

LXXXIV



impressions of the

DUTCH PRISON SYSTEM

Tony Vinson
University of
New South Wales
visiting RDC

Marisca Brouwers
Marianne Sampiemon

101557

MINISTRY of JUSTICE
The Hague - Netherlands
1985

At the back of this pamphlet you can find a list of our publications in English. Should you be interested in subscription or just some of the copies, please let us know.

**U.S. Department of Justice
National Institute of Justice**

This document has been reproduced exactly as received from the person or organization originating it. Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the National Institute of Justice.

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted material has been granted by

**Ministry of Justice
The Hague- The NETHERLANDS**

to the National Criminal Justice Reference Service (NCJRS).

Further reproduction outside of the NCJRS system requires permission of the copyright owner.

PLEASE ORDER:

**mrs. Hannah Coli-Smits
Research and Documentation Centre
Ministry of Justice
P.O. Box 20301
2500 EH THE HAGUE - The Netherlands**

I M P R E S S I O N ' S O F T H E
D U T C H P R I S O N S Y S T E M

NCJRS

APR 16 1986

ACQUISITIONS

Professor T Vinson
School of Social Work
University of New South Wales
Australia

Ms M Brouwers and Ms M Sampiemon
Research Assistants
Research and Documentation Centre
Ministry of Justice
The Hague

FOREWORD

Few prison systems in the world have attracted as much interest as that of the Netherlands. It was, therefore, with a sense of privilege that during April - June, 1985, as a foreign guest of the WODC, I undertook an extensive observation study of the Dutch prison system. I brought to this task a background of involvement in criminological research and the practical experience of having been the Chairman of the Corrective Services Commission of the state of New South Wales, Australia. It was hoped by the WODC that the impressions of such an 'outsider' might raise points of interest for prison administrators steeped in the day to day concerns of the system.

Whether or not that objective has been achieved is a matter for judgement by others. What I know with certainty is that the experience has been highly educational for me. I hope that the report that follows will be taken as an expression of gratitude to the many people who contributed to its making. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Maria Brand and the management of WODC and the Prisons Department, and the institutional managers and custodial staff who cooperated so generously with the project. Although much of the report necessarily is written in the first person, it is the result of the efforts of two WODC colleagues (Marisca Brouwers and Marianne Sampiemon) as well as my own.

Coming from a society that is not given to being too explicit about the aims of social policy, one of my earliest impressions was the widespread awareness of the Dutch Government's objectives in the prisons field. Many staff referred to the 1981 Departmental Note outlining the nature of standardised institutional structure and the 1982 Ministry publication on the task and future of the penal system. Almost all seemed aware of the main objectives set for the system by the Ministry.* Some argued that the objectives were more of a public indication of a route already being traversed than an announcement of future directions. No one questioned the value of having the department's aims stated publically.

However, the fact that the objectives are widely known does not imply that they mean the same thing to all staff. They are abstract formulations of intent that still require interpretation in the concrete circumstances of each institution. This requirement is not necessarily a bad thing. Certainly it has stimulated a great deal of analysis and inventiveness on the part of Directors (Governors) as they have struggled to come up with development strategies that suit their institutions. It is doubtful that many of these strategies could have been preconceived by planners detached from the task of balancing 'progress' against the practical requirements of day to day management of varied institutions.

* Essentially the maintenance of security and good order, the humane execution of the prison sentence, the provision of appropriate educational, social, creative and treatment opportunities (without subscribing to discredited notions of 'rehabilitation'), and minimising the harmful effects of detention.

The standard procedure was that upon arrival at an institution extended discussion was held with the Director or Adjunct Director. More often than not other senior staff were present and took part in a round table discussion of the characteristics and objectives of the institution, including the means by which government policy was being pursued. It was this latter aspect that attracted a great many of our questions, especially as variations in strategic thinking became increasingly apparent. Discussion was in English with the senior officers proving remarkably adept despite occasional protestations to the contrary. I was always accompanied by one of the two WOOD Research Assistants and on the occasions when someone was lost for a word either Ms. Brouwers or Ms. Sampiemon acted as interpreter. Typically, discussion of the institution's management lasted for around 2 hours and was followed by a tour of inspection of the centre.

Then, in accordance with arrangements made by the Ministry, we were allowed to interview prison officers who at that particular time could be spared from other duties. This proviso had the effect of limiting the number of subjects available at some institutions but it also had the merit of randomising to a considerable degree the choice of those to be interviewed. In this regard, a reassuring comment was received from one subject who sought a follow-up discussion some time after the first interview. The senior officer responsible for arranging the interviews within the prison had studiously avoided any discussion of their possible content.

Staff availability was not the biggest factor limiting the number of structured interviews. Of greater importance was the officers' desire to speak at greater length than had been anticipated, and in their own way, about their work and ways in which it might be improved. This approach had the effect of excluding some discussions, either in whole or part, from later numeric analysis. The time taken - frequently 1 1/2 to 2 hours - also limited the size of our sample. In all, thirty two prison officers were interviewed but in four cases the nature of the discussions, even though contributing to our understanding of institutional regimes, made them unsuitable for statistical analysis. In many respects, our interviews might be characterised as a series of intensive discussions rather than a conventional survey. In exchange for any loss of consistency we appear to have received a high level of cooperation from prison officers. In some cases it seemed ideas were shared that might have been missed had we adhered rigidly to our original format.

There was both an English and Dutch version of the interview schedule. The first section of the schedule focussed on 21 separate changes that have occurred in the prison system during the past 10 - 15 years. This list of changes was compiled after preliminary discussions with prison administrators. It was checked for accuracy with the Prisons Department. Only those changes that applied generally across the system were retained. For example, the fact that private visits are now available to inmates of the closed prisons was not mentioned in the list of changes, a copy of which was placed before each interviewee:

1. Longer visits.
2. Unlimited correspondence with surveillance usually restricted to inspection for contraband.
3. Individual interviews with journalists permitted under specified conditions.
4. Visits by popgroups, sports teams, chess clubs etc. permitted.
5. Prisoners allowed to have radio and television in their cells.
6. Telephone calls of up to 10 minutes duration with provision for monitoring on security grounds.
7. A number of prisoners receive visits in the one room at the same time.
8. Staff work with groups of inmates.
9. Within the limits imposed by the system, staff encouraged to motivate prisoners to cooperate.
10. Different professionals like social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, available.
11. Prison staff expected to lead group activities.
12. Staff organised in teams.
13. Staff, among other things, responsible for the welfare of prisoners.
14. Prisoners wear their own clothes.
15. Prisoners' committees.
16. Prisoners' newspaper.
17. Prisoners allowed to retain some personal possessions and plants birds etc. in their cells.
18. Working day reduced from eight to four hours.
19. Fewer hours spent in cells on weekdays.
20. Increased hours spent in cells at weekend.
21. Prisoners can complain directly to a Complaints Commission.

The prison officers were asked to rate each of the abovementioned changes according to how well it has "worked out in practice". A five point scale was used for this purpose (details presented later in text). When a change was thought to have enjoyed no more than 'middling' success, the reasons for this outcome were discussed and proposals sought for improving the implementation of the change. To gain an overall picture of the officers' evaluations of the changes, they were asked to nominate those they had found most and least helpful in their work. They were also asked whether they obtained sufficient assistance in coping with the changes that had been introduced. Particular attention was focussed on the training they had received and whether it related to their daily work.

For the purposes of later analysis, the prison officers were asked to state their degree of agreement or disagreement with five statements concerning the nature of inmates, their relations with staff and their probable post release behaviour. The officers were also asked to rank five different tasks of a prison officer according to the importance they attached to them. In presenting both these sets of items we stressed that we wanted the officers to respond in terms of their personal views. A simple self-administered form was used for this purpose and also to obtain relevant background information on each officer, including his or her age, sex and number of years of employment as a prison officer. The study was confined to institutions holding male prisoners but two of the officers included in our sample were women.

FINDINGS

SURFACE IMPRESSIONS

Anyone familiar with the physical interior of Australian prisons feels immediately at home in Holland's older closed institutions*. The wings and landings look the same, the cells smell much the same and activities not dreamed of at the time the old prisons were constructed are squeezed into spaces that are often totally inadequate for today's purposes. Redecoration, especially of common areas, shows a little more finesse. Institutional cream, green and brown are less in evidence. The cells are generally larger than in Australia and for comparatively shorter periods of the day they hold one prisoner whereas Australian cells often accommodate three.

I have long agreed with the view that plumbing and physical amenities should not be the major concerns of those engaged in improving prisons. The major focus of reform should be those very matters that are at the heart of Dutch penal policy, such as the just and humane treatment of offenders and the development of an improved social environment in the institutions.

That said, we cannot afford to be completely indifferent to the standard of physical amenity in prisons. At least not without violating the principle that punishment should reside in the deprivation of liberty and not other systematically or gratuitously imposed suffering. Moreover, when the standard of prison accommodation falls too far below community standards it becomes increasingly difficult to achieve other policy objectives. I have, therefore, been surprised to see that almost three quarters of the cells in closed prisons in Holland remain unsewered and without running water. If prisoners merely use their cells as a place to sleep or are confined to it for comparatively brief periods of the day then the seriousness of the deficiency is lessened. This is certainly not the case in many of the institutions visited where the necessity to save money recently has seen prisoners confined to their cells until 1.00pm on Saturdays and Sundays. Since the physical structure of Dutch prisons and those in the state of New South Wales appear to be similar, and the plumbing problems of the latter have been overcome by the expenditure of substantial funds, I can only assume the same remedy is available in Holland.

Shared sleeping accommodation in prisons creates problems. While only 8% of the available places in the Dutch system are of this type, the shabbiness of some of the dormitories that we have inspected can only but obstruct the positive efforts being made by staff in the institutions concerned. For example, it would be hard to imagine more beds being packed into limited space than we saw in a drab, sparsely furnished dormitory in one semi-open prison.

* For obvious reasons, I exclude the dome prisons from this comparison.

If the physical environment in some of the older prisons was sometimes disappointing, the social environment was strikingly different to that to which I am accustomed. In the wings, the workshops and recreational and communal areas there was a notable lack of tension. A number of physical and social factors contributed to this impression: the fact that prisoners and detainees wore ordinary clothing and the subdued styling of the officers 'uniform', the use of standard fittings and furnishings in buildings that in Australia would bristle with locks, bars and hardened glass, the intermingling of staff and inmates were some of the factors involved. Even more telling was the naturalness of the interactions that we observed between members of staff as well as between staff and inmates. To say that prisoners appeared 'natural' in their relations with staff is not meant to imply that their interactions were always cordial. Prisoners expressed annoyance in our presence but their feelings were focussed on specific grievances and the response they received from staff conveyed not a hint of questioning their right to be angry. It should, however, be said that the social environment was generally friendly, robust and, as far as I could judge, devoid of the point scoring that tends to characterise staff/inmate relations in Australian prisons.

Not that the physical structure was without its reminders of what awaits prisoners who commit serious breaches of discipline. The isolation cells that I have inspected are as austere as anything I have previously seen. They were furnished with a mattress and a toilet. When in one prison we asked whether someone undergoing isolation would be allowed reading material we were assured that he would. However, the cell was so poorly lit that it would be extremely difficult to read. The outdoor airing space was really a cage, perhaps smaller than similar and much criticised yards in Australian prisons.

In view of the present difficulty of obtaining work, we encountered what can only be regarded as commendable enterprise in securing contracts for many of the prison workshops. I realise that the working day has been halved in the majority of institutions and that some of the assembly work is tediously repetitive. Nevertheless, the enthusiasm and success of work supervisors in supplementing centrally organised contracts with local commercial projects was for me highly refreshing. It has confirmed a suspicion, born of negative Australian experiences and positive Finnish ones, that strongly centralised Prison Industry Departments are inefficient. It is preferable to make local managers more responsible for such an important part of their institution's regime.

I have been greatly impressed by the quality of the Prison Directors and adjunct Directors. An enlightened recruitment policy has produced a pool of talented people of varied professional and disciplinary backgrounds. As I hope will become clear in the next section, these different professional starting points and variations in the material circumstances of the institutions, have resulted in a range of imaginative development strategies. Without detracting from the importance of official policy and government's whole-hearted support of it, it has become clear that the local directors play a crucial role in determining whether penal rhetoric is translated into tangible achievement. Without necessarily agreeing with every single thing they are attempting to do, I have found the directors to be analytical and practical people who are committed to the achievement of lasting reforms and not just the creation of good surface impressions.

For the achievements to be durable it is necessary that prison officers not merely live with changes as 'passing aberrations' or passively accept them as part of the conditions of continuing employment. Staff need, in the language of the social psychologist, to 'internalise' the new thinking and behaviour required by today's policies. That requires management to strike a delicate balance between on the one hand, discussion and the projection of various possibilities, and on the other, a sense of actually getting on with the business of change. Unlike recent hurried attempts at prison reforms in New South Wales which were born of scandalous revelations about the workings of the system and public conflict between prison staff and the Government, the Dutch system has had time on its side. One still encounters Dutch prison officers who feel that change has been hurried, that their views have not been sought, that the practicalities of reform have received scant attention. Nevertheless, the benefits of having had several years of preparatory staff discussions in the late seventies before attempting further changes, are everywhere to be seen.

For me, the most compelling evidence that staff generally have internalised the requirements of the new policies resided less in what they had to say about their job than the way they said it. There was nothing laboured in the way they discussed their work. The tone was, rather, one of the self-evident nature of the issues under discussion with the occasional question or quizzical expression asking, in effect, 'Is there any other way of doing the job that makes sense?'. Officers frequently invoked a negative symbol to underline their attachment to what clearly they considered to be the challenging nature of their present work. This was the idea of a 'turnkey'. Despite relative differences in the emphasis they placed on different aspects of their role, the officers were united in their rejection of the image of the prison officer as a "muscular robot". As one officer stated, "We need to have a good 'social IQ', meaning that we can talk easily, hold opinions of our own and be confident in our interactions with prisoners and in the way we handle work situations ... Intellectual curiosity is not the important quality. I'm talking about the ability to understand, feel for and work with, the prison community". The only eyebrows raised by such statements - and I heard many of them - were my own.

In the next section we consider some of the management strategies that are being used to encourage the work attitudes described above. However, several organisational arrangements that are now widespread throughout the institutions stand out among my impressions. Despite growing pains that are documented elsewhere in this report, staff teams are becoming increasingly significant as a means of two-way communication between prison officers and management. They are involved in reviewing the progress of individual prisoners and the achievements and shortcomings of various programs. They are also forums for the exchange of ideas and provide an opportunity for the offering of mutual support.

Notwithstanding current deficiencies in the way the teams operate (see next section), both management and staff have sampled their potential and wish to persevere with them until their faults are remedied. It seems to me that in many cases more than perseverance may be required. Some groups are having trouble in getting beyond a 'bars and bolts' level of operation. They find it easier to discuss factual information than the conflicting and often irritating differences in the way colleagues handle situations. If, as I believe may be contemplated, the Department's highly competent training staff could devote some of their time to helping selected teams to function better, valuable lessons may be learned that could be shared with staff teams generally.

MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

In each institution it was possible to discern a groundplan or main strategy that linked the various developmental activities being undertaken. Sometimes these plans were stated more or less explicitly. At other times they could be inferred from the detailed presentation of policy and the steps being taken to implement it. When the plans were largely a matter of inference, the conclusions being drawn were raised in discussions with directors and senior staff so that we could have the benefit of their reactions.

Institutions have not necessarily restricted themselves to a single development strategy but usually there is a dominant one. Our discussions with the directors and managerial staff of 15 Houses of Detention and prisons revealed the following basic strategies:

A To change the organisation

- (i) By aligning staff goals
- (ii) By integrating functions
- (iii) By improving communication

B To change relations between staff, inmates

- (i) By altering the ground rules
- (ii) By joint participation in programs

C To change the prisoners

- (i) By developing personal insight
- (ii) By providing work experience.

These strategies will now be discussed in some detail.

A To change the organisation

- (i) By aligning staff goals
- (ii) By integrating functions
- (iii) By improving communication.

For some managers of Dutch prisons the route to success in achieving policy objectives is by way of improving relations between staff and coordinating the different functions they perform. Sometimes the main problem is thought to be the different priorities or even conflicting goals of management and basic staff. In other instances, competition between security, humanising and personal development functions is thought to be built in to the lines of authority and communication within the penal institution. Where an organisation has existed for too brief a period for rivalries and antagonisms to have hardened in this way, management may still attach strategic priority to the creation of the 'right' organisational structure. Arrangements that hold the promise of keeping staff fully informed of, and committed to, local objectives are especially valued.

Regardless of the distinctive approach that is favoured, considerable importance usually is attached to the role of middle level staff in bridging the thinking of management and prison officers. Several directors, especially those favouring the strategies presented in this section, commented that there is little point in trying to influence prison officers' attitudes and their approach to their job until the support of more senior custodial officers has been obtained. The implications of this contention should become clearer in the accounts of the strategies that follow.

(i) Aligning staff goals

The organising of staff in teams is one of the most characteristic and tangible manifestations of recent Dutch penal policy. The problem, as one director explained, is that staff groups are not inevitably committed to the support of management goals. "They can be a strong force supporting progress or they can oppose it". It is largely a matter of whether the informal norms of the teams happen to be consistent with the institution's objectives. The development strategy of one penal institute is based largely on this realisation. Its main focus is the alignment of the goals of the three main staff groups, senior management (director and senior staff), middle management (senior custodial officers), and prison officer teams.

The director commented that the formation of teams at first had the "reverse effect" to that desired by management. Just as had been observed in classic work group studies in industry, the teams of officers took on functions of considerable significance to them as people. In exchange, group definitions of the characteristics of prisoners and the ways in which they can best be handled, gained considerable sway. Given a recent history of serious disturbances in the institution, the direction in which the teams saw the personal security and best interests of their members being preserved was frequently the opposite of that required by official policy.

The task facing management was not unlike that described in a later section of this paper under the heading 'changing the ground rules for staff and inmate interactions'. However, a distinct strategy was adopted to achieve this purpose in the institution under consideration. Because of the need for consistency in the goals of management and the work teams, the bridging role of middle management was considered crucial. Senior custodial staff occupied a position not unlike that of foremen in the previously mentioned industry studies. Depending on their degree of sympathy for management's aims, they were in a position to link the values and beliefs of the workgroup to the fulfilment of management's objectives or to opposition to them. Therefore it was considered a vital first step to gain the senior custodial officers' cooperation. The main way of achieving this has been to involve them in dealing with the challenges and problems facing management, including the requirements of official policy. The advice of senior officers had been sought in the handling of matters that were previously the preserve of the directorate and wherever possible responsibilities have been delegated to them.

The issues involved may be of a different scale but much the same process has been used, per medium of middle managers and team leaders, to gain the cooperation of the prison officers. In the assessment of the director, the teams started to serve a more positive function only when they were challenged by requests for help in solving problems. For example, their advice was sought on the behaviour of inmates and the team's recommendations obtained on ways of improving the handling of individual cases that were causing concern. The educational value of these exercises depended greatly on the attitudes of the senior custodial staff involved. So much so that the directorate believes that the first priority of any successful development strategy must be winning the support of the institution's middle management. This belief is shared by the director of another institution whose regime is illustrative of the next strategy to be considered. The difference, as we will see, is largely in the way organisational structure has been re-shaped to magnify the integrative influence of a new middle management role and the attributes of its carefully selected incumbent.

(ii) Integrating functions

It would, to say the least, be highly inefficient if the several objectives of Dutch penal policy were to be pursued seriatim, in the fashion of now attending to security, now providing personal development opportunities for inmates, now rendering the institutional environment less destructive, and so forth. In some respects, for example episodic attention to primary security, this approach would not merely be inefficient but positively dangerous.

Just how far then can the staff functions that correspond to different policy objectives be integrated? Obviously the answer depends partly on the range of abilities of prison officers and the support they receive from specialist mentors. It also depends on the extent to which common activities can be used to achieve different policy objectives. It is not difficult to see that activities undertaken to provide learning opportunities for prisoners or out of concern for their welfare may have the spin-off benefit of minimising the harmful effects of imprisonment.

But what of the conflict that has long been said to exist between the security and humanitarian functions? The strategy that is being developed by one House of Detention conceives of the many and varied activities that involve staff and inmates as 'programs' and the basic assumption has been made that custodial, humanising, social, educational and other essential activities can be blended within these programs. The latter should have stated objectives that ensure that the resources of the institution, including the time of staff and prisoners, are used in ways that support the goals of official policy. On the question of security, the director of the House of Detention echoed the thoughts of his colleagues in almost all of the penal institutes visited when he said "It is the close involvement with prisoners in a full range of activities that gives the officers a good measure of safety".

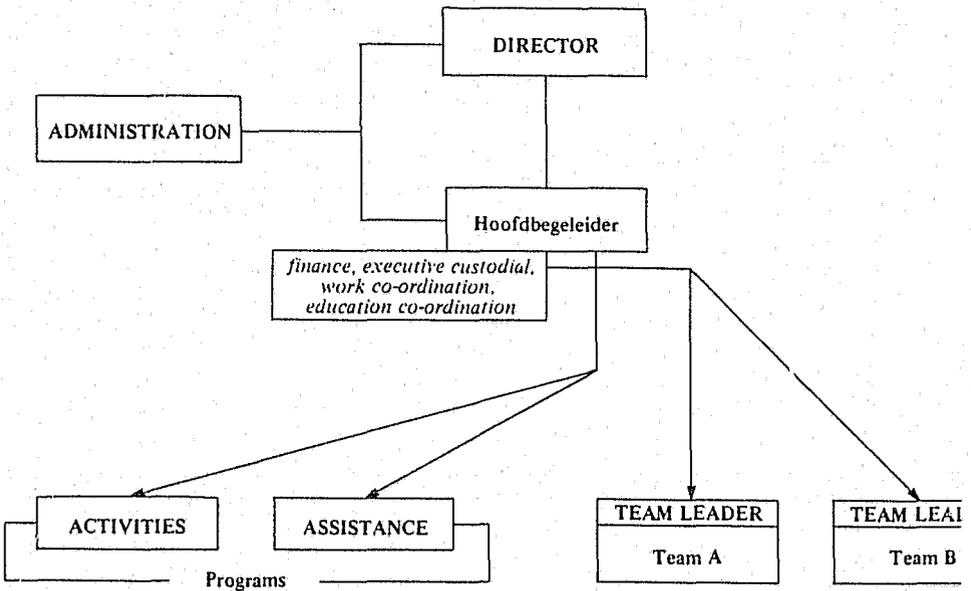
In this particular institution there is an emphasis on reporting staff observations, first by means of the individual detention cards and then the discussions that take place at weekly team meetings. These observations are then relayed to higher management levels. It is one of the primary tasks of the team leader to encourage staff to continually report their observations. The former custom of promoted staff isolating themselves from the hurly-burly of the shop floor no longer applies. Today, questions rain down on the team leader that require his presence alongside junior staff asking questions like: How are the prisoners behaving? Are the programs working? How are the officers performing? Periodically each officer reviews his performance with his team leader and the latter has been encouraged by management to be unsparing in making necessary critical comment.

It is one thing to conceive of the purposes of an institution as being realised through programs that involve an integration of staff functions. It is something else again in the practical world of prisons to ensure that the programs are properly designed and carried out. The strategic answer to this problem has been to develop an organisational structure that centres authority for the design, resourcing and management of programs in a new administrative role known as the Hoofdbegeleider. The intention is to maximise the integration of staff functions and avoid conflict over their relative importance. It is believed that this conflict has been encouraged by more traditional structures that separate the leadership of different types of institutional authority for activities like security, education, welfare, recreation and sport.

The central importance of the Hoofdbegeleider can be grasped from the three tier system of leadership that is being developed in this particular House of Detention. It is the task of those at the Directorial level to translate government policy into aims that reflect the possibilities of the institution, given the types of prisoners held there and the staff and other resources available. It is also the responsibility of the director and his senior colleagues to monitor the overall performance of the organisation and make necessary adjustments in the light of feedback from administrative leaders and staff. Those at the administrative level have the responsibility of translating the institution's aims into two kinds of programs 'Activities' and 'Assistance'. They must devise concrete objectives for each program (for example, specifying ways in which custodial officers will help inmates with educational courses), and manage the administrative units needed to support the programs (for example, the finance bureau,

executive custodial staff, work coordinator, education coordinator). This is the domain of the Hoofdbegeleider. It is intended that the role should be filled by someone with both a human services background (to ensure that programs are well designed and properly conducted) and security experience (to provide credible leadership to custodial staff). Finally, the functional leaders are responsible for allocating prison officers to programs and monitoring, supporting and correcting their work. This is the sphere of leadership occupied by team leaders who, in turn, are linked with the Hoofdbegeleider through the executive custodial staff:

Figure 1: Organisational Structure for Integration of Functions



(11f) Improving communication

New institutions staffed predominantly by new recruits have had less opportunity to develop internal conflicts or ways of operating that ill fit the new policies. In these circumstances management is more likely to be concerned with defining institutional tasks, conveying information about those tasks to staff, providing opportunities for detailed discussion of how programs are to be implemented and gaining feedback on difficulties that are encountered. In other words, the primary challenge is not to undo or remedy something (defective structures, misdirected procedures, squandered energy) but to prevent the occurrence of such problems, using effective communication as the main strategy.

The web of communication groups developed within one House of Detention illustrates the use of this strategy. The centre has only been operating for a few years and has what the director describes as a rather 'flat' organisational structure: "The Direction Teams can fairly easily keep in touch with what's happening in the institution". Staff teams meet every week. In addition, there is also a weekly meeting involving senior officers, the head of the workshop and the social-cultural worker, to review problems reported by the teams. The results of these deliberations are then discussed each fortnight with the Direction Team (director and adjunct directors). The focus of these meetings is not policy (see below) but rather the control and maintenance of the institution.

Yet another group is charged with the responsibility for finding solutions to the individual and group problems brought to light by the teams. The committee involved brings together representatives of the staff teams, human services and the medical staff, the chief custodial officer and an adjunct director. Finally, a policy meeting is held each month to develop new ideas and discuss problems that have arisen with existing policies. The director retains ultimate responsibility in this sphere but all sections of the staff have access to the policy meetings.

B To change relations between staff, inmates

- (i) By altering the ground rules
- (ii) By joint participation in programs

The two strategies included in this category share a common belief: much of what is wrong with prisons as human institutions is attributable to the antagonistic relations between staff and inmates. One long established House of Detention has set out to alter this state of affairs by denying both parties the chance of indulging in the kinds of behaviour that in the past kept them apart as warring factions. Essentially, the strategy is aimed at creating new ground rules for the interaction of prison officers and prisoners.

The approach of another lower security institution is, at least on the surface, somewhat more direct in its efforts to bring guards and the guarded into a more constructive relationship. The managers of this centre stress the value of joint participation in activity and discussion programs that can create a better institutional environment as well as provide opportunities for individuals to acquire skills, information and creative satisfactions that are transferable to life in the general community. In their role as trained activity leaders, the responsibilities of prison officers are redefined and new opportunities created for influencing prisoners. However, on closer examination, this joint participation approach is not quite as straight forward as at first seems to be the case. Its promotion within the institution is being accompanied by a variety of other changes only indirectly related to it. The details are presented below but this example illustrates the possibility that a readily grasped, tangible change strategy may be used as a vehicle for more general organisational change.

Finally, attempts to humanise the relations between prison officers and inmates in a long stay maximum security prison also have focused on the idea of joint participation in programs. One difference is that management in this case is obliged continually to balance the objective of improved relations with the caution warranted by the background of the inmates concerned.

(i) Altering the ground rules

A House of Detention that has been operating for more than fifty years is the setting for a development strategy that aims to change the traditional attitudes of staff and detainees. Everyone in the institution, we were told by senior staff, should be active for the greater part of the day. Work and cultural/group activities alternate and in the evenings and at weekends active and passive recreational activities take place. A wealth of activities is available: wood carving, plastic modelling, car-technics, first aid, dutch language, general education, sports, conversation groups, viewing videos and films, are some of the courses and developmental opportunities on offer.

These activities are part of an implicit management strategy, namely, the dismantling of the traditional cultures of officers and inmates. In agreeing with this interpretation, the director attributed the emergence of the strategy to the particular historic circumstances of the institution. Long standing attitudes, on both sides, represented a

formidable barrier to the types of relationships between staff and prisoners now required by government policy. Therefore the softening of these attitudes is a necessary precursor to the achievement of other objectives. Such an aim has been considered feasible in this instance because both groups are drawn from the same region of Holland, "speak the same language and know the same local people".

Before detailing some of the main steps in the formation of what the director called the "new ground rules", it is important to note the institution's strong commitment to government policy objectives. In referring to the rapidity of change in the system during the previous three to four years, the management group indicated that the majority of officers had supported the new developments. The difficulties experienced by a minority of officers had been eased by allocating them to duties that placed minimal importance on human relationships, at least with prisoners. "But it is important to stress the general expectation that officers underwrite the officially endorsed policies. The question is whether we should base the system on the ideas of those who have difficulties with these policies or whether we should give priority to the views of the majority who are generally satisfied with what is required of them. I think our obligation is to the latter" (director).

Turning now to specific elements of the development strategy, the first involves helping officers not to retreat into defensive attitudes at first sight of traditional inmate behaviour. It is expected that many prisoners will construe the supportive gestures of staff as opportunities to be exploited. The Dutch proverb "Give them a finger and they'll take the hand" was invoked to describe the common response of prisoners to the new style of relationship. Staff are encouraged not to be surprised or unbalanced by this reaction when, for example, a prisoner's stated personal or family reason for gaining an additional telephone call is revealed to be false. First, the officer must be sensitive to the fact that not all prisoners are engaged in deception. Second, the specific instance of deception should be seen as an opportunity to "dampen down" such behaviour, starting often with constructive confrontation: "My friend, I offered you a finger and you took the hand..." This type of interaction should be a principal part of the work of custodial staff and if they persevere at it the result is expected to be an increased openness and directness of communication. The telephone call requested by the prisoner may still be to arrange the sale of a car but he is more likely to say so.

A second element of the development strategy involves helping prisoners who want to be independent to escape the controlling influence of the inmate group. For example, traditional attitudes make it difficult for prisoners to raise problems with staff. This is especially the case if prisoners share cells and feel obliged to maintain an "anti-staff facade". Hence the policy of separate cells has a significance beyond the granting of privacy and protection. It can represent a necessary condition for prisoners to 'be themselves' and relate to officers as fellow human beings rather than group defined objects of suspicion and hostility. Relocation of a prisoner is sometimes necessary to enable him to establish a more independent existence.

A third element of the strategy concerns mutual help among officers in finding constructive ways of dealing with problems that arise. Improved communication among staff is the aim. However, communication is not regarded as being synonymous with 'talk'. In the words of the director, "discussion is OK but one must constantly have some goal in meeting, for example, in teams. The focus must be the reduction of problems of one type or another". A case in point is the handling of the considerable verbal aggression that exists in the institution. Instead of simply responding in kind and initiating punishment, the system now permits (and this particular institution encourages) discussion among staff of what is prompting the prisoner's aggression and the best way of handling it. After discussion with colleagues the officer might, on the next occasion that the prisoner becomes aggressive, point to the recurrent pattern and question the reasons for its occurrence. Whatever tactics are used, the officer will feel supported by the involvement and help of colleagues.

Another facet of the ground rules strategy is to resist the inmates' customary division of staff into 'nice guys' (psychological and social helpers and specialist staff) and those whose duties are of a more routine custodial nature. There is continual consultation between the parties. All staff are reminded of the need to observe security requirements and do nothing to denigrate the standing of custodial officers.

Finally, the strategy takes account of the vulnerability of the prison officer who steps outside the traditional confines of his role. Sensible limits are maintained on his efforts to help inmates by observing a simple rule: the tasks that are undertaken should be carried out in service time. "Otherwise the officer loses contact with the institutional structure and engages too closely in the affairs of the inmate" (director). In special circumstances the officer may be permitted to use non-work time but only with the knowledge and consent of his superiors.

(11) Joint participation in programs

All of the institutions visited have, in recent years, increased the range of activities available to prisoners. The stage of preparation for prison officers to lead group activities ranges from a remarkable 89% having undergone special training in one lower security institution with a staff of more than forty, to resignation to the fact that only a handful of officers, if that, can be spared to undertake such training in two higher security institutions. However, apart from variations in the skilled staff and other resources at their disposal, institutions differ in the strategic significance they attach to cultural, social and sporting programs. For the majority, these programs are thought of as means of supporting more fundamental aims. It is clearly the case in one institution, and arguably the case in a second, that the programs themselves are the main strategy.

The institution that is most obviously approaching change in this way places a heavy emphasis on the inherent value of the activities that are planned or currently being rehearsed. The management also believes that inmates can derive considerable benefit from the close contact with staff that is made possible by joint participation in activities. Before spelling out these advantages in slightly greater detail, brief mention should be made of the way the planning of the programs is being

used as a means of inducing general organisational change. The very concept of 'the change' has been underscored by the fact that it has been scheduled - and recently rescheduled - to occur on a specific date. The creation of advisory and communication groups and staff teams, the introduction of ways and means of helping prisoners with individual problems, the involvement of professional staff in helping to motivate guards, the relocation of officers not supportive of the emerging regime, may all have had 'programs' as their point of departure but they are developments that have much wider ramifications for staff, inmates and the organisation as a whole.

The tactic most directly supportive of the joint participation strategy has been the training of the vast majority of custodial officers in the leadership of at least one type of group activity. Almost 9 out of 10 have attended a general community institute for this purpose and one in five has taken part in a second skills course. It is planned that in the near future one in three of the officers will take a group skills course at the Department's Training Institute in The Hague.

Not all of the programs to be offered in the institution will be of a general social, cultural or sporting nature. One will deal with the harmful effects of excessive drinking, another the requirements of safe driving. Prison officers will be responsible for running these programs. In part, their aim will be to provide opportunities for prisoners to gain helpful information, acquire new skills and experience creative and cultural satisfaction. Thus it is hoped to help prepare inmates for their return to society and at the same time counter some of the harmful consequences of imprisonment. But equal importance is attached to the opportunity afforded by joint staff/inmate activity for officers to model desirable human qualities, especially fairness, honesty, directness and concern for others. According to the officer in charge at the time of our visit: "Everyone can show these qualities in his or her own way but they amount to human respect and giving the prisoner a chance, regardless of whether the effort is successful or not".

Programs occupy a position of central importance in another very large House of Detention. So much so that, once they have passed a reception phase, detainees are given the choice of placement in one of three sections with distinct regimes:

- (i) Section A offers an active program of educational and creative activities;
- (ii) Section B caters for prisoners with psychological and social problems. The regime emphasises group support for prisoners with addiction and relationship problems;
- (iii) Section C caters more for prisoners who are not drawn to either of the previously mentioned programs, and want simply to be assigned to a job and 'left alone'.

The somewhat abstract notion of officers working with groups takes on a more concrete meaning with the creation of separate housing areas with different activities emphasised in each. After exercising their choice of work the officers can then more easily be oriented to the expanded responsibilities of their role. In the words of a member of the directorate, they can be told: "You now work here. This is your group of inmates. You must get to know them as people, what they're interested in, who their relatives are. You must deal with them as people".

Under this new scheme the prison officer still shares responsibility for inmate welfare with other staff, including social workers and psychologists. However, the plan is not to divide responsibilities more than necessary. An adjunct director stated that "Some differentiation of tasks is necessary because staff have different educational backgrounds, skills and experience of problems. Optimum effectiveness rests on staff internalising our shared goals and being aware of what others in the organisation can contribute to their achievement. On a day to day basis it depends on knowing the others involved in the division of labour as people and being able to bring their skills into play".

The institution's approach to the conduct of programs leaves as much scope as possible for officers to exercise their own initiative. Both staff and detainees are encouraged to relate to one another in ways that are open and non-antagonistic. Management is aware that these requirements are not without their difficulties. "The old guard has a point", as one senior officer observed. "There are more small crises and probably more emotional behaviour than was previously the case. But here we come to a crucial point in the management philosophy. Staff must be aware that not all inmates are going to respond cooperatively but this is not the point from which their efforts must start. They must act as if staff and inmates share the same objectives and it generally works". When it does not the officer concerned can exercise some discretion in trying to correct unacceptable behaviour. However all physical or verbal violence must be reported. Local punishments include periods of confinement to cells and unsuitable detainees can be transferred to other institutions.

The circumstances of another institution that attaches considerable strategic importance to programs could hardly be more different from the one described above. It is a maximum security prison described by a senior official as an "end station" of the Dutch penal system. Its inmates include people who previously have escaped, proved incapable of living in large prison communities, assaulted or threatened staff, engaged in international crime or are awaiting extradition. Different categories of prisoners are housed in separate units each with their own staff. The degree of supervision and program opportunities varies between groups. The latter is the result of restrictions on the number of prisoners who are allowed to be associated in non-work activities. Variations in style of supervision also reflect the thinking of different groups of officers. It probably also reflects the effects of labelling prisoners differently by virtue of their allocation to different wings and even different landings of the same wing. However, the concern with security is not without its reasons: there have been attempted escapes and armed incursions in recent times.

The Dutch prison system has a policy of concentrating those whom it considers to be its most difficult prisoners in just a few institutions, of which the present gaol is one. Many of the countries or states that have adopted this policy of concentrating difficult prisoners rely on tight external controls, strict observance of formal rules and procedures and the distancing of guards from guarded to maintain security. Others have coupled tight perimeter security and the external monitoring of behaviour (for example, by means of closed circuit television) with less authoritarian, supportive relations between staff and inmates.

While developments have not been even across all sections of the prison under consideration, the institution is nearer to the second than the first of the management styles outlined above. Further, it is progress towards more consistently 'human' relations between staff and inmates that constitutes the main development strategy. Many past tensions and problems are blamed on relations being "too authoritarian". Today some groups of officers disdain involvement in prisoners' welfare but few are reluctant to join inmates in sporting and recreational activity. Indeed one of management's main tasks is constantly to remind officers of the need to balance their enthusiasm for such activities with a degree of caution appropriate to the background of this particular group of inmates. As one senior officer put it, metaphorically and literally, "Where did you leave your keys when you played netball with the prisoners?"

How far the development strategy adopted by this maximum security institution can be realised depends on factors over and beyond the cooperation of prison officers and prisoners. It depends also on more general departmental policy, especially the choice between the relative concentration of 'difficult' prisoners or their dispersal throughout the system. The greater opportunity afforded by the concentration of potential troublemakers for their collusion in attempted escapes and breaches of discipline probably restricts the feasible limits of development of the strategy. So too do the present inadequacies in perimeter and gate security for if officers are to engage confidently in supportive relations with prisoners they need to know that their miscalculations will be adequately covered. Meanwhile one senior officer to whom we spoke is under no misapprehension about the primary importance of good staff-inmate relations to the security of the prison: "When you lose contact with the inmates you lose everything".

C To change the prisoners

- (i) By developing personal insight
- (ii) By providing work experience

To talk of prisoner rehabilitation may be decidedly unfashionable but attempts to change inmates 'for the better' form the basis of several institutional regimes. This strategic priority is not the result of management's ignorance of research in the field. Attempts to induce personal change, either comprehensively through the development of personal insight or in a more limited aspect of behaviour, such as by gaining work experience, are the result of several considerations including:

- . the short sentences being served in the institutions in question and the feeling that what is being attempted is attainable in the circumstances;
- . lack of facilities (mainly space in one case, worthwhile work in another) to pursue alternative strategies;
- . the presumption that the necessity to imprison an offender means that the individual concerned has serious personal shortcomings and some effort should be made to remedy them;
- . attempts to be helpful, even if unsuccessful, will bring staff and inmates closer to each other and thereby contribute to the achievement of other policy objectives;
- . the traditions of the institutions involved.

(i) Developing personal insight

The varied activities taking place within one low security institution, as well as the interactions between those detained and working within the centre, form the basis of efforts to cultivate a greater measure of self awareness among inmates. The majority of opportunities to question the meaning of behaviour occur naturally in the daily round of activities. However, because the young offenders stay at the prison for only a matter of weeks or a few months, some special situations have been devised to help reveal their underlying character and temperament.

The prisoners are housed in paviljoens or group homes containing, apart from individual quarters, a commonroom, small kitchen, recreation area and staff room. The institution also contains a modern gymnasium, a large sportsfield, workshop, creative activities room and other facilities. There are ample grounds and a forest nearby. A novel item of outdoor equipment is a large army type obstacle course posing such formidable challenges as banks of scaling nets, concrete pipes, high walls and, as a final test of nerve, the opportunity for descent by 'flying fox'. On the surface, the centre appears, by the assembly of all this paraphernalia, to have replicated an outward bound training course. The way in which the equipment is actually used makes it part of the wider attempt to help detainees gain insight into 'unhelpful' and antisocial aspects of their behaviour. Observations of how each inmate behaves at work, recreation and within the group homes are used

in individual discussion with him or the observations may be raised within an appropriate group (usually the residents of the same group home).

The strategy of trying to enlarge self understanding has at least the following three characteristics:

1. Discussion is linked to current events and concrete situations. Both staff and inmates are highly sensitive to any suggestion that anything resembling 'treatment' is occurring in the centre. The appearance of 'therapy' is avoided by not engaging in general or speculative discussion of past behaviour. Instead questioning is confined to unhelpful or unproductive behaviour that emerges in specific concrete situations. For example, the outdoor work is of a nature to require cooperation among those involved. Life in the small community of the paviljoen, within which living arrangements and space are shared by residents and to a considerable extent staff, also affords many opportunities for learning about oneself. The regularly scheduled group meetings help in this regard.

To encourage an even greater degree of spontaneity and to enable staff and inmates "to stand closer together", officers have introduced overnight camps in the nearby forest. There is an emphasis on sharing responsibility for the planning and conduct of the camps as well as sharing the enjoyment of a pleasant group experience. Moreover the camp is a good setting in which to question some forms of behaviour, especially that of the 'big talker' who compensates for lack of confidence with bravado. A similar opportunity occurs with the obstacle course when one prisoner in a type of restraint is carried by others over the hazardous course and highly responsible behaviour is required of those negotiating the obstacles;

2. Communication between the parties is open and comprehensive. Staff not only tolerate but expect mutual criticism. Such an environment is considered essential to the development of insight. They also expect to lead by example and do not ask anything of inmates they are not prepared to do themselves. In the group home a log is kept of noteworthy behaviour and interactions. This information is only recorded after it has first been discussed with the person concerned. Inmates have direct access to the record.

Consistent with the emphasis on current events and concrete situations, the style and content of questions about behaviour are usually direct. An officer explained the approach in this way: "If a man endangers others by fooling around we ask him straight away 'Hey, what's going on' These people are depending on you and your joking around is exposing them to harm. What's behind it?"

3. Necessary support is provided so as to avoid harm and maximise learning. Staff do not want to 'pull someone to pieces' or create so much stress that inmates are resistant to learning. Apart from regulating the intensity of their own questioning, staff encourage groups to provide emotional support to their members.

(ii) Gaining work experience

Another institution shares a similar challenge to that facing the centre we have just described: its inmates generally serve sentences of around six weeks or less. There are, however, differences in their respective situations. First, the prison now under consideration is a closed one and its inmates are somewhat older. There are also more of them and they live within a very confined area with little room for expansion. The architecture strongly reflects the penal philosophy of an earlier era. It emphasises the advantages of prisoners remaining apart and engaging in personal reflection. Today the prison houses men who for one reason or another (use of drugs, failure to return from furlough and failure to report for sentence), cannot be placed in open or half open prisons.

In these circumstances, the local management has extended the range of activities available to prisoners but has "learned to live with the fact that the possibilities are not as great as in the other prisons". There is more stress on individual activity although discussion groups are held and there is some scope for joint recreation. By far the most important group activity is work - "the essential thing in our regime". Worthwhile production is undertaken for six hours a day in a number of well appointed workshops. One of the main aims of the strategy is to provide a group of people with indifferent or poor work histories with an experience of satisfying work. Incentive payments are shared by the workers and staff attempt, as in other institutions, to develop cooperative and helpful relations with the inmates.

Particular emphasis is placed on maintaining directness and honesty in dealings with prisoners. "They know exactly what they can expect from us," was the comment of a senior officer. A number of structural alterations have been made, especially the introduction of staff work teams and enlarging the responsibilities of middle managers to support officers in their contributions to the new regime. However, it is a regime whose primary purposes centre on the provision of routine and satisfying work.

VIEWS OF THE PRISON OFFICERS

The conversations with prison officers, at least those which lent themselves to a more or less structured format, started with a review of changes that have taken place in the prison system during the last 10 - 15 years. Whereas in the previous section we considered the inevitably varied strategies and priorities of different institutions, our discussion here of a list of 21 specific changes was of a different character. It focused on what the Department believed to be widely distributed, if not universal reforms throughout the entire system. The officers were not asked to ruminate about broad questions of strategy or whether they supported the introduction of the reforms. Rather, they were asked to indicate on the basis of their personal experience, how each of the changes "has worked out in practice?" As an aid to communication and the orderly discussion of the changes, a Dutch translation of the list prepared in consultation with the Department was tabled and officers were asked to indicate whether each change:

- operates very well;
- operates quite well;
- middling (gaat wel);
- doesn't operate so well;
- doesn't operate well at all.

When the new development was thought to operate no better than 'middling', the officer was asked two further questions: "What is the main reason why this change does not operate so well in practice? What, if anything, would need to happen to make it work?" However, we soon learned that conversation with Dutch prison officers cannot always be channeled in predetermined ways. Many who thought that particular changes worked 'very well' or 'quite well' in practice, still had things they wanted to say about the development. These comments have also been recorded and appear in the narrative that follows.

First let us examine the simplest and most direct evidence of officers' satisfaction with the way the reforms have been implemented. We can do that by calculating the number of positive assessments of how the changes have worked in practice. The necessary information is presented in Figure II. Because of the large number of items involved, for ease of consideration they have been grouped in the following way:

- organisation and duties of staff;
- prisoners' rights and amenities;
- altered conditions of sentence.

Since 28 officers considered 21 items, there was a total of 588 assessments. But it can be seen from Figure II that 78 of the responses took the form 'not applicable or has not yet occurred at this institution'. Therefore the 510 instances of a definite rating formed the appropriate basis for calculating the proportion of positive assessments. Of this number, 319 or 76.6% of all ratings were in the two most positive categories 'operates very/quite well'. This test of staff satisfaction must, if anything, be considered fairly stringent in a field hardly noted for the enthusiastic embrace of new developments. Nevertheless something in excess of three out of four of the

prison officers with whom we conversed were, by this measure, favourably disposed to the changes that have been implemented. Nor, as we will see later when we examine the items in greater detail, does a less positive assessment necessarily indicate disaffection with the measures concerned. For example, almost one in three of the officers thought the degree of success in organising staff in teams had been no better than 'middling'. However, many of the same officers left us in no doubt about the importance they attached to the successful development of this idea.

By way of completing our overview of staff reactions to the range of reforms presented in our list, we should at this point introduce the responses gained to two further questions. First we asked the officers to indicate which of the changes "...has made your work more difficult?". Despite their apparent wish to be cooperative and the fact that they usually spent some time contemplating possible answers to the question, half of the officers we interviewed could not nominate a change that had made their work more difficult. The comments of those who were able to cite added difficulties spread over eight separate matters of which only four were repeated. Problems arising from the shorter periods spent by inmates in their cells were mentioned by four officers and prisoners' access to journalists, their reduced working day and the fact that they received visits concurrently, were each described as problematic by two officers.

Staff had less difficulty in responding to another question that asked them to nominate the recent change "...that has been most helpful in your work?". Again they were asked to choose from the list of items that had been presented to them. Of the six officers who did not indicate a specific beneficial change, two commented to the effect that the overall system had proved beneficial and it was inappropriate to elevate the importance of particular components. Other officers were less reluctant to express their preferences. Among the nine matters they raised the following attracted the greatest attention:

	number of times mentioned
- staff assigned to work with groups of inmates	5
- staff teams	4
- gaining prisoners' cooperation	3
- longer visits; radio, tv in cells; availability of helping professionals; more time out of cells	2 (each)

The approval given to working with groups of inmates and attempting to motivate them to cooperate with staff is fairly consistent with other evidence gathered in our discussions. This consistency will be seen when shortly we focus in detail on officers' reactions to the changes specified in our list (see Figure II). The situation with staff teams is, as has already been indicated, complicated by the growing pains experienced by this scheme. Nevertheless the fact that it was one of the changes singled out for special commendation is quite consistent with impressions created elsewhere in our discussions with the prison officers.

General attitudes to work, prisoners.

It is important to know the views of prison officers on policy changes whose application depends on staff cooperation. There is the possibility, however, that officers' detailed likes and dislikes depend less on the practicability of particular changes than more general considerations, such as their attitude to prisoners as a group, their outlook on their job and even their length of service. Fortunately data were gathered on these and other background characteristics of the officers that we interviewed.

Attitudes to inmates were assessed by asking staff to indicate how they felt about each of five statements describing prisoners' characteristics or behaviour. Each statement was preceded by or included the words "in general ...". Since the main reason for including these items was to see whether they revealed individual differences that helped to throw light on officers' reactions to policy changes, we have divided our interviewees into two groups according to the general pattern of their responses. One group was relatively more sceptical about the motives and likely behaviour of inmates. The members of this group were included among the (approximate) 50% of officers who responded most negatively to each statement. Conveniently, half of our interviewees were in this category on at least three of the five items and it is this group that we hereafter refer to as the 'pessimists'.

We hasten to add that this designation is based on relative scores and not some absolute judgement of the dispositions of the officers concerned. Nor is there an automatic implication that some guardedness about the future prospects or cooperativeness of prisoners lessens officers' willingness to try and work constructively with them.

Table 1: Officers' responses to statements about prisoners (N=27)

	strongly agree	agree	don't agree/ don't disagree	disagree	strongly disagree
- most inmates are going to reoffend	3	12	7	5	-
- prisoners are much the same as non-prisoners	2	8	3	11	3
- prisoners welcome contact with staff	2	11	10	4	-
- prisoners seldom abuse the trust that you place in them	-	9	10	7	1
- inmates don't cooperate much with staff	-	1	9	13	4

The existence of two sets of attitudes is suggested by these results. When we compare the relative weight of positive and negative responses to the five statements we can see that officers expressed confidence in the willingness of prisoners to meet some of the basic prerequisites of the bejegening regime while expressing doubts about their ability to change or keep out of trouble. Only one officer agreed with the statement that 'Inmates don't cooperate much with staff' and only four asserted that prisoners do not welcome contact with staff. The picture is muddled a little by the number of officers who were indecisive on these questions but a shift in the position of a substantial number is apparent on the item dealing with the likelihood of prisoners reoffending. Here fifteen thought that outcome likely and only five disagreed. A (smaller) majority also thought of prisoners as being 'different' from non-prisoners. Opinion on whether prisoners can be trusted was evenly divided. However, the significance of this attribute as a necessary condition of humane treatment was questioned by senior staff (see previous section 'altering the ground rules').

Priority tasks of prison officers

Officers were asked to arrange five different tasks of a prison officer in the order that they personally considered most important. The five tasks were:

- prevent escapes;
- establish good communication with prisoners;
- help prisoners with personal problems within as well as outside the prison;
- help prisoners to improve their adaptation to society;
- maintain order in the prison.

Every task was given top priority by at least some officers and three were unwilling to grade them differently. Therefore it was again necessary to classify staff according to the general pattern of their priorities. To this end we examined the weightings attached to the three tasks more directly concerned with prisoner wellbeing (good communication, help with personal problems, and adaptation to society). We found a little over half of those interviewed had given their first and second priority to two of these three tasks. For the purposes of further analyses we will refer to these fifteen officers as 'prisoner oriented'. Their views on a number of issues will be compared with those of officers who were less inclined to give high priority to tasks that centered on the support and guidance of prisoners.

Work experience

The length of time an officer has worked in the prison system could have any one of a number of possible effects. Long conditioning in the 'old ways' may be hard to reverse. Cynicism with new measures may grow with the years but so too may personal confidence and judgement with a consequent decreased reliance on formal institutional controls. In the Dutch system officers with long experience are also in a position to compare the effectiveness of the substantially different approaches of the present and past eras. Therefore a number of analyses have been made in which the job attitudes of officers who have completed five years or less of service have been compared with those who have been engaged for longer periods. The classification was devised in this way because the relatively inexperienced group needed to include a reasonable number of cases. In this instance, that number was nine. However, the career spans of those interviewed were sufficiently varied to warrant more detailed analyses of some issues:

<u>Length of service</u>	<u>No</u>
- 5 years or less	9
- 6 - 10 years	11
- 11 - 15	5
- 16 years and more	2

It is now appropriate to see whether the three factors we have just considered throw any light on the officers' reactions to new penal policies. Specifically, we will examine the connections between (i) attitudes to prisoners, (ii) work orientation, and (iii) length of service, and officers' reactions to the 21 measures contained in our list of 'recent changes'.

First, it will be recalled that half of the officers we interviewed could not nominate a change that had made their work more difficult. This response might reasonably be seen as an indication of acceptance of the changes that have been introduced. It was equally characteristic of the groups we have designated 'pessimists' and 'non-pessimists' on the basis of their general expectations of prisoners. Nor was there a basic difference in the response of officers whose approach to work tasks we have previously described as 'prisoner oriented' and other members of the institutional staff. These negative findings threw into sharper relief the results of our comparison of officers with a relatively short period of service (5 years and less) and those with longer service histories. The less experienced officers were significantly more likely to be conscious of newly created difficulties than their more experienced colleagues (Table 2, below):

	service of 5 years or less No	service of 6 years or longer No
- No problems mentioned	1	12
- Problems nominated	8	6
	<hr/> 9	<hr/> 18

Beneficial changes

We have seen that two out of three of the officers provided examples of ways in which their work had been assisted by policy changes. These benefits divide almost equally between those that have enhanced inmate amenities and rights and those that relate to other matters. When examined from the point of view of officers' general attitudes to prisoners, pessimists (6/10) were almost twice as likely as non-pessimists (4/12) to mention inmate related benefits. Obviously the numbers involved in this comparison were small and the difference was not statistically significant. There were no differences in the types of benefits mentioned by officers with different work orientations. However, the comparison of staff with varying periods of service once again suggested that concerns may change as one's experience in the field grows. A simple comparison of staff with less than 6 years service and those who had worked in the prisons for longer periods showed that the former (5/7) were twice as likely as the latter (5/14) to mention inmate related benefits.

The trend is even clearer when we consider the comments of the officers with 11 or more years experience. Only one mentioned a change of particular benefit to inmates, namely, the availability of helping professionals. This officer, with 14 years experience commented: "When prisoners have problems and the officers are unable to help them, they can go to these people and get extra support". The comments of the others were less directed to the particular advantage gained by any single group and more to the mutual benefits to be derived from the policy changes. For example, one officer (14 years experience) nominated working in groups as a beneficial change: "It makes the work more interesting ... They (the prisoners) like you better and

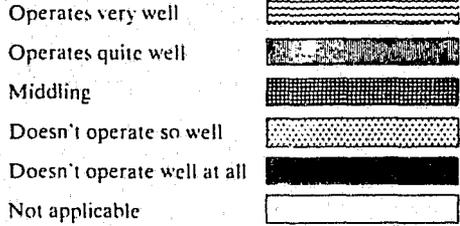
they listen to you. Contact is better and they accept you more". Another officer with 11 years experience gave much the same reasons for the same choice but a colleague (17 years experience) was more pithy in explaining why his work had been assisted by assigning prisoners to groups: "The place works better". A man who had worked in prisons for 17 years thought the new emphasis on gaining prisoners' cooperation was a significant advantage: "The personal touch is most important for keeping a good atmosphere in the institution, for giving the feeling that we are all human beings".

While dealing with the group of officers with more than 10 years experience it should be mentioned that they (2/7) appeared less frequently than their more junior colleagues (11/18) in the attitudinal category that we have called 'passivismist'. However the two service groups were virtually indistinguishable in the priorities they attached to work tasks.

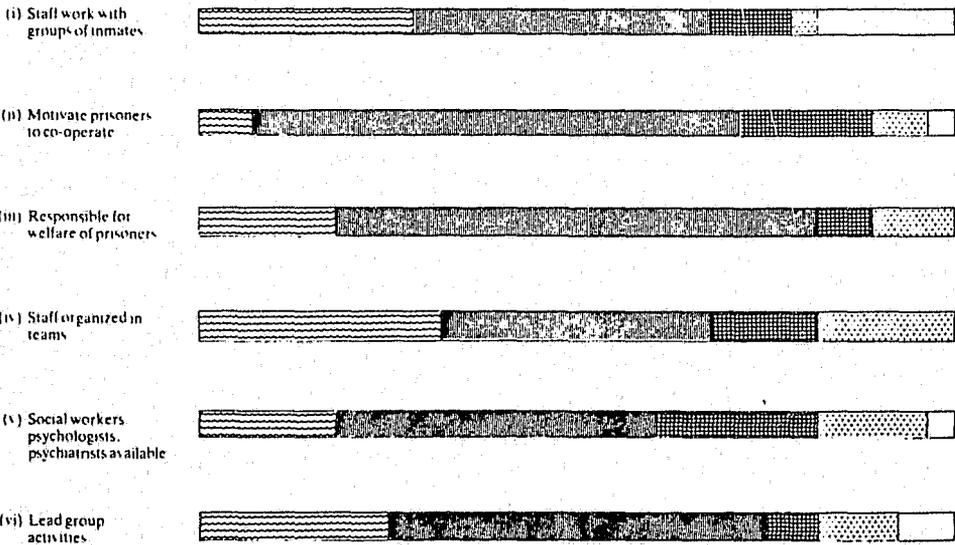
Specific Changes

To this point we have dealt only in a general way with the changes introduced into the penal institutions over the past 10 to 15 years. We have summarised officers' views on the changes they regard as having been most and least helpful in their work. Now we will examine each of the 21 changes in the list tabled in our discussions with the prison officers. Where there is sufficient variation in the officers' opinions to justify it, their responses will be cross tabulated with the length of service, attitude to prisoners and work orientation categories that we have already used in some of our earlier analyses. More often than not the amount of variation is too slight for cross tabulating to be a profitable exercise. Then our main focus is on the frequently illuminating remarks that accompanied the officers' ratings.

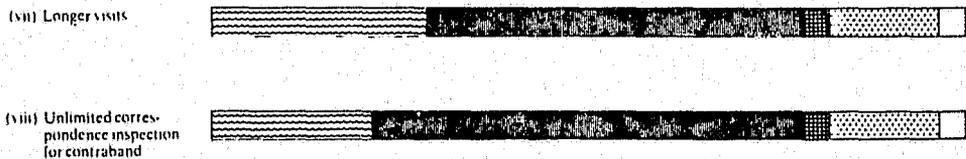
Figure II: Prison officers' assessment of changes made during the past 10-15 years (N = 28)



Organization and duties of staff



Prisoner rights, amenities



(ix) Interviews with journalists 

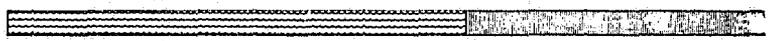
(x) Visits by outside groups 

(xi) Radio, TV in cells 

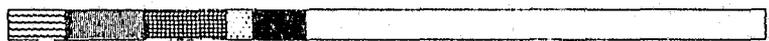
(xii) Telephone calls, security monitoring 

(xiii) Concurrent visits 

(xiv) Complaints commission 

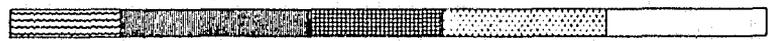
(xv) Prisoners wear own clothes 

(xvi) Prisoners' committees 

(xvii) Prisoners' newspaper 

(xviii) Prisoners retain some personal possessions 

Altered conditions of sentence

(xix) Working day reduced to 4 hours 

(xx) Fewer hours spent in cells on weekdays 

(xxi) Increased hours spent in cells on weekends 

Organisation and duties of staff

It is clear from the data presented in Figure II that the overwhelming majority of those prison officers who have had experience of working with groups of inmates, favours this approach. Nineteen of the twenty three who were in a position to express an opinion, described the staff's leadership of groups in activities as varied as sports, discussion, cultural activities and labour as operating 'very well' or 'quite well'. Three officers rated the success of the approach as 'middling', one thought it 'isn't operating so well' and five claimed that the group approach had not really been established at their (four) institutions.

The officer who expressed the greatest reservation about working with groups of inmates thought that not enough security was provided. "The groups are too large for two supervisors. There should be at least three per group", he said. The officers who rated the achievements of the policy as middling commented either on the limited opportunities of applying it until now or the difficulty of reconciling custodial responsibilities with the leadership of some activities. One officer in his late forties who works in a House of Detention explained his uncertainties in this way: "It works with creativity courses but not with educational ones. They still see you as a guard".

A single theme coloured the remarks of the majority of officers who thought that group work was operating successfully. The approach strengthens the relationship between staff and inmates. Several put it as simply as 'We have better contact with the prisoners'. An officer working in a House of Detention elaborated: "There is more communication. You're not only walking with keys in your pockets. The feeling towards each other is completely different from how it used to be". A young officer in his mid-twenties thought the approach "good for the boys. They have to reckon with others".

Motivating prisoners to cooperate

That this policy was generally thought to be realistic was suggested by the fact that 20 of a possible 27 officers said it was currently operating successfully. Nevertheless there are signs of difficulty in implementing the policy. Only three other changes (prisoners' committees, prisoners' newspapers and fewer hours spent in cells) attracted so few comments that the policy was working 'very well'. Of course this may only be another way of acknowledging the difficulty of achieving this particular objective. Hence the significance of the remark made by one officer working in an institution which experienced considerable staff-inmate tension just a few years ago: "This approach succeeds with most inmates". Several others also acknowledged the varied responses of different prisoners: "Some prisoners are not amenable but others are OK"; "Some prisoners don't want to talk to certain officers. It depends on their attitude. Younger officers find it harder. It all depends on their experience and age" (43 year old officer working in a secured prison).

The seven staff members who considered that the 'motivation' policy had achieved only middling success or was operating unsuccessfully, largely attributed the difficulty to the character of the prisoners. "The motivation they show for activities is often to give them a chance to be out of their cell - which is the real motivation"; "Those who won't cooperate wouldn't anyway", were representative comments. While this is not the point at which to weigh or interpret these remarks, one officer who has been in the job for 14 years put an alternative view when he said simply: "It's the job". When responses to the item were cross tabulated with data on staff attitudes and work priorities, no statistically significant associations were revealed. It was, however, noted that just one of the seven officers with more than ten years experience thought the success of the motivation policy to have been middling. The other six rated it a success.

Staff responsible for welfare of prisoners

This item requires little comment. Twenty three of the twenty eight staff interviewed considered that the policy was operating successfully. In fact few officers, even among the five who assessed the progress being achieved more cautiously, questioned the desirability of the policy: "That's normal"; "It's a responsibility", were among the remarks made. The major qualification to these views, expressed by a minority of officers, concerned the time available to talk with prisoners and do follow up work on their problems. Some also commented that staff enthusiasm for helping some individuals waned when the prisoner behaved poorly.

Staff organised in teams

The fact that nine officers expressed doubts about the success achieved with this measure is not a true indication of the value placed on it by prison staff. Only three other changes attracted more judgements that they were operating 'very well'. Of even greater significance was the fact that all but one of the critical responses concerned the way the scheme was being implemented or the fact that it was not being implemented. "There are hardly any meetings"; "It's hard to get the team together. The roster doesn't allow for it. It's affected also by a shortage of staff"; "It doesn't happen. In one and a half years we've had only two meetings because of the shortage of staff and illnesses", were some of the comments on the limited opportunities for staff to function as team members. One critical response dealt with management's responsibility to take the teams seriously: "Team meetings don't mean a thing when the superintendent still takes all the decisions and when there's no staff participation", said one officer with 10 years experience. Another officer in his late twenties and still finding his way in the job, thought team meetings were not being used to best advantage: "The talk is too taken up with practical matters instead of being about relations. The job creates a lot of pressure and so good talk is needed".

Among those who rated the success of the teams more highly, the opportunities they provide for collegial consultation, problem solving and mutual support were especially commended. "It's good to work in small teams, we get to know each other better, it's easier to solve problems and we have better contact with inmates", was the judgement of a relative newcomer. "It's good for contact and consulting one another" said another young member of staff. A man who has worked in the system for 15 years declared: "It's a very good thing. We get information and we share ideas. It could even work better - sometimes there is too much competition between the teams".

Helping professionals

This development shared with the reduction in the working day the distinction of attracting the greatest number of uncertain and critical responses. The latter were based on two things: the professionals do not always behave sensibly ("Sometimes they behave like Santa Claus, granting things an officer has just forbidden"; "Often they allow themselves to be used by prisoners who only want to get a phone call"); officers generally 'know better' ("Officers know prisoners through and through.... Social workers ought to talk more with us"). But if these were the views of the less enthusiastic, 17 of a possible 22 officers appeared to hold the services of the helping professionals in quite high regard. An officer with 17 years experience declared: "The social worker is prima. We make contact with him for the prisoners. We have a good contact with both the social worker and the psychiatrist who is on call". An officer working in a secured prison said "We can't afford to be without them, especially the social workers. We need them every day". A colleague working in a House of Detention commended the professional staff for their cooperation with custodial staff: "We have very good contact with social workers and psychologists. They respect your judgement".

The statistical analysis of these responses is handicapped by the comparatively small size of our sample. Nevertheless several patterns of associations are evident that warrant consideration and further investigation. First, the matter of length of service. Officers with less than six years experience (6/9) were over two and a half times more likely than their more senior colleagues (4/17) to be unenthusiastic about the value of professional helping staff. The pattern is even clearer when we again separate out the opinions of officers with more than 10 years experience:

Assessment of professional staff	experience	
	10 years +	less than 10 years
Enthusiastic	6	10
Not enthusiastic	1	9

It can be seen that the less experienced officers were evenly divided on the issue. The more experienced group appreciated the value of the professional staff by a margin of six to one. Officers who had been classified 'prisoner oriented' because of the priorities they attached to their work tasks were approximately twice as likely as others - 11/14 compared to 5/12 - to be enthusiastic about the services provided by professional staff.

Staff lead group activities

There is general support for this measure. Twenty one of a possible twenty six officers (those working in institutions where it has been adopted) considered that it was operating successfully. Two major reservations were expressed (i) resources are inadequate ("The idea is good but in practice it's very difficult because of inadequate space and inconsistent leadership"; "With the reduced budget there are fewer staff. It's difficult to organise staff to lead sports, foreign languages and all the other activities"); (ii) not all staff are suited to the task ("Some people can do it, others can't. I myself think it is good"; "Many officers do not want to. I think it should be expected" - officer in his late twenties).

Prisoner rights, amenities

Longer (multiple) visits; unlimited correspondence

There was little real opposition to both of these measures which are aimed at helping prisoners to maintain relationships with family and friends in the outside world. Three of the five officers who expressed dissatisfaction with prisoners' visits actually thought they should be extended or increased in frequency. "They are too short, especially where visitors have undertaken long and expensive trips"; "It is important for prisoners to have contact. In such a strange environment the first half hour of visiting time is quickly lost"; "If the visits were increased to three hours a week the prisoners would be more at ease and it would be easier to work constructively with them". The only genuinely critical remarks were to the effect that both guards and prisoners become bored during the longer visits. The attention of the officers fades so that they do not properly observe what is taking place. An officer working in a House of Detention believed "prisoners get bored because they can't behave freely while they're being supervised".

There are frequently six visits taking place at the one time. Only five officers commented on security problems connected with overcrowding. It is sometimes difficult to observe clearly what is taking place or whether drugs are being passed to prisoners. But so general is the support for visits as a means of maintaining prisoners' outside relationships that most of the officers' remarks focused on whether the conditions favoured the achievement of this purpose. Generally they thought the arrangements worked satisfactorily. One prison handled a very large number of visitors by using "four officers to observe while two colleagues serve the coffee". Not surprisingly, noise is sometimes a problem especially when children become restive. A closed prison has helped to overcome this problem by operating a creche where children may spend part of the visit so that the parents can speak privately. Sometimes the officers working in the prisons felt this gesture was not enough: "When someone has problems with their partner, they should let him have individual (private) visits". Another officer in a maximum security prison added "There is no problem in arranging private visits here".

Of the five officers who expressed reservations about the handling of prisoner correspondence, one (in his tenth year of service) questioned "Why do it (censor in selected cases) at all?" He thought the alternative channels available for communicating with the outside world made the reading of any letters a pointless exercise. The other four officers disagreed: they thought the existing controls for checking contraband and the content of letters in doubtful cases were not only necessary but needed strengthening. "More staff time should be available to check mail"; "People from another country can write what they like in their language. They should be checked".

Interviews with Journalists

A substantial majority of the staff interviewed favoured this prisoner entitlement, many for the reason that there is everything to be gained and little to be lost by maintaining an open system. This attitude prevailed even among staff who had had little experience of inmates taking advantage of the measure. "Things should be in the open"; "everything is in the open here"; "you must have this freedom of the voice". What many officers were less happy about was the tendency for prisoner interviews with the press to result in one-sided stories: "Only one side is asked. They should talk to staff as well to learn what goes on in the institute"; "the guards are never involved, they (the press) hear things from only one point of view". Proposed solutions ranged from banning prisoners and staff from talking to the media ("we should keep things to ourselves"), to insisting on the staff point of view being heard or "supervising interviews and stopping them when they become ridiculous" (officer with 14 years experience).

Visits by outside groups

Half of those interviewed considered that this development was operating very well and more than three out of four rated it a success. In fact, only one officer raised a serious objection: "They may bring in drugs". The others who withheld their full approval did so on the grounds that not enough groups were visiting their institutions. Sometimes the funds available for this purpose were considered inadequate. Generally, however, staff were pleased with what had been achieved. An officer in a closed prison spoke for many when he said: "It makes our life here more comfortable. It makes your work easier and encourages more feelings for each other as human beings". Another officer who works in a House of Detention added "very frequently it makes the work easier. It has a calming effect".

Radio, T.V. in cells; retention of some personal possessions

Only two officers expressed doubts about the way each of these measures was operating. The main criticism of television in prisons is not very different from that leveled against it in the general community. It is said to encourage indolence. "The prisoners prefer to stay in their cells because of it. They get lazier and more isolated", said an officer working in a closed prison. Three points were frequently cited in its favour" (i) television helps to pass the time. "It gives them something to do, otherwise the evenings are so long. I didn't like the idea at first. I thought prisoners already received too much attention. But I find it works really well. People care less about being in their cells", said one officer with 16 years experience); (ii) it helps to keep prisoners in touch with what is happening in the world outside (It's an important form of communication with the outside world"; "they're able to keep in contact with what's going on outside"); (iii) it is quieter in the evenings to the benefit of both inmates and officers.

While the idea of allowing prisoners to soften the environment of their cells with personal possessions generally was approved, many officers entered a plea for commonsense in the application of this policy. Birds were decidedly less popular than fish although one closed institution permitted "one large bird or two small birds in a cage". An officer in another closed institution approved of birds because "they can talk to them". A colleague said "birds and fish keep them busy with living things and impose some responsibilities. You also get to know them better seeing them having contact with animals".

Despite these comments, there is little doubt that most of the staff to whom we spoke would prefer the 'living things' in cells to be confined to a manageable number of fish and plants. "With too many things in the cell searching becomes difficult and searching is necessary for safety". Nevertheless, with appropriate controls, officers generally favour the policy of allowing cell furnishings: "Some personal possessions help to create a homely atmosphere", summed up the general attitude.

Complaints commission

Seven out of ten officers saw merit in the way the Beklagcommissie was operating but for most of the remaining officers it was a case of 'taking a good thing too far'. "It is too easy to complain and too much time is spent on it", said one House of Detention officer in his fourth year of service. He added: "the director should have more influence on which subjects are worth complaining about". Another officer's answer was more direct. He quoted the legendary prisoners' complaint 'the coffee isn't hot enough' as a prelude to the judgement, "it's a lot of bullshit, a lot of trouble for nothing. There shouldn't be a committee". Other staff criticised the costs of the complaint procedures in relation to the magnitude of the issues: "It costs a lot of money that has to be paid by the state when people complain about the smallest things".

Against these criticisms must be weighed the perceived advantages of the system, particularly the protection of individual rights: "This is a good institution and we accept it (Beklagcommissie) as one of the rights of a human being" said an officer working in a House of Detention. "They have the right to appeal against decisions"; "You don't get funny situations, everything is open"; "It's good that an inmate can talk to a person who's not involved", and "It's very good that it's independent so that everything is not coming from the director", were among the other comments.

Prisoners wear their own clothes

Not one officer criticized the implementation of this policy. "It creates a better atmosphere"; "Gives them their own identity", and "they remain more bonded to society" were some of the reasons given for favouring the practice of prisoners wearing their own clothes. Apart from discussing the issue with individual officers, at several institutions where prisoner visits were taking place we raised the matter with supervising officers. None of the officers thought that prisoners wearing their own clothes raised special security problems. Prisoners leaving the visiting room were checked before the visitors departed and careful note was taken of the identities of people entering and leaving the institutions.

Prisoners' committees/newspapers

The outstanding feature of the comments about these two means of prisoner communication was not the staffs' acceptance or rejection of them but the fact that in several institutions they did not exist. In relation to newspapers, only a minority (11/28) of officers were in a position to comment. Most thought the comparative brevity of Dutch prison sentences made it difficult to sustain the organisation needed to bring out a paper. Criticism was divided between the poor quality of the issues of the papers that have appeared ("Its not a newspaper, its not informative"; "It contains a lot of rubbish, its hard to find interesting things to put in it"), and the one-sided or hurtful presentation of ideas ("They can say things about a guard, but some things hurt. There should be better supervision of what gets in"; "Most of the time they only look at things from one side").

The majority of officers had experience of prisoner committees and three out of four with that experience thought they were operating successfully. An officer in his fifth year of service thought it good that "You hear something from the other side. It doesn't always work. Sometimes they concentrate on themselves instead of the whole prison". Another officer who favoured the committees still thought it necessary to sound a note of caution: "People on the committee must see that they can't get all they want. They can only gain small facilities. The committee can't cope with large issues. It (the institution) would be a madhouse if it did". A woman officer describing the prisoner committee procedures in her institution, thought it important that staff receive copies of paper setting out the prisoners' requests, "You have no secrets that way, you always hear if things are going on".

The main criticism of the way the committees operate concerned the prisoners who find their way on to them. These people were described as 'the negative ones', 'the wrongly motivated' and more directly as 'the big mouths'.

Altered conditions of sentence

Reduction in working day

The shortening of the working day appears to be one of the least popular of the changes introduced during the past 10 - 15 years. In the institutions where it has been introduced, as many officers expressed reservations about the measure (11/22) as expressed their support for the way it has been implemented. These opinions cut across attitudinal and career groupings. The boredom of the under-employed prisoner was a matter of concern to a lot of staff. "People get bored and hang around. Lots of them would like to work more which is also easier for the officers. We should go back to 8 hours of work", said a 43 year old House of Detention officer. An officer working in another House of Detention agreed with him: "They must have reasonable work to do, then we should go back to 8 hours of work. Activities should be confined to evenings and weekends". A colleague working in the same institution commented that the shorter working day was only good for "prisoners who want to practice activities. There are not enough activities of different types for some prisoners who must, therefore, stay in their cells for too much of the time". Shortages of space and staff also limited the usefulness of many of the non-work programs.

Staff who took a more favourable view of the shorter working day included some who thought the available work of dubious value: "Four hours is more than enough because it is usually stupid work" (officer in fifth year of service); "Mostly they work four hours a day, but it is possible to work eight hours. Four hours a day is better because I think to go to the teacher is more important than working the other four hours in a factory" (staff member of a closed prison).

Time out of cells

Our list of changes referred to fewer hours being spent in cells on workdays but 11 officers said they were unaware of any change having taken place in the institutions where they worked. Hence opinions on the less restrictive regime were only obtained from 17 staff members. All but two thought it operated successfully. The only negative opinions were based on the fact that "people get too much time out of their cells to plot, organise and scheme" and prisoners who are not involved in activities become bored.

Our statement that an increased number of hours were being spent in cells at weekends was also thought not to apply to a considerable number of institutions. Only fifteen officers were in a position to comment on the 'change'. Six expressed a negative view of which the following was illustrative: "It creates more stress, people want to get out, especially in summer" (Officer working in a closed institution). Some staff thought that inmates did not mind resting on Saturday and Sunday mornings. Certainly the later unlocking of cells means a break for staff who find the everyday routine something of a challenge. However, several officers commented that prisoners suffered embarrassment having to wait their turn for cells to be unlocked so that they could go to the toilet.

Help in adjusting to changes

The review of detailed changes in the penal institutions was followed by discussion of the assistance that prison officers have received in coping with these changes. Four out of every seven officers (16/28) rated the help they had received as 'adequate'. The remainder believed they had received little or no assistance. Officers with six or more years service (11/18) were almost half as likely again as less experienced officers (4/9) to consider that the help they had received was adequate. More striking was the difference in the level of satisfaction expressed by the two groups of officers with different work priorities. Those we have characterised as prisoner oriented were about evenly divided between the 'little or no help' and 'adequate' assistance categories; officers who emphasized the security and good order aspects of their role were three times more likely to express satisfaction with the help they had received than to complain of inadequate assistance:

Assistance in coping with changes

	role priorities	
	prisoner oriented No	not prisoner oriented No
adequate assistance	7	9
little or no assistance	8	3
	15	12

One possible inference is that the help an officer receives from sources such as colleagues, senior prison officers, local managers and training courses is more likely to be judged as adequate if the staff member concerned conceives of his or her job primarily in terms of security tasks. The officer who places greater emphasis on the guiding and supportive aspects of the job thereby enters a more complicated realm and has to deal with role conflicts for which he may feel inadequately prepared.

This interpretation of the above data was supported by the remarks officers made when they were asked what types of assistance should have received greater attention. For example, one officer regretted that he had not been helped to integrate the different elements of his role: "The duties, the security and bejegening, are hard to combine". More frequently, the cause of regret was the officers' inability to obtain the help or counsel of colleagues: "We need time to talk things over with other members of the team. These opportunities are very important and they hardly ever occur. There has to be someone who you can go and talk to, who helps you to do things right. We miss not having a person like this".

Sometimes the plea was for greater attention to be paid to specific skills: "I needed more help in making the change from only closing doors to speaking with and having contact with inmates"; "It is not easy to work more with prisoners, to do things with them"; "You have to lead groups after only a few hours training". Formal training should be more relevant to the task that officers have to perform on the job: "You are expected to do things that you're not trained for"; "You have to have education that's directed to practice". However not all difficulties call for the development of new

skills in basic staff. Sometimes the adaptation to change would be made more effectively, say the officers, if management made a greater effort to listen to those on the shopfloor: "Changes are sometimes inadequately prepared and there is no consultation about changes with the guards. Consultation only works vertically: Too often things are laid on from above. You have to do this, even if you don't see the wisdom of it"; "The director makes the decisions. There has to be more communication between the director and the prison guards".

Finally, the human need that some prison officers felt required greater attention was for change to occur at a more manageable pace: "Changes occurred too fast. Maybe that's good but I preferred to have more time. It is good that we work together with the director..."; "It would be better if changes were brought more slowly into the system".

REFLECTIONS

The patient and continual reform of the Dutch prison system is a story of remarkable achievement. Equally remarkable to an outsider with first hand experience of the difficulties involved, has been the way prison officers have adapted to a wide range of reform measures and the policy objectives upon which they have been based.

Of course, there is considerable individual variation in the enthusiasm with which the changes have been greeted by staff. Shortly after I was introduced to one somewhat disgruntled officer he expressed disbelief over the fact that the Dutch Government, having "made a mess of its own prison system", now appeared intent on "exporting its wrong thinking to other countries, including Australia". However, once he had got a few things off his chest even this officer proceeded to indicate a surprising degree of acceptance of most of the specific changes contained in the list that we tabled. The same response was generally characteristic of other officers whose opening remarks indicated less than total enthusiasm for prison reform.

The interests of a balanced presentation require that we acknowledge the philosophical reservations of some staff. Such reservations must not be confused with the acceptance by the majority of officers of the reasonableness and practicability of the 'new order'. Frequently repeated comments like 'that's the job', 'it works', and 'is there any other way?' testified to the broad acceptance of the regime required by official government policy. Moreover, the officers' responses sometimes went beyond mere acceptance of policy to its enthusiastic endorsement.

Significantly, as we have seen from the foregoing analysis, the enthusiasts often involved a disproportionate number of officers with long service histories. An amusing encounter with two of these experienced officers working in a maximum security prison helped throw some light on this aspect of our findings. They jokingly complained that they felt they were now working in an 'old men's home' because, compared with former times, there was so little staff conflict with the prisoners. "We've been here long enough to know how things were under the old system. We know which system we'd rather work under, which one is better for the guards as well as the prisoners".

The Dutch prison system is about to undergo considerable expansion. There is, it seems to me, a danger of underestimating the difficulty of attaining in new institutions in a relatively short time, the notable but patiently won achievements of the established institutions included in the present study. In this connection I wish to offer a parting observation. Coming from a foreign visitor it may appear presumptuous but the observation is born of personal experience and deep appreciation of what Holland has attained in one of the most difficult fields of public administration:

Over-familiarity with reforms that have eluded most other countries may tempt unproductive short-cuts or bureaucratic tinkering with the existing prison system. It is obvious that any social system can be improved but the scale of attempted change should sometimes be tempered by the wisdom of the saying 'let good enough alone', or even more pointedly 'alle verandering is geen verbetering'.

I	Some issues and problems in cross-cultural research in criminology <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1978</u>
II	Delinquency prevention in Dutch educational programmes <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1978</u>
III	Institutional treatment of juveniles in the Netherlands <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1978</u>
IV	Basic training and patrol work evaluated by police officers <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas; A.A. van der Zee-Nefkens</i>	<u>1978</u>
V	Crime and Dutch society <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1978</u>
VI	Delinquency prevention in the Netherlands <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1977</u>
VIa	<i>German copy: Kriminalitätsvorbeugung in den Niederlanden</i>	
VII	Criminal victimization in the Netherlands <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk; dr. A.C. Vianen</i>	<u>1977</u>
VIII	Criminal law, criminality and correctional system in the Netherlands <i>dr. Jan Fiselier; Jan Wetse; dr. Lodewijk Gunther Moor; Nijmegen University</i>	<u>1977/1982</u>
VIIIa	Constitution: Justice <i>reprint of the State's Printer's edition</i>	
IX	Criminological and psychological aspects of drunken drivers <i>dr. Wouter Buikhuisen</i>	<u>1969</u>
X	An alternative approach to the aetiology of crime <i>dr. Wouter Buikhuisen</i>	<u>1978</u>
XI	The Dutch and their police <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas; A.A. van der Zee-Nefkens</i>	<u>1978</u>
XII	Official police reporting and criminal offences <i>dr. Wouter Buikhuisen; dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1975</u>
XIII	General deterrence and drunken driving <i>dr. Dato W. Steenhuis</i>	<u>1977</u>
XIV	Basic police training and police performance <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas; A.A. van der Zee-Nefkens</i>	<u>1976</u>
XV	Child care and protection in the Netherlands <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1978</u>
XVI	Analysing evaluative research <i>dr. Wouter Buikhuisen; dr. L.J.M. d'Anjou</i>	<u>1975</u>
XVII	Registered and non-registered crime <i>dr. Wouter Buikhuisen</i>	<u>1975</u>
XVIII	Early intervention by a probation agency: objectivities and possibilities <i>dr. Lieabeth Nuyten-Edelbroek; dr. Leo C.M.D. Tigges</i>	<u>1979</u>
XIX	The extent of public information and the nature of public attitudes <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1978</u>
XIXa	<i>French copy: L'Etendue de l'information du public et la nature de l'opinion publique en ce qui concerne la criminalité</i>	
XX	Mail screening pilot study in the Netherlands <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1978</u>
XXI	Law and criminal justice; towards research minded policymaking <i>dr. Wouter Buikhuisen</i>	<u>1976</u>
XXII	Juvenile court structures: problems and dilemmas <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1979</u>

- XXIII Justice and Prisons *Reprint from 'Statistical yearbook of the Netherlands' Central Bureau of Statistics. 1978*
- XXIIIa *item, for 1979; XXIIIb: item, for 1980; XXIIIc: item for 1981; XXIIId: item 1. XXIIIe: item 1983; XXIIIf: item 1984*
- XXIV An (empirically tested) analysis of victimization risks 1979
dr. Carl H.D. Steinmetz
- XXV Female victims of crimes and how the criminal justice system reacts to them 1979
dr. Olga Zoomer
- XXVI Female victims of minor crimes 1979
dr. Carl H.D. Steinmetz
- XXVII Experience gained with a time-study 1979
dr. Maria J.M. Brand-Koolen; dr. Leo C.M.D. Tigges; dr. Arnout Coster
- XXVIII The study of the allocation of time in the probation and after-care service 1979
dr. Maria J.M. Brand-Koolen; dr. Leo C.M.D. Tigges; dr. Hans L.P. Spickenheuer
- XXIX Rape and sexual assault: an analysis of cases reported 1979
dr. Cor Cozijn
- XXX The victim's willingness to report to the police: a function of prosecutionpol 1979
dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk
- XXXI L'influence des média sur l'opinion publique relative à la criminalité: un phénomène exceptionnel? 1979
dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk
- XXXIa *English copy: The influence of the media on public opinion relating to crime: an exceptional phenomenon?*
- XXXII The adoption of foreign children 1979
dr. Margreet R. Duintjer-Kleijn
- XXXIII The relationship between primary police training and policing in practice 1979
Research-team; chief reporter: dr. Josine Junger-Tas
- XXXIV Recidivism and special deterrence 1978
dr. Cornelia van der Werff
- XXXV The RDC-victim surveys 1974-1979 1980
dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk; dr. Carl H.D. Steinmetz
- XXXVI Diversion in the Dutch child care system 1980
dr. Josine Junger-Tas
- XXXVII Some characteristics of the sentencing process 1980
dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk
- XXXVIII The burden of crime on Dutch society 1973 - 1979 1980
dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk
- XXXIX Early intervention by a probation agency: opinions and experiences 1981
dr. Leo C.M. Tigges
- XL Crime prevention: an evaluation of the national publicity campaigns 1981
dr. Carl H.D. Steinmetz
- XLI Criminal investigations by means of projects 1980
dr. Liesbeth G.M. Nuijten-Edelbroek
- XLII Some Consequences of Changes in the processing of Juveniles through the Child Protection System in the Netherlands 1981
dr. Josine Junger-Tas
- XLIII The Practice of early intervention (final report) 1981
dr. Leo C.M. Tigges - dr. Liesbe'h Nuijten

XLIV	Research on Public Attitudes towards Crime Policy in Holland <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1981</u>
XLV	A Psychological Approach to Differences in Sentencing <i>dr. Petrus C. van Duyné</i>	<u>1981</u>
XLVI	L'Adolescence délinquante et les années '80: études prospectives sur les modèles d'intervention et de prise en charge; le cas des Pays-bas <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1982</u>
XLVII	A Researchers view on crime prevention in the Netherlands <i>dr. Carl H.D. Steinmetz, dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk, dr. Guus Roël</i>	<u>1982</u>
XLVIII	Probation, after-care, child care and protection, today and in the future. <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas, dr. Leo C.M. Tigges</i>	<u>1982</u>
IL	The penal climate in the Netherlands: sunny or cloudy? <i>dr. Dato W. Steenhuis, dr. Leo C.M. Tigges</i>	<u>1982</u>
L	Amsterdam, April 30th 1980: the experience of Mobile Unit Officers <i>dr. Liesbeth G.K. Nuijten-Scelbroek</i>	<u>1982</u>
LI	External effects of a crime prevention program in The Hague <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk, Carl H.D. Steinmetz, dr. Hans L.P. Spickenheier, Sartheke J.W. Docter-Schamhardt</i>	<u>1982</u>
LII	A first step towards victimological risk analysis <i>dr. Carl H.D. Steinmetz</i>	<u>1982</u>
LIII	Victimization surveys: beyond measuring the volume of crime <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk, Carl H.D. Steinmetz</i>	<u>1982</u>
LIV	Child protection and juvenile justice in Holland <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1982</u>
LV	Criminological research in the Netherlands <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1982</u>
LVI	Detained at the Government's pleasure <i>dr. Jos L. van Emmerik</i>	<u>1982</u>
LVII	Acquisition of the Surname <i>dr. Albert Klijn et al.</i>	<u>1982</u>
LVIIa	French Copy: Signification du nom de famille <i>dr. Albert Klijn et al.</i>	<u>1982</u>
LVIII	Juvenile delinquency and the law <i>dr. Josine-Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1983</u>
LIX	Responding to crime <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1983</u>
LX	Drinking and Driving <i>dr. Dato Steenhuis</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXI	Prison policy & Penological research in the Netherlands <i>dr. Maria J.M. Brand-Koolen; André Rook</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXII	Community service in the Netherlands <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1983</u>

LXII ^a	The Dutch experiments with community service <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1984</u>
LXIII	Bystanders' intervention in a crime <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXIV	On development and prospects of social advocacy <i>dr. Albert Klijn</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXV	The use of guidelines by prosecutors in The Netherlands <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXVI	Drugusers in detention (not yet available) <i>dr. Lrijn Meyboom</i>	
LXVII	The police and petty crime control <i>dr. Liesbeth G.M. Nuijten and dr. Hans L.P. Spickenheuer</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXVIII	Experiments in crime control: an interim statement <i>dr. Liesbeth G.M. Nuijten, Hans L.P. Spickenheuer and Anton Slothower</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXIX	Minority juveniles and the Dutch police <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXX	Foot patrols and crime prevention instruction in Amsterdam-Osdorp <i>Hans L.P. Spickenheuer</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXXI	Freedom of relationship under the Dutch law (including the Swedish, English and German experience) <i>W.C.J. Robert and J.M.A. Waaijer (Leiden University)</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXXII	Towards a cost/benefit assessment of Dutch penal policies <i>Daniel Glaser (University of Southern California)</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXXIII	Police diversion in the Netherlands <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1983</u>
LXXIV	Recent trends in juvenile delinquency and the reactions of the juvenile justice system <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1984</u>
LXXV	Juvenile delinquency; background of delinquent behaviour <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1984</u>
LXXVI	CSO's in The Netherlands <i>dr. Menke H. Bol; dr. J.J. Overwater</i>	<u>1984</u>
LXXVII	Abuse of Dutch Private Companies (BVs) <i>dr. Bert C. Berghuis</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXVIII	Compensation by the state or by the offender: the victim's perspective <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXIX	Coping with a serious crime: self-help and outside help <i>dr. Carl H.D. Steinmetz</i> (not yet available)	<u>1985</u>
LXXX	Regaining a sense of community and order <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXXI	Migrants in detention <i>dr. Maria M.J. Brand-Koolen</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXXII	Juvenile Delinquency II - the impact of judicial intervention <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas; Marianne Junger</i>	<u>1985</u>

LXXXIII	New trends in Dutch Juvenile Justice: alternative sanctions <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXXIV	Impressions of the Dutch Prison System <i>prof. Tony Vinson; Marisca Brouwers, Marianne Sampiemon</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXXV	Jeunes Allochtones aux Pays-Bas et leurs contacts avec la police <i>dr. Josine Junger-Tas</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXXV ^a	<i>English copy</i>	
LXXXVI	What we say - what we do <i>dr. Jan J.M. van Dijk - dr. Nicolette Nijenhuis</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXXVII	Recidivism among psychiatric offenders <i>dr. Jos L. van Emmerik</i>	<u>1985</u>
LXXXVIII	Evaluating neighborhood crime prevention programs <i>prof. Wesley G. Skogan</i>	<u>1985</u>

please fill out:

regular mailings interested
yes / no

please order:

mrs. Hannah Coli-Smits
Research and Documentation Centre
Ministry of Justice
P.O. Box 20301
2500 EH THE HAGUE - Netherlands

SUBSCRIPTION AND MAILINGS ARE FREE OF CHARGE

NAME INSTITUTION
ADDRESS AERIAL CODE CITY
COUNTRY