No. 1

Team no. 1 serves Hull City and is based centrally in the town. A total of nine basic grade officers under the supervision of a senior had varying degrees of responsibility for throughcare since a very basic system of "semi-specialisation" was in operation when the fieldwork was being carried out. This system was limited however to two officers having all responsibility for Social Enquiry Reports, although at their own request they did hold a small number of throughcare cases to avoid losing contact with this area of work. Two officers worked together on a 'patch' basis, holding responsibility for all T/C cases on one of the largest housing estates in Hull. These 2 officers had access to a youth club which was used as a type

of 'drop-in' centre one afternoon a week for those on YC supervision, and also, when possible ran discussion groups in the local YCC. The remaining 5 officers were allocated youth custody throughcare cases on the basis of existing workload and previous experience with the particular client. At the time of research there was a rather interesting method of allocating the case. The SER writers were not generally allocated the case which went to another officer for 6 weeks during which time at least one custodial visit would take place and a short report subsequently prepared. On the basis of this, which looked at the trainee's progress and needs, a reallocation of case may take place if there was anyone else in the team with more specific experience or skill in this type of situation. However, talk of extending this approach to a more formal specialist approach did not transfer itself into practice during the fieldwork nor up to the present time.

The general impact of SNOP and levels of resources on this team had led to a heightened awareness of throughcare and a determination to do something about it. There was a mileage ceiling for visits but in practice this had little impact, if any, on the ability of officers to visit establishments. Team 1, following the Corporate Plan had produced a list of 7 key output areas of which No. 6 aimed to "demonstrate that practice is consistent with policy in all supervision and throughcare cases held by the team". There was however in other KOA's a recognition that client needs would be assessed to ensure better practice, and the progress of clients would continue to be periodically assessed. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored that throughcare was mentioned only sixth in a list of seven KOA's.

After completion of the fieldwork, team no. 1, in conjunction with team no. 2 initiated a project to develop better links and develop more consistent groups with the YCC's with which it had contact. I was involved in this initiative group in an advisory capacity, the results of the research being used to develop a more specialist approach including liaison and temporary release schemes, and hopefully avoid, or at least be aware of, some of the problems involved in this approach.

#### Team No. 2

Team no. 2 had 5 maingrade officers, all with some responsibility for youth custody throughcare, and one SPO. However, just prior to carrying out my fieldwork, this team had had two officers who held the majority of YC cases although a large turnover of staff and departure of one of these officers meant a return to a more generic mode of operating. Allocation of cases was on the basis of current workloads and expressed desire to take on more of this work than the average.

SNOP for this team had led to a of greater focussing of work. Before the document, officers with large caseloads would establish their own priorities, but now there was a greater expectation that more contacts would be made. Generally, resources allowed visits to be made as and when the officer wanted to make them.

In response to the Corporate Plan this team outlined 5 KOA's, number 2 of which was the "effective supervision" of Youth Custody Licences..... increase the successful completion of Youth Custody Licences by 5%..." This figure of 5% was however chosen on a rather arbitrary basis as it was felt to be just about achievable.

Along with team No.1 this team was involved, in the initiative with

the local YCC and other YCC's which held their clients.

### Team No. 3

Team no. 3 consisted of 5 maingrade officers and one senior. However, prior to the fieldwork (August 87), this team had undergone many radical changes in its organisation. The team had had a well developed youth custody throughcare specialisation in operation just prior to the research. Two officers held all youth custody cases and made regular planned visits to the local YCC. If one officer was on holiday or ill, the other took temporary responsibility for his cases. However, due to the departure of one officer and imminent departure of the other from the team a return to genericism was forced upon its structure. Allocation of cases was then very much dependent upon current caseload and previous knowledge of the case (usually through a probation order).

It was apparent that SNOP had not had much of an effect upon the team's functioning, and as with all teams in N. Humberside there were no major difficulties in resources being made available for travelling to YCC's.

In response to the Corporate Plan, the teams identified 6 KOAs and associated objectives of which work with youth custody clients was placed second, viz "Establish an agreed framework for effective work with youth custody clients...."

### Team No. 4

The fourth 'Hull' team again operated on a generic basis with 5 maingrade officers receiving allocations on the basis of the SER, current workload and previous experience of the case. Just prior to commencement of the fieldwork, (August 1987), this team had been using a converted garage adjacent to the office as an extension of the 'drop

in', which was open one day a week but could only accommodate 8 clients at any one time because of its size. As a result of this, 8 of the most 'needy' clients (as identified by the SPO) were invited to attend, although a traditional one-to-one approach was available if desired by the client or considered necessary by the supervising officer. The aims and objectives of this 'garage' project were that:

- 1) Reporting could be made more regular.
- 2) Contact could be heightened.
- 3) Specific problems could be dealt with in an informal and relaxed way.

Although this facility had been forced to close within 5 months of its opening (again due to several officers leaving), it had been considered a 'success'. Although not a direct result of SNOP, the 'garage' was a direct attempt to raise the profile of youth custody work within the team and give the clients a feeling of uniformity and an opportunity to "handle supervision on their own terms".

In response to the Corporate Plan, team no. 4, had identified 2 KOA's and A.O's. The second of these was "the resettlement of YC/DC clients ..... to maintain a level of 74% non-offending during supervision". This 74% level had been based on the results of a small scale survey (sample = 19) showing this success rate in supervision licences.

#### Team No. 5

Under the auspices of this 'team', five maingrade officers were dispersed between four rural offices, and a further officer with T/C responsibility, who although under official jurisdiction of South Humberside was based in the North and therefore was included in the

research.

Allocation of cases to officers depended very much upon the Petty Sessional Division within which the office was located. The nature of the area served by this team meant that reporting on supervision was often informal, the officer going to see the client. Most clients were already known to their P.O. before a YC sentence would be passed.

SNOP had not affected the provision of T/C in this team and again no restrictions were placed on travelling to establishments.

In response to the Corporate Plan, team no. 5 had produced 5 KOA's and A.O.'s of which throughcare was placed fifth, viz, "To monitor and ensure that practice accurately reflects policy in the areas of Social Enquiry Reports, Supervision, Through-Care and Community Service....".

Humberside Probation Service has then, attempted to develop a proactive and high profile approach to objectives and goal setting, with throughcare consequently being affected by this emphasis. There have not however been any resource restrictions placed upon individual officers ability to travel to YCC's, although the movement of officers between teams (and to other Services) had led to much change in the organization of throughcare just prior to my fieldwork. Despite the fact that S.P.O.'s mentioned an emphasis on increasing the profile of throughcare, this was not always reflected in the ordering of their key output areas and associated objectives.

There were during the fieldwork many similarities between the teams. The generic nature of organisation and allocation processes of cases were quite similar and caseloads tended to be reasonably equal.



Within this setting, I wanted to examine the extent and nature of youth custody throughcare work carried out in N. Humberside, and to these ends examined a sample of case records, described below.

ii) The extent and nature of youth custody throughcare work in N. Humberside

A list of all youth custody cases terminated in North Humberside between 1st August 1986 and 31st July 1987 was obtained from the Research and Information Officer based at Probation Headquarters in Beverley. From this population of 138 cases a stratified 50 per cent random sample was selected, ie. 69 cases representing half of the total cases for each team, for analysis. In the event, some of these files were misplaced or unavailable and only 55 case records were examined, distributed among the teams as illustrated in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 No. of Y.C. throughcare case records distributed among teams

Team	Total no. of cases	No of cases in achieved sample	Sample as % of tot. cases
1	30	10	33
2	22	9	41
3	21	8	38
4	40	15	38
5	25	13	52
	138	55	40

The final sample therefore represented 40 per cent of the total number of YC cases terminated in a twelve month period in N. Humberside.

Analysis of the case records was divided into six areas to obtain as broad a picture as possible of the nature of youth custody throughcare in the region:

- a) Background information and criminal history.
- b) Details of current offence and sentence.
- c) Throughcare carried out prior to sentence and at court.
- d) Throughcare carried out during custody, including details of probation officer.
- e) Throughcare carried out during supervision.
- f) Six month follow up period and reconviction rates.

The data obtained does to a certain degree, parallel some of that gathered by Phil Parker in his sampling exercise of throughcare in the county, (Parker, 1985/1986. However, Parker's study included teams in South Humberside, and also Detention Centres, both of which fall outside the range of this current research. The two years between the two sets of data also witnessed the production of the throughcare policy document, Corporate Plan, Key Output Areas, and radical changes in the structure and organisation of teams, as outlined in the section above. However, despite their differences, comparisons will be made with Parker's study where it is felt appropriate and necessary.

a) Background information and criminal history of the sample

The background details of the sample are summarised in table 6.2 and criminal history in table 6.3.

Table 6.2 Background information on YC cases 1986/7

	<u>No in sample</u>	<u>% of sample</u>
SEX		
Male	53	
Female	2	
AGE ON DAY OF SENTENCE		
15	1	2
16	5	9
17	12	22

18	0	0		
19	22	40		
20	15	27		
MARITAL STATUS				
Single	52	95		
Married/Cohabiting	3	5		
CHILDREN				
Yes	6	11		
No	49	89		
ACCOMMODATION	BEFORE SEN	AFTER SEN	%BEFORE SEN	%AFTER SEN
Family	41	38	74	69
Rented	9	7	16	13
NFA	2	3	4	5
Hostel	1	5	2	9
Missing/Not known	2	2	4	4
EMPLOYMENT				
Unemployed	43	42	78	76
Employed/YTS	7	6	12	11
NACRO scheme	2	4	4	7
School	1	0	2	0
Missing/Not known	2	3	4	6
QUALIFICATIONS				
Yes	8		14	
No	47		86	

Only two females were represented in the sample, constituting in actual fact the total number of females terminating their youth custody sentence during 1986/7. The majority of cases were aged 19 or 20 on the day of sentence although there was no evidence to suggest that courts were particularly reluctant to sentence 18 year olds to YC. This is backed up by the fact that Parker (1985/1986) found 26% of his sample of YC cases were 18 at the time of their sentence.

As might be expected with youth custody cases, the vast majority (94%) were not married, although 6 youths did have at least one child. Just under three quarters lived with their family (defined as either parent(s), sibling or relative) before sentence, although this dropped slightly on release, one youth was of no fixed abode after release

when he had not been so before incarceration and there was an increase of 4 youths requiring hostel accommodation. Over three quarters were unemployed before and after sentence and only 8 had left school with any qualifications ('O' levels or City and Guilds).

Regarding previous criminal records (Table 6.3), only 2 youths were first offenders with just under three quarters (74%) having between 1 and 15 pre convictions mainly for theft, burglary, driving, criminal damage and breach of a previous community disposal (eg. Probation Order or C.S.O.). Nevertheless, 16 youths (29%) did have a history of violence and 1 had a preconviction for sexual offences. Just under two thirds of the cases in the sample had served a previous custodial sentence, and given this and the high proportion of previous violent offences, there is an indication that the sample was a relatively criminally aware or sophisticated one.

**Table 6.3 Criminal history of YC cases 1986/7**

	No. in sample	% of sample
<u>PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS</u>		
None	2	4
1-5	14	25
6-10	14	25
11-15	13	24
16-20	3	5
More than 20	9	17
<u>PREVIOUS OFFENCES</u>		
Violence	16	29
Sex	1	2
Robbery	1	2
Arson	6	11
Burglary	39	71
Theft	46	84
Other (driving, criminal damage, drugs, breach of PO/CSO)	39	71
<u>PREVIOUS SENTENCES</u>		
Youth Custody	9	16

(Table 6.3 contd.)		
Detention Centre	13	24
YC and DC	12	22
Supervision in Community	16	29
Missing/Not known	5	9

b) Details of current offence and sentence

Table 6.4 illustrates the nature of current offences and details of sentence. The majority of cases had been convicted of between 1 and 6 offences, the most commonly committed crimes being burglary, theft, various 'lower tariff offences' such as breach of probation order, and violence. The average length of sentence by the court was 10.5 months although sentence length ranged from 3 months to 36 months, with the most common sentence being 6 months followed by 12 months.

Table 6.4 Details of current offence and sentence

	No. in sample	% in sample
<u>NO. OF OFFENCES</u>		
1-3	35	64
4-6	16	29
7-10	3	5
More than 10	1	2
<u>NATURE OF CURRENT OFFENCES (all offences are counted)</u>		
Violence	14	25
Sex	0	0
Robbery	1	2
Arson	1	2
Burglary	33	60
Theft	28	51
Other (Driving, crim. dam., drugs, breach)	27	49
<u>LENGTH OF SENTENCE (MONTHS)</u>		
3-6	24	44
7-9	3	5
10-12	17	31
13-15	3	5
More than 15	8	15
Mean = 10.5 mos; Range = 3-36 mos; Most Common = 6 mos		

(Table 6.4 contd.)

<u>ESTABLISHMENT IN WHICH SERVED SENTENCE</u>		
Local	17	31
Other	33	60
Prison	5	9
-----		
<u>PAROLE</u>		
Not eligible	28	51
Eligible and granted	15	27
Eligible not granted	12	22
-----		
<u>LOSS OF REMISSION</u>		
Yes	15	27
No	40	73
-----		

Just under one third of cases had served their sentence in the local establishment (Everthorpe) with just under two thirds serving it in a YCC elsewhere, usually Hatfield or Wetherby which are both under 50 miles from Hull. It is interesting to note that 5 youths had served their entire YC sentence in prison. Twenty seven per cent of cases (no. = 15) had been released on parole and 15 had lost remission during the course of their sentence.

c) Throughcare carried out prior to sentence and at court

Work carried out prior to sentence by the Probation Service consists primarily of preparing a Social Enquiry Report (SER), and at court of conducting a post-sentence interview (P.S.I.) aimed at explaining the nature and implications of sentence, dealing with any immediately pressing problems, and passing on any relevant information to the establishment. In all but 2 cases, an SER was prepared (these 2 being 'not guilty' pleas), and in 9 cases the SER was missing. This meant that only 44 SER's were available for examination. Of these 44, twenty nine (66%) recommended either a probation, supervision or community service order, with the remaining third making no recommendation or a statement of "no recommendation" to the court.

This is interesting, given Probation Service guidelines and policy both nationally and locally that a custodial sentence must not be recommended. This statement of 'no recommendation' would, or could, almost seem to be an implicit custodial recommendation offering as it does the court no other option, even though it is not in explicit contradiction to the guidelines.

Some area(s) of concern were mentioned by the probation officer in 35 of the 44 SER's examined (ie. 80%). The most commonly expressed area of concern, in 21 cases (60%), related to emotional problems of loneliness, isolation, psychological inadequacies, inability to cope, and educational deficiencies. In 9 cases there was specific concern about alcohol abuse and in 5 cases, family and/or other relationships had been noted as causing special concern to the P.O. Only 2 SER's however mentioned accommodation, employment or money as problems even though as shall be noted in the following section, these caused most time to be taken up during custody through visits and letters.

Just over one third of cases (36%), had a recorded mention made of a P.S.I. taking place immediately after sentence, in the other two thirds of cases, the information was either missing or an interview had not taken place.

d) Throughcare carried out during custody

A probation officer was allocated the case immediately, ie. within one week, in almost three quarters of cases (73%). Nine cases (16%) were allocated within one month of conviction and the information was missing in the remaining 6. Thirty two youths (58%) did not experience a change of officer throughout his or her custodial sentence, leaving 23 who had had at least one change, usually because

their original officer had moved offices or Services.

### Visits and Letters

The level and nature of contact between the probation officers and client can be seen in table 6.5.

Levels of contact tended to be of a high standard with only 5 youths receiving neither a letter nor a visit. Twenty eight cases (51%) received at least one visit and letter, with the most common number of contacts falling between 1 and 3. Table 6.6 gives an indication of the extent to which distance from the YCC did in fact affect the number of contacts (particularly by visit) with the client in custody.

Table 6.5 Level and nature of contact during custody between probation officer and client

	No in sample	% in sample
<u>Number of visit(s)</u>		
None	20	36
1-3	29	53
4-6	2	4
More than 6	1	2
Missing/not known	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	55	100
<u>Reason for visit(s)</u>		
Practical (eg accom, money, employ)	12	37
Introduction	7	22
Emotional (eg homeless, girlfriend, family)	4	13
Emotional and practical	7	22
Offending behaviour	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
	32	100
<u>Number of letter(s)</u>		
None	8	15
1-3	35	64
4-6	6	11
More than 6	3	5
Missing/not known	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	55	100
<u>Reason for letter</u>		
Introduction	33	76
Practical (eg accom, money, emply)	8	18
Emotional (eg loneliness, girlfriend)	1	2



(Table 6.5 contd.)

family)		
Emotional and practical	1	2
Offending behaviour	$\frac{1}{44}$	$\frac{2}{100}$
Neither a visit NOR a letter	5	9
Both a visit AND a letter	28	51

Table 6.6 Level of PO/client contact and distance from the YCC

ESTABLISHMENT NO. AND % OF CLIENTS RECEIVING VISIT/LETTER FROM P.O.

	Visit only	Letter only	Visit + Letter	Total Visits	Total Letters	None	Missing	Total in Sample
LOCAL YCC	2(12)	3(17)	10(59)	12(71)	13(76)	1(6)	1(6)	17(31)
OTHER YCC	1(3)	12(37)	16(48)	17(51)	28(85)	2(6)	2(6)	33(60)
PRISON	0(0)	0(0)	3(60)	3(60)	3(60)	2(40)	0(0)	5(9)

Those clients serving their sentence in the local YCC were rather more likely to receive a visit from their P.O. than those in a different YCC, (71% compared with 51%). However, this was compensated for by the fact that those in other YCC's were more likely to receive a letter, (85% compared with 76%). This meant that the number getting NO CONTACT was identical (6%) for those clients in both local and other YCC's.

The main reason for the letters was as a means of introduction although they did also deal with practical issues of accommodation, money and employment. Similarly, the visits were primarily concerned with these practical issues (in 38 per cent of cases), although they were also used for introductions, and in 4 cases (13%) for dealing

with emotional crises revolving around loneliness, inability to cope, and problems with family or girlfriend. Offending behaviour, as far as could be ascertained from the case records, was only addressed in 2 visits and 1 letter.

#### Areas of concern noted by P.O.

In one third of cases (no. = 18), there was no area of concern recorded. The main issues identified as problematic were money and accommodation (no. = 17, 31%); loneliness and psychological inadequacy (21%); family and relationships (9%); and alcohol abuse (2%). The information was missing in 2 cases (4%). In those 36 cases where problematic areas were identified, action was taken in over half (no = 22; 61%), not taken in 4 cases (11%), and the information was missing in the remaining 10 cases (28%).

#### Work with the family

During custody there was contact between the P.O. and the offender's family by visit in 21 cases (38%) and by letter in 20 cases (36%) cases. The reason for contact by letter and/or visit was missing in 63 per cent of cases, but where available, the main emphasis was on 'routine' monitoring or introductions, followed by dealing with immediate practical problems of money and travelling arrangements to see their son/daughter inside. Also mentioned were problems in maintaining relationships and links with the person in custody.

Contact with the family was usually initiated by the PO (in 47 per cent of cases), but the offender in 6 per cent, family 2 per cent and establishment 2 per cent. This information was missing in 42 per cent of cases.

Work with the establishment

In only 2 cases (4%) did the P.O. contribute to the training plan board (T.P.B.) at the induction stage of sentence when the trainee's 'career' through the system is decided. The trainee was involved in either an educational or other course in 22 cases (40%) and 2 had taken part in a pre-release course. Twenty two youths were involved in full time work during sentence, and the information was missing in 9 cases (16%). The P.O. was aware of the clients participation in the course in just under half of the cases (47%).

In 6 cases (11%) the trainee was granted temporary release (T/R) although as noted later, only in 1 of these was the T/R proposal form (TC3) used and in 3 the Notice of T/R (TC4). One youth was granted T/R to 'renew family ties', and the other 5 were granted it under the provision for 'home leave'.

Table 6.7 summarises the extent to which the throughcare forms 1-8 were used by the P.O. and establishment, and also other contacts between the members of the two Services.

Table 6.7 Exchange of information between the P O and the Y C C

<u>USE MADE OF T/C FORMS</u>	No. in sample	% in sample
TC1 Post sentence report	38	69
TC2 (est) Exchange of information (sent by YCC)	41	75
TC2 (PO) Exchange of info.(sent by PO)	6	11
TC3 (est) Temporary release proposal (BY YCC)	0	0
TC3 (PO) Temporary release proposal (BY PO)	1	2
TC4 Notice of temporary release	3	6
TC5 Reporting instructions	20	36
TC6 Discharge report	40	73
TC7 Short stay discharge report	0	0
TC8 Notice of supervision	45	82
<u>OTHER CONTACT BETWEEN PO AND YCC</u>		

Table 6.7 contd.)

Exchange of other administrative forms	31	56
Telephone	5	9
Letter	2	4
None (maybe not recorded or chat after visit)	17	31
<u>CONTACT BETWEEN PO AND SECONDED PO</u>		
Yes	3	6
No	52	94

As expected, the most commonly used throughcare forms are the notice of supervision (without which the Probation Service cannot legally supervise the trainee), the exchange of information form sent by the YCC, the discharge report and the post sentence report. It must be pointed out however, that it is very possible that forms were used but not kept on file or recorded. This could be particularly true of the TC2 (PO) which, if sent would probably not have been copied and retained in the file. In addition to this was the fact noted that contact with the YCC, other than by the T/C forms was also made. Exchange of information forms from the YCC and/or probation officer were used in over half of the cases and these included information about progress and problems. There was also a record of telephone calls being made and letters being sent, although it is almost certain that the frequency of these, particularly telephone calls, is severely underestimated here, as they may be made to sort out immediate queries and probably not recorded. This will also be the case for discussions with YC staff after a visit which perhaps explains the low incidence or recorded contact between the community based P.O. and his seconded counterpart in the establishment. These issues will be elaborated upon in the next chapter when the views of P.O's are described, as well as comparisons made with other research.

e) Throughcare carried out during supervision

Table 6.8 summarises the basic details of supervision of those included in the sample.

Just under three quarters of trainees (no. = 40) were released on ordinary youth custody supervision, and just over one quarter (no. = 15) on parole licence. The total length of supervision varied between 3 months and 18 months with 3 months being the most common.

Table 6.8 Background information on supervision requirements

	No. in sample	% in sample
<u>INITIAL TYPE OF SUPERVISION</u>		
YC	40	73
Parole	15	27
<u>TOTAL LENGTH OF SUPERVISION (MOS)</u>		
3	31	56
4-6	19	35
8	4	7
18	1	2
<u>EVIDENCE OF A PLAN</u>		
Yes	31	56
No	24	44
<u>REPORTING ARRANGEMENTS</u>		
Weekly	13	24
Fortnightly	16	29
Weekly then fortnightly	10	18
'As and when necessary'	16	29
<u>CLIENT KEEP TO ARRANGEMENTS</u>		
Yes	27	49
No	28	51
<u>BREACH</u>		
No	51	92
Threatened	2	4
Carried out	2	4

In over half of the cases in the sample the supervision period was based on a plan, even of a rudimentary kind. Probation officers tended to use either weekly sessions (24%), fortnightly (29%), a

mixture of the two (18%), or as and when they felt it necessary (29%). Just about half the cases successfully kept to their arrangements, leaving 51 per cent who did not. Nevertheless, in only 2 cases was the client breached plus a further 2 cases where breach was threatened but not carried out.

The nature of work carried out during the supervision period can be seen in table 6.9.

Table 6.9 Nature of work carried out during supervision

<u>TYPE OF WORK</u>	<u>No. in sample</u>	<u>% of sample</u>
Offending behaviour	15	27
Routine reporting	15	27
Practical	12	22
Relationships and family	4	7
Emotional	1	2
Emotional and practical	8	15
<u>WAS WORK A FOLLOW ON FROM CUSTODY</u>		
Yes	23	42
No	29	52
Missing/Not Known	3	6
<u>PO/FAMILY CONTACT</u>		
Yes	6	11
No	47	85
Missing/Not Known	2	4
<u>COMMUNITY FACILITIES USED</u>		
Yes	17	31
No	36	65
Missing/Not Known	2	4
<u>PROBATION FACILITIES USED</u>		
Yes	6	11
No	7	85
Missing/Not Known	2	4

Routine reporting to the probation office(r) and dealing with offending behaviour were the most commonly recorded areas of work during supervision. Dealing with practical issues of accommodation, employment and money was also mentioned in 22 per cent of cases but

perhaps rather surprisingly, only 4 cases were concerned with sorting out family and/or relationship difficulties. Over one half of work carried out during supervision was NOT a follow on from work carried out or discussed during custody, offering little evidence therefore of a linking of the two phases of sentence through a continuity of approach to problem areas. There was in addition, little contact between the P.O. and the family of the client during supervision, and not a great deal of use was made of community facilities (eg. leisure centres; drug and alcohol abuse advice; citizens advice bureau), or of Probation Service facilities such as the day centre or money management scheme.

f) Six month follow up period and reconviction rates

The levels of reoffending are illustrated in table 6.10

Table 6.10 Reoffending during supervision and during 6 months follow up

	No. in sample	% of sample
<u>REOFFENDED</u>		
Yes - on supervision	20	36
Yes - in 6 month follow up	10	18
No	25	46
<u>OFFENCE</u>		
		% of those reoffending
Violence	8	27
Burglary	8	27
Theft	11	36
Driving	2	7
Missing	1	3
<u>SENTENCE PASSED</u>		
Supvn in community	13	44
YC	10	34
Prison	4	13
Fine	1	3
Dropped	1	3
Missing	1	3

Over one half of the sample (no. = 30, 54%) had reoffended either during their supervision period (36%) or in the six months following termination of their supervision (18%). The most common offence was theft although 8 youths (27% of those reoffending) were convicted of a violent crime, the same number as those convicted for burglary.

In fifty per cent of cases, the court passed a non custodial sentence indicating that a further custodial sentence was not automatic if the youth had been inside quite recently. Nevertheless, 4 youths were given a prison sentence and 10 a further YC sentence.

Although this section will finally look at the relationship between throughcare and reconviction rates, it should be pointed out that discussions in the following chapters illustrate the need for any evaluation of T/C to take into account a much broader view than simply reconviction rates. However, for the purposes of this part of the analysis I feel that account must be made of this as the reduction in the risk of reoffending is a primary aim of the Probation Service.

Table 6.11 summarises the relationship between the main areas of throughcare by the probation officer and recorded reconviction rates. In describing these relationships the missing values have been omitted and the percentages adjusted accordingly. The table also gives a detailed breakdown of those who reoffended during their supervision period and those who reoffended during the 6 months immediately following expiry of their supervision. For the purposes of this summary, these two will be combined and reference will be made only as to whether the client reoffended or not. It must be remembered that the number of cases was low and therefore only trends can be described rather than statistical significance of any differences. It must also be remembered that the level and details of work carried out is that



recorded in case records, and problems associated with this must be borne in mind.

Table 6.11 Relationship between throughcare and reoffending

\* Missing values have been omitted and percentages are based on the adjusted totals

i) REOFFENDING AND POST SENTENCE INTERVIEW

	PSI				TOTAL	
	YES	NO				
<u>REOFFEN</u>	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn	4	20	16	46	20	36
Yes in 6m.follow up	3	15	7	20	10	18
No	13	65	12	34	25	46
	20	100	35	100	55	100

ii) REOFFENDING AND CHANGE OF P O

	CHANGE OF P O				TOTAL	
	YES	NO				
<u>REOFFEND</u>	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn.	12	52	7	23	19	36
Yes in 6m.follow up	1	4	8	27	9	17
No	10	44	15	50	25	47
	23	100	30	100	53	100

iii) REOFFENDING AND VISIT(S) TO CLIENT DURING CUSTODY

	VISIT(S) TO CLIENT				TOTAL	
	YES	NO				
<u>REOFFEND</u>	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn	13	41	6	30	19	37
Yes in 6m, follow up	4	13	6	30	10	19
No	15	46	8	40	23	44
	32	100	20	100	52	100

iv) REOFFENDING AND LETTER(S) TO CLIENT DURING CUSTODY

LETTER(S) TO CLIENT

<u>REOFFEND</u>	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn.	16	36	2	25	18	35
Yes in 6m.follow up	7	16	2	25	9	17
No	21	48	4	50	25	48
	44	100	8	100	52	100

v) REOFFENDING AND VISIT(S) TO FAMILY DURING CUSTODY

VISITS TO FAMILY

<u>REOFFEND</u>	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn.	9	43	9	30	18	35
Yes in 6m.follow up	3	14	6	20	9	18
No	9	43	15	50	24	47
	21	100	30	100	51	100

iv) REOFFENDING AND EXCHANGE ON INFO. WITH YCC (OVER AND ABOVE T/C FORM)

EXCHANGE OF INFO.

<u>REOFFEND</u>	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn.	14	37	6	35	20	36
Yes in 6m.follow up	5	13	5	30	10	18
No	19	50	6	35	25	46
	38	100	17	100	55	100

vii) REOFFENDING AND TYPE OF INITIAL SUPERVISION

TYPE OF INITIAL SUPVN.

<u>REOFFEND</u>	YC		PAROLE		TOTAL	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn.	10	25	10	67	20	36
Yes in 6m.follow up	9	23	1	7	10	18
No	21	52	4	26	25	46
	40	100	15	100	55	100

viii) REOFFENDING AND PLAN FOR SUPERVISION

<u>REOFFEND</u>	PLAN				TOTAL	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn.	14	45	6	25	20	36
Yes in 6m.follow up	4	13	6	25	10	18
No	13	42	12	50	25	46
	31	100	24	100	55	100

ix) REOFFENDING AND WORK A FOLLOW ON FROM CUSTODY

<u>REOFFEND</u>	WORK A FOLLOW ON				TOTAL	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn.	10	43	9	31	19	37
Yes in 6m.follow up	4	17	5	17	9	17
No	9	40	15	52	24	46
	23	100	29	100	52	100

x) REOFFENDING AND CLIENT KEPT TO REPORTING ARRANGEMENTS

<u>REOFFEND</u>	CLIENT KEPT ARRANGEMENTS				TOTAL	
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
Yes on supvn.	7	26	13	46	20	36
Yes in 6m.follow up	3	11	7	25	10	18
No	17	63	8	29	25	46
	27	100	28	100	55	100

### Work at court

Of those receiving a post sentence interview (P.S.I.) 35% reoffended. . Of those not receiving a PSI, 66 per cent reoffended. There would seem to be an indication therefore that an increase in the use of the PSI may create a more secure framework for the future relationship between the client and P.O. which is reflected in a lower rate of reoffending.

### Change of P.O.

Of those clients who had experienced at least one change of P.O. during sentence, 56 per cent reoffended, compared with 50 per cent of those keeping the same P.O. . There is nothing to indicate that having a change of P.O. leads to any greater propensity to reoffend.

### Visits and letters to the client during custody.

A major aspect of throughcare is regular contact between the P.O. and client. Of the 32 youths receiving at least one visit from the P.O. during custody, 54 per cent reoffended. Of those 20 trainees NOT receiving a visit, 60 per cent reoffended. Again, the relationship between visits and reoffending would not appear to be strong, although there is a slight tendency for those receiving visits to stay out of trouble. There is virtually no difference between the reconviction rates of those receiving letter(s) and those not receiving letter(s), (52% of those receiving letters reoffended, 50 per cent not receiving letters reoffended).

### P.O. contact with the family

Fifty seven per cent of those clients whose family had had a visit from the P.O. reoffended, and of those whose family had had no contact with the P.O., 50 per cent reoffended. Again no significant

difference.

#### P.O. contact with the establishment

This involved contact over and above the use of the throughcare forms, and included telephone calls, letters and other administrative forms. Unfortunately it was unlikely that many 'phone calls would be recorded and even more unlikely that discussions with YCC staff after a visit would be recorded and so the level of contact reported here is assumed to be very much underestimated. There was a 50/50 split in reoffending rates of those clients whose P.O. had engaged in exchange of information. With the establishment and those who had not. Of those NOT exchanging information, the clients reoffended in 65 per cent of cases and kept out of trouble in 35 per cent. There was an indication then that if the P.O. had not engaged in communication with the YCC about his/her client, there was a greater tendency for that client to reoffend.

#### Type of initial supervision

Forty eight per cent of those released initially on YC supervision reoffended, compared with 74% of those initially released on parole. Although only a total of 15 youths were released on parole (compared with 40 on YC Supervision) the trend expressed in these figures is towards a greater link between parole licencees and reoffending than YC supervisees and reoffending. This of course may be due to the fact that the parolees were serving generally longer sentences.

#### Plan for supervision period

There was little evidence to suggest any difference in reoffending between those youths with a planned supervision period and those without. Fifty eight per cent with a plan reoffended, compared with fifty per cent without a plan.

### Work carried on from custody (part of T/C as a LINK)

Of the 23 youths whose case record said/indicated that work carried out during supervision was a follow on from work during custody, 60 per cent reoffended. Of those 29 where no indication was given of this link, 48% reoffended. Nothing significant could therefore be said about the continuation of work throughout the whole of the sentence and its relationship to reoffending.

### Client kept to reporting instructions

Of the 27 youths who kept to their reporting instructions, 37 per cent reoffended. Of those NOT keeping to their instructions 71 per cent reoffended. There was therefore a strong link between missed appointments and reoffending.

Overall, the major areas of interest indicated a slight tendency for those clients whose P.O. had not visited during custody or engaged in exchanges of information with the YOC to be more likely to reoffend than those whose P.O. had carried out these aspects of throughcare. There was a stronger link between reoffending and the client having a post sentence interview; being released on parole; and not keeping to reporting instructions, although numbers in the sample were too small to make any conclusive statements about this.

### SUMMARY

This chapter has offered a description and preliminary evaluation of youth custody throughcare in N. Humberside. Levels of contact and input were relatively high, more than fulfilling any minimum requirements outlined in the policy document and various Home Office Circulars. The areas of throughcare which seemed to have most connection with reconviction rates were linked to court work, parole,

levels of reporting during supervision, and to a lesser degree to P.O. contact by visit to the client during custody and exchange of information with the YCC. This will be examined further in the following chapters when a broader analysis of throughcare based on interviews with both P.Os and clients is offered. The following two chapters will analyse the views of P.O.'s and clients, and make comparisons between the two, drawing on findings from this chapter and also other research/literature on the subject.

## CHAPTER 7

### YOUTH CUSTODY THROUGH CARE IN PRACTICE II: PROBATION OFFICER PERSPECTIVE AND CLIENT EXPERIENCE DURING THE CUSTODIAL PART OF THE SENTENCE

#### Introduction

This chapter is divided into six sections, the first describing the interview setting and samples and the remainder dealing with specific aspects of throughcare. Section (ii) is based on the probation officer's understanding of throughcare both as a concept and in practice. The remaining four sections describe the probation officer's perspective and client experience of throughcare in practice and cover (iii) contact by visit, letter and telephone between the P.O. and client; (iv) the general purpose and content of work carried out during custody; (v) throughcare with the client's family; and (vi) shared working between the probation officer and the staff of the youth custody centre. The probation officer and client views of throughcare are drawn together in the discussion at the end of each section. The discussion also makes comparisons between this current study and other research and literature. This thematic approach to the chapter, integrating as it does a literature survey of each aspect of throughcare, does I feel offer a clearer and more concise descriptive analysis of throughcare in practice.

#### i) Background information on the interview setting and samples

##### Probation teams and officers

An outline of Humberside Probation Service has already been given in Chapter 4, and organisation of the teams and restrictions in chapter 6. This section will focus on some basic background details



of the 29 individual officers interviewed an outline of which can be found in table (7.1).

There was a fairly even split between males (14) and females (15) in the interview sample, but much variation in age within teams. The youngest officer was twenty four whilst the oldest was sixty four. Similarly length of time as a P.O. varied from under 6 months to 21 years with an average length of service of just over 8 years. Only 7 officers (24%) had been seconded to a prison or YOC in their career in the Service and only 5 had been employed by a Probation Service other than Humberside. Twelve officers had worked in other teams in Humberside and the average length of time in their current team was just over 4 years although some of the new officers had been in the team only for a very short period of time. The number of youth custody cases held by individual P.O.'s at the time of interview varied from between one and 12, with officers holding a total responsibility for 153 youths either in custody or on supervision.

Table (7.1) Details of probation officers interviewed

<u>SEX</u>			
	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	
<u>Team No.</u>	1.	4	4
	2.	1	4
	3.	1	4
	4.	3	2
	5.	5	1
		-----	-----
<u>Total</u>		14	15

<u>AGE RANGE</u>			
		<u>MEAN</u>	
<u>Team No.</u>	1.	26 29 30 31 41 42 44 64	38
	2.	27 27 29 34 42	31
	3.	27 34 43 46 53	41

4.	24	28	37	41	57				37
5.	36	37	38	38	42	54			41

LENGTH OF TIME AS PO ( YEARS)

<u>Team No.</u>								<u>MEAN (yr)</u>	
1	1			1	3	5	17	17	5.8
2.	6MOS			7	8	10			5.8
3.	6MOS			8	15	21			9.6
4.	6MOS			7	11	15			7.5
5.	3		9	12	15	16	17		12
									-----
									overall mean
									8.1

PREVIOUS SECONDMENT TO PRISON DEPT. EST.

<u>Team No.</u>	<u>No. of officers</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1		0	8
2.		2	3
3.		1	4
5.		4	2
		-----	-----
		7	22

WORKED IN OTHER PROBATION SERVICE

<u>Team No.</u>	<u>No. of officers</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1		1	7
2.		1	4
3.		1	4
4.		0	5
5.		2	4
		-----	-----
		5	24

WORKED IN OTHER TEAMS IN HUMBERSIDE P.S.

<u>Team No.</u>	<u>No. of officers</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1		2	6
2.		3	2
3.		2	3
4.		1	4
5.		4	2
		-----	-----
		12	17

LENGTH OF TIME WITH THIS CURRENT TEAM

											<u>MEAN (YR)</u>
<u>TEAM NO.</u>	1.	1	1	1	1	3	5	8	15		4.5
	2.	6MOS	1	2	2	4					2
	3.	6MOS	6MOS	1	3	21					5.2
	4.	6MOS	4	7	8	15					7
	5.	6MOS	2	3	3	4	7				3.3
	<u>overall mean</u>										4.4
<u>NO. OF YOUTH CUSTODY T/C CASES ON DAY OF INTERVIEW (APPROX)</u>											
											<u>Total</u>
<u>TEAM NO.</u>	1.	1	3	3	3	5	6	6	12	12	48
	2.	2	4	6	6	8					26
	3.	1	2	3	6	10					22
	4.	4	5	7	8	11					35
	5.	1	2	2	3	3	9				22
											153

The youth custody centre and offender sample

Details of the general setting and nature of the YCC have been provided in Chapter 4. However I feel it is necessary to expand a little further here and describe some of the major issues affecting the YCC just prior to and during the interviewing of trainees held there (interviews were held between 25th November 1987 and 15th March 1988).

The major influence on the YCC was undoubtedly the "Fresh Start" proposal recently introduced by the Prison Dept. (Home Office, 1.8.86) and implemented at the Centre in August/September 1987. During the course of interviewing at the Centre, Fresh Start had had more of an indirect and limited impact on the throughcare aspect of sentence. The main emphasis had thus far been put upon management structures and new ways of making the best use of officer time, although this

involved a look at the time which officers had available for welfare tasks. Since Fresh Start had been implemented, the YCC had been much more in the business of setting targets and objectives, and outlining functions. This had led to a sharpening of observation in all areas and helped staff identify where inmate needs lay. It seemed that staff were now more motivated to enhance regimes with resultant initiatives being put forward for throughcare. One of these initiatives had been the development of a pre-release course within the YCC, which was available to up to 10 trainees approaching their release dates and consisted of a rolling programme. Two prison officers from a pool of 4 ran the course on any one day and the Senior Probation Officer had an hour slot on the final morning to tie up any loose ends or queries which the lads may have had. I was kindly allowed to participate in the running of the course on several occasions and this was extremely useful in both gaining the confidence of officers and trainees, (word quickly spread that I was 'OK'), and also in gaining an insight from a group perspective on problems faced inside and outside the establishment.

In addition to Fresh Start, half remission for those serving 12 months or less was introduced (Circular Instruction, No. 18/1987) and took effect from 28th July 1987. This had the effect of increasing turnover of trainees, shortening sentences and therefore perhaps lessening the ability and/or motivation of staff and trainees to fully exploit the training programme. A second important consequence of this introduction of half remission, which did not, it must be pointed out, directly affect any of the trainees in my sample, was the impact of further fines or days imprisonment imposed by the court while the offender was inside. For a small number of trainees serving 12 months

or just under, the imposition of further days which would extend sentence beyond 12 months, meant a return for that individual to one third remission and possibly a much longer time inside.

Within this setting, a total of 28 youths were interviewed (see chapter 4 for details of how they were chosen and general methodological issues). Table 7.2 offers a summary of the background characteristics of the youths interviewed. The issues identified from the prison file F1150 (from which the information was drawn) closely parallel those described in the previous chapter, and some comparisons will be drawn after a brief description of the data. It must be remembered here however, that the data was collected from the prison files before sentence was completed, and therefore may not reflect the actual number of contacts which may have been made by the P.O. with the establishment. Visits by the P.O. to the client were not recorded in the F1150 and therefore not described here. Trainees were however asked this question in interview and the point will be discussed later in this chapter under the 'client experience'.

Three quarters of trainees were interviewed either at both the induction and pre release stages of sentence or were asked questions from both interview schedules towards their release date. Three youths were interviewed only at the induction stage and 4 only at pre release. The average age was just over 18 years, 24 of the 28 lads were single, and one third had at least one child. Three quarters had left school with no qualifications, 93% were unemployed prior to sentence and the majority lived with their family. However, 5 lads were of no fixed abode and 1 had a hostel place.

Only one youth was a first offender and almost one half had between

11 and 15 preconvictions, although it should also be noted that one third had over twenty. Almost all had at least one conviction for theft (93%) and over three quarters for burglary. Eleven youths (39%) had a history of violence and a further one had a pre conviction for sexual offences. Twenty eight per cent of trainees had served a previous YC sentence, 22% a previous DC sentence, and 25% had served both, (ie. 75% had been inside before).

7.2  
Table (6) Background information on offenders interviewed

<u>Stage interviewed</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>pre cons</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>%</u>
Induction only	3	1	None	1	3
Pre release only	4	14	1-5	1	3
Combined ind/Pre Rel	21	75	6-10	5	18
			11-15	12	43
			16-20	0	0
			More than 20	9	33
<u>Age at interview</u>			<u>Previous</u> <u>offences</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>No</u>	<u>% of</u> <u>Total</u>
17	5	8	Violence	11	39
18	8	28	Sex	1	3
19	10	36	Robbery	2	7
20	5	18	Arson	5	18
			Burglary	22	79
<u>Marital status</u>			Theft	26	93
Single	24	86	Other (driving, crim dam; drugs; breach PO, CSO	20	71
Married/Cohabiting	3	11			
Missing	1	3			
<u>Children</u>					
Yes	9	33			
No	18	64			
Missing	1	3			
<u>Qualifications</u>			<u>Previous sentences</u>		
Yes	4	14	YC	8	28
No	21	75	DC	6	22
Missing	3	11	YC and DC	7	25
			Supvn in comm	6	22
			None	1	3

(Table 7.2 contd.)

<u>Accommodation before sentence</u>		
Family	19	69
N.F.A.	5	18
Rented	2	7
Hostel	1	3
Missing	1	3

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<u>Employment before sentence</u>		
Unemployed	26	93
YTS	2	7

---

	<u>No</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>No. of current offences</u>		
1-3	14	50
4-6	10	36
7-10	3	11
More than 10	1	3

---

<u>Nature of all current offences</u>	<u>Total No</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Violence	9	33
Sex	3	11
Robbery	3	11
Arson	1	3
Burglary	20	71
Theft	22	79
Other	15	54

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<u>Length of sentence (mos)</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>%</u>
3-7	6	22
7-9	2	7
10-12	10	35
13-15	4	14
More than 15	6	22

Mean = 12.5; Range = 6.24;  
Most Common = 12

---

	<u>No</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>PO Allocated case</u>		
Immediately	28	100

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	<u>No</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>P.O. involved in T.P.B.</u>		
Yes	2	7
No	23	82
Missing	3	11

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<u>Use Made of TC Forms (TOT)</u>	<u>Total No</u>	<u>% of total</u>
TC 1	23	82
TC 2 (est)	25	89
TC 2 (PO)	0	
TC 3 (est)	1	
TC 3 (PO)	0	
TC 4	0	
TC 5	0	
TC 6	6	22
TC 7	0	
TC 8	0	

---

<u>Other Contact PO/est</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>%</u>
None	1	3
Admin. forms	8	29
Letter and forms	19	68

(Table 7.2 contd.)

<u>Eligible for Parole</u>		
Yes	19	67
No	9	33
<hr/>		
<u>SER prepared</u>		
Yes	24	86
No	4	14
<hr/>		
<u>Areas of Concern in SER</u>		
Yes	22	92
No	2	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	24	100

One half of the sample had been convicted of between one and three offences to warrant their current sentence, and again the majority had committed offences of theft, burglary, breach of community disposal, driving or violence. The average length of sentence was 12.5 months, ranging between 6 and 24 months with the most common sentence imposed by the court being 12 months. Just under two thirds were eligible for parole although only 3 (11%) were granted it; 86% had had an SER prepared and all but 2 SERs expressed some area of concern about the youth.

Following sentence a P.O. was allocated the case immediately (ie. within one week) although only 2 were involved in the training plan board. The TC1, post sentence information form was completed in 82% of cases, and even though the custodial part of sentence had not been finished there was a record of the TC2 (est) exchange of information form being used in 89% of cases. In all but one case, there had been other contact between the P.O. and establishment staff, usually through letters and other administrative forms.



## DISCUSSION

Perhaps the most immediately obvious characteristic of the youths interviewed is their criminal sophistication. Compared with the file sample discussed in the previous chapter (6), the youths interviewed had on average more pre convictions, crimes of violence and previous custodial sentences. When compared with the much larger sample reported by Bottomley and Liebling (1987, Appen. I, table 2) there was again a higher percentage of youths in YC with over 10 pre convictions (Bottomley and Liebling = 61%). The current sample also had a higher incidence of those who had served a previous custodial sentence.

In comparison with the file sample this interview sample had committed on average more offences to warrant their current sentence; there was a higher incidence of violent crimes and the average length of sentence was longer. It is difficult to make comparisons in the P.O.'s level of contact with the establishment as the custodial part of sentence had not terminated for these youths interviewed.

### ii) The Probation Officer's understanding of throughcare

The views of individual probation officers tended to focus on both the practical aspects of their work, ensuring that proper preparations for release were made for the youth, and ensuring as smooth a transition back into the community as possible. Several officers however looked rather confused when asked to express their understanding of throughcare although, as the following statement shows, they did attempt a definition:

Q. What do you understand by youth custody throughcare?

A. Oh God! that's a hard one .... not a lot basically. I think it's mainly to assist them in their move from the Y.C.C. back into the community and try and make that as smooth as

possible, and any readjustments that they have to make ... to assist them with any problems that they've had when they're in the centre ... see if we can help with them. Generally to try and help that move from the community to an institution and then back again and try and assist them in that, so hopefully it doesn't have too much of a damaging effect on such young people really.... which is quite a big task.

(Probation Officer interview no. 12).

This officer however did cover most of the points addressed in the other interviews, the move from freedom to custody to supervision, damaging effects of custody, and dealing with any problems arising. For one officer it was "something that has very much prompted the welfare side of our work" (P.O. interview No. 3), whilst for another it was "dealing with the three main problems of accommodation, relationships and employment" (P.O. interview No. 5). Several officers felt that work with the family, where appropriate, must also be viewed as an integral part of the process, and indeed, three officers stated that work with the family should be considered as of equal if not higher priority than work with the offender himself.

The wide ranging perceptions of throughcare can be seen from the following statements:

Acting as the link with the outside and helping if there are any problems whilst they are inside. (P.O. interview No. 4)

.... Throughcare from my standpoint involves to an extent sending reports and forms out although this is a poor substitute for direct contact expressed through visit and discussion and other ways...

(P.O. interview No. 7)

Well, it's maintaining regular contact throughout the sentence in order to build a relationship up... plan for release and provide supervision on release.

(P.O. interview No. 9).

Basically it's providing a service, hopefully from the SER stage with the same officer right the way through as some sort of contact point with the outside, resolving any problems that they might have when they're inside, practical or emotional... providing a link between the lad and the girl out and giving support when they came out.

(P.O. interview No. 13)

.... to maintain contact with the family

(P.O. interview No. 17)

.... reducing the risk of further offending .... that implies making available as many community type resources, practical provisions as possible to ease the transition and re establish him in the community.

(P.O. interview No. 18)

Acting as a link between the person in custody and the home area. And also having some sort of input with regard to training needs of the inmate whilst inside.

(P.O. interview No. 29)

These statements illustrate the wide ranging interpretation of the throughcare task and emphasise the multi-faceted approach which can underpin work with young adult offenders. Only 2 officers specifically mentioned a need for contact with the holding establishment and similarly only two officers mentioned specifically

"social work" or "welfare" in a definition of 'throughcare' although there was a general opinion that personal and relationship problems as well as the effects of custody had to be addressed.

One officer expressed distinct dismay at the amount of paperwork now surrounding throughcare, but the need to form "some sort of consistent plan" was considered by several officers to constitute a sound approach to throughcare.

It is interesting to note that only 4 officers specifically mentioned that throughcare should address the problem of reoffending, but it is possible that the emphasis on 'resettlement' included 'reoffending'.

Throughcare was therefore seen to involve contact with the offender and his family and the aim most commonly mentioned was to ease the traumas and difficulties of reintegrating back into the community by offering an identifiable link, sometimes through a plan, between custody and supervision. Both practical and emotional problems were mentioned arising from both custody and before sentence, and there was a general awareness of the need for throughcare to act as a link in the reintegration process. The generality and difficulty of throughcare was stated at length by one officer and we can conclude this section by quoting this officer and thereby highlighting the difficulties in definition.

.... I think we are there to offer them support whilst they are inside. We are a link with the outside world and their families. I think we are also there to try and focus on what has happened to them and try to work out anything, if possible, that's positive and that they can actually change perhaps whilst

they are inside. When they come out I think we might have quite noble notions of what we're going to do with them. But when they come out they tend not to be seen as quite so urgent as perhaps probation cases. It depends ... you can have youth custody throughcare that is very active, most tend not to be.

(P.O. interview No. 23)

(iii) Visits, letters and telephone calls from probation officer to client in custody

a) The probation officer perspective

All officers interviewed (No. = 29) stated that, if they had not had any contact with the client prior to his incarceration, the first contact would be made by letter. The longest period which would elapse between being allocated the case and sending out this letter was 4 weeks although the vast majority of officers (26) claimed that the letter would be dispatched as soon as possible after being allocated the case, usually within a day or two. However, it was pointed out that it was not uncommon for the youth to have been inside for a few weeks before his case was allocated to an individual officer. The only exception to the first introductory contact occurring through letter was in those cases, (which were identified as being very common), where the officer had had contact with youth from a previous sentence or from writing the social enquiry report. Nevertheless, even in these cases, a letter was still often used, if only to let the client know when to expect a visit.

Following this initial letter of introduction being sent, 18 officers reported sending at least one more letter to all their youth custody clients inside. Three officers only wrote further letters if they had received a reply to their first and the remaining officers

found it a difficult question to answer, feeling it depended on the individual's ability to read or stated preference of not receiving letters. Two officers were adamant that letters should not be sent as a matter of routine with no real purpose to them and sent them only if there was a specific problem to be addressed. However, there did tend to be agreement on the main purpose of the letters. The maintenance of some form of contact was considered essential to the smooth running of the P.O./client relationship. The letters were also particularly used to keep the offender informed of events at home and with his family, and relaying information regarding problems which the probation officer had been attempting to tackle on the clients behalf. It was pointed out that some youths found it difficult to express themselves in a one-to-one situation and letters offered an alternative medium:

Obviously it is to keep contact with that person, and it's another opening ..... some people find it difficult to talk face to face and many of these find letters an easier venue to put down their thoughts. It's an alternative communication, and for the ones that it isn't alternative communication, its one where they feel .... I've got a letter sort of thing and it's important to them.

(P.O. interview No. 3)

This notion of simply valuing a letter, any letter, was mentioned on other occasions as well; "sometimes it's just friendship ... someone to write to".

However, as may be expected, it was very difficult to draw any firm conclusions. The purpose and content of letters depended upon the

individual client, some did not want, or respond to, letters sent by their probation officer, others couldn't read. For some, a working relationship had already been established through a previous sentence. Nevertheless, 18 officers (64%) declared that they felt letters to be a very important part of throughcare, with some of the opinion that they were of equal if not more importance as visits. In cases where visits were not possible, due to distance or other factors, letters were considered essential. The remainder of officers felt that letters were quite important and emphasised the fact that it all depended on the individual, ie. very important for someone who was estranged from his family, but not for someone who had a very supportive network of friends and family who were in contact. Unfortunately, family visits were not always recorded in the prison file, and so comparisons cannot be made between those who received family visits and those who did not. This was also found by Bottomley and Liebling, (1987, p47).

Many of the issues put forward when discussing the importance of letters to the client and the success of the throughcare process are equally applicable to visits to the establishment.

24 of the probation officers interviewed reported managing to visit 100 per cent of their clients in custody; the remainder ranging between 50 per cent and 90 per cent. These officers either didn't visit as a matter of routine, only if there was a specific problem to be dealt with, or if clients had been on remand for so long that the length of time left to serve in the youth custody centre did not warrant or justify a visit.

As with letters, officers were fairly consistent in their reasons for visiting their clients in YCC's. The main issues involved were a

desire:

initially to establish contact and sort out possible scope for work on licence and release. Try and get a working relationship that tries to address the issues which led to the confinement.

(P.O. interview No. 1)

It was mentioned by several officers that they could not expect their client to report on a regular basis or fulfil the conditions of the licence satisfactorily if their client felt their probation officer wasn't interested in them as expressed through his frequency of visiting to the establishment....

From my own experience I think that if we are prepared to visit people inside it seems to make or build the relationship for the person's release. And certainly, I've had far more joy in supervising in terms of their reporting where I've met them inside, and the only cases where I've had problems in terms of reporting have been, in fact, those cases which have come to me virtually on the person's release and I haven't actually visited them inside. And that's where I draw the conclusion from, that by visiting the inmate inside it somehow builds the relationship and makes the effective arrangements for supervision upon release more tenable.

(P.O. interview No. 11)

A good working relationship for release, the assessment of problems during custody and anticipated on release, the gaining of confidence and the putting of a face to a name were mentioned by most officers. Additionally, 3 officers felt that by visiting the



establishment an opportunity was afforded "to be acquainted with the format of training so that there can be a sharing process and exchange of information between the field and the institution". (P.O. interview No. 18).

A broader direction and focus of work could therefore be achieved through a visit. Some officers felt that, although letters were important, a visit was a much more preferable method of keeping in contact. The same argument was put forward for visiting, as was for writing, viz, that while some clients preferred letters because they didn't like face to face contact, some preferred the latter because of difficulties in reading and writing. The face to face contact however, added a further dimension of "trying to develop and humanise the relationship and process of supervision throughcare on release". (P.O. interview No. 7).

Again, as with writing to clients, the effectiveness and importance attached, depended on the client, often the stage of sentence he was at, and the influence of family and friends. For some clients, as one probation officer put it, visiting and writing letters was as useful a task as that performed by "the deckchair attendant on the Titanic."

Overall, 20 officers felt that visits were a very important part of the throughcare process, the remainder feeling they were quite important. Reservations, in line with those mentioned above were made, viz, it depended on the individual as some responded better than others, and for some it was just not necessary to visit - they didn't have any problems and they didn't want to see their probation officer. However, some felt that it was important, if not directly for the client, for the officer to illustrate that he is taking the trouble to

visit even if nothing constructive is gained. Where this would stand in the debate that visits must only be made with specific social work aims in mind will be addressed in the discussion. A further issue to be taken into account here is an awareness of the establishment's ability to contribute to the throughcare process. Several officers were of the opinion that if the establishment offered a good pre release course, had a good tradition of working with the inmate and whose prison officers were motivated to help in the welfare task, then the work of the probation officer could be considered less vital.

For most probation officers, visiting youth custody centres was not seen as a problem. None had come across any restrictions which had in practice curtailed their ability to make a visit when they felt one was necessary. Nevertheless, the factors most commonly stated whereby a visit may not occur were distance from the institution accompanied by high caseloads and a very short sentence, perhaps because of a long remand in custody. If any 2 of these were present together in a case then the officer would have some difficulty, if not in visiting once, at least in visiting on a regular basis. In some cases, officers mentioned that certain clients simply did not want visits and it was therefore a waste of everybody's time trying to make one. For others a visit, after the initial assessment by letter, or a chat, was, again not necessary and couldn't be justified.

A final means of communication with the client in custody is direct contact on the telephone. 12 officers had actually spoken to a lad in a YCC on the telephone, usually as a result of some "urgent news" or crisis situation which required the immediate attention of the lad concerned. This crisis situation was in the majority of instances

concerning close family, or in the burglary of the lad's flat and departure for another man of his girlfriend. It wasn't clear whether the 2 incidents were linked. Three officers, stated that they were not aware of the facility, and assumed it must depend on the establishment. The other probation officers had not felt that this facility was one to be used.

b) The client experience

Of the 23 trainees asked how many changes of probation officer they had had since sentence, 12 (52%) said that they had more than one. Ten trainees had kept the same officer and one said that a change was desirable and wanted a new P.O. as soon as possible. Of those who had had a change, just over one half, (7 trainees), were happy with the change, 4 were not and 1 didn't know yet.

All of the youths interviewed had received at least one visit with one youth receiving 6. However, the vast majority had received either one or two visits, the reasons for which were varied. The main issues addressed were:-

- Routine and introduction
- Release orientated
- Accommodation
- Parole
- Family/relationships/children
- Sentence/Custody problems
- Depression
- Employment

Most common



least common

Of the 23 trainees asked whether they felt the visits were useful or not, 15 (65%) felt that they had been, the remaining 8 saying they were a waste of time. Differences in how visits are interpreted, and

their usefulness can be illustrated by comparing some of the respondents answers:

- Q. How many visits have you had from your probation officer since being in here?
- A. Two
- Q. What were these visits about?
- A. Getting out and what to do on release
- Q. Do you thing they were useful?
- A. Yes....I've been on bang up at times and it helps pass the afternoon. But they're no use for getting things sorted for going out.
- Q. Would you have preferred any more visits from probation?
- A. No.

(Trainee interview No. 1)

Visits can therefore tend to be viewed as a means of alleviating the monotony - anything for a change - rather than as helping with specific problems. The ambivalent attitude of the youths to the P.O. is further illustrated in the following discussion with a lad who had been receiving visits every two weeks since his incarceration:

- Q. What were these visits about?
- A. Checking up I suppose... seing how I'm getting on. I was feeling pissed off when I came here and he [ie. P.O.] was getting bit worried. I was depressed you know.
- Q. Do you think his visits were useful?
- A. Yes, he's good as my probation officer.. He tries to help as much as he can.
- Q. Would you have liked more visits then?

A. I'm not really bothered with probation. It's family you need in here.

(Trainee interview No. 21)

Even though this trainee did admit that his P.O.'s visits had been useful, there was indication that family contact was more desirable or helpful.

Overall, just under half of the youths (11) were happy with the number of visits they received, 5 would have preferred more and 7 weren't bothered one way or another.

Only one youth had not received any letters from his probation officer. Issues addressed in letters tended to be similar to those tackled during visits, viz, routine introductions, accommodation, family requirements of supervision, parole, employment, and the informing of a change of P.O. Less than one third of the youths (7; 30%) felt that the letters were useful, 16 (70%) felt that they were of little or no use. As one trainee who had received "quite a few" letters put it the letters were:

.... Just asking me if I was alright and that

Q. Do you feel that they were helpful?

A. No

Q. Why not?

A. Because he says things but he doesn't do them.

(Trainee Interview No. 26)

There is then an indication that perhaps letters are not valued in and of themselves by all trainees, and they should therefore ensure that they address a specific identifiable problem.

c) Discussion

Client and probation officer accounts of their experience of

throughcare tended to concur in the number of contacts made via letter and visit during custody. In accordance with the quantitative survey reported in the previous chapter, levels of contact were high, with all clients receiving either a letter or a visit. High but not consistent levels of contact have also been reported by Kingston (1979) who asked clients of their experience, and Davies (1986) who found that a sample of 100 clients received an average of 2 visits although 22 per cent received none. In Davies's study 8 per cent received neither a visit nor a letter, compared with 9 per cent reported in my own sample in chapter 6. However, Hobbs (1984) found that only 47% of trainees at Hindley YCC had received a visit within a 3 month period, and Bottomley and Liebling (1987) found that 30 per cent of trainees in closed YCC's received no visits and 25% of all young adult offenders received no letters (P47/48). Linked to this is the fact reported by Bottomley and Liebling (1987) that 46 per cent of the trainees in the closed YCC's said they would have preferred more visits; between a quarter and a third said there had been enough contact and a "vociferous minority" said that they definitely would NOT have welcomed any more contact with their P.O. (pp50/51). The fact that all my interviewees were in the local YCC and therefore within close proximity to their P.O. seemed to contribute to the high levels of contact.

Some of the broader issues to come out of the interviews were that probation officers considered the letters and visits as primarily a means of maintaining contact and keeping the client informed of events at home, sorting out release plans, developing a working relationship for supervision and assessing problems. There was an emphasis put

upon gaining the trust and confidence of the client, intended to enhance the chances of successful completion of the supervision period. The letters and visits were seen as either very or quite important, but it was emphasised time and again that this depended very much on the clients attitude, circumstances and contact with family and others in the community.

On the other hand, clients reported that visits tended to concentrate on routine formalities, accommodation, family and requirements of supervision; i.e. issues which were of a more tangible nature than <sup>o</sup>nations of linking the custodial and supervision phases of sentence by forming a working relationship. Whereas all PO's had said that the contacts in general were important, only 65 per cent of clients said that visits had been useful and 70 per cent said the letters had not been useful. Although the questions asked of PO's and clients were rather different, this may question the assertion that visits and letters are automatically useful in and of themselves.

The importance of letters and visits to the client in custody has been stressed, (e.g. Morris and Morris 1963; Monger 1967; Grimsby 1974; Corden et al 1978; Hollingsworth 1979; Kingston 1979; Foad 1984), but also some reservations have been expressed (e.g. Tomlinson et al 1972; Jarrett 1977; Stanton 1985).

Hollingsworth (1979) pointed out that visits and letters must be viewed as an essential part of the overall strategy adopted to work with the client in custody (P251) and Corden et al (1978), note that they are important in keeping the community alive for the client (p95). In line with some of my own observations, Monger (1967) notes that probation officers vary in their opinions of the circumstances which justify a visit and differentiate between the routine and

purposeful visit:

There is the equivalent of the probation 'routine' visit, where the visit is paid in pursuance of an identifiable casework objective; and there is the pre-discharge visit.

(Monger, 1967, p. 108).

In addition, Monger says that letters lend support, show the youth that he has not been forgotten and counter the often exaggerated letters from family and friends. Both Foad (1984) and Monger (1967) stress that account has to be taken of the number of visits, letters and contact generally of the offenders family and other contacts. This was mentioned by many officers that I interviewed. Along similar lines and broadly in agreement with my own findings, was the point made by Kingston (1979) that visits are particularly important at the beginning and end of custody and are NOT just important in and of themselves. Kingston also found that the casework element of visits was low even though the reasons for the visits tended to revolve around emotional matters, and that PO's tended to write on practical matters.

Monger (1967) notes that different clients react differently to letters and visits and this must be taken into account when assessing their usefulness. In line with some of the probation officer views reported in my study above, Foad (1984) found that from the clients point of view:

... poor officer contact is deemed to justify poor cooperation on release

(Foad 1984, p. 31)

Nevertheless, certain reservations have been expressed about the use and effectiveness of letters and visits by the P.O. to the client



in custody.

Tomlinson et al (1972), while extolling the virtues of using the telephone to keep in contact with the youth in custody, pointed out that problems of letter writing included problems of limited vocabulary and expression, and also of being misunderstood. Although these were mainly orientated towards client/family letter writing they can equally be applied to P.O./client contact. On a more forceful note, Jarrett (1977) notes of probation teams that:

Probably it is as much as each team member can do to write the odd letter and, at best, visit each borstal client once during his sentence ..... The long and short of it is likely to be that precious little is achieved on these visits apart from a token keeping open of lines of communication to be picked up again on release.

(Jarrett, 1977, p. 142)

This keeping open of communication was stressed by the officers in my own interview sample. A final problem of visits and letters mentioned here is expressed by Stanton (1985) who notes the bureaucratic delay involved in arranging visits and processing letters. This could be expanded in that important information may become irrelevant if a delay is involved in its relaying.

It can be seen that many issues addressed in the literature have also been reported by the practitioners themselves who in turn agree with the clients experience in some aspects but not others. An important issue to note here in its relevance to all the discussions in this chapter and in chapter 8 is the research and literature on the relationship between the client and social worker/professional. The

issue has been comprehensively examined by, in particular, Mayer and Timms (1970); Jordan (1970); Robinson (1978); Baldock and Prior (1981); Rees and Wallace (1982); Fisher (1983), and the issues involved in the relationship and surrounding the client's view do not therefore need repeating in this thesis. Only the specific issues arising out of my interviews will be discussed.

iv) Throughcare problems addressed during custody

a) The probation officer perspective

Probation officers were asked what they considered to be the major problems faced by their clients in youth custody centres. The question was, it must be acknowledged, a broad one, and this was reflected in the replies given. To help counter a too general response, the officers were told that they should consider the usual or more common problems encountered.

The most commonly reported problem (no. = 11; 38%) was that of the youth finding it difficult to settle into the establishment. This was particularly acute if it was their first time inside. The loss of liberty and having to come to terms with authority were stated by the following officer:

....certainly coming to terms with the regime and rules  
..... the loss of liberty obviously, but the degree of that is obviously associated with the nature of the circumstances when they were out anyway. A lot of lads only have intermittent contact with family, relatives.... and I suppose another one is having to avoid the institutional indoctrination process which I suppose you could put under the peer group pressure title as well.

(P.O. interview, No. 18)

Other problems identified by 10 officers were the severing of links with the family, girlfriend and other relatives; 8 officers mentioned practical problems ranging from accommodation and employment on release to alcohol and drugs. A further 5 officers mentioned loneliness, boredom and feelings of isolation.

The problems were then, fairly wide ranging and indeed it was mentioned that some of the youths are:

quite happy when they're inside. They've got a roof, they've got precise boundaries of operations, but in terms of those who do have problems whilst they're inside I think it's generally those who are very close to family and/or girlfriend.

(P.O. interview, No. 11).

It was repeatedly emphasised that the effect of these problems depended very much on the individual client. The first offender was for example seen to be particularly vulnerable.

When presented with a set of problems and asked to rate them according to importance in throughcare officers responses were as outlined in table 7.3.

The most important issues to be addressed during custody were seen by P.O.'s to be dealing with practical problems in the community and the maintenance or improvement of family relationships. It is interesting to note however that only 10 officers felt that it was very important to maintain links with the wider community, given their opinion reported earlier that this was important in the definition of throughcare and also in visits and letters. The implications of this will be expanded upon in the discussions. It is also important to note that several officers felt that immediate pre release work, addressing problems of behaviour and

social functioning, and helping with practical problems inside were the responsibility of the youth custody officers.

Table 7.3

Importance attached by probation officers to aspects of T/C

	<u>Very imp.</u>		<u>Quite imp.</u>		<u>Not very imp.</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1) Help with immediate practical problems arising from outside	23	(79)	6	(21)	0	0	29	(100)
2) Maintenance/improvement of family relationships	19	(66)	10	(34)	0	0	29	(100)
3) Immediate pre-release work	18	(62)	7	(24)	4	(14)	29	(100)
4) Tackling problems of underlying criminal behaviour	14	(52)	10	(37)	3	(11)	27	(100)
5) Tackling problems of social functioning	11	(41)	13	(48)	3	(11)	27	(100)
6) Help with immediate practical problems arising from inside	11	(39)	11	(39)	6	(21)	28	(100)
7) Maintenance of links with outside community	10	(34)	14	(49)	5	(17)	29	(100)

\* Some P.O.'s felt that this work should be the responsibility of the YC staff.

Given the identification of these main problem areas and the importance attached in addressing them, officers were asked what they considered their MAIN ROLE during custody to be. The majority (no = 20; 69%) considered their main role as offering a link between the lad and his community, which included family, friends, relationships etc. Others, such as the following felt that they were there mainly in a supporting role and ...

...to help them adjust and function in the environment they find themselves, and to help them to gain something positive from something that is after all a punishment. And to ease

their passage back into the community.

(P.O. interview No. 13)

There must be an attempt:

to plan sensibly for the future..... and help him I suppose make the best use of his sentence really so that it's not a total waste of time.

(P.O. interview NO. 24).

Only four officers saw their main role as helping with practical problems feeling that they must act as a link person "between the inmate, the establishment, the outside world, families, employers possibly and also trying to keep the inmate with his feet on the ground and plan sensibly for the future". (P.O. interview No. 24).

For nine officers their main role was to work towards a realistic plan with their clients, particularly with a view to reducing offending behaviour. However this was a view not shared by all:

it is not my aim to reduce further reoffending as this is not always possible. Our work must extend far beyond the individual control of a person. We must help him achieve what he wants to achieve.

(P.O. interview No 2).

There was some hesitation in defining the role with the YC client. Indeed, one officer pointed out that he seemed to spend most of his time "wandering about asking them what to do" (P.O. interview no. 19).

Given this range of problems and identified role and purpose of work during custody, did P.O.'s feel that there were any specific periods when the client was more susceptible to being influenced by these or other problems? In short, did P.O.'s consider there to be any 'critical periods' when the client needed extra help and support?

Twenty five officers identified induction and/or pre release as being POTENTIALLY 'critical' for the client:

...yes, I would say the first few weeks, that must be the hardest time, the whole routine, the whole threatening environment, the fear of the unknown, especially if they've never been inside before. And I suppose just on release their anxiety level if they've just done a long sentence rises because they dont know what they're going out to.

(P.O. interview No. 12).

Any event which was construed by the client as being unexpected and/or traumatic was also seen to constitute a period of crisis for that individual. The most common such event was parole refusal although family and relationship crises were not far behind. As with the nature of problems encountered by trainees, it was very difficult for officers to be specific about 'critical periods' during custody; it very much depended on the client and his circumstances. It is interesting to note that one officer mentioned the middle part of custody as being critical for her as the client had become used to it by then and it had ceased to be "meaningful". Presumably this is a time when the officer must step in and ensure the relationship between himself/herself doesn't become stagnant and work carried out is seen as relevant by the client.

b) The client experience

The information reported here is based on the responses of 24 of the youths interviewed in Everthorpe Youth Custody Centre. The effectiveness of any work carried out must depend on the relationship between the P.O. and client. Over three quarters of trainees (no=18)

said that they got on either very well, well or alright with their P.O., leaving 6 who did not. Of those who had a satisfactory relationship with their P.O., reasons given were that he/she had helped with problems, was understanding and/or was the only person they could talk to. On the other hand those who did not have a good relationship said that they just didn't like the officer, the P.O. didn't always turn up when they said they would, he/she would only keep nagging about a Y.T.S. and often "didn't know owt".

Fifteen youths (65%) felt that their P.O. had been helpful during custody, 3 (26%) said he/she had not and the rest said that either their P.O. tried hard or didn't know. The main problems dealt with were the filling in of forms, in particular NACRO employment forms, and as might be expected, accommodation. Other issues addressed were relationships, routine support and counselling and 'just being there'.

As an extension of problems dealt with, the trainees were asked about their experience of custody. Twelve lads said that they had not come up against anything which had made their time inside the YCC difficult and they had managed fine. However, the most commonly mentioned sources of anxiety among the rest were loneliness often accompanied by boredom and feelings of depression; hassle from other lads and prison officers; and girlfriends terminating their relationship. All but one lad had dealt with these problems by bottling them up or trying to do something about it themselves, or waited for a prison officer to ask them what was wrong. Only 1 had actually sought out a prison officer for advice although nothing in particular had prevented the others from doing so, as only 3 mentioned that they were too embarrassed or didn't like prison officers generally.

When asked if they had changed much during custody 6 said that they had not, 16 said they felt more settled, quiet, mature and did not take things for granted anymore. However 2 lads said they had changed for the worst, one saying:

I've got worse in here. I feel madder inside. It doesn't change 'owt being locked up, it just makes you mad and when you get out you let go. It'll be alright if I get a flat and have somewhere to go when I get bored. If I have to go on the street I'll just be back in here again.\*

(Trainee interview No. 15)

[\* This lad was given a flat during supervision, didn't like it, told his P.O. what she could do with it and was rearrested for offences about a week later].

Sixteen youths claimed not to have benefitted from any aspect of custody, with those who had saying it had offered more time to read, think and get fit. There was nothing to indicate that the experience of custody was likely to prevent reoffending in the future, most feeling that this had to come from a determination inside oneself, and backed up by support from family and friends. The pre-release course was cited by most lads (especially by those who had participated in it) as being the most effective method of preparing them for going back outside, and others variously said that the training aspect of sentence could be enhanced by being more difficult, consisting of more privileges, a staging of progress through houses with the less criminally sophisticated inmates together, and help with getting a job for when released.

Ten lads had taken part in the pre release course run by prison



officers and all felt that they had benefitted from it. It may be that this helps break down any barriers existing between trainees and officers. Also at the pre release stage, the trainees were asked if their accommodation and employment arrangements had been sorted out as far as possible, and if they understood the terms and conditions of their licence. Six lads said that they had not got anywhere suitable to live when they got out. Only 4 had definitely got a job although 7 were hoping for a place on a NACRO scheme. All lads were aware of what the requirements of their supervision would be and the consequences of failure to abide by these requirements. Other problems identified as still needing resolution by a few youths were associated with the DHSS and clothing allowances.

Fourteen youths were not anticipating needing any help when they were released; the remainder mentioning DHSS, accommodation, clothing and employment, and also help in coping especially with children and re-adjusting again.

Twenty youths said that they would not be carrying anything on from custody when they were released.

c) Discussion

Probation officers identified problems of settling into the YCC and those created by the severing of links with family and friends as being the most serious encountered by their clients. However, when asked how important it was to tackle certain problems, the most commonly mentioned factor was immediate practical problems arising from outside the YCC, followed by dealing with the family and issues arising there. Maintaining links with the rest of the community as a whole was not identified as being very important by most officers. Sixty five per cent of trainees said that their P.O. had helped them

with a problem and this tended to be the filling in of forms or finding accommodation. One half of the youths claimed that custody had not affected them in any way but, of those who said it had, most mentioned anxiety, loneliness and hassle from others inside the establishment. This loneliness and anxiety experienced by the trainees is in accordance with the P.O.'s view that their main role is in offering a link between the youth, his community and his family to reduce the levels of isolation and despair caused by their separation. Although it depended very much on the client, most officers identified the beginning and end of the sentence as potentially critical periods for the youth although any event perceived as traumatic by the client had to be viewed and treated as such. At the end of custody the only issues identified by trainees as needing sorted out were accommodation and money with one half feeling that they would not need help with anything on release.

These aspects of money and accommodation along with employment and family were identified in the case records of P.O.'s and reported in Chapter 6 of this thesis. The interviews with P.O.'s and clients would therefore tend to confirm these areas noted in the probation records. Also, Parker (1985), in his survey of throughcare in Humberside found the main aspects of work to be concerned with family and relationships, support and counselling, offending behaviour, accommodation and preparation for release.

In the wider context of other research and work in identifying problems of, and associated with, custody, the problems of accommodation, employment, finance and relationships have been identified, (see for example, Lowson 1970; Shaw 1974; Holborn 1975;

Corden et al 1978; Kingston 1979; Black, Stephenson and Robertson 1983; Williams et al 1983; NACRO 1983, 1986; Bottomley and Liebling 1987; Robertson, 1989).

In addition to these 4 major problem areas, Wood and Burningham (1970) identified personality problems. As an extension of the nature of the work, Kingston (1979) noted that borstal clients interviewed felt that it was the P.O.'s duty to find them accommodation and employment and also found that there was a difference in expectations of the client and P.O. in the ability or desire to fully achieve these. Similarly, Williams et al (1983) found that the level of agreement between P.O. and client was high when there was perceived to be 'no problem' but when the prisoner reported a problem then the P.O. agreed in only one half of the cases. Robertson (1989) also noted in a Scottish study of prisoners problems, that the social worker more often considered there to be problems in terms of relationships and accommodation than the client, but that the client more often saw finance and employment to be problems than did the social worker. H.M. Inspector of Prisons (Home Office 1986a) also observed that prisoners, as opposed to probation officers:

....take a more specific and concrete view. They mainly want direct practical help with particular problems, and they focus on the assistance they themselves receive rather than on the assistance provided for prisoners in general.

(Home Office, 1986a, para 5.5)

Along these lines, Graham and McAllister (1985) found that prisoners tended to judge the person providing the assistance solely on the basis of the observed success of the request. This effectiveness of service and desire for tangible results was addressed

by Rutherford and Rogerson (1971) who reported that borstal boys viewed their P.O. in a poor light if the P.O. didn't provide him with a job, and questioned the usefulness of one-to-one meetings. Foad (1984) also noted that the YC client measured effectiveness by effort invested by P.O. (P.31). These factors have to be taken into account when looking at the 65 per cent satisfaction rate measured by youths saying that their P.O. had been helpful during custody. The effort invested by P.O.'s may then have been visible and tangible for the youths receiving the help, substantiated by the fact that of the 75 per cent who said that they had a satisfactory relationship with the P.O. most said that he/she had helped with problems. However, Davies (1986) found that 69 per cent of YC trainees in his sample had a good relationship with their PO even though 57 per cent overall had not received any help.

It should be remembered that there is some evidence to suggest that those most in need of help are often those who receive least. Vercoe (1969) found that "only those men who clamour for attention are likely to get it" (P.5); Holborn (1975) observed that "inadequates" were less likely to avail themselves of welfare services (P12); Pendleton (1973) stated that P.O.'s were unwilling to get involved with the more "intractable" clients (P18); Corden et al (1978) and Corden and Clifton (1983; 1985) found that "socially isolated" prisoners received little help; and Stone (1982) observed that "those in greatest need tend to receive least assistance" (P19). It may have been the case in my research that certain youths were less likely than others to admit to having a problem, and Bottomley and Liebling (1987) have recorded this reluctance of young offenders to come forward and admit to having

a problem (P42). The extent of the problems reported by trainees should, therefore be treated with some caution in the light of these observations.

The perceived and actual ability of P.O.'s to deal with problems must also be looked at with reference to the client's relationships with other people outside the establishment. Many of trainees I interviewed mentioned the importance of family, friends and other contacts in the community. Issues relating to the family are dealt with in detail in the following section, but mention must be made here of others who may be able to offer support and help to the person in custody. Tomlinson, et al (1972) noted that account had to be taken of "significant individuals" (P72) in the community; Corden et al (1978) emphasised the informal networks" (P56) and Kingston (1979) referred to the "social circle" (P41). It would seem that the P.O. must extend his/her knowledge of the client to include those relevant others and adjust the quality and quantity of contact with the person inside accordingly.

The extent of this social network of contacts and support outside the YCC may also be reflected in the fact that only one trainee admitted to actively seeking out a prison officer to help with problems (of course many had already said that they didn't have any problems), even though most had said that they 'got on OK' with most prison officers. Indeed, Bottomley and Liebling (1987) noted that only 8 per cent of trainees would not go to a prison officer if they had a problem (P45) and 62 per cent said that their contact with the prison officer was helpful (P46). Perhaps the experience of going to a prison officer in a capacity not linked to his custodial duties can change the trainee's attitude towards the officer in the same way as

their estimation of their P.O. rises when an immediate and obvious solution is found to a problem.

During the course of this discussion, it must be emphasised that individual characteristics of the trainees can or could determine the nature and quantity of the throughcare work carried out. This would also seem to apply to the impact of different stages of sentence, a fact drawn to my attention in several of the replies by P.O.'s interviewed in Humberside. Most P.O.'s in my study identified the beginning and end of custody as potentially critical although it depended on the client as to how much (extra) help and support was needed. Similarly Kingston (1979) cited these two times as being critical; Hollingsworth (1979) noted an initial period of withdrawal and anxiety in many clients during the first few weeks inside, especially for the first offender and Corden et al (1978) said that the P.O. must pay attention to important events in their client's sentence and identify potential support. As pointed out by HM Inspector of Prisons:

Different inmates have different problems and needs, and these vary according to their personal circumstances, stage of sentence, institutional experience, expectation of early release on parole, and so forth. Nevertheless, the evidence we collected indicates that many inmates face difficulties in relation to one or more of the key areas of homelessness, unemployment, social isolation, lack of basic education, and lack of marketable skills.

(Home Office, 1986a, para 5.7)

There are therefore several aspects which must be taken into account when analysing the problems experienced by offenders in

custody. Although some of the research cited in this discussion relates to adults I do feel it to be relevant to the custodial experience of youth custody trainees. The work with, and importance of, families was often mentioned by both P.O.'s and offenders and this aspect of throughcare will be examined in more detail in the following section.

v) Throughcare with the family

a) The probation officer perspective

Probation officers were asked about the extent of their contact with the parental, or when appropriate the marital/cohabitee family of the client in custody. Three quarters (no. = 22) said that they would visit the family as a matter of routine, although it did depend on the strength of ties between the family and youth as to the number of contacts. Of those who visited the family, all said that they would also write. It is interesting to note that 2 officers felt strongly that work with the family should be seen as, or more important than, work with the client himself/herself. As one of these officers put it:

I tend to work with families more than I do with individuals. And if I go to see the prisoner, I'll always take the family because I think it's much more appropriate to keep the links with the family.

(P.O. interview No. 8).

Of those who did not visit as a matter of routine, the intrusion factor was cited as being the main reason, and the same applied to letters:

Just to reiterate that I would only see it [ie. contact] as

important where there is an identified issue at stake for the family or the individual concerned. And to intervene routinely might just arouse anxiety or pose a question mark about the coping ability of the family.

(P.O. interview No. 25)

Whether as a matter of routine or not, it would seem that P.O.'s were willing to deal with the problems of the family if a crisis arose. Where there was a marital or cohabitee family and a problem arose, this was generally seen to be more important and in need of attention than a problem with the parental family. Again though, contact depended on the stability of the relationship and in 4 cases no move would be made without first gaining the permission of the youth in custody. Nineteen officers said that they would make the first move regarding contact with the family, 3 said the family generally made the first contact and 3 said it was fairly evenly balanced. A factor to be taken into account here is previous contact between the P.O. and client/family, and also the perceived importance of a problem which had suddenly cropped up.

Officers tended to state that problems faced by the marital and parental families were similar, and these included difficulties of money, children, illness and visiting the institution. Other problems revolved around the institution, particularly how the parole system worked and the rules about visiting, letters and bringing articles in during visits. Problems faced mainly by the marital or cohabitee family included finances, legalities surrounding custody of children, loneliness, and the break up of the relationship. Table 7.4 summarises the importance of certain areas presented on a prompt card



to the officer who was asked to rate them as being either very, quite or not very important. Some officers left spaces blank.

**Table 7.4 Importance attached to dealing with problems faced by the family**

	V.imp		Q.imp		Not v.imp		No.of resp.	
	<sup>1</sup> PARENT	MARITAL	<sup>2</sup> PARENT	MARITAL	PARENT	MARITAL	PARENT	MARITAL
Reservations about person returning home	20	17	8	7	0	2	28	26
Practical (esp visits and finance)	4	20	8	4	14	1	26	26
Worry about person's ability to cope inside	17	14	8	11	3	1	28	26
Emotional (esp. relationships)	8	15	16	9	3	1	27	25
Stigma	12	12	16	7	4	6	27	25
Worry about reoffending on release	12	11	12	12	4	3	28	26
<p>1. No. of respondents considering work with the parental family to be V imp (Q imp, Not V.)</p> <p>2. No of respondents considering work with the marital family to be V imp (Q imp, Not V).</p>								

It was generally considered that practical and emotional problems were more acute for the marital/cohabitee than for the parental family. However, there was overall concern and reservations in

families about the person returning home. Nevertheless several officers did point out that it was a common threat made by the family not to allow the young prisoner back, but one which was very rarely carried out.

Probation officers also felt that families worried about their son/daughter's ability to cope inside, although stigma and worries about reoffending on release were not considered by the PO to be of as much importance to the family as these other issues.

It is worth noting in the context of 'critical periods' during custody, discussed in the previous section, a comment made by one P.O:

I think families tend to go through the same stages that the lads do and that you know there are practical problems at the beginning and release planning at the end.

(PO interview No. 13)

Overall then, work with the family was considered to be an integral part of the throughcare process. The following table 7.5 shows the importance attached by P.O.'s to this area of work.

Table 7.5 Perceived importance by P.O. of work with the family

	V. important	Q. important	Not V. important	Depends
Work with parental family	11	11	1	6
Work with marital family	16	11	1 <del>X</del>	1

Both areas of work were seen to be important although again it was emphasised that the problem must be perceived as being important to the client or family for it to be acted upon by the probation officer.

Given the importance of this area of work and time constraints on all areas of work imposed by high caseloads, the P.O.'s were asked if they felt that the use of volunteers in work with the family was a good idea. Only 13 officers thought that it was a good idea. The others felt that it depended on the calibre of the volunteer, that the training and supervision of volunteers was more trouble than it was worth, or that they just did not agree with their use. However, it was mentioned by several officers that volunteers could most usefully be used in a group work setting rather than in any purely social work role.

Only three officers felt that work with the family should NOT be the responsibility of the Probation Service on a generic basis. Rather, they felt that there should be a specialist team for this. However, most officers considered it all but impossible to isolate a client and his problems from his family. Often the family may have contributed to the other problems including the original offending, and it was necessary for one Service to have overall responsibility. One officer did in fact state that work with the family was:

.... the link between the sentence and what we are trying to do on licence.

(P.O. interview No. 6)

This statement has implications for the general purpose and aims of throughcare and will be expanded upon in the discussion and later chapters of the thesis.

b) The client experience

Twenty five youths were asked about the level of contact both they and their P.O. had had with members of the family.

Less than one quarter (no. = 5) of trainees had not received any visits from members of their family - at least up until the time of interviewing. The remaining 20 received regular visits, and all but 3 said that this was what they had been expecting. Indeed, 4 said that they had only wanted a couple of visits, and although could have had more, did not want them, claiming them to be disruptive, upsetting and unsettling. All of those interviewed had received at least one letter from their family during custody.

As the YCC in which all those interviewed were held is situated rurally and for families travelling from Hull requires a train and/or bus journey, even though it is only 16 miles away, the trainees were asked if they considered it difficult for their family to visit. Fifteen said it was easy for their family to visit, either because they had their own car (no. = 8), or it wasn't too "difficult to catch a bus" (no. = 7). As one married youth said:

....A. It's easy 'cause it's only one bus here. There's the two kids, five years and six months as well

Q. Has your wife received any help or support in visiting?

A. No, it's off her own money. One pound ninety five pence return from Hull.

(Trainee interview No. 3)

However, 3 youths did recognise that visiting was not easy, 2 didn't want visits and 4 didn't know. Seventeen youths said that the visits and letters had helped them cope with their sentence, according to one:

If I wasn't getting any [visits and letters] I'd be a lot worse than I am now now.

(Trainee interview No. 9)

..... and another said that:

you look forward to your next and it helps you get through the day

(Trainee interview No. 25)

However, 8 trainees (32%) said that contact with the family did not benefit them in any way, with one saying that he was not bothered if he received any visits or letters at all.

When asked if they were aware of any contact between their probation officer and family, 16 said there had been, 8 said there had not and 1 was not sure. The trainees were rather vague about the reasons for the contact but most tended to revolve around children, visiting, being upset and worried about sentence, and having the neighbours talking about them. However, 8 trainees were quite adamant that their family had not faced any major problems since sentence although some acknowledged that their parents did worry sometimes:

Not really [ie. faced problems]. Just a touch of worry when I were first sentenced, but then they felt OK. No major hassles.

(Trainee interview No. 10)

Finally, mention must be made of family/establishment staff contact. Twelve trainees said that there had not been any contact between the family and prison officers, 2 said there had, 10 weren't sure and 1 said he hoped not. Only 3 actually felt that there should be contact between the two, 2 were not bothered and the remainder could not see any point to such contact. Officers in the YCC would then seem to leave this area of work, as intended under the personal officer scheme and objectives of throughcare, to the community based probation officer.

c) Discussion

Although 22 probation officers (76%) said that they visited the family as a matter of course, it was noted in chapter 6 that case records reported that only 38 per cent of trainees families were visited by PO's. However, 64 per cent of trainees said that they were aware of PO/family contact, indicating perhaps that not all visits to the family were recorded in the files. Probation officers did emphasise that the nature and level of contact with the trainees family, usually parents, depended very much on the ties and level of contact existing between the client and family; also on the stability of the relationship; and finally the degree to which there was perceived to be a serious problem requiring intervention. The major problems experienced by the marital and parental family were similar although emotional and practical difficulties were seen as being more severe for the marital. Emphasis by the PO was put upon difficulty of, and associated with, visiting the establishment, a fact not always recognised by the trainees, about one half of whom claimed that their family had no visiting problems. Of course some of the parents owned cars and therefore the situation is perhaps slightly different for parents as opposed to partners. Most of the trainees did in fact receive regular visits and letters, and the majority of them said that the contact had helped them cope and get through their sentence. It is important to note that 8 youths claimed that contact with their family was not helpful.

Almost all of the published research and work in this area has been concerned with the problems experienced by the wives of imprisoned men, (see for example, Morris 1965; Vercoe 1969; Pendleton 1973; Monger, Pendleton and West 1974; Crossthwaite 1975; Davies 1980; Monger, Pendleton and Roberts 1980/81; Mathews 1983; Hardwick 1986;

Lancashire Probation Service 1987). In addition to these British studies and observations, there has been some work carried out in America (see for example Holt and Miller 1972; Schwartz and Weintraub 1974; Bodsky 1975, Weintraub 1976, Bakker, Morris and Janus 1978; Homer 1979; Fishman and Alissi 1979; Jorgensen, Hernandez and Warren 1986).

Although Black, et al (1983), and H M Inspector of Prisons, (Home Office 1986a) have pointed out the younger offender and his family are not so likely to encounter as severe problems as the marital family of an adult prisoner because the interpersonal relationships are not as complex, I still feel it is important to make reference to work with the families of adult prisoners where relevant.

The younger prisoners problems as noted by Black et al 1983, are very much contingent upon his reintegration into the family. They also note that relationships may already have been strained before sentence and the youth is going back to his family simply because he has nowhere else to go. Similarly, Morris (1960; 1965) found that family relationships upon conviction and imprisonment followed a pattern set by family relationships existing before imprisonment, and often the family relationship formed an integral part of the criminal pattern of behaviour. This is very much in line with the responses of the P.O's in my own interview sample who said that the level of contact was dependent upon existing relationships between client and family, and an awareness that this was an important aspect in this area of work. Also in accordance with my findings was Monger's observation that the P.O. had to take into account the number of visits from family to the client before he/she made any routine visits

to the client in custody (Monger, 1967, p108), and Vercoe (1969) who found that wives who were getting support from their family and friends were unlikely to receive more than an initial visit.

Although Monger et al (1980/81) felt that P.O. initiation of contact with the family was vital, Vercoe (1969) had found that many P.O.'s did not in fact initiate the contact unless the man inside had given his permission. Vercoe also found that the most commonly cited reason by P.O.'s for not contacting families was fear of interference and making things worse, a point made by an officer in Humberside and reported earlier in this chapter. Similarly, Foad (1984), when studying YC clients found that some P.O.s wrote to families but few took the initiative to engage with families as a matter of course, preferring the family, client or establishment to contact them first. The 76 per cent of P.O.'s in Humberside who said that they visited routinely and on their own initiative is then comparatively high, but taken in the light of the comments regarding this area of work, and observations made throughout this chapter and chapter 6, hardly reflective of Kingston's (1979) finding that P.O's put most energy into work with the family. The trainees in my sample however, were quite vague about the nature of work carried out between PO and family and this may be more in line with Kingston's other observation that:

unfortunately they [ie. P.O.s] did not always relate the details of these events back to their clients inside.

(Kingston 1979, P41)

Kingston also noted that P.O's often wrongly assumed that their borstal clients kept in contact with their family. She did however conclude that this area of throughcare was the one "most consistently carried out" (p42). a fact not fully supported by this current



research.

A final mention should be made here of the video tape made by Lancashire Probation Service (1987). This consists of the comments of a number of wives about their partner's imprisonment, and covers 7 problem areas of finance, children, attitude to partner, emotional problems, visits, letters and release. Although concerned with the wives of adult prisoners, the video was shown in the YCC at the time I was carrying out my fieldwork, as part of the pre-release course. I was allowed to participate in the session and contribute to answering the trainees questions and grievances. During the running of the video several of the 8 trainees taking part were visibly embarrassed and flinched as the wives expressed their difficulties on the outside. Comments which followed were:

You've done something wrong and they're suffering.

You take things for granted.

They must think we're selfish bastards.

The youths were asked to fill in a comment sheet when leaving the room at the end of the session and the comments all revolved around a determination to try and understand the nature of the partners experience and empathise more with those on the outside. I feel that these responses showed that the actual presentation of problems was sufficient to jolt the youths and they also mentioned that their parents were maybe not coping with the stress of having a son inside as well as at first thought.

There are therefore two facets to the role of the family in the throughcare process; PO/family contact and family/inmate contact. The three individual parties are not always aware of the role of others

and this needs to be overcome. PO's generally considered work with the family to be important as did most of the trainees, but in practice it is rather patchy and lacking in focus.

vi) Probation Service Contact with the establishment: Shared Working in theory and practice

a) The probation officer perspective

The extent to which probation officers said that they used the throughcare forms (TC1-8) is summarised in table 7.6. The officers were shown copies of the forms to refresh their memories as to what they looked like as people may not always know the form by its name, only its colour or structure.

Table 7.6 Use made of the throughcare forms by supervising officers (TC1-8)

	Always	Nearly always	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	Total
TC1 Post Sentence Report	12	13	1	0	3	29
TC2 Exchange of information	8	14	5	1	1	29
TC3 T/R proposal	10	2	1	5	11	29
TC4 Notice of T/R	8	1	3	6	11	29
TC5 Reporting Instructions	21	6	0	0	2	29
TC6 Discharge report	10	14	3	1	1	29
TC7 Short stay discharge rep.	4	5	4	6	10	29

As might be expected, reporting instructions and the notice of supervision are those which officers reported were most commonly used by themselves. It is interesting to note that only 17 officers said they always received the TCS as the Probation Service is not legally allowed to supervise YC clients without the notice of supervision, and if breach proceedings were taken the officer would find him/herself in a difficult situation.

Nevertheless, officers did say that when a T/C form needed to be used, then they would use it.

In addition to the use of these forms, officers were fairly consistent in their replies regarding the nature of other exchanges of information and contact with the establishment. Twenty four officers said they either contacted the YCC when a problem arose, made a point of speaking to a relevant officer on the unit/wing house after a visit, or a combination of the two. Four officers reported making a point of writing or sending other documents to the YCC, and only 1 officer stated only rarely or never exchanging information with YCC staff. Some officers felt that the telephone was a much less tedious medium for relaying information, particularly in cases of emergency, and none had come across any problems with establishment staff in this respect.

The actual term 'shared working' is one which has been in circulation for several years now and has been discussed above (see esp. Chapter 1). Although it has usually been applied to shared working in prison schemes (S.W.1.P), I asked probation officers what they understood the term to mean when applied to the community based

P.O. and youth custody centre staff and how the throughcare task was carried out between the two. Five officers had never heard of 'shared working' in any shape or form and had no idea of what was entailed. The remaining officers felt that the prison officer was responsible for the welfare role inside and the community-based P.O. looked after the 'outside' side of things, with the two liaising. No mention was made of the seconded liaison PO's role. The main elements contained in the probation officer's understanding of the term were an adequate communication process, sharing of information, commitment, group work and liaison and cooperation between the two Services. One officer defined shared working as:

I think it is supposed to mean improved liaison and cooperation with regard to arrangements for throughcare and contact with home, and arrangements for supervision. In turn that the officer in the institution is showing some interest in the performance of the inmate and relates this to the P.O. outside. I think there are still a lot of mutual reservations between the two. In practice the system works wholly as well as it can do and there are faults on both sides.

(P.O. interview No. 7)

To expand a bit further on some of the points raised in this statement, four officers expressed their 'mutual reservations' about the shared working ideal. One officer understood the term to mean:

Well, really whereby.... I ring through to welfare [sic] expecting to get probation and I might well get a prison officer. I'm a bit apprehensive in a way. I would much rather speak to a probation officer and pass on a message that way. I suppose those are the barriers that will take time to break

down.

(P.O. interview No 28)

However, as mentioned by several officers when asked if they thought shared working was a good idea in practice and theory, barriers are not always easy to break down. Twenty three officers felt that shared working was a good idea in theory although only 10 felt that it worked well in practice. Of those who felt it worked well in practice, several reservations appeared. They considered it to work well only in certain cases where a relationship with the institution was already good. Officers seemed to be aware of the problems but either lacked the motivation or power to change them, even while appreciating the fact that they should be overcome. The problems seemed to exist in the abstract and officers appeared not to accept that they themselves could do something to change the situation. When asked how the system worked in practice, of the remaining 19 officers, 5 did not know and the remainder said either it did not work or could not hope to work. Some felt that it had not been given a chance and others claimed that different philosophies of the Services would always prevent shared working operating effectively in practice. One officer was quite open in his attitude towards the confusing nature of the relationship:

I don't know [if it works]. I haven't any concrete evidence one way or another to be quite honest so it would be unfair for me to say. Certainly, when I've gone to discuss a guy then they've been cooperative..... as to whether any of my ideas are taken on board, I don't know.

(P.O. interview No. 22)

Two officers mentioned the role of the trainee in the process, saying that there was always the possibility that he/she did not want a prison officer looking after his welfare. As one officer stated:

I think one of the reservations that the inmates have got was that they could not quite understand how a prison officer who was concerning himself with locking them up all day should be interested in their welfare.

(P.O. interview No. 27)

Nevertheless, 28 of the 29 officers interviewed felt that exchange of information with the establishment was a good idea. They felt it was necessary but pointed out that the jealous guarding of information by both Services (but particularly the Probation Service), and their determination to work as "laws unto themselves" severely hindered this. The process was viewed as consisting of much more than a simple form filling exercise although one officer said that:

it doesn't really seem to make much difference to the client that the Probation Service was seen to be identifying with the institution a lot.

(P.O. interview No. 17)

Probation officers were finally asked if they felt that the exchange of information with the YCC was an important part of throughcare. All thought that it was, or should be, although again some reservations were expressed about the secretive guarding of information. One officer said that, "I don't think we can work as Services unto ourselves" (P.O. interview No 14). This "us and them" syndrome was expressed in references to the "do gooding wally" and the "hard hearted bastard". Nevertheless, the contact with the YCC was seen as important in keeping the process in perspective as "the little

golden boy" could sometimes be seen in a different light if information provided by him was balanced by that of the prison officer.

However, the general feeling regarding shared working can be summed up by the following comment:

Only that I think a lot of lip service is paid and that the links between the establishments and the Service [ie Probation Service] are pretty tenuous. And there's no real meaning to them at all. It is casual in nature at the best of times

(P.O. interview No. 29)

b) The client experience

The experience of the trainees inside the YCC and their relationship with prison officers has been partially covered in section IV, ("Throughcare problems addressed during custody"), of this chapter. This analysis is an extension of that discussion. Of the 24 youths asked what they had been involved in during custody, the majority (no. = 18; 75%) had been employed in a workshop, cleaners, etc. while the remaining 25 per cent (no. = 6) were on either full or part-time education. Nineteen were happy with what they had been doing, 2 were not and 3 were happy with some aspects but not others. The majority expressed satisfaction with the way in which their time was structured in the YCC and one would imagine that this would augur well for their relationship with uniformed staff.

Over one half of those lads interviewed (no. = 14; 58%) said that prison officers had not helped them with any problems during sentence. Only 1 had actively sought a prison officer and the rest had waited for an officer to approach them or just talked to officers about

things in passing. As one lad who would not go to a prison officer with a problem put it:

Q. Would you go to a prison officer with a problem or query if you had one?

A. No.

Q. Why not?

A. I wouldn't trust them.

Q. Why not?

A. I don't know, I just wouldn't.

(Trainee interview no. 20)

Nevertheless, problems dealt with by prison officers, or just 'talked about in passing' were primarily listening to difficulties with girlfriends, breaking news contained in a 'bad' or distressful letter and helping to fill in forms.

Almost two thirds of trainees interviewed (no. = 15) identified at least one prison officer with whom they got on well although several said that they would only take practical problems rather than personal/emotional ones to the officer. One had identified his order of priorities in overcoming a problem:

If I could work it out myself I'd try to work it out. If I couldn't and probation was coming up I'd talk to her.... if she wasn't coming up then I'd talk to an officer.

(Trainee interview No. 8)

This is in contrast to the following reason for not talking to a uniformed officer:

It makes more trouble if you go around telling screws what's going on.... and it makes it worse for you, doesn't it!

(Trainee interview No. 2)



When asked if prison officers could have done any more to help them during sentence, the majority (no. = 21; 88%) said that they could have done more. However, one of those who felt the prison officer could have done more said:

....like, I told them I was homeless and they could have had a place before I go out.

(Trainee interview No. 9)

This is obviously not within the scope or brief of the prison officer, and perhaps shows some of the difficulties involved in a shared working approach to dealing with inmates problems and demands.

c) Discussion

The use which probation officers said they made of the throughcare forms broadly concurred with that noted in the case records, and reported in chapter 6. However, the main difference involved the use made of the 'exchange of information' (TC2) form. Officers said that they always or almost always used this form but this was not reflected in the file survey. Of course it may have been that the form was not copied and retained, although I did not note the form's presence in the file F1150 examined in the YCC as a background to the custodial interview sample.

Similarly, as noted in chapter 6, no systematic record was kept in the files of telephone conversations or discussions with YCC staff after a visit to the clients in custody. Probation officers said in interviews however that they almost always did discuss their client's case with prison officers in these ways and therefore it would seem that this is an important aspect of exchange of information between the two Services.

Officers felt that shared working with the establishment was a good idea in theory and should include the major elements of adequate communication, co-operation and liaison, group work, contact with the home, arrangements for supervision and an interest by the YCC in the welfare of the trainee. However, there were many reservations about whether it did or could work well in practice. Feelings of 'us and them' were rife amongst probation officers and many pointed to the different philosophies of the two Services. These points have been fully addressed in chapter 3 of this thesis, but see for example Morrison (1974); Jarrett (1977); Evans and Vincent (1983); Stanton (1985); Bottomley and Liebling (1987); for further evidence of these barriers to successful shared working. Probation officers in my interview sample were aware of the problems but significantly did not appear to accept responsibility for initiating change or attempting to break the barriers down themselves.

The importance and development of a shared working approach has been fully covered in the first three chapters of this thesis and will not be repeated here. The role of the uniformed officer in the YCC providing throughcare for the trainee has been comprehensively covered by Bottomley and Liebling (1987) - the study to which this current one is linked and complementary. Bottomley and Liebling pointed out many of the obstacles to a shared working approach with only 13 of 35 P.O.'s (37%) feeling that it worked well in practice. However, Bottomley and Liebling found that only 8 per cent of closed YCC trainees would NOT go to anyone within the centre if they had a problem, whereas only 1 trainee in my sample said he would go to a prison officer, although prison officers had dealt with problems. Most in my sample did admit to having a satisfactory relationship with

uniformed staff and therefore the discussion of problems may have been taking place without trainees realising that they had made a conscious effort to do so.

Overall however, the evidence for a shared working approach between prison and probation officers was sparse, and the trainee did not seem to be fully aware of or directly affected by whatever level of contact did exist.

### Summary

Given the broad definitions of throughcare offered by probation officers, the professed level of throughcare during custody was generally of a high standard, and in content met any minimum requirements set out in the County's Policy Document and various Home Office Circulars. However, although P.O. and client views tended to concur in most of the main areas of provision of service they were not always convinced as to the purpose, point or usefulness of this work. A major area of throughcare is of course the link it offers between custody and supervision and this will be examined in the following chapter, along with the P.O. and client experience of the supervision part of the sentence.

## CHAPTER 8

### YOUTH CUSTODY THROUGH-CARE IN PRACTICE III: PROBATION OFFICER

#### PERSPECTIVE AND CLIENT

#### EXPERIENCE DURING THE SUPERVISION PART OF THE SENTENCE.

##### Introduction

This chapter is divided into five sections, based upon probation officer and offender interviews, and will describe and evaluate throughcare during the supervision part of the sentence. Section (i) offers some background information on the offenders interviewed during their supervision period. Section (ii) focuses on the notion of throughcare as a link between custody and supervision, both in theory and in practice. Of necessity, some of the information reported in the section is based on offender expectations obtained during custodial interviews. Section (iii) describes the work said to be carried out during supervision and the nature of the problems encountered by the supervisees. Section (iv) examines probation officer and client views of the purpose of supervision; and section (v) provides a summary of the levels of reconviction amongst those interviewed during custody and/or supervision. The discussion following sections (i), (ii) and (iii), as in Chapter 7 makes comparisons between the client and P.O. views and experiences, and also between these current findings and other research and literature. This thematic review of the major issues does again I feel offer a clearer and more concise account of throughcare in practice.

##### i) Background information on offender sample

Of the twenty eight youths interviewed during the custodial part of their sentence in HMYCC Everthorpe, it was only possible to conduct a

follow up interview during supervision with 12. The reasons for the remaining 16 not being interviewed can be seen in table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Reasons for custodial sample not being interviewed during supervision

Reason	No.
Did not turn up to interview with P.O.	5
Licence expired	4
Moved from Humberside area	2
No record/record lost	2
Reconvicted	2
Loss of remission - still inside	1
TOTAL	16

Even after three attempted interviews, arranged between the P.O. and client, it was not possible to interview 5 youths - they simply did not turn up. The remainder had either completed their licence period by the time the interviews commenced, or had moved away from Humberside. There were also problems of case records being lost or misplaced, youths being reconvicted, and in one case the youth was still inside having lost so much remission.

In an attempt to supplement this depleted interview sample, probation officers were asked to provide a list of all those youths currently under YC supervision or parole and who were due to report to the office in the following month. Twenty two youths were identified and at least 2 attempts made to see them. Of these 22, seven were

actually interviewed, the remaining 12 not turning up to their allotted reporting session. Further attempts were made to add to the sample by spending a period of one week in probation office No.1 in an attempt to interview clients as and when they did turn up. Only 2 were interviewed in this way.

Overall, a total of 77 attempts (plus the week's 'placement') were made to interview supervisees and a total of 21 were actually seen, (12 of whom had been interviewed in custody, 9 of whom had not).

These failures to interview supervisees illustrate some of the problems associated with YC supervision faced by P.O's. I was supposed to be interviewing the youths after their statutory reporting session with their P.O. and only on the rare occasion did they arrive at the office for this session. Some turned up an hour early or late, some a day late, or a week late and some just didn't bother until they received threatening letters. This is illustrated by the following comments from supervisees whom it was possible to interview - eventually:

Q. How often do you have to report in here?

A. It's meant to be once a week

Q. Haven't you kept to this then?

A. No, I just forget what days it is. I pop in here, there and everywhere.

(Supervision interview No. 16).

Q. Have you kept to your reporting instructions?

A. Some of the time. But I get pissed off coming every two weeks so my probation officer sends me a letter ... which I miss and come to the next one. Now she's sending

threatening letters so I suppose I've got to do it.

(Supervision interview No.3).

The fact that the youths do not come knocking on the door of the office for help and attention, and the shortness of most supervision periods means that the probation officer must either take a firm stance, or 'let things lie'. This will be discussed later in this chapter when discussing breach of clients.

Due to the low numbers in the sample, the replies given by those interviewed during custody and those interviewed only on supervision will be presented together, although they will be considered separately when looking at reconviction rates. Although one of the original intentions in the thesis was to present a 'supervisory profile' of all those interviewed during custody, this was not possible in practice. Not all the youths interviewed during custody could be traced during supervision, a record of contacts was not always complete in the case records, and P.O.'s were often a little vague when asked directly about numbers of contacts. They often said that the client had turned up 'here and there' and that sometimes the fact that s/he had shown his/her face over the reception desk constituted 'reporting'. This aspect will be examined in more detail in the final chapter of this thesis as I consider it to be have important implications in the practice of throughcare and for the work of the Probation Service in this area.

Only four of those interviewed on supervision were on parole licence. Nine were expected to report fortnightly, 7 weekly, 4 as and when told to, and 1 weekly to begin with and then on a two week basis. When asked if they had kept to their reporting arrangements, 13 said they had, 6 had not and 2 had 'tried to'. However, an analysis of

case records and discussion with P.O.'s revealed that of the 13 who said they had kept to their instructions, 6 had actually missed at least one appointment in the previous two weeks.

ii) Throughcare as a link between custody and supervision.

a) The probation officer perspective

Officers were asked if they considered that throughcare offered a link between custody and supervision of the twenty nine officers interviewed, twenty one (72%) felt that it did, although several reservations were expressed that it was only a loose connection or link. The following statements illustrate this:

... it makes it more acceptable than having the licence simply tagged on.

(P.O. interview No. 7).

Yes [it does offer a link] ... because of your contact and knowledge that they're going to be on licence in any case can be explained to them... and they can see the practical side of someone that is in touch with them and their family and ease the passage back home again.

(PO interview No 6).

Yes, I do think it offers a link ... but whether it's a particularly good one ... I think you establish a relationship with the guy whilst he is in there if possible, but things will change for him quite dramatically on release and his motivation for contact on release can change quite a bit.

(PO interview No 22).

The impression was that the youth was more likely to co-operate during YC supervision or parole licence if the groundwork had been



laid during custody. Six officers felt that throughcare should offer a link in its ideal form but were not so sure that it did in practice. As one officer said, throughcare should offer a link "in its ideal form. But sadly lacking in practice as everyone works in different ways" (PO interview No.1). Probation officers stated that it was difficult to establish a link between custody and supervision because of differences in approach between prison officers and themselves, and large and varied caseloads.

Two officers felt strongly that throughcare did not, nor could it hope to, offer a link between custody and supervision. As one said:

I don't know how there can be a real link between custody and outside.

(P.O. interview No. 16).

The other officer drew attention to the client's perspective:

No [throughcare does not offer a link] ...I think the client sees them as two completely separate bits and many clients feel that once they have done custody that should be an end to it ...

(PO interview No. 17).

Nevertheless, the majority felt that T/C did or should offer a link between the two phases of sentence although the practical issues mentioned above led to an inability to make full use of this. Most were convinced of the NEED for a link and its value.

As an extension of this idea of a link, P.O.'s were asked if they felt that the nature of work carried out during custody had any effect on the type of work carried out during supervision.

In this case, twenty six officers thought that the work they carried out during supervision was or could be influenced by work

carried out during custody. This is summed up in the following statements:

Yes, I think it can. It can help clarify some of the difficulties that they might face in the future and help set goals and also quite importantly to establish a contract between the two people involved for the way that supervision is to be carried out. In a way a 'contact contract'.

(P.O. interview No. 29).

... obviously the amount of work you have undertaken during the time in custody actually affects the position the inmate is in when he is discharged, in terms of what problems he has or hasn't worked through and these need to be continued when he's out in the community.

(PO interview No. 24).

As part of this continuation of work, 27 officers felt it necessary to have some form of plan for the release period and 2 said it depended on the client. It was clear that the plan depended upon the time available for its implementation; there being specific problems to address; and the client's consent. According to one officer:

Yes [necessary to have a plan] ... the idea that it's thought out and certain aims are worked towards. I think that ultimately that doesn't happen. I don't have time to think about it and tend to do things on spec and see what develops when we get there.

(PO interview No. 4).

A plan was also determined by circumstances arising during the course of the supervision period. A focused plan worked out in

conjunction with the client was seen as being the most beneficial, although it had to be flexible enough to cater successfully for any untoward occurrences.

Probation officers generally felt that it was important to build a relationship with their clients if there was to be any hope of ensuring a smooth transition from the YOC to the community thereby linking the two aspects of sentence. The actual nature of the work, whether oriented towards practical or emotion issues was seen to be secondary to this smooth and 'easy' completion of sentence.

b) The client experience

To assess the clients view of their sentence as a whole, they were asked while in custody what their expectations were of supervision and their probation officer following release. The following discussion is based primarily upon the responses of those trainees interviewed during custody, although their experience of work during supervision as a follow on from custody will also be described.

Of the 24 youths asked during custody what they felt about having to report to their P.O. on release, 11 (46%) said that either it was a good idea, or at least it was alright and they didn't mind doing it. As one youth said:

No problem ... I don't mind reporting. There's no harm in one afternoon a week and I enjoy keeping in touch. There's someone to turn to. I can help myself like, just need a bit of support.  
(Trainee interview No. 3).

Seven trainees did not express much enthusiasm about supervision but recognised that it had to be done and so they were willing to put up with it. One of these lads felt that:

It has to be done. I dont see the real need for it ... it

doesn't never really do anything. It's just an interview; 'how are you doing, any trouble', and that's it. 'See you next week!'  
(Trainee interview No. 10).

The remaining six trainees thought that it was a complete waste of time and could not see themselves reporting on any regular basis. For example:

I think it's rubbish. You've done your time. Why should you go out and get pestered.

(Trainee interview No 15).

and ...

It's not the kind of thing you go for on the out. I'll report but they'll be some days I'll think 'I can't be bothered.

(Trainee interview No 22).

For one lad going out on parole, the only advantage was that he got out earlier:

Q. What do you feel about reporting on parole?

A. Well, it's good innit?

Q. Why?

A. It gets you out earlier.

Q. What about having to report in every week?

A. If you want parole you have to comply with the conditions.

It's not whether you like it or not ... you have to do it.

Q. Do you think it will help you?

A. Yeah, helps you get out earlier.

(Trainee interview No 18).

Although some youths were therefore not enamoured with their reporting requirements, the majority (no. = 16; 67%), did expect their

probation officer to try and help them during supervision. Two expected mainly control, 3 felt it was a mixture of the two, and 3 expected nothing. One of these said that "I just take no notice of 'em. They can't help me", (Trainee interview no. 20).

It is interesting to note that of the 16 who said they expected mainly help from their PO during supervision, 15 also said that their PO had been helpful during custody, perhaps indicating that perceived help during custody was seen as enhancing the chances of help during supervision.

However, when asked if they felt that they were likely to get into trouble again when released only 4 were adamant that they would not. Eighteen said they thought it was quite likely although they did not want to, and only 2 were not sure. All youths were agreed that IF they did get into trouble again the reasons were likely to be either a lack of money, boredom, friends influencing them, trouble from others, alcohol, temptation, or some mixture of these. One youth said that "Probation wouldn't stop me doing it" (Trainee interview No 6). Most said that they would spend their time just 'hanging around', although 15 (63%) said that they would try and make better use of their time when they were released than they did before sentence.

This would indicate that PO's should perhaps spend more time addressing the issues of use of leisure time and offending behaviour. Of those interviewed during supervision (no. = 21); only 5 said that the work done was a follow on from that started during custody. Along these lines only 4 had thought that things would be different when they got out, the rest saying that it was much as they had expected. One lad summed up the anticipation:

I expected things to be different [when I got out] ... but after

three days it wore off ... it's the same old world. You expect people to be different, but they're not.

(Supervision interview No. 16).

c) Discussion

Most probation officers did consider that throughcare either offered or SHOULD offer a link between custody and supervision. Some reservations were expressed, revolving around client characteristics, caseloads and relationship with the YCC. Almost all PO's said that work carried out during custody COULD have an effect on work carried out during supervision but again answers were often of the 'depends' variety. On the other hand, less than one half of their YC clients interviewed felt that supervision was a good idea and less than one quarter said that work carried out during supervision was a follow on from that started in custody. Although two thirds of clients felt that their P.O. was there in a helping capacity during supervision, the majority (86 per cent) said that they would probably get into trouble again once released. This is compared with Holborn's 1975 finding that 38% of adult prisoners felt that their P.O. could help them stay out of trouble (p110).

There was little evidence in my research that the prisoners built up fantasies of the situation to which they were returning. Wood and Burningham (1970, p 43) and Rutherford and Rogerson (1971, p 71) for example reported that borstal boys had a 'rosy' image of what things would be like on release. In my interviews only 4 of 21 youths (ie, 19%) had thought that things would be different, and indeed a couple of these had been pleasantly surprised that they were not as bad as feared. In other words they had thought that things would be worse

than they actually were.

Although Kingston (1979) found that "no inmate regarded their licence as being beneficial to themselves" (p42) it has been pointed out above that about one half of my sample felt that it was a good idea mainly aimed at helping them, even though it may not have convinced them that they would stay out of trouble. Kingston also reported that 15 out of 20 borstal trainees in her sample had discussed with their PO, in either a detailed or cursory manner, what they would be doing during their licence. I found a much lower figure than this.

Some of the difficulties in interpretation of the expectations and purpose of supervision by YC clients and P.O.'s have been discussed by Foad (1984). Foad noted that from the P.O.'s point of view:

The expectations of supervision varied from tracking, through provision of practical advice to casework:

(Foad 1984 p.29).

Further, trainees preferred expectations to be stated by their P.O. from the outset (p31), but unfortunately there was a ...

mismatch of supervisee - supervisor expectations which predisposes supervision to be a barren experience (Foad 1984 p.29).

It became apparent in this current research that several clients AND P.O.'s did not think that work carried out during custody and supervision COULD be viewed as a continuum, perhaps therefore ensuring that any hope of throughcare offering a link between custody and supervision remained an ideal. This will be discussed further in the following chapter when drawing conclusions from the research.

A final point mentioned by Foad, given her finding that client and P.O.'s were often in disagreement as to the purpose of supervision, was that 21 per cent of her sample had reoffended before the end of the supervision period. In my sample (total interview sample) 30 per cent reoffended in this period.

Although concerned with adult prisoners, I feel the following statement by Hollingsworth (1979) is equally applicable to the discussion on the expectations of the younger prisoner of release, and the relationship of these expectations to his general situation, a point made by many P.O.'s interviewed:

A man's perceived expectation as to the social roles and responsibilities required of him on discharge will be determined not only by those he enjoyed on entry, but also by the extent to which he has been successful during his imprisonment in maintaining links with those who formed a significant part of his life style.

(Hollingsworth 1979 p 251).

The relationship between expectations of release and the links maintained with the wider community adds a further dimension to the linking of custody and supervision by a throughcare approach. Bearing this in mind, we can now look at the nature and content of work carried out during supervision.

iii) Nature and content of work carried out during supervision

a) The probation officer perspective

Problems encountered.

Twenty one officers identified practical problems as those most encountered during supervision. These included primarily, accommodation, finance/DHSS, and unemployment. Twenty officers also



mentioned emotional difficulties of combating the negative effects of custody, maintaining motivation to change, drug and relationship problems, feelings of isolation and boredom, and the shock of having to deal with the same old things in life again. Emotional difficulties were identified as revolving around readjusting back into the community and fending off temptations. For two officers, the main problem they saw their clients suffering was the tedium of having to report to the office every week.

Probation officers also identified the practical problems as taking up most of their time during supervision with YC clients, especially accommodation and DHSS. Several said that although they recognised the importance of the emotional and relationship problems, they simply had no other choice but to deal with the more immediate and pressing demands first, even if this meant that there was no time left for anything else.

Only 15 officers were confident that they could make an impact on any problems in what was a time limited supervision period. Three officers did state a preference for the shorter periods which allowed and demanded a more focused approach to their work, which they felt enabled more impact to be made. As one officer put it when asked if she thought she could make an impact:

Not on emotional ... social problems, but certainly we can sort out practical aspects of accommodation and finances.

(PO interview No 13).

Fourteen officers felt that it was possible only to make a very small impact on problem areas, and much of this limited impact depended upon client motivation. For one officer probation input made

a very small impact on reoffending, external factors being more important:

Very occasionally [we make an impact]. But at that age it's usually only a girlfriend or flat that stops them going before the courts. You can't say it's anything that you've done.

(P.O. interview No. 27).

The impact of work carried out during supervision is perceived to be dependent on the nature of the problem being addressed, the motivation of both P.O. and client, and external influences. As one officer summarised:

I think it is very difficult and the best one can usually do is to deal with the few practical problems that are raised by the individual. Hopefully we will help them to be resolved. But beyond that, I think all we can try and do is try and demonstrate the human side of the Probation Service and that someone is concerned. It may not always prevent reoffending but it may carry the working relationship through in the future to some sort of trust.

(PO interview No 7).

#### YC supervision Vs parole licence.

Twenty four officers (83%) said that they treated parolees differently from YC supervisees but this tended to result from differences in the legal requirements for breach or revocation of licence. It was stressed that the actual content of work was not radically different as all clients were treated on merit, and if a problem was seen to exist either by the PO or the client, then it was treated seriously. However, probation officers tended to think that they had to keep a more stringent check on parolees' levels of

reporting. One officer pointed out that she was much "keener to jump on them if they don't comply with parole" (PO interview No 12). There had to be more vigilance and caution with parolees and it was pointed out that if this led to a lowering of priority of YC cases, then so be it. As one officer said:

I would expect a very high standard of cooperation from someone on parole. I think there is a low expectation of someone on YC licence.

(PO interview No 26).

Nevertheless, five P.O.'s stated that there was no difference in the way their parolees and supervisees were handled during supervision. One of these officers did admit that although work and effort were the same for the two, that he would "make a distinction if something goes wrong" (PO interview No 12).

A further point to note here is that there was some confusion as to the place of parole and YC supervision in the total sentence. One officer said that:

I emphasis that parole is serving his sentence in the community, whereas supervision is a helping hand after completion of sentence.

(PO interview No.25).

another noted that:

Parole implies that the client is still in custody but serving his sentence in the community.

(PO interview No 20).

These statements run counter to the basic philosophy of YC supervision which is intended to be seen as part of the sentence. The

fact that the sentence is NOT finished or seen to be finished on release from custody is supposed to be emphasised at court as part of the throughcare process, and misunderstandings such as those noted above can only serve to confuse the situation.

In practice however, although the numbers in the current samples were admittedly small, there was no evidence of a greater tendency towards breaching parolees who refused to comply with their supervision requirements than ordinary YC supervisees.

### Critical periods

Probation officers found it quite difficult to isolate specific stages of supervision when the client is likely to need extra help and support and tended to feel that it depended very much upon the client and his/her circumstances.

However, there was a strong tendency for officers to identify the initial period of freedom when the euphoria of being released had worn off as being critical, (24 officers, 83%). When the youth realised that he could not get a job or the ideal flat, P.O's felt there was an increased chance that their client would fall into the same old habits with the same friends which may have induced the original offending behaviour. It was difficult to put a time on when this occurred but it did seem to fall between 2 and 5 weeks after release. The client would tend to become more lax in his reporting and there was an increased chance of offending according to some P.O.'s. Other officers felt that the relaxed attitude towards reporting towards the middle and end of supervision was due to the fact that the clients could not be bothered, knowing that they would get several warnings by which time it was too late to be breached by their probation officer.

### Breach

Twenty four officers (83%) said that they would breach a client if s/he wilfully and repeatedly refused to comply with the requirements of the licence and/or changed address without informing the officer. However, no officer had in fact breached anyone although one said she had been on the verge of doing so recently although in the end decided it was not an appropriate thing to do. Probation officers on the whole were willing to give the client every chance before breaching but felt that the criteria of absolutely no contact at all had to establish where breach must be considered.

Nevertheless, there was some confusion and hesitation about the breach process. For example:

If I didn't know where they were living and if I haven't seen them for ... well, I don't know how long I would leave it. I'm not sure what the legal position is. For several weeks I would think.

(PO interview No 4).

The Humberside Probation Service Policy Document is not specific about breach of YC supervision, saying that clear breaches must be acted upon but giving no firm guideline as to what a clear breach is.

Four officers said that they would breach the client if s/he became a serious danger to self or society or if they had reoffended. One officer did not believe in breach and would do so only if ordered to by someone else. There was a tendency to view violations of parole as more serious than violations of YC supervision as indicated by the following officer:

A parolee ... I'd breach him if he failed to meet the requirements of the licence, any one of them. Especially

failure to notify a change of address. With a YC, I'd breach, generally speaking, only if contact is lost.

(PO interview No. 21).

The shortness of the supervision period was also mentioned as a deterrent to breach by one officer:

I suppose if it was a long licence and from the beginning there was no contact I think I would have to [ie breach]. On three month licences the time seems to slip by before you know where you are. You might see them once or twice and then they start missing appointments and I don't think I would take the trouble to take them back to court in practice. But I would try and maintain contact to the last, definitely.

(P.O. interview No 15).

One officer considered the "whole issue of breach of YC is farcical. There is nothing to be gained from it in the vast majority of cases ... a fine or 28 days" (P.O. interview No. 20).

There is then a feeling that breach is a last resort and something which they try to avoid invoking if at all possible, although consistent and deliberate ignoring of the conditions of licence is most likely to lead to instigation of breach proceedings.

b) The client perspective

Supervisees were asked what they talked about during their reporting sessions, and in 4 cases I was permitted by the P.O. to sit and observe the reporting session and then interview the youth afterwards. The topics discussed are summarised in table 8.2.

The most commonly addressed issue was a general checking up on the client's welfare - how he was getting on. Offending behaviour,

employment and accommodation were also mentioned by many clients although it is interesting to note that reporting instructions were only reported to be addressed in 1 case, even though, as noted earlier, punctual reporting was a problem during supervision. As might be expected, problems of money, family/relationships, children and 'personal' (too personal to describe to me) were also talked about during the sessions.

The supervisees were also asked, as a form of check on the issues discussed during sessions, whether they had had any problems during supervision. Fifteen (71%) said that they had not any problems, 6 mentioned accommodation, custody of child, money, employment and further offending. Fifteen said that IF they did have a problem then they would take it to their P.O., 5 said it depended on the problem and one, who was having problems with the police over further offences said he did not want any help from his P.O. In only 5 cases was the work described as being a follow on from custody.

Table 8.2 Client reports of topics addressed in reporting sessions  
(total number of respondents = 21) Responses

Topic	No.	% of total
'How getting on'	12	57
Offending - past and present	9	43
Employment	8	38
Accommodation	6	29
Family/relationships (girlfriend)	4	19
Money/DHSS	4	19
Children	3	14

Reporting instructions	1	5
'Personal'	1	5
Violence to girlfriend	1	5

c) Discussion

Probation Officers identified the main problems encountered during supervision as practical ones of accommodation, money and work; followed by combating the negative effects of custody, encouraging motivation to change and readjusting back into the community, etc. They also said that it was the practical problems, particularly accommodation which took up most of their time during reporting sessions. From the client's point of view, the most commonly discussed topics during supervision sessions were offending behaviour, accommodation, family, and money/DHSS. Almost three quarters said that they did not have any problems. As discussed in Chapter 6, the areas of work most carried out during supervision identified in the case records were reducing offending behaviour, ensuring the client reported, and dealing with practical relationship and emotional problems. There was then a certain amount of parallel between work reported to be carried out and that recorded as being carried out. Other research and observations also suggest that it is these practical issues which predominate during supervision (see for example Lowson 1970; Silberman and Chapman 1971; Kingston 1979; Cordon and Clifton 1983; NACRO 1983; Craig 1984; Parker 1985).

Only about one half of the P.O.'s in my sample felt that they could make an IMPACT on the problem areas in a time limited supervision period. This was not helped by the fact that not all the youths would take a problem, if they had one, to their P.O., and also many



flagrantly disregarded their reporting requirements. Although most P.O.'s said that they would breach a Youth Custody client if s/he wilfully and repeatedly refused to comply with the requirements no officer had actually initiated breach proceedings against a client. This reluctance to breach Youth Custody clients was also noted in chapter 6 when case records showed 51 per cent of clients to have been in a position where they could be breached but in only 2 of there 28 cases (i.e. 7%) was breach carried out, and in a further 2 cases it was threatened. Similarly, Parker (1985) found that substantive breach conditions were present in 15 YC and DC cases (17%) but in only 7 of these (47%) was action actually taken. Foad (1984) also found that although attitudes to breach were fairly consistent among P.O.'s i.e. based on Policy requirements, in practice discretion meant that very few instances of breach were encountered during her survey (p.29).

The majority of probation officers interviewed said that although the quality of work carried out with those subject to supervision, was the same and dependent upon client characteristics and need , there was an agreement that distinctions would be made between the two in terms of how seriously disregard for requirements were viewed. Parolees were seen to warrant a more stringent approach, although in practice, no parolees were breached. There was in addition some confusion about whether YC supervision was seen to be a part of the sentence in the same way parole was. When one of the major aspects of the YC sentence was that it be viewed as a continuing process from custody to termination of supervision AND that this should be explained to the youth in court, this finding is an important criticism of the basis on which the T/C task may have been carried out

by these officers.

It was pointed out in chapter 7 that the issue of critical periods during custody was a rather ambiguous one for P.O.'s. The same applied to critical periods during supervision. Officers were keen to emphasise that it depended on the client. However, there was a strong tendency for probation officers to identify the beginning of supervision (somewhere between the second and fifth week of release) as a time when clients would become more lax about their reporting arrangements and drift towards crime again. Officers were also aware of the fact that many clients (who also admitted to this) played the system, knowing they would only get a couple of warnings before their P.O. became 'serious'. Davies (1974) also examined the nature of critical periods and felt that the first day of release was undoubtedly critical for prisoners as many would feel threatened by, for example the noise, money and traffic (p.13). Foad (1984) said that P.O.'s identified a state of anti-climax in Y.C. clients a few weeks after release making the youth more vulnerable to delinquent suggestions (p.25). The term 'critical period' is then open to interpretation - is it critical for the client, PO, supervision period generally, reconviction, loss of contact, etc? Perhaps the term 'sensitive period' is more appropriate based on P.O. observations of unexpected or threatening events occurring and their clients mechanisms for coping with these. An awareness/definition of the purpose of supervision is essential in this respect, both on the part of the P.O. and the client. Any event perceived by the client or the P.O. as unsettling, disturbing, disruptive or worrying should be tackled accordingly regardless of the stage of sentence although an

awareness of LIKELY times when these might occur would be part of the strategy aimed at combating them.

iv) Purpose of supervision

a) The probation officer perspective

Officers were asked what they considered to be the main purpose of supervision and what they considered to be the most important elements in assessing its successful completion.

Seventeen probation officers mentioned the need to address offending behaviour. Thirteen felt there was a need to facilitate the client's move back into society and re-establish himself. As one officer put it:

I think the main purpose is to get over that initial stage where he is faced with a lot of difficulties he didn't face before, and certainly having been in custody for a while it's not been made any easier ... Helping him to re-establish his relationships ... and giving him the continuity from custody to release that might lead to avoid reoffending.

(P.O. interview No. 13).

Three felt it was to give support and advice, 2 to re-establish relationships, 2 to address problems identified at the SER stage, 2 to help with practical problems and 1 that it was a monitoring exercise. However, 3 officers were not sure what the point was. One of these officers said:

Sometimes I wonder. Theoretically, I see it's purpose as supporting someone on their release to the community and keeping an eye on them during that time. In practice I find it resented by clients, and it's difficult doing any useful work with clients who just don't want to be here.

(P.O. interview No.16).

It was also pointed out that although the prevention of reoffending was the ultimate aim/purpose of supervision, this had to be viewed as secondary to other more pressing needs and this feeling was stated by the following officer:

... I think officers sometimes tend to get caught up in more vague issues such as emotional difficulties and relationship problems, and although these are very important, I think that the practical issues such as safe secure accommodation are more important ... at least initially.

(P.O. interview No. 1).

Other comments on the purpose of supervision included keeping tabs on the clients whereabouts, identifying problem areas and critical periods, ensuring he reported as requested, and reducing reoffending. The resolution of practical problems as opposed to addressing specific social work issues was mentioned by the following officer:

I wouldn't impose social work on a Y.C. supervisee. I suppose by that I mean I wouldn't necessarily undertake any complex form of casework with an individual without approval or consent. I suppose that stems from my belief that YC supervision is to provide assistance with readjustment back into the community and that if the individual is making progress then I would allow them just to comply with the basic requirements of the order. I wouldn't necessarily run the risk of frightening them off.

(P.O. interview No. 25).

How then do probation officers assess the importance of their work

during supervision and its effect on perceived success of the period? Table 8.3 is a summary of categories presented on a prompt card to officers who were asked the importance attached to them when applicable in any assessment of successful completion of YC supervision/parole by their clients.

When an alcohol or drug problem exists and is dealt with, this for most P.O.s is most important when they assess the supervision period. Offending behaviour and obtaining accommodation are also viewed as highly important in any assessment of supervision although reporting to the office/r as required and keeping away from bad influences were seen as not of primary importance. Given the low

Table 8.3 Perceived importance of areas of work in successful completion of supervision

AREA OF WORK	No. of responses		
	V. Imp.	Q. Imp.	Not V. Imp.
Controlling alcohol/drug problems	25	4	0
Avoiding offending during supervision	20	7	2
Obtaining suitable accommodation	17	12	0
Leaving 'door open' for contact after supervision	17	10	2
Improvement in social functioning	16	13	0
Maintaining/improving family relationships	16	13	0
Using time more constructively	14	13	2
Obtaining employment	13	13	3
Reporting to P.O. as required	10	15	4
Keeping away from influential peers/past associates	7	14	8

priority of this area of work and restrictions on resources generally it is interesting to note that many P.O.'s felt that it was important to leave the door open for voluntary contact after completion of statutory supervision. The building up of a relationship therefore was maybe seen as paving the way for even further statutory contact in the future.

b) The client experience

The twenty one supervisees were asked if they felt that the main purpose of supervision was to help or control them. Seven considered it was mainly to help them, 5 to control or 'keep an eye on' them, 4 to help them keep out of trouble, 3 did not know and 2 said it was a mixture of help and control.

On a broader basis, one youth expressed some reservations about the overall purpose and effectiveness of supervision:

Q. What do you see as being the main purpose of supervision?

A. See if you're getting into trouble ...but then it doesn't matter...even if your nicking you're not going to tell them.

(Supervision interview No.3).

Another lad, who had been on parole but was on YC supervision at the time of interview said that he only wanted the opportunity to settle down and keep out of trouble. He hoped that supervision would help him to do this:

A. Coming out and showing I could settle down, and people could come out of borstal [sic] and tell people ... 'I've been inside and now I can keep out of trouble and

I'm just like a normal person'.

Q. Is there any difference between being on parole and on YC supervision like you are now?

A. No, it's like a parole licence, it's just if I keep my nose clean everything will go fine.

(Supervision interview No. 12).

Other comments made by the youths as to the purpose of supervision were:

...keep a track on me...and keep me out of trouble...there to help me as well. (Supervision interview No.1). ...they [P.O.'s] try to offer help but at the same time they're there to keep an eye on me because when I didn't report I got letters and threat of breach.

(Supervision interview No. 4).

Following on from the purpose of supervision the supervisees were asked some general questions about the role of their probation officer. Eleven youths said that their P.O.'s primary role was to help them; followed by checking up and making appointments (no. = 4); don't know (no. = 3); both checking up and helping (no. = 2); and 'just being there' (no. = 1).

Ten youths felt that they needed a P.O. after coming out of custody, one saying:

...cos I can always go to her to talk...if you have a problem she's always there to go to.

(Supervision interview No. 5).

Support and help with basic problems were the primary reasons given for needing a P.O. Five supervisees said that they did not really

need a P.O. or needed one only occasionally; 3 did not need one at all; 2 didn't need one personally but could see how others might; and 1 said that it was not a question of needing but rather of having to. Nevertheless, 15 youths did admit that their P.O. had been helpful, or of use, during supervision, despite some of these not admitting to having any problems.

General points raised by the supervisees at the end of the interview stressed the two way channelling of information during supervision - if they were straight with their P.O. then he/she would try and help them as much as possible. Mention was also made of the fact that the probation officer was often the only help and 'listening ear' available, and one said that supervision had helped him to stay out of trouble:

Well, if I hadn't been coming in I would have been in much more trouble. She's very good and helped me out of trouble and not do anything daft ... I've got a job and money now.

(Supervision interview No. 14).

c) Discussion

Probation officers considered that the main purpose of supervision was to address problems of offending behaviour. This was followed by facilitating the move back into the community, and to a much lesser extent, offering support and advice and dealing with practical problems. This low rating of dealing with practical problems as part of the purpose of supervision is in stark contrast to observations made earlier in this chapter that it was practical issues which were most often encountered during supervision (and custody) and which took up most of the P.O.'s time. This indicates a gap between what



officers feel they should be doing and what they realise they can do. As one officer said, the ultimate aim was the prevention of reoffending but other more mundane tasks had to be carried out first. Another officer said he would not necessarily impose social work on the client in case s/he was frightened off. These are interesting assertions, and as a process can be compared to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, (Maslow 1954; 1967). Maslow identified a strata of needs - at the lowest end of the scale were the basic physiological needs of hunger, thirst, and so forth. Next come safety needs, belongingness, etc., up to the ultimate of self actualisation and the need to find self fulfilment and realise one's potential. The needs that are low in the hierarchy must be at least partially satisfied before those that are higher can become important sources of motivation. And the same would appear to apply to throughcare carried out during supervision (and custody). The probation officer is forced, (by clients immediate situation and demands), to ensure that the more basic needs of accommodation and money on which to live are dealt with, before any in depth, intensive social work could be carried out. Unfortunately, because of the brevity of most supervision periods, the highest level (of social work?, of reoffending?) cannot be achieved. This ensures that throughcare does not/cannot reach its full potential, a fact acknowledged by the probation officer who in turn feels impotent in this respect and can only continue to deal with the immediate practical issues. This will be examined in more detail in the final chapter of this thesis when an evaluation of throughcare is offered and a definition of throughcare in practice and theory based upon this is presented.

Where problems had been encountered during supervision, controlling

alcohol and drug problems was seen by the P.O. to be the most important factor in assessing the client's successful completion of the period. Where relevant therefore, probation officers evaluate the success of their work by the successful resolution of alcohol/drug problems; offending behaviour and accommodation, in that order. Routine reporting, and keeping away from influential (ly bad) peers were placed at the bottom of the P.O.'s evaluative judgements. The role of the P.O. and purpose of supervision has also been examined by Foad (1984) who, in contrast to my findings, observed that:

Many officers mentioned that ensuring compliance with post-release reporting conditions was sufficient to fulfil the Service's obligations and there was little support for the notion that after-care relationships could be developed to motivate and effect change in the supervisee's behaviour.

(Foad 1984, p.25).

Although not specifically an assessment of successful completion of supervision, this statement indicates the need to, and awareness by P.O.'s of, addressing the more elemental aspects of supervision.

The emphasis of the question directed at the supervisees in my interview sample regarding the purpose of supervision, was on perceptions of it as a helping or controlling measure. The care vs control debate in probation practice has generally taken place in a much broader context than that covered in this part of the thesis. It does not therefore need repeating here, but see especially James (1979); Harris (1980); Boswell (1982); Willis (1983, 1986); for detailed discussion of the issue. The important point to note here is that the majority of youths felt that supervision was, in theory at

least, there to help them, and the majority said that they needed a probation officer or needed one occasionally. Most said that their P.O. did help them in practice. This perception by clients is an important one in the overall context of throughcare offering as it does a basis of belief that help/support should be or is more important than tracking/routine reporting/control and the potential is there at least for an extension of this aspect of work.

#### V) Reconviction rates

Finally in this chapter, the reconviction rates of those youths interviewed during the course of this research will be examined in relation to the throughcare carried out during custody and supervision. The experiences and perspectives of the client and the probation officer about the two parts of sentence are also referred to.

##### a) The custodial experience and reconviction

Of the 28 youths interviewed in HMYCC Everthorpe, it was only possible to obtain reconviction data on 22. The remaining 6 had either moved from Humberside or their case records had been misplaced. Of these 22, eight had been reconvicted before termination of their supervision period (ie 36%). This compares with 20 per cent of those cases examined in the quantitative survey reported in chapter 6. Offences committed by the 8 reoffending in the interview sample were either burglary and/or theft (no = 6), or assault (no = 2).

Due to the low numbers involved in the analysis a general explanation of trends rather than statistical significance will be described here. The impact of various aspects of throughcare on reconviction rate will be examined in turn.

#### Background information

The only major differences between those reoffending and those not reoffending lay in the number and severity of pre convictions. Those who reoffended had a range of pre convictions of between 14 and 32 with a mean number of 22. This compared with a mean of 14 for the other twenty youths who had either not been convicted again or could not be traced. There was in addition a higher than average number of pre convictions for violence, 5 of the 8 reconvicted youths (63%) having at least one, as opposed to 6 of those 20 who had not reoffended (30%). The mean length of sentence was also slightly longer than that of those not reoffending (15 months compared with just under 12 months for the remainder).

Apart from these indications that those reoffending were perhaps slightly more criminally sophisticated than those not reoffending there were no other major differences in the problem areas identified, no. of visits and letters from P.O., contact with family or P.O./establishment contact. It is interesting to note however that all of those granted parole (no = 4) reoffended on the YC supervision period following parole licence.

Contact with probation officer and problems encountered during custody

Four of the eight youths reoffending (50%) had had at least one change of P.O., since the beginning of sentence and all were happy with this change. This compares with 42% of those having a change but not reoffending. In accordance with the sample as a whole, all of those reoffending had received some contact with their P.O. through both visit and letters and the main reason for this contact was checking on the trainee's progress, sorting out accommodation, and

dealing with problems of child custody. Six (75%) felt that the contact had been helpful; of the other 15 youths asked this question during custody and who had not reoffended, 9 said they had been useful (60%).

One half of those reoffending (no = 4) also admitted to being bored, lonely or 'fed up' during custody with one of these having experienced some aggravation from other trainees. These problems are similar to those experienced by the youths not reoffending. Slightly fewer trainees who reoffended claimed to have benefited from any aspect of custody (25%) as opposed to those who did not reoffend (36%). Four had taken part in the pre release course, and claimed to have enjoyed it; and all but one said that everything, (accommodation, money, employment, reporting instructions), had been sorted out as far as was possible for their release, slightly more than those who had not reoffended.

#### Contact with the family during custody

All of the those reoffending had had contact with their family while in custody; of the remaining 17 asked this question, 5 had not had any contact (29%). The P.O. had been in contact with the family of those 8 reoffending in all but one case and the trainee said s/he had dealt with specific problems in 2 of these cases. This again was slightly higher contact than that experienced by the trainees not reoffending.

#### The post release supervision period

Three of those 8 reoffending (38%) felt that supervision was a good idea. This compares with 50 per cent of those not reoffending. The majority (no. = 6; 75%) felt that their P.O. was there primarily to help them during supervision, compared with 63 per cent of those not

reoffending. Only 2 felt that it was unlikely that they would not get into trouble again on release which was similar to those statements made by those not reoffending.

Unfortunately the numbers were too small to draw any major conclusions but there was certainly no evidence to suggest that those youths reoffending had received any less throughcare from their P.O. than those not reoffending. Indeed, if anything they had slightly more contact although this may have been because they had a slightly poorer criminal record and were therefore perceived by the P.O. to be at greater risk of being reconvicted. Expectations of supervision in addition were similar between the 2 groups.

b) The supervision experience and reoffending

Of the 21 youths interviewed during supervision, 7 reoffended before their licence expired. Four of these had been interviewed during custody, 3 had not.

Four were supposed to report weekly, 2 fortnightly and 1 as and when necessary or told to by his P.O. Four, (57%) said that they had kept to these arrangements, compared with 64% of those not reoffending. However, a check on the case records and discussion with the P.O.'s indicated that only 2 of those reoffending had actually kept to their reporting instructions.

All 4 of those released on parole licence reoffended during YC supervision following parole. Topics discussed during supervision interviews of those reoffending were general progress, offending behaviour and keeping out of trouble, accommodation and alcohol/glue problems. In fact the topics discussed were not in any way different from those not reoffending. Only 2 (29%) admitted to having

experienced any problems during supervision, the same percentage as those who did not reoffend. Similarly, there was an even split in reoffending between those saying they would take a problem to their P.O. if they had a problem and those who would not.

Only one lad reoffending said that the work carried out during supervision was a follow on from custody. This compares with 4 of the 14 youths who had not reoffended. Finally, 4 of those reoffending (57%) had said that their P.O. had been helpful during supervision compared with 79 per cent of those staying out of trouble.

As with throughcare during custody, numbers were too small to draw any firm conclusions, but there was little to indicate that those reoffending were in any way different, or had experienced any difference in throughcare, than those staying out of trouble. However, there was a slight tendency for those reoffending to consider their P.O. as unhelpful and it is of interest to note that all of those released on parole reoffended before the end of their supervision period.

#### SUMMARY

Probation officers find themselves in a difficult position with their YC supervisees. The period of supervision is often short and the client reluctant to report to the office when told, resulting in the P.O. facing the dilemma of whether to instigate breach proceedings or not. The work carried out when the client does eventually turn up is largely dictated by his/her immediate practical needs rather than by systematically planned and co-ordinated work aimed at the more elusive 'social work' needs. Therefore what a probation officer would like to do and what s/he can actually do in practice are not always compatible, a problem recognised by most officers. However,

the fact that officers do recognise the limitations of their work during supervision means that they invest their energies into resolving the practical issues, or those agreed with the client, and this area of work is then carried out to a high standard. Probation officers and their clients do not concur in what they see as being the purpose of supervision and what they would like to do in theory, but they do agree on what is actually done in practice.

The following concluding chapter will summarise the findings of the thesis, outline the problems involved in evaluation in a project like this, offer a conceptual framework of throughcare for the Probation Service and discuss some of the implications for the Service of the findings.



## PART III CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

### CHAPTER 9

#### CONCLUSIONS: TOWARDS AN EVALUATION OF YOUTH CUSTODY THROUGH CARE

The original aims of the thesis were presented in the introduction and restated in Chapter 4. The thesis is an analysis of the provision of throughcare to youth custody clients by the community based Probation Service within the existing framework and guidelines. The structure of the thesis was such as to offer an outline of the developing nature of after-care in England and Wales and show how the concept of throughcare emerged from this process. The national organisation of throughcare within the Probation Service following the Criminal Justice Act, 1982 was then described, and an analysis of local provision in Humberside was provided through examination of case records, views of probation officers and clients, and comparisons with other research findings.

It now remains to complete the original aims of the thesis. This final chapter will summarise the major findings, attempt an evaluation of youth custody throughcare and consider the need for a conceptual framework within the Probation Service must work. To these ends, the chapter will be divided in four main sections. The first will describe what the emergent conceptualisation of throughcare was meant to reflect or achieve over and above after-care, and stress the importance of the findings of this current research in this respect. Sections (ii) and (iii) will provide an evaluation of throughcare provision at national and local levels. Finally, section (iv) presents a good practice model for youth custody throughcare based upon the research and offer a definition of throughcare. These

concluding sections will, it is hoped, provide a clearer understanding of throughcare and offer the Probation Service a firmer basis for translating the ideal into practice.

i) The emergent concept of throughcare and its relationship to after-care

The developing nature of after-care and emerging concept of throughcare have been fully addressed in the first part of this thesis. However, it is now necessary to clarify what the eventual conceptualisation was meant to reflect or achieve over and above after-care and whether the current research offers any clarification of the throughcare concept.

Throughcare has its roots embedded in beliefs about the most appropriate and effective way of carrying out the after-care of prisoners released from custody. In the early stages of its development, after care was primarily concerned with offering material aid to prisoners on release, often with a Christian conviction that this may help reduce recidivistic behaviour. There was also an element of moral support and guidance involved in after-care which was later modified to assisting with emotional and psychological needs.

Following the Maxwell Report (Home Office, 1953) and the Report of the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders, (Home Office 1963), there was a much greater emphasis on individualised after-care based on professional casework, and a shift away from the primarily aid-on-discharge approach. There was to be an emphasis upon early intervention; communication with the offender whilst he was in custody; contact with his family and wider community; and a move towards establishing a relationship of confidence with the prisoner to

help him cope with the sudden transition from custody to the community. The methods used to achieve these aims were to be based upon a humanitarian, caring and professional attitude. In the process of alleviating some of the traumas of imprisonment, and also hopefully to help reduce the risk of reoffending, there was to be an integration of effort between all those involved in the client's welfare during both the custodial part of the sentence and the post release period. In other words, the casework approach involved careful planning of the sentence and a continuity of effort, care and work between those responsible for the offender's welfare inside and those responsible for his resettlement outside. This was the theory of after-care. Unfortunately, it did not always happen in practice because of uncertainty of roles of those inside and outside, and a lack of guidelines systematically clarifying these roles. This was particularly true in the adult system although there was a greater potential for translating the after-care ideal into practice in the young offender system.

Dating from the introduction of the Borstal System following the recommendations of the Gladstone Report, (Home Office, 1895), after-care was considered to be an integral part of the borstal sentence. The idea of a continuity between custody and supervision with the two parts of sentence being viewed as of equal importance was always reinforced in legislation and proposals for change. The Younger Report, (Home Office, 1974) and subsequent Green and White Papers culminating in the Criminal Justice System, all emphasised the sentence as consisting of two fully integrated parts. Emphasis in the Borstal System was on early intervention by the borstal associate or probation officer who would deal with problems occurring outside

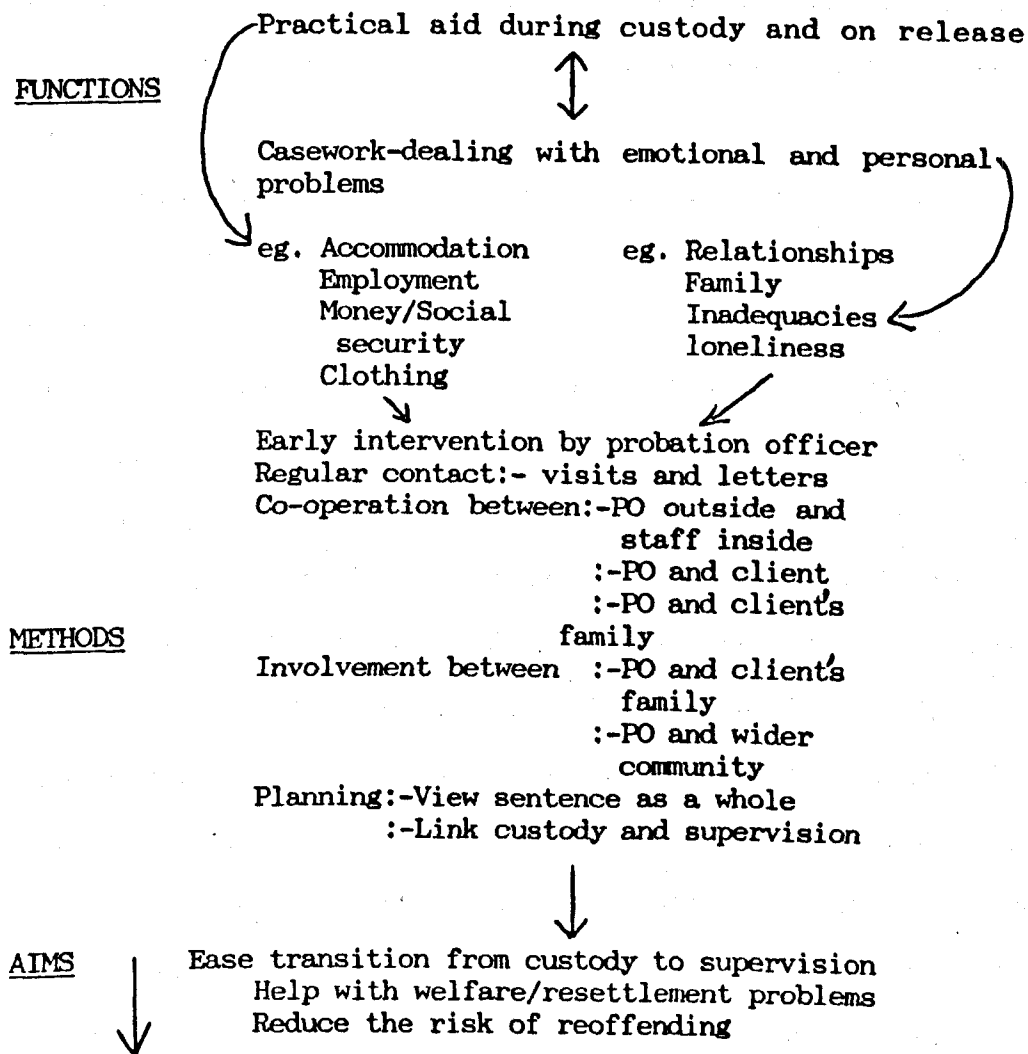
the establishment. She/he would make a regular point of visiting the youth inside to deal with any problems arising there or expected to arise on his release. The housemaster inside the establishment was charged with the primary welfare role and was to liaise with the outside officer. The youth's welfare, resettlement, and hopefully reduction in reoffending were seen to be the main objectives of this approach. Home leave was intended to ease the unsettling transition from custody to supervision by helping the youth to, a) solve immediate practical problems (especially accommodation and employment), b) build a relationship with the probation officer, and c) visit dying relatives. Basic elements of borstal after-care included the following:

1. A joint approach between the housemaster and the probation officer.
2. Early intervention consisting of a reception interview to assess needs and problems.
3. Regular visits and letters by the probation officer to the client inside in an attempt both to deal with problems and establish a relationship of trust for release.
4. Contact between the probation officer and the client's family.
5. Awareness and use of the clients wider community, (for example membership of clubs, football teams, friends, teachers), by the probation officer.
6. Home leave.
7. Supervision aimed primarily at helping the client cope with problems, and intended to contribute to reducing the risk of reoffending.

Overall, the theoretical model of young offender after-care, and

sometimes the practice, consisted of various elements, stages and aims. These are summarised diagrammatically in Figure 9.1.

Figure 9.1 Theoretical Model of After-Care



The theoretical mode of after-care outlined in figure 9.1 had been identified before throughcare as an explicit concept had begun to emerge, and some of the theoretical elements were being translated into practice. However, there was a growing awareness of the need for a more solid framework within which to translate the ideal into practice as far as the welfare of inmates was concerned. The 'intensive casework' and 'shared working' approaches offered a fresh perspective upon this area of work, but unfortunately criticisms and

drawbacks of methodologies, evaluations, and philosophical differences between the Probation and Prison Services rendered the 'success' of the approaches difficult to judge. There was, primarily, a tendency to assess these welfare initiatives by recourse solely to reconviction rates.

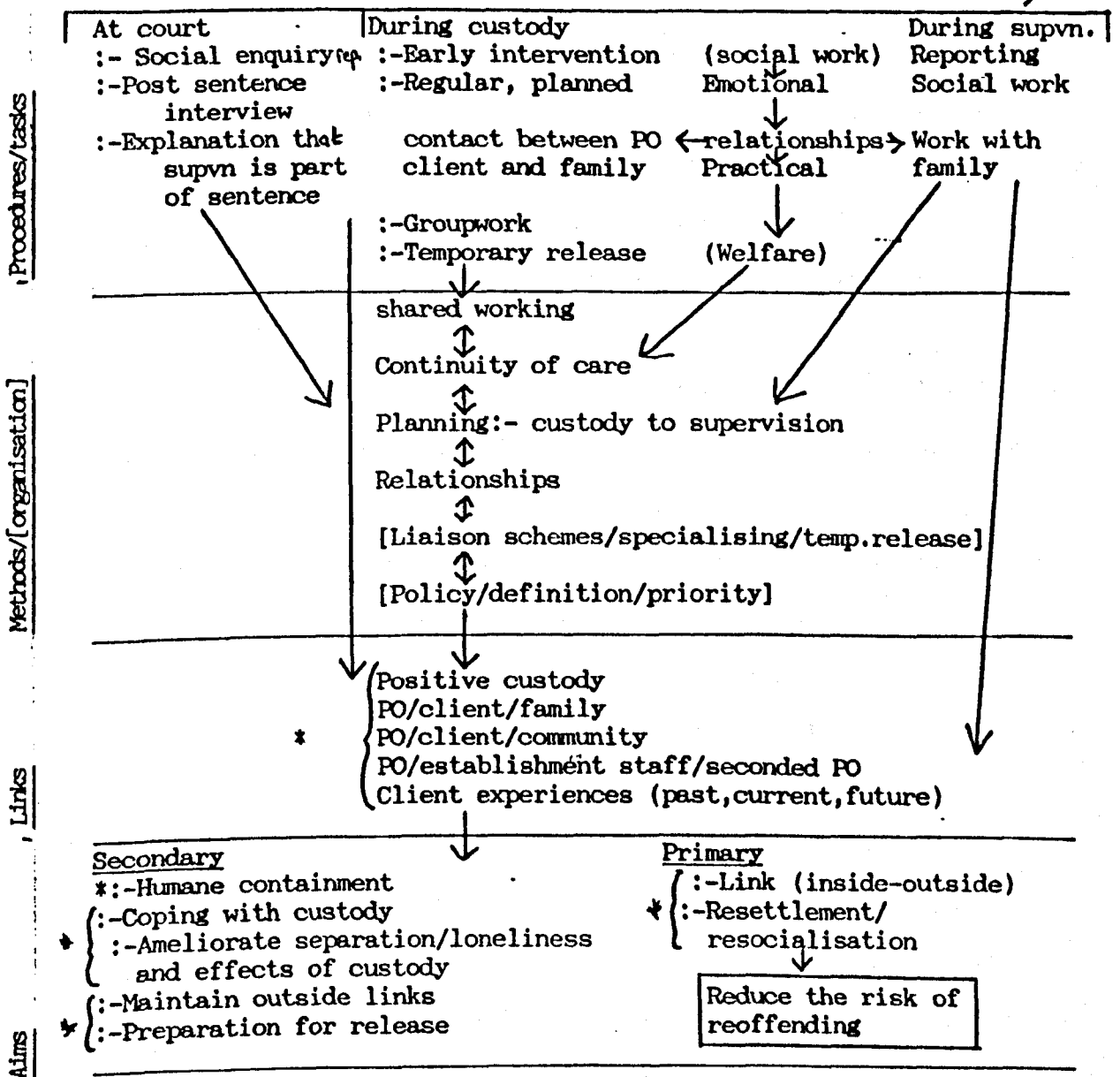
As argued in Chapter 3, throughcare extended the traditional after-care task through shared working and casework by stressing the necessity of combating the negative effects of custody. It also stressed the importance of positive custody and the resettlement/reintegration of the client back into the community through a process started in custody. Throughcare also extended the aims of traditional after-care by including and stressing the maintenance of outside links and preparation for release as objectives in and of themselves. Throughcare aimed to look at custody and contact after release, especially statutory supervision, as a continuous process, and although drawing on the elements of after-care, it did not compartmentalise its various aspects. Each element is dependent upon the other and can affect the nature of the other elements. For example, work with the family does itself contain two elements: probation officer/family contact and family/client contact. Knowledge by the probation officer of the client's relationship and contact with his family can determine whether he/she needs to become (further) involved with either the family or the client in custody, or it can act as a basis for the resettlement process.

Figure 9.2 summarises the different elements of throughcare and shows that it is not an alternative to after-care (an argument put forward in Chapter 3), but does rather incorporate and transcend it.

Throughcare offered a potential solution to the rather amorphous situation in which after-care found itself. Of course, it may be argued that throughcare is itself even now in an inchoate state, serving only to compound the existing difficulties of the after-care task. This can be countered by arguing that throughcare, by virtue of adding extra preparation for release, provides a more coherent and less impermanent structure for this area of work. Throughcare sought to remedy an already confused situation highlighted by 'failures' in other approaches. Whether throughcare in practice is any further developed than after-care is an issue discussed in the following section of this chapter when a further evaluation of the empirical data is offered. Figure 9.2 illustrates where throughcare does differ from after-care.

If the sentence is to be viewed as a continuing process then we must avoid the mistake of thinking that 'throughcare' is carried out during custody and 'after-care' on release. Inherent in the process are the individual but linked tasks and procedures to be carried out at the various stages with an emphasis upon the ideal situation of

**Figure 9.2 The Throughcare Concept and Task continuum**



\*ELEMENTS OVER AND ABOVE AFTER-CARE



dealing with individual social work needs of prisoners. There are various methods of carrying out the individual tasks as part of the coherent whole, including shared working, continuity of care, planning of sentence, and ensuring that there is a strong and proactive approach between all those involved. Throughcare can, in its ideal form, while emphasising a formal, intense and structured approach, be organised into a specialist service with high priority and definition of purpose.

The throughcare concept has as a major focus, a link between custody and supervision and this manifests itself in several different ways. It is at this level that throughcare is seen to expand upon after-care. The various links when taken together form the basis of the throughcare approach. Throughcare added several secondary but essential aims over and above after-care, including the emphasis on coping with custody, the maintenance of outside links and the humane containment of the inmate.

Comparing figures 9.1 and 9.2 we can see that throughcare incorporates all elements of after-care, but that after-care does not include all elements of throughcare. Throughcare restates the emphasis on continuity and integration and is every bit as concerned with what happens on release as is after-care. This is stressed not only in conceptual terms but now in legislative ones as well. Often the links and aims are entwined with one another and the more basic have to be achieved before tackling the higher order ones. Throughcare is not an alternative to after-care but should rather be considered an important addition to it with a consequent change of terminology in acknowledgement of this. If the model outlined in

figure 9.2 is accepted then we could usefully drop the words 'after-care' altogether and replace the fragmented reality of welfare inside and after-care on release by the more focussed, intensive, structured, formalised and hopefully less rhetorical approach offered by throughcare.

ii) National provision of youth custody throughcare: an evaluation

The organisation and delivery of throughcare for the Prison and Probation Services nationally have as their legal framework the Criminal Justice Act 1982, and the various home office circulars provide an outline of tasks, functions and principles. The Statement of National Objectives and Priorities (1984) sets guidelines aimed at keeping efficiency, effectiveness and priority as the major considerations in the Probation Services provision of throughcare.

The definition of throughcare offered in CI 24/1983 illustrates the fact that throughcare remained a task which could be interpreted in different ways with a lack of agreed objectives:

Although it necessarily focuses on the transition of the young offender from custody to supervision in the community, the term 'throughcare' is used in this Circular. Instruction to refer to contacts during a custodial sentence between the prison and supervising services, the trainee for whom they have responsibility and any other people and agencies who are concerned with their resettlement.

(CI 24/1983, para. 4).

As part of the overall analysis of youth custody throughcare by the Probation Service, this thesis examined the response of local services to the Criminal Justice Act 1982, the circulars and the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities. Several basic and key questions

need answering here, particularly as a result of apparently low priority afforded throughcare in SNOP. The issues have been fully discussed in Chapter 5, but a brief resume may be helpful here.

Parker et al (1987 p22) point out that there was pressure on the Probation Service to change its methods generally in the financial climate following the '82 Act. Faulkner (1984) notes that during this period there was a move towards resources determining policy rather than policy determining resources. In addition to these observations, Lacey and Read (1985), Stone (1986) and Rungay (1988) say that there was a possibility that SNOP confirmed existing weaknesses and further encouraged "out of sight out of mind" attitudes - it gave Probation Services an excuse to continue to allocate throughcare a low priority and therefore merely reflected what happened in practice anyway. If SNOP illustrated the reality of the situation the fact may have been that Services had accepted the principle of throughcare but had not demonstrated it in practice. An alternative pointed out by NAPO (1984) was that SNOP may have forced services to take a fresh look at throughcare and this increased awareness led to increased performance. Before presenting an overall evaluation of what seems to have happened on a national basis in practice since the '82 Act, it is worth repeating the statement by Whitehead (1987), first given in Chapter 5:

What SNOP prescribes may well be different from what happens in area probation services in future.

(Whitehead 1987, p393).

Following the '82 Act, the majority of Services produced a throughcare policy paper/practice guideline of one sort or another.

Some were more comprehensive than others although less than one third offered a statement of aims or definition. Most documents simply reiterated the procedures at court, during custody and during supervision and outlined duties and minimum levels of contact without making reference to an overall purpose. This reflects the lack of argued objectives or any existing conceptual framework for throughcare. The following section will argue the case for agreed objectives and purpose when discussing probation officer understanding of throughcare in theory and practice. A good practice model will then be offered which will provide an operational definition of throughcare based upon the data.

Although almost three quarters of Services responding to the questionnaire said that they had not been affected by the content and direction of SNOP there was an implication, confirming suspicions above, that throughcare was already receiving a LOW priority.

Only three services who qualified their answer that they had NOT been affected stated that throughcare had always received a HIGH priority and SNOP therefore had little or no relevance for them or they had chosen not to adopt it. There was also an implication that Services had tried to minimise the potentially negative effects which SNOP might have had on throughcare. However in terms of probation practice it seems that it has been difficult for local Services to solve the problem of priorities established at national level.

The fact that teams in Humberside Probation Service continued to allocate throughcare a low priority in their statements of key output areas (KOA's), while individuals said in interview that they accepted the principle of throughcare, illustrates this difficulty of raising

throughcare's priority at local level.

The organisation of throughcare by local Services was seen in the context of this research as being an important part of the Service's reaction to the '82 act and subsequent guidelines, and as a potential way of dealing with the nationally recommended priority. For reasons primarily of efficiency and effectiveness, almost three quarters of local Services responding to the questionnaire said that they provided throughcare from a specialist base (see table 5.4 for the different models). Specialisation offers the Probation Service the option of ensuring that the prioritisation of tasks does not necessarily mean the prioritisation of clients thereby limiting probation practice to a few select individuals. However, as mentioned above a more efficient use of resources was the major reason for adopting a specialist approach, but geographical and logistical considerations also figured highly.

The provision of liaison schemes or named liaison officers were also identified in this research as enhancing an effective approach to throughcare. These schemes, over and above delivery of the basic stages and elements of throughcare (namely at court, during custody and during supervision), and temporary release schemes were seen to offer a more complete and coherent approach. Temporary release can be considered an extension of the more traditional home leave, and as such enabled some Services to offer an identifiable link between custody and supervision.

For the primary reason of enhancing the chances of the client fulfilling his statutory duty of reporting to his supervising officer following release and during supervision, many Services had an

organised system of facilities such as drop in centres and group work. However, many respondents said that there was much room for improvement, but again resources would have to determine how the improvements were implemented. It must be re emphasised here, as I feel it is of importance in the delivery and understanding of throughcare, that a distinction was sometimes made between statutory and non statutory throughcare. The probation officer has a legal requirement only to ensure that the client reports as and when required during supervision. What is discussed is entirely optional. The same applies to visits and letters to the client and/or his family during custody. The probation officer is not statutorily obliged to visit or write, but these tasks are considered desirable. Individual probation officers responses to interview in Humberside stressed the need for a relationship to be established in an attempt to enhance the chances of success during and after the supervision period. Since there is an identifiable difference between the legal requirements of the various parts of throughcare, Probation Services must be careful not to neglect the 'less urgent' or non statutory aspects as several officers pointed out that this could potentially have adverse effects on the statutory requirements.

Overall, the organisation of throughcare on a national level did seem to be based primarily on notions of cost effectiveness, efficiency and priority, and there was little to indicate that Services had responded to the statement of National Objectives and Priorities in a more positive manner by raising its priority.

Section (iii) will examine the organisation and delivery of throughcare within Humberside Probation Service and offer an in depth evaluation of throughcare practice at this local level.

iii) Local Provision of youth custody throughcare: an

Evaluation

Following the Criminal Justice Act, 1982, Humberside Probation Service produced a fairly comprehensive throughcare policy document, and in 1989 was in the process of updating this (using some of the empirical data obtained from this research as input). The original policy paper was one of the few produced nationally to offer a definition of throughcare:

Throughcare defines a service which engages prisoners and their families in a planned resettlement process with the aim of reducing the risk of reoffending.

(HPS Policy Paper 1986).

X In addition to the policy paper, the <sup>S</sup>ervice produced a 'Corporate Plan' (1987) to guide their work over the following five years. The Corporate Plan is based on an effectiveness model, and although it places an emphasis on throughcare, and a proactive approach to throughcare, the fact remained that throughcare continued to be seen to warrant a lower priority than work at court and in the community. The Service followed the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities in this respect, although an emphasis was put upon the fact that low priority does not necessarily have to equate with low standards of service.

The structure, organisation and delivery of throughcare within Humberside is based upon a generic model although one team does have a form of semi-specialisation in operation which is rather limited in practice. There had been little effort until towards the end of my fieldwork (1988) to adopt a more formalised approach in terms of

liaison and temporary release schemes. However, during 1988/89 efforts were made to develop stronger links with the more heavily used youth custody centres. This involved a working party (of which I was a member) set up to examine the different methods available to extend this area of work. Certain officers were nominated to take responsibility for all those cases pre-and post-release and to organise group work during the custodial part of the sentence. The ultimate objective was to provide an effective and consistent service to Humberside Probation Service youth custody clients through proactive integration with the establishments. Many of the difficulties arising in trying to formalise such an approach quickly became apparent and had been identified by Services nationally in their responses to the questionnaire sent to them. Some teams were not willing to participate, thereby creating problems of identifying clients inside and crossing team boundaries, and some officers felt that the group work might ruin existing one-to-one relationships. Problems also arose of allocating officers to specific institutions versus clients to officers. At the root of the problem was a belief that, although throughcare was seen by the working party and those officers willing to participate in the scheme as a priority, caseloads and traditionally built up methods of work may have suffered. Nevertheless the scheme was being put into operation by mid 1989 and groups had been run within one establishment.

Despite following the priorities listed in the Statement of National Objectives and Priorities, Humberside Probation Service was aware of the problems created by allocating throughcare a relatively low priority and had made efforts to standardise work. Nevertheless, in response to the questionnaire on national organisation, the Service



did say that it had experienced:

difficulty in fully implementing [this throughcare] policy against competing interests from other priorities.

Against this background, the main empirical data was collected via examination of case records and by interviews with individual probation officers and clients (as described in Chapters 6,7 and 8 above).

The level of provision of throughcare by probation officers more than met any minimum standards laid down in the policy paper or statements of expectation within teams given priority afforded it in their key output areas and associated objectives.

Areas of concern noted in social enquiry reports tended to revolve around four main problem areas; emotional, practical, relationships and money. Officers tended to be allocated quickly to an individual case, post-sentence interviews were not carried out on a regular basis, but distance from the youth custody centre did not affect the overall level of contact by visit and/or letter to clients.

Probation officers usually addressed practical problems of an immediate nature during custody, which was what clients identified as being most important for them. Although officers recognised that their training put them in the unique position of providing 'social work' to the client in custody, client demand often excluded this. It seemed therefore that client and probation officers expectations of what throughcare should involve differed, but their recognition of what was provided concurred.

Probation officers were aware of and acknowledged the fact that social work aims of work with clients were seldom achieved during

interactions, when the 'welfare' aspects tended to be prominent. This meant that the 'welfare cycle' pointed out by Holborn (1975, p125) in connection with custodial work, was considered here to be operating during custodial and supervision contacts. Although the purpose of throughcare was seen to be the higher levels of work, the reality of the situation and lack of motivation rendered this virtually obsolete in practice.

Probation officers were not entirely clear in their understanding of throughcare as a concept or term and its implications for practice. The reactive approach was usually adopted and there was a general lack of motivation and enthusiasm among many officers with large caseloads and pressures of work about the practical application of the principles they were aware of. When definitions were given by officers, they did acknowledge the need for and importance of, the various stages of throughcare.

Throughcare provision at the various stages was carried out to a satisfactory level. However, there was little evidence of systematic planning of the entire sentence, and an important finding of the research was the nature of the supervision period. In particular, officers were reluctant to breach clients for failing to report as required. Probation officers were not fully aware of the procedures for breach, but importantly did not like to breach clients. Breach proceedings may be contrary to the probation philosophy of keeping clients out of custody where possible, and officers did not want to be seen directly to be putting someone back inside. However, a difficulty in the operation of successful throughcare with this approach was the clients awareness that they could 'play the system' and go through the process of receiving one or two threatening

letters from their PO before finally making the token gesture of turning up. In addition to this is the obvious fact that if a client does not turn up to the office, then very little that is constructive can be carried out, even if progress had been made through contacts during custody.

Although there was a tenuous link between the client not receiving a post-sentence interview and reoffending, and a slight tendency for those who received visits during custody to stay out of trouble (or at least not get caught), there were stronger connections between those on parole and those not keeping to their reporting instructions, and reoffending. There was inconclusive evidence as to whether visits and letters during custody were important in and of themselves. Clients felt that they should have a purpose, otherwise they were a bit of a waste of time. This attitude fits in with the theory that throughcare should form a link between custody and supervision or at least help prepare the way for supervisors thereby attempting to reduce the number of clients missing appointments and reduce the risk of reoffending.

Feelings of 'us and them' with regard to probation officer/prison staff relationships seemed to further weaken the link between custody and supervision and undermined the continuity of care offered to the client by the two Services.

Nevertheless, in principle, probation officers felt that throughcare should offer a link between custody and supervision, but again there was some hesitation about whether or not this could be achieved in practice. The differences in probation officer/prison officer philosophy and training, and the view of some probation

officers that the client perceived the sentence as two distinct halves (a view confirmed in client interviews), contributed to this ambivalence about the existence of a link. Individual client characteristics also emerged as influencing the practical implementation of the theory of throughcare. This was particularly true when attempts were made to identify 'critical periods' and assess the value and importance of visits and letters.

Some of these anxieties, it seems, could be alleviated if the Probation Service took a more proactive approach to work with establishments and clients. <sup>↑</sup> they could also be alleviated if the conceptualisation of throughcare was seen by officers to offer a coherent system which treated each of the tasks and persons involved as individual parts of an overall strategy. This really involves an integration of effort and attempt by the Probation Service to explain the nature of throughcare to all concerned, including itself.

A further important issue to arise out of the research in Humberside was the belief of many PO's that throughcare should aim to help the client adjust to whatever environment in which he found himself. Officers would like to maximise the positive aspects of custody and supervision and minimise the negative ones. In addition to this was the indication that much work was carried out on an immediate needs basis, emphasising the need for greater planning. Although this would require a more formalised approach to throughcare, it does not necessarily follow that it is a less individualised approach. Each case should be assessed on its merits and different aspects should be interdependent.

Although I have argued for the need to implement a more formal approach to throughcare, one of the current mechanisms for formalising

the approach, namely the use of the throughcare forms (TC1-TC9), was found to be rather limited. The apparent over-abundance of paper work in probation practice and a general lack of incentive towards throughcare meant that 'form filling' was viewed as a somewhat tedious task. For this reason officers said that they preferred to pick up the telephone and ring the establishment if they had any information to relay immediately, or they would have a talk with prison staff following a visit to their client. If forms are to be used, their specific purpose must be made clear in the overall mechanism of exchange of information.

With a continuity of care and integration of effort model, telephone calls, discussion after visits, structured forms with a clear purpose, and a summary of these communications recorded in a separate "exchange of information" section in the probation case record would seem to be a more appropriate way of fulfilling the potential or ideal of this aspect of throughcare.

Probation officers considered that the building up of a relationship during custody in preparation for release formed an important part of throughcare and this aspect was placed high on their list of items forming the overall purpose of throughcare. Part of this depended on dealing with practical problems perceived by officers as forming part of the client's

expectations for release. This also contributed to the view put forward by clients that they expected more help from their officer during supervision if they had received help during custody. Some probation officers also felt that they could not expect their clients

to report on release if they themselves had not visited during custody. This however is a little hard to follow both in conceptual and practical terms. It restates a fundamental difference in the various aspects of throughcare. Clients have a statutory duty to report as required during supervision. Probation officers are not under any statutory obligation to visit, write to or contact their client, his family or the establishment during custody. Similarly there is no statutory duty on the part of the officer or the client to discuss 'social work' matters during supervision. This was a point not fully addressed or recognised by officers and it means that in conceptual terms, throughcare during custody may only be a means of potentially enhancing the successful completion of the minimum requirements during supervision.

iv) Good practice model for youth custody throughcare

On the basis of these observations arising from the empirical data described in Chapters 6,7 and 8, I feel it is important at this stage of the thesis to offer a model of good throughcare practice. The emergent conceptual aspects of throughcare theory and practice will be included in the good practice model, as will observations from officers and clients. The model does then derive from the ideal of throughcare, how it is operating at present and the strengths and weaknesses of this ideal in practice as evidenced on a national and local basis.

The implications of such a model may lead the Probation Service to review their approach to throughcare and maybe offer a way forward to guide, improve or at least standardise this area of work. An operational definition of throughcare will be offered based upon the major findings of the research regarding aims, functions and

principles of throughcare provision for young offenders.

The importance of the need for a coherent policy on youth custody throughcare became apparent from responses to the national questionnaire and interviews with probation officers at local level. Given the rather unclear statement of aims and principles contained in the existing legislative framework and national guidelines, and in the confused responses of many probation officers, a clearer definition of throughcare must be stated based on the following elements.

The various stages of throughcare and elements of work contained within each stage must be stated and aims and minimum standards set down. Officers must be aware of the purpose of these stages in the provision of throughcare and they must be viewed as part of an overall strategy with ultimate aims and objectives. The conceptual development of throughcare described in Chapters 3 and 9 (i) is an important aspect of this understanding. By offering clear statements of stages, aims and definition, officers motivation and commitment can hopefully be raised, along with a commitment at higher levels of management and policy formulation to increase the priority of throughcare.

The stages of throughcare and aspects of work outlined in national guidelines and local policy statements can be extended and elaborated upon in the light of the findings of the current research.

a) At Court

A social enquiry report offers a basis for discussion of problems prior to sentence, and an indication of areas of work to be addressed during custody and supervision. Allocation of an officer to the case

immediately after sentence was identified in the research as being an important element in early intervention and continuity of throughcare.

There was some limited evidence to suggest that a post sentence interview was linked to a slight reduction in the rate of reconviction following release. Although the link is tenuous, I feel that a post sentence interview has value in clarifying other aspects of the sentence and throughcare for both the officer and the client. It enables a firm commitment to be made on the part of the field probation officer to maintain contact with the client during custody and assist with any problems existing or arising. Importantly, it also offers the opportunity for both parties to be fully aware of the implications of supervision and the fact that supervision is as much a part of the sentence as is custody. Should the family be in need of assistance or reassurance, the post sentence interview can act as the medium whereby this information is relayed to the probation officer by the client, as can any other information about community links to be pursued.

b) During custody

It was apparent from information obtained that there was little participation on the officer's part in the client's initial training plan in the establishment. It became clear from discussions with the Governor V in the local youth custody centre that attendance at the training plan board was not feasible in most cases due to numbers already on the board. However the Centre did actively encourage officers to submit written reports or observations on suitable plans for the client. This rarely happened in practice. It is appropriate therefore to emphasise that participation in the training plan board



should be encouraged, offering as it does an involvement from the earliest stage of incarceration. It gives the probation officer an input to the plan and can also help in the early stages of a 'shared working' or 'shared ideas' approach—something which was not happening at a local level during the course of the research.

Visits and letters were generally considered by probation officers and clients to be an important part of throughcare. They were a means by which officers could initiate and maintain contact and also deal with any problems arising. However, visits and letters had to have a purpose and should address specific issues problems that are seen to be relevant by the clients themselves, particularly as probation officers were convinced that they played an important part in maintaining continuity of contact between custody and supervision.

Another issue which is linked to communications between client and officer is the level to which the officer and client are in contact with the client's family. Work with the family was however dependent on several factors. Although PO/family contact was usually seen as desirable, many officers and clients felt that on occasions it was not appropriate and these situations had to be identified. It therefore seems to follow that officers need to make an initial approach to the family, (perhaps instigated at the post-sentence interview) to ascertain if work is required. If not, then the next initiative should come from the family. This is congruent with the initial proactive approach by officers in all aspects of throughcare. It was also evident from client statements that they did not know what, if any, contact between their PO and their family was taking

place. Officers must not therefore assume that clients and their families discuss this in their communications, and should make a point of relaying the results and content of their own contact with the family back to the client (where appropriate).

The nature of problems experienced by clients during custody is obviously a major issue to be addressed by probation officers. There is a danger of concentrating all effort on short term immediate practical problems. This is all well and good if the client is not also experiencing difficulties in functioning socially or with relationships, for example. Where the officer perceives a need for more intensive counselling then it would seem essential for there to be some sort of planned intervention. Not only is it valuable during the custodial part of the sentence but adds to the continuity between custody and supervision. The issue then arises of whether throughcare can or does address the problem of more intensive 'social work'. We have seen in Chapter 3 that the original conceptualisation of throughcare included these elements and it would seem sensible to ensure that they are carried out in practice as far as is possible. A planned, coherent and consistent approach to identified problems is one way potentially to increase the chances of successfully addressing the social work needs as opposed to only the practical ones.

The shared working approach to the welfare of inmates has been a crucial element in the emergence of the term throughcare. Chapter 3 examined many of the constraints of shared working and Chapter 1 looked at the various methods of operation of shared working. It became evident from the research that many barriers still exist

between probation and prisons officers, and a lack of understanding of roles of prison officers in welfare matters remains a contentious issue. Nevertheless, probation officers generally felt that shared working was a good idea in theory, although it just did not seem to operate well in practice. It emerged that more initiative was required on the part of the individual probation officer and this needs to include the use of readily identified high priority and essential forms, the use of telephone calls and letters, and discussion of cases after visits to clients inside. All exchanges of information must be recorded, but as with communication with the client there has to be a distinction made between purposeful and routine contact. Probation officers must also become involved in throughcare initiatives occurring within the establishment. Participation in pre release courses for example was seen during the course of the research to break down barriers between prison officers, clients and probation officers thereby offering more hope for this work to be carried on in the community following release. This enhances the link between custody and supervision and improves the organisation and delivery of throughcare.

c) During supervision

Continuity of contact and care between custody and supervision is an essential part of throughcare. Probation officers felt it was essential to maintain a link between the two parts of the sentence. The link is created by ensuring that many of the elements mentioned above are carried out.

Perhaps one of the most disturbing findings in the research was the degree to which arrangements for ensuring reporting arrangements

were not kept and the lack of breach proceedings occurring if/when this occurred. Probation officers admitted, and clients were aware of the fact, that several chances would be given, even in cases of clear breach, before action would be taken. Many officers were uncertain of when to initiate breach proceedings, and in any case the Humberside Throughcare Policy Paper provided little clear guidance on this. It became clear from the research that a coherent and clear policy on breach was required. Such a policy should state the minimum number of missed (or late) appointments allowed before a reprimand is given, the maximum number of missed appointments allowed before action taken, a clear indication that all breaches would be acted upon, and the procedures for carrying breach procedures out. To ensure that no misunderstanding occurs with the client the officer may wish to draw up a contract for reporting at the start of the supervision period. Of course the probation officer must then ensure that he/she does not contravene this contract.

Connected to the statutory reporting requirements of supervision is the need for probation officers to be clear as to how they deal with parolees as opposed to youth custody supervisees. Some officers claimed that they treated the two differently but without this being very apparent in practice. There was also a misunderstanding on the part of the probation officer that parole was serving part of the sentence in the community whereas youth custody supervision was not seen as part of sentence. This is clearly mistaken, and a statement must be made to the effect that both involve serving part of the sentence in the community. The immediate effects of breach of parole are different from those of YC supervision in that the client is taken back immediately to the establishment, in the former case,

but court proceedings occur in the latter. Nevertheless, most officers agreed that the quality of work and attention to problems were the same for the two groups of client. In my opinion the two groups should be treated in the same manner in any action on breach, ie the same number of missed appointments should be acted upon whether the client is on parole or on supervision. Thus a standardised approach to breach must be adopted in order to avoid confusion and break down of the post-release supervision period.

Other factors which must be addressed during supervision in a good practice model are work with the family and the nature of problems tackled in a time limited period.

Work with the family during supervision was usually viewed by both clients and officers to be of a demand-created nature. There was some concern on the part of the officer that taking the initiative with the family during supervision may be viewed as an unwelcome intrusion. However, if contact had been made during custody and was requested during supervision, then this should be considered. The only guideline which can be suggested here is that work with the family during supervision should be at the discretion of the probation officers, based upon previous experience and assessment of need.

The final issue arising in this section on supervision is the nature of the problems to be addressed with the client. Since there is only a statutory obligation on the part of the client to turn up, there has to be some incentive, or awareness of the need, to identify problem areas. <sup>f</sup> the basis for this work <sup>T</sup> should have been established during custody but regardless, there should be a requirement during the first reporting session (which should take

place as soon after release as possible), to draw up a plan based on the previous contact and any new issues arising since release. Thereafter, a set period for each session should be allocated, as well as identifying the frequency of reporting sessions. This will help prevent the client turning up as and when he wants, although in cases of emergency or urgency, additional arrangements could be made.

This discussion of the regulating of reporting to the probation officer, and the best way to meet client needs and provide throughcare leads naturally into the next section of the good practice model for youth custody throughcare, which deals with the organisation of throughcare on a national and local basis.

d) The organisation of youth custody throughcare

Chapter 5 described the organisation of throughcare on a national basis consequent upon the Criminal Justice Act, 1982 and following the major guidelines and documents issued since the Act. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 described the provision of throughcare within a local Service considered to be fairly representative of the Probation Service generally. Based upon the information included in these previous chapters, several aspects emerged which are important in this concluding discussion of a good practice model.

A major finding of the research concerned the specialist vs generic organisation of throughcare. Many services pointed out that the ability to achieve any minimum standards or follow official guidelines depended upon the viability of implementing a specialist approach. A model based on specialisation can take various forms (see Table 5.4) and it is up to individual Services to decide, given the identified benefits and obstacles (Table 5.5 and 5.6)

which, if any, of the models is appropriate for them. The general consensus of opinion was that a specialist approach is more cost effective in a large urban service than in a predominantly rural county with a wide dispersal of clients and office(r)s. Services must decide in the light of these considerations and in the light of the needs of their clients and officers if specialisation is the way forward for them. It must be pointed out though, that with motivation and commitment there is nothing to suggest that a generically based Service cannot provide effective throughcare. It is therefore not possible to state dogmatically that specialisation is the only way forward. Resources, geography, logistics and commitment must be taken into account and then the different models identified by services and summarised in Table 5.4 can be examined for their potential implementation.

A further aspect of the organisation of youth custody throughcare is the degree to which Services implement liaison schemes. From the responses to my postal survey, many Services felt that a specialist approach increased the likelihood of initiating a liaison scheme. Although many specialist Services did indeed have liaison schemes operating, so to did generically based ones. In the overall approach to throughcare, Services considered that liaison schemes, whereby nominated officers made regular visits to establishments contributed to the link between custody and supervision. This can be extended to include liaison schemes in the Probation Services contribution to 'shared working'. As part of a good practice model for throughcare it follows that there should be some facility or mechanism for initiating and maintaining liaison schemes.

Similar considerations apply to temporary release schemes. The existing guidelines extend the scope for temporary release well beyond the degree and limits to which it is being used at present. That is not to say that some Services are not making full use of the opportunities available with temporary release. However, it became obvious in the research that many officers in Humberside seemed unaware of the role and purpose of temporary release. As with liaison schemes, planned and co-ordinated temporary release schemes can enhance the continuity from imprisonment to release on licence and begin to tackle problems from the community base as a preparation for release. Many Services have identified temporary release as an integral part of their provision of throughcare and in my opinion must be seen to be essential to the theoretical and practical application of throughcare.

The traditional one-to-one client/officer contact during supervision was seen by several Services and officers to be superseded by group work, and extra facilities such as 'drop-in' centres. As with liaison and temporary release schemes, those facilities are in my opinion and that of several Services seen to increase the chances of successful completion of the supervision period by the client. Where resources exist and motivation is high those group facilities, 'drop-in' centres, family counselling, etc identified in Chapter 5 should be developed.

Specialisation, liaison schemes, temporary release, and extra facilities during supervision are viewed in this thesis as offering a more formal approach to throughcare. As an alternative to the more traditional one-to-one probation officer/client interactions, these allow more scope for a more co-ordinated and coherent throughcare



service. The Probation and Prison Services can see immediately what the purpose and focus of the work is and by adopting a proactive model can become more motivated to achieve the stated aims. The alternative is a reactive service based on a 'welfare' model whereby only practical short term problems are, and can be, dealt with.

Figure 9.2 outlines the throughcare concept and task, and in the light of this, and the subsequent evaluation, any good practice model must offer a definition of throughcare which is practically applicable and conceptually sound.

Throughcare is the means by which the Probation and Prison Services can most effectively contribute to the resettlement of the client in the community following a custodial sentence. Although the ultimate aim must always remain the reduction in the risk of reoffending, throughcare has several secondary aims which are equally important in the care and resettlement of the client. The resolution of any or all of these secondary aims can be considered important in and of itself. By carrying out the various tasks at court, during custody and during supervision, and by working closely with establishment staff and the client's family, throughcare aims to help the client cope with custody, ameliorate the feelings of separation, loneliness and deleterious effects of custody, maintain outside links, and prepare him or her for release. A planned and coordinated approach to throughcare ensures that the probation officer is not dealing solely with immediate and short term practical problems which, although important and needing to be resolved before the next level of emotional and relationship

needs, should not deflect energies away from these 'social work' problems for which probation officers are specifically trained. Throughcare offers a continuity of care from the date of sentence until the time at which the client no longer requires, needs or is statutorily bound to work with a probation officer and is equally concerned with resettlement following release as maintaining contact with the client during custody and helping him or her prepare for release.

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YOUTH CUSTODY THROUGH CARE

Probation Service .....

Name of respondent .....

Position of respondent within service.....

Any special responsibility for youth custody throughcare .....

Date .....

SECTION A: THROUGH CARE POLICY, PRACTICE AND RESOURCES

1. Has your service produced any youth custody throughcare policy paper or practice guidelines since implementation of The Criminal Justice Act 1982?

YES	
NO	

If 'YES', could you please send a copy with this completed questionnaire.

2. Has the provision of youth custody throughcare in your service been affected, directly or indirectly, by the low priority afforded it in The Statement of National Objectives and Priorities?

YES	
NO	

If 'YES', please indicate below what these effects have been and, if possible, identify restrictions or priorities which reflect this.

SECTION B: SPECIALISATION AND LIAISON SCHEMES

3. Does your service have a policy on youth custody throughcare specialisation?

YES	
NO	

If you have a policy paper could you please send a copy with this completed questionnaire.

4. What arrangements does your service currently have for youth custody throughcare specialisation (eg. officers with specialist responsibility in certain teams, specialist teams ...)?

5. Does your service operate any special LIAISON SCHEMES with youth custody centres in:

Your region

YES	
NO	
DONT KNOW	

Other regions

YES	
NO	
DONT KNOW	

If 'YES', could you please give brief details of what the scheme(s) involve.

### SECTION C: TEMPORARY RELEASE WORKSHOPS/PROJECTS

6. Has your service organised any TEMPORARY RELEASE WORKSHOPS/PROJECTS in the last 12 months?

YES	
NO	
DONT KNOW	

If 'YES', could you please send a copy of the workshop timetable/programme with this completed questionnaire, or, if this is not possible give brief details below of the focus of the workshop(s), location, and numbers attending.

7. Are there any particular problems or restrictions affecting the provision of temporary release workshops by your service, (eg. lack of resources, lack of cooperation from YCC's ...)?

YES	
NO	

If 'YES', could you please give an outline of these below: .

SECTION D: POST RELEASE SUPERVISION PERIOD

8. Does your service have any special arrangements for the post release supervision period, (eg. 'drop in' centres, family therapy, groupwork ...)?

SECTION E: GENERAL

9. Are you generally satisfied with the standards of youth custody throughcare currently operating in your service?

YES	
NO	

If 'NO', could you please indicate which areas you feel could be improved, how they could be improved and if there are any plans to do so in the near future:

10. If there is anything else which you would like to add about the provision of youth custody throughcare in your service, could you please do so below:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME

Dept. of Social Policy and  
Professional Studies,  
University of Hull  
Hull HU6 7RX

David McAllister  
30th October, 1987

## Department of Social Policy and Professional Studies

The University of Hull,

Barry Pashley, M.A.  
Head of DepartmentRobert Harris, M.A.  
Professor of Social WorkGilbert Smith, Ph.D.  
Professor of Social AdministrationDavid Robinson, Ph.D.  
Professor of Health Studies

Tel:

Dear

I am a PhD student at the University of Hull, evaluating the provision of youth custody throughcare by the community based probation officer in Humberside. The research is linked by an ESRC studentship to a study just completed at the University by Dr. Keith Bottomley and Ms. Alison Liebling, focussing on throughcare from the institutional perspective and funded by the Home Office. Indeed, you may actually have been involved in this research at some point during the last year or so.

My main data collection involves an intensive study of the throughcare policy and practice of the Humberside Probation Service, and for a broader framework against which to assess this study, a national survey of response to the revised throughcare procedures following The Criminal Justice Act 1982. This national survey with which I now approach you for assistance HAS been approved by the Management Information and Research Committee, (M.I.R.C.), 14th September 1987.

To gain an insight into youth custody throughcare policy and practice within your service, I would be grateful if you could send me a copy of any throughcare policy paper, minimum standards document, code of practice, etc. which you may have produced in the last few years. I would also greatly appreciate it if you could complete the short questionnaire accompanying this letter and return it along with any relevant documents to me at the above address, if possible by 10th December, 1987. No individual respondent will be associated in any way with the completed questionnaire in the analysis and write up.

If there are any aspects of the operation of the youth custody throughcare function within your service which you feel you would like to elaborate upon, I would be delighted to arrange a visit to your region to discuss these issues and any other aspects of my study which may be of interest to you in more detail.

I would like to thank you for your time in this matter and look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Yours sincerely,

David McAllister

Department of Social Policy and Professional Studies  
The University of Hull,

Barry Pashley, M.A.  
Head of Department

Douglas Hooper, Ph.D.  
Professor of Social Work Studies

Gilbert Smith, Ph.D.  
Professor of Social Administration

David Robinson, Ph.D.  
Professor of Health Studies



Tel: (0482) 46

/46

21st January, 1988

Dear

re: Youth Custody Throughcare Research

Further to my letter and questionnaire of 23rd November, 1987 requesting assistance with my youth custody throughcare PhD research, I realise that the original date (10.12.87) for return of information may not have afforded probation services enough time to respond. For this reason, I would like to emphasise the fact that replies to my request for assistance would still be greatly welcomed, at your convenience, and remain an integral part of my research.

For this reason, I have enclosed a copy of the short questionnaire sent out in November which, if possible, should be returned with any relevant policy documents to me, at the above address.

Again, I would like to thank you for your time in this matter and look forward to hearing from you in due course.

Yours sincerely,

David McAllister

APPENDIX (1d)

Probation Service Responses to national postal questionnaire

RESPONDING

NON RESPONDING

1. Buckinghamshire
2. Middlesex
3. Northumbria
4. Hampshire
5. Hertfordshire
6. S.E.London
7. Durham
8. Wiltshire
9. N. Wales
10. S. Glamorgan
11. Cleveland
12. Lancashire
13. Shropshire
14. Cumbria
15. Suffolk
16. Norfolk
17. Kent
18. S.W. London
19. Oxford
20. W.Glamorgan
21. Merseyside
22. Berkshire
23. W.Sussex
24. Hereford & Worcester
25. Cambridgeshire
28. Cheshire
29. Somerset
30. W.Midlands
31. Powys
32. Mid Glamorgan
33. S. Yorkshire
35. Derbyshire
36. Leicestershire
37. Dorset
38. N.E. London
39. Lincolnshire
40. W.Yorkshire
41. Devon
42. Warwickshire
43. Bedfordshire
44. Greater Manchester
45. Nottinghamshire
46. Essex
47. Humberside
48. Inner London

- Avon
- Cornwall
- Northamptonshire
- Staffordshire
- Surrey
- N. Yorks
- Dyfed
- London City

## APPENDIX (2)

### Issues addressed in the survey of offender's case records

#### A. Background information and criminal history

1. Sex.
2. Age at sentence.
3. Marital status.
4. Number of children.
5. Age at which left school.
6. Qualifications.
7. Next of kin.
8. Accommodation prior to sentence.
9. Accommodation after release.
10. Employment prior to sentence.
11. Employment following release.
12. Number of previous convictions.
13. Type of previous convictions.
14. Number of previous court appearances.
15. Sentence passed.

#### B. Details of current sentence

16. Number of offences.
17. Type of offence(s).
18. Length of sentence.
19. Type of sentencing court.
20. Establishment in which reviewed sentence.
21. Eligible for/granted parole.
22. Release delayed beyond E.D.R.
23. Length of time spent in custody.
24. Number of changes of P.O. during sentence.
25. Reason for change(s) of PO.
26. Number of changes of probation office during sentence.
27. Reason for change of office.

#### C. Throughcare at court

28. Was a social enquiry report prepared.
29. If no SER what was the reason.
30. SER recommendation.
31. Areas of concern noted in SER.
32. Did a post sentence interview take place.

#### D. Throughcare during custody with client

33. How soon after sentence was passed was a PO allocated the case.
34. Did the PO have contact with the client during custody by visit, letter, telephone or a mixture of these.
35. Number of contact(s) by visit, letter, telephone.
36. Reason for contact(s) by visit, letter, telephone.



37. Areas of concern noted by PO during custody.
38. Was action taken in these areas of concern with family.
39. Number of PO/family contact by visit, letter, telephone.
40. Reason for contact by visit, letter, telephone.
41. Who was the first contact initiated by with YCC.
42. Was PO involved in client's training plan.
43. Was client involved in any special course during custody.
44. Was PO aware of clients involvement in course.
45. Throughcare forms (TCI-9) on record.
46. Was temporary release granted.
47. Reason for T/R.
48. Other PO/YCC contact.
49. Contact between PO and seconded liaison PO.

E. Throughcare during supervision

50. Type of initial supervision released on.
51. Reason for termination of supervision (expired, age reached, breached, reconvicted).
52. Length of time spent on supervision.
53. Evidence of planning of supervision.
54. How soon after release was the first PO/Client interview made.
55. Was this initial interview kept.
56. What were the subsequent supervision arrangements.
57. Nature of work carried out during supervision.
58. Was work during supervision a follow on from work started in custody.
59. Record of offender carrying anything on from custody.
60. Probation facilities used.
61. Community facilities used.
61. Number of contacts between P.O. and family.
62. Reason for contacts between PO and family.
63. P.O contacts with others associated with the client.

F. Six month follow up prior-reconviction rates

64. Did client reoffend during supervision or during six months following termination of licence.
65. Time between release and first offence.
66. Type of offence(s).
67. Sentence.

## APPENDIX (3)

### Issues addressed in probation officer interviews

#### A. Throughcare responsibilities

1. What are your responsibilities for YC throughcare?
2. How long have you held these responsibilities?
3. At present, approximately how many YC throughcare cases do you have?

#### B. Definitions and purpose of throughcare

4. What do you understand by the concept of YC throughcare?
5. Are you aware of how the system of borstal after care operated. Any differences?
6. Do you think the YC throughcare task is best provided by a specialist or generic approach?
7. Do you think a Probation Service should have a policy on throughcare?

#### C. Throughcare during custody

##### (i) With the client

##### Visits and Letters

8. How do you normally make the first contact with a client in custody after being allocated the case?
  - how long after sentence would this 1st contact be made?
9. Approximately, what percentage of all your YC throughcare cases would you manage to visit?
10. Any factors which would preclude visits?
11. What do you see as being the main purpose of visits?
12. How important an aspect of YC T/C are visits, (very, quite, not very)?
  - Why do you think this?
13. Approximately, what percentage of your clients do you write to?
14. Main purpose of letters?
15. How important an aspect of YC T/C are letters (very, quite, not very)
  - Why do you think this?
16. Under what circumstances would you speak to clients on the telephone when they are in custody?

##### General purpose and content of work

17. What would you consider the major problems faced by your clients in custody to be?
18. How important would you consider the following aspects of work to be (Very, quite, not very).

##### PROMPT CARD

- Help with immediate practical problems arising outside.

- Help with immediate practical problems arising inside.
  - Maintenance/improvement of family relationships.
  - Maintenance of links with the wider community.
  - Tackling problems of underlying criminal behaviour.
  - Tackling problems of social functioning.
  - Immediate pre release work.
  - Other (please specify).
19. Any 'critical periods' when client is more likely to need extra help and support?
  20. Do you think it is necessary to identify those clients with the most urgent needs or problems early in sentence?
  21. Do you feel that T/C offers a link between custody and licence?
    - Why do you think this?
  22. What do you consider the main role of the P.O. during custody to be?
  23. Anything like to add about work carried out with the client during custody?

ii) With the family

24. Approximately, in what percentage of cases of YC trainees would you have contact with the parental family by:-  
visit/letter/telephone or mixture of these.
25. Is this the same for the marital/cohabitee family.
26. From whom would the initial approach for contact with the parent - marital family come?
27. In your opinion, what are the major problems faced by the parental - marital family?
28. How important would you consider the following aspects of work with the parental - marital family to be ... (very, quite, not very)

PROMPT CARD

- Financial hardship.
  - Stigma.
  - Emotional problems.
  - Worry about son/daughter's ability to cope inside.
  - Worry about reoffending on release.
  - Reservations about son/daughter returning home.
  - Other (please specify).
29. How important (Very, quite, not very) in YC T/C is work with the parental - marital family?
  30. Is the Use of Volunteers in this area of work a good idea?
  31. Should work with the family be the responsibility of the P.S?
    - if not, who should have responsibility?
  32. Anything like to add about work with the family?

iii) With the YCC

PROMPT CARD

33. How often do you use the throughcare forms TC1 - 8, (always, nearly always, sometimes, rarely, never).
34. What other contact would you have with the YCC?
  - any differences between YCC's in the degree of contact you have?

35. What do you understand by the term 'shared working', in particular between the field PO and wing prison officer?
36. In your opinion, is the notion of shared working a good one in theory?
37. Does it work well in practice between you and YCC's?
38. What do you understand by the 'temporary release' of YC clients?
39. Have you been involved in temporary release in the last 12 months?
40. In your opinion, is exchange of information and contact with the YCC an important aspect of YC T/C.
41. Is there anything like to add?

D. The post release supervision period

42. In your opinion, does work carried out during custody have an effect on the nature of work carried out during supervision?
43. Do you make a distinction in terms of work carried out and reporting instructions between parole and YC clients?
44. Do you think it is necessary to have a plan for supervision?
45. In your opinion, what is the main purpose of supervision?
46. In your opinion how important are the following in assessment of successful completion of the supervision period (very, quite, not very).

PROMPT CARD

- No further reoffending during supervision.
  - Keeping away from influential peers.
  - Improvement in social functioning.
  - Obtaining employment.
  - Obtaining suitable accommodation.
  - Reporting to probation office as requested.
  - Maintaining/improving family relationships.
  - Controlling alcohol/drug problems.
  - Using time more constructively.
  - Leaving 'door open' for contact after statutory supvn.
  - Other (please specify).
47. In your opinion, what are the major problems faced by clients on release and during supervision?
    - Do these problems take up most of your time?
  48. In general, do you think it is possible to make an impact on these areas in a time limited supervision period?
  49. Any 'critical periods' during supervision?
  50. Use of community facilities?
  51. Use of probation facilities?
  52. Under what circumstances would you breach a YC client?
  53. Under what circumstances would you have contact with client's family?
  54. Would you have contact with anyone else associated with the client?
  55. Anything like to add about supervision period?

**E. Background information**

- 56. Sex.
- 57. Age.
- 58. How long been a PO.
- 59. Ever been seconded to prison or YCC.
- 60. Ever worked in other Probation Service.
- 61. How long with Humberside Probation Service.
- 62. Ever been with any other teams in HPS.
- 63. How long been with this particular team.

## APPENDIX (4a)

### Issues addressed in offender case records and interviews

#### A. Case records of those interviewed (FII50)

##### Background information

1. Date of sentence.
2. Earliest date of release (EDR).
3. Latest date of release (LDR).
4. Earliest date of parole.
5. Date licence due to expire.
6. Stage(s) interviewed.
7. Address prior to sentence.
8. Address proposing to return to on release.
9. Age at sentence.
10. Marital status.
11. Number of children.
12. Age at which left school.
13. Qualifications.
14. Family recorded as next of kin.
15. Accommodation prior to sentence.
16. Proposed accommodation on release.
17. Employment prior to sentence.
18. Proposed employment on release.

##### Criminal history

19. No. of previous convictions.
20. Type of previous convictions.
21. Previous court appearances.
22. Sentence passed.

##### Details of current sentence and probation officer

23. Number of current offences.
24. Type of offence(s).
25. Length of sentence.
26. Type of sentencing court.
27. Establishment(s) in which served sentence.
28. Eligible for parole.
29. Loss of remission.
30. Number of changes of PO during sentence.
31. Reason for change.

##### Throughcare during custody

32. Social enquiry report prepared.
33. Reason if no SER.
34. SER recommendation.
35. Areas of concern in SER.
36. How soon after sentence was a PO allocated the case.

37. PO/Client contact by visit - letter - telephone - mixture of these.
38. Number of, and reason for contact by visit, letter, telephone.
39. Areas of concern noted during custody.
40. Action taken in these areas.
41. Evidence of contact between PO and clients family
  - number of contact.
  - reasons for contact.
  - first contact initiated by.
42. PO involved in clients training plan.
43. Client involved in any special courses
  - PO aware of this.
44. Throughcare forms on record.
45. Temporary release considered or granted.
46. Other contact between PO and YCC Staff.
47. Contact between PO and S.L.P.O.

APPENDIX (4b)

B. Issues addressed during interviews with offenders

(i) During custody

a Induction interview

1. Check on details from FII50.
2. Are you aware that you must complete a period of supervision on release?
3. Are you eligible for parole?

Probation details aid throughcare thus for

4. Before sentence did you have a report prepared by a PO?
  - were you allowed to see what it said?
  - What was the recommendation?
  - Do you think it was fair?
5. Were you surprised at receiving a custodial sentence?
6. Was your probation officer in court?
  - Did you want him/her to be there
  - Did you receive any support from probation in court.
7. Were you interviewed in the cells after sentence was passed?
  - By whom?
  - What did you talk about?
8. Do you know yet who your P.O. will be
  - Name?
  - Did you know him/her before sentence?

Perceptions of, and problems associated with, custody

9. How did you spend most of your time before sentence?
  - Do you think any of this contributed to your offending?
10. Would you say that you have any immediate problems which need sorting out now?
  - Who do you think can help you sort them out?
  - Would you go to this person or wait for him/her to make the first move?
11. Do you see any problems arising during your time in here?
12. Would you know who to go to for help if a problem did arise?
13. Are you expecting visits from anyone in particular while you are here?
  - Letters?
14. Is there anyone who doesn't know you're in here that you feel should know?
15. (If appropriate), how well do you get on with your family?
  - Is there anyone with whom you get on particularly well?
16. Do you have a girlfriend (or wife)?
  - How well are you getting on with her?
17. What do you expect of your P.O. during your time in here?
18. What do you expect of the prison officers?
19. Anything like to add?



b) Pre Release Interview

1. Check on details from FII50.
2. Check on details from induction interview (if relevant).

Relationship with family and friends

3. Have you received any visits - letters since being in here?
  - Number?
  - From whom?
  - Is this what you were expecting?
4. How easy is it for your family to visit?
  - Have they received any assistance with this?
5. Did you find that the visits and/or letters helped you through your sentence.
6. Do you know if there has been much contact between the prison officers and your family?
  - What about?
  - Should there have been more contact?
7. Do you know if there has been much contact between your P.O. and your family?
  - What about?
  - should there have been more contact?
8. Has being in here caused any particular problems for your family?
9. Have there been any major changes in your family situation since sentence.
10. How are you getting on with your girlfriend (wife)?

Role of P.O.

11. Have you had any change of P.O?
  - Reason?
  - Happy with change?
12. How many visits have you had from your P.O?
  - Reasons?
  - Were they useful?
  - Preferred more/less/about right?
13. How many letters have you received from your P.O?
  - Reasons?
  - Useful?
  - Preferred more/less/about right?
14. How well would you say you get on with your P.O?
15. Has he/she been helpful during sentence?
16. What were the main problems that he/she helped you with?

Role of YCC Staff

17. Did you discuss with anyone what your sentence was going to involve?
  - Who?
  - What have you been doing?
  - Happy doing these?
18. Did prison officers help you with any problems?
  - Was it your personal group officer?

- What problems did he help you with?
- 19. Was there any officer in particular with whom you got on best and could take problems to?
- Would you go to him or wait for him to make the first move?
- 20. Have you been allowed out on temporary release?
- Would you like to have been allowed out on T/R?
- If not, why not?
- 21. Do you think prison offices could have done any more to help you?

#### Impressions and effects of imprisonment

- 22. Apart from problems etc mentioned above:  
Have you come up against anything else which has made your time in here difficult? (PROMPT if necessary).
- 23. Did you tend to 'battle things up' or seek help if you had a problem?
- 24. Is there anything which prevented you seeking help? (PROMPT if necessary).
- 25. Do you feel that you have changed much, in yourself, during custody?
- Benefited from custody?
- 26. Do you think you are more likely to reoffend because of being in here?
- less likely to reoffend?
- 27. Is there anything which could make a YC sentence more effective in terms of ...
- .... coping inside?
- .... preparing for outside?

#### Preparation for release and supervision

- 28. Have you taken part in, or are going to take part in, the pre release course?
- If have, what did think of it?
- 29. Are all the arrangements sorted out for your release, especially
- .... accommodation
- .... employment
- .... reporting instructions
- .... anything else?
- 30. Do you think you will need help with anything when you get out?
- 31. Is there anything you have been doing in here that you will be carrying on outside?
- Anything like to carry on?
- 32. What do you feel about having to report on supervision/parole?
- 33. Do you expect your P.O. to mainly try and help you on supervision, just keep an eye on you, or give some mixture of these two?
- 34. Do you think you will get on OK with your family (and if relevant, girlfriend/wife)?
- 35. Do you think you are likely to get into trouble again?
- if so, what is most likely to cause you to reoffend?
- 36. How will you spend your time when your get out?
- Will you make better use of your time than you did before sentence?

37. Anything like to add?

## APPENDIX (5)

### ii) Supervision interview

#### Work during custody

1. Recap on level of contact and work carried out between client and P.O. during custody.
  - No. of visits.
  - No. of letters.
  - Helpful.
  - P.O. help with problems.
  - Was help wanted.
  - Perceived main role of PO during custody.
2. Recap on level and context of work carried out between family and P.O. during custody.
3. Recap on level and content of problems dealt with by YCC staff during custody.

#### Work during supervision

3. What are your reporting instructions?
  - Have you kept them?
  - If not, why not?
4. Have you had any changes of P.O. during supervision?
5. Are you on parole or YC supervision?
6. Did you have a plan of action for supervision?
7. What do you talk about during supervision sessions with your P.O?
8. Is anything you are doing now with your P.O. or follow on from work during custody?
9. Have you had any problems during supervision?
10. Has your P.O. helped you with any problems?
11. Has anything happened which you didn't see happening when you were inside?
  - Have you needed anything which you weren't expecting.
12. What do you see as being the main purpose of supervision.
13. What do you see as being the main role of your P.O?
  - Do you need a PO?
  - Do you feel a PO is useful?
14. Any other comments or anything to add?  
(or expand upon earlier Q's).

#### Brief recap on personal details

15. Interviewed during custody.
16. Establishment(s) in which served sentence.
17. Length of sentence.
18. Previous sentences.
19. Age.

## THROUGH-CARE POLICY PAPER

Preamble

In keeping with the aim of the Humberside Probation Service "To reduce the risk of clients reoffending", and in the context of its social work philosophy, an appropriate definition of through care is:-

"Through care defines a service which engages prisoners and their families in a planned resettlement process with the aim of reducing the risk of reoffending."

Traditionally some aspects of through care have been given a low priority in the Service. The Home Office Statement of National Objectives and Priorities appears to confirm that this is appropriate. However, low priority does not have to equate with low standards of service. Recent research has shown, not for the first time, that prisoners' families are amongst the most vulnerable of the Service's client groups. They typically experience great hardship during sentence and, occasionally, even greater hardship following release. Prisoners, especially at the point of release, often require a considerable amount of support if they are to avoid reoffending. At the present time through care in its many forms accounts for 37% of the Service's workload. It is important that work in every aspect of through care is designed to meet the often pressing needs of clients and their families and fulfils the Service's statutory responsibilities.

Principles

1. Through care within the Humberside Probation Service will operate from the time of first entering custody.
2. The Humberside Probation Service is responsible for providing staff for penal establishments through the secondment system and sees the work of probation officers in penal establishments as a central and permanent task of the Service.
3. The Humberside Probation Service is responsible for providing through care resources which will be freely accessible to all prisoners and their families.
4. Probation Officers are responsible for encouraging the active use of resources: they must sensitively help clients to articulate their needs and actively to seek ways in which they can be met.
5. Probation Officers are responsible for encouraging and supporting the client's motivation to prevent reoffending.
6. Subject to an over-riding regard which must be made for the protection of the public (as exemplified in the supervision of statutory licences) all work in this area should be undertaken in partnership with clients.

7. The purpose of work with prisoners during their sentence is to minimise the disruptive effects of custody, enable prisoners to retain their links with the community and assist them in their preparation for return to it. All staff are responsible for seeking maximum co-operation with prison service staff.
8. Probation officers have a duty to undertake a high professional standard of work consistent with Codes of Practice. The Management of the Service has the responsibility to ensure that standards are maintained.

#### Methods and Resources

Full details of methods are contained in the Codes of Practice. Resources in terms of the proportion of workload at the time of writing are 37% of the Service's capacity.

# CODE OF PRACTICE FOR THROUGH CARE (FIELD STAFF)

## Introduction

This Code of Practice applies to all people who are committed to custody or have been released, whether on licence or on supervision or subject to voluntary after-care. It replaces existing Staff Circulars and is written in such a way as to be consistent with the principles laid down in the policy. Codes of Practice for seconded probation officers and the senior probation officer in youth custody centres are attached. Details of statutory involvement with prisoners are contained in various Home Office Circulars which are listed at the end of this Code of Practice and should be read in conjunction with it (appendix 1). Standards laid down in these Codes of Practice should normally be achieved in through care work.

The senior probation officer task is to manage priorities within the team and balance the conflicting demands of through care in relation to other areas of the Service's work. Senior probation officers are responsible for reviewing and monitoring team performance and it is expected that the predominant influence will be client need and statutory responsibility.

## SECTION A - POST CUSTODY INTERVIEW

- (i) The purpose of a post custody interview is to deal with any immediate practical issues raised by the prisoner or his family by the committal to custody and to demonstrate the Service's commitment to through care.
- (ii) Every prisoner committed to custody should be interviewed as soon as possible by the probation officer or probation service assistant before departure to the prison department establishment.
- (iii) The post custody interview form or TCL must be completed and sent, together with the social enquiry report as appropriate, to the Governor, copy to the senior probation officer, in the receiving establishment in a sealed envelope. Where possible the envelope should accompany the prisoner and escort. If this is not possible the information should be sent by first class post on the same day. A copy of the completed form should also be sent to the probation service in the prisoner's home area where appropriate.
- (iv) If urgent action is requested and agreed to during the post custody interview, the probation officer should inform the prison probation department by telephone, and the prisoner by letter, when the request has been dealt with, including details of action taken in relation to the request and other agencies involved.

(v) If the court duty officer feels that someone may be a suicide risk:-

- (1) This information should be passed to the court escort officer both in verbal and written form.
- (2) The Prison Probation Department should also be informed at the earliest possible time both by telephone and in writing.
- (3) If for any reason a probation officer wishes to pass on information about a suicide risk and cannot get in touch with the probation department or the court escort officer, he should telephone the prison and ask to speak to the reception officer - the telephone call and information passed on should be confirmed in writing to the governor and the probation department.

## SECTION B - FIELD PROBATION OFFICER'S RESPONSIBILITIES DURING SENTENCE

### Immediately Following Sentence

- (i) When a custodial sentence has been imposed, information should be forwarded to the senior probation officer of the area in which the prisoner lives by the court probation staff.
- (ii) Following notification the probation officer should consider, in the context of allocation, whether an appropriate contribution can be made by the Service to the assessment process in the establishment and the development of any training plans. In the case of YC and DC the staff at most establishments welcome a probation officer's contribution to Induction Boards, Training Boards, etc.
- (iii) In parole or supervision eligible cases the probation officer should seek to establish continuing contact with the prisoner throughout his sentence and on release.
- (iv) In cases not subject to licence or supervision, the probation officer should write to the prisoner making an offer of continuing contact through the sentence and on release.
- (v) If a reply is not received from the prisoner within 4 weeks of the letter, the prison probation officer or wing staff should be notified with a view to following up the letter.
- (vi) In cases where continuing work is intended, the case must be allocated and a record maintained and an F20 submitted. Copies of relevant information recorded in the Part 'C' and Part 'B' assessments should be exchanged with the prison probation officer, together with letters and other appropriate papers or reports.



- (vii) In cases of Life Sentence a social history should be prepared and submitted whether an SER was prepared or not in accordance with HO circular 55/84.

## SECTION B (2)

### Visits

- (i) Probation officer visits to prisoners serving sentences must be justified by stated social work objectives which should always be entered in the record at the time the visit is arranged.
- (ii) Visits should always be planned in collaboration with prison probation staff or prison staff as appropriate.
- (iii) While visits should not be precluded, regular correspondence and the sending of local information such as newspapers are a valuable means of maintaining a relationship and demonstrating concern.
- (iv) Visits should always be arranged jointly with colleagues and with a view to effecting economies. Visits outside the county must be approved by the senior probation officer.

## SECTION B (3)

### Contact with Prison Probation Officer or Wing Staff

- (i) Field officers have a duty to familiarise themselves with the regimes of individual establishments. They should especially be aware of the nature of any training, education, or sporting activities undertaken by clients in order to assist them to continue constructive activities in the community following discharge. Discussions should be initiated by the probation officer with staff in the establishment to work out an appropriate way that contributions to assessments, sentence planning, or review procedures can be made. Probation officers should respond quickly and positively to requests from prison probation officers or wing staff.
- (ii) In the case of long term prisoners and all Life Sentence, Section 53, Children and Young Persons Act cases, and those committed under the Mental Health Act, periodic review boards are held to consider progress and career planning. Probation officers' contributions to the work of such boards are valuable and important and probation officers should play as full a part as circumstances allow.

(iii) Probation officers should be particularly aware of the development of release plans and actively seek opportunities to be involved in their formulation.

(iv) The content of any visits should be discussed between field probation officers and prison probation officers or wing staff as appropriate [see B (2)].

#### SECTION B (4)

##### Discharge Plans

- (i) Early identification of resettlement needs is a pre-requisite of good quality work following release. In the case of short term prisoners especially such needs may require identification even at post custody or reception stages.
- (ii) Many Governors in YC and DC establishments are willing to consider temporary release on an individual or group basis where tasks concerning discharge and reintegration into the community may be undertaken.
- (iii) In the case of prisoners eligible for parole, the home circumstances report or Section 33 pro-forma will be requested by the establishment. Reports should be completed and returned to the establishment promptly.
- (iv) The possibility of making a contribution to discharge planning whether or not parole has been granted should be considered in all cases.

#### SECTION C - SUPERVISION FOLLOWING RELEASE

- (i) The purpose of providing supervision on release is:-
  - (a) to afford help to clients to integrate themselves into the community, and
  - (b) to exercise oversight where necessary as part of the licence.
- (ii) Clients should be expected to report on the day of release wherever possible.
- (iii) In the case of parole, life licence, Section 53, Children and Young Persons Act and Mental Health Act cases, initial contact should be to Headquarters on the duplicated pro-forma (see Appendix 2). During supervision reports of changes in clients circumstances, commission of further offences, etc., should be notified to Headquarters on Form PB46.

- (iv) Supervision should be based on focussed, planned and time limited work with frequent and purposeful contact at the beginning of the supervision period.

#### SECTION D - BREACH/RECALL

- (i) Where conditions of licence or supervision are not being met it is important that action should be taken promptly and decisively. Although a judgement will need to be made in each case the credibility of the Service's work demands that clear breaches will be acted upon. In relation to life licence, close attention should be paid to those aspects of the guidelines relating to breach and recall. Considerations relating to breach proceedings and recall point up the importance of ensuring that clients have a clear understanding of what is intended and what their responsibilities are in terms of remaining in contact etc. In the case of YC and DC where breach is dealt with as a separate offence, it may be necessary to produce evidence of the serving of the Notice of Supervision.

#### SECTION E - VOLUNTARY AFTER CARE CASES

Probation Officers should actively seek to establish contact with clients following release and any work undertaken should be focussed and planned. If officers' attempts to engage have met with no response the case should be terminated at 2 months following release, and in any event after 12 months.