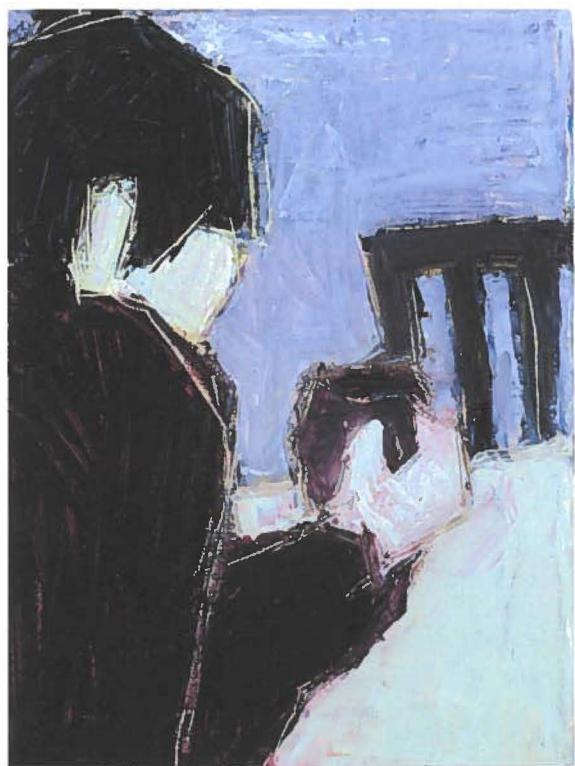


M E D D E L E L S E R O M G R Ø N L A N D

Detention in Greenland

Night-Time correctional Institutions, Probation and Hostels for Juvenile Offenders as seen by Inmates and Staff

Helene Brochmann



MAN & SOCIETY

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Abstract

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The present work is the result of a study dealing with the way in which people who have been committed to a night-time correctional institution, supervision or hostel for juvenile offenders experience their loss of freedom or their supervision and the treatment they are accorded in the system.

The objective is to establish a knowledge of how the measures applied by the Prison Service are carried out in practice. The data on which the study is based were collected in interviews with convicted persons and the staff in the institutions and the Prison Service.

The Greenlandic Penal Code is known for its so-called "offender principle", according to which it is not the intention for the sentences to punish, but to find the "measure" judged to be most suited to prevent the guilty person from engaging in further crime. The aim of rehabilitation plays an important part.

It emerges from the report that the original intentions concerning treatment and rehabilitation are not so easy to fulfil as the originators of the Criminal Code might have imagined, but at the same time a picture is also drawn of a prison system which still differs fundamentally from what is known in the rest of the world.

Keywords: Greenlandic Penal Code, correctional institutions, prison, probation, rehabilitation, offenders, prison staff.

Foreword

The whole of the Greenlandic legal system is at present undergoing an extensive reorganisation. A commission consisting of 17 Danish and Greenlandic specialists - lawyers, academics, district judges, representatives of the police, lay counsellors, the Home Rule Government etc - are examining the legislation (the Administration of Justice Act and the Penal Code) and all the institutions. The Commission's report is due at the end of 2001, when it will be the task of the Danish Parliament, the Folketing, which is the supreme authority for the Greenlandic legal system, to revise the law insofar as agreement can be reached.

Thanks to the breadth of its composition, which allows it to include representatives of the day-to-day work of the legal system, the Commission is itself in possession of a great deal of information as to how laws and regulations function in practice today. At the same time, however, it has been recognised that a large group is not represented - a group which cannot in this connection be expected to put forward its views in the public debate, i.e. the *users* of the legal system. The Commission has thus carried out two studies with the deliberate aim of obtaining views from those whose cases - or freedom - are in the hands of the legal system. One of these is a study of interviews with people who have been before the courts in criminal or civil cases. The other study is the present one, also based on interviews, with the aim of discovering how people sentenced to the measures represented by night time correctional institutions, supervision or hostels for juvenile offenders themselves experience this.

Seen in an international perspective, the Greenlandic institutions are what attract particular attention. The Greenlandic Penal Code is known for its so-called "offender principle", according to which it is not the intention for the sentences to punish, but to find the "measure" judged to be most suited to preventing the guilty person from engaging in further crime. In this respect, the aim of rehabilitation plays an important part. For the same reason, there are no real prisons in Greenland, but only open institutions where inmates are only locked up at night and are assumed to have work in town during the day.

This system and the ideas behind it have already been described in literature - also in English.¹ The novelty of the present study lies in the fact that this is the first time since 1975, when the measures were quite new, that a major comprehensive examination has been undertaken to discover of how they are *experienced in practice*.

As will be made clear in the Introduction and the section on method, this is not a study of how the night-time correctional institutions, supervision and hostels for juvenile offenders respectively *act as sanctions*, i.e. whether or not they have the effect of preventing crime. This is a more limited, qualitative

study the object of which is to describe everyday life as experienced in the institutions today, and to discover how the offenders and the staff regard it.

It emerges from the study that the original intentions concerning treatment and rehabilitation are not so easy to fulfil as the originators of the Criminal Code might have imagined, but at the same time a picture is also drawn of a prison system which still differs quite fundamentally from what is known in the rest of the world.

The English edition is a slightly revised version of the official edition of the Commission Report published in Danish and Greenlandic.

Helene Brochmann, January 1999

Introduction

Society's treatment of criminals is often the subject of heated public debate. No solutions are simple or "right" - there will always be dilemmas. But when society undertakes to deprive other people of their freedom as a reaction to something that members of society have not agreed to condone, it is also accepting responsibility for those individuals. The immediate response of most people will probably be to say that the reaction - a fine, confinement in an institution, probation or whatever - has the aim of making the criminal feel that he or she has done something unacceptable. But at the same time there is also the wish that this should have the effect of persuading the person concerned not to do the same thing again ("specific prevention") - and that others, on seeing the unpleasant consequences, will be put off doing the same ("general prevention"). The measures can, however, also have side effects that it is worth trying to avoid. If, for instance, as a result of being confined the convicted person suffers "social damage", impairing his or her possibility of acting as a normal citizen, the preventive effects will evaporate and the result will be both a human and a social problem. On the other hand it can be hoped on the contrary to achieve some favourable effect from the sanction if for instance offenders can be treated so that their potential for subsequently managing on their own is improved.

In Greenland a system has been chosen which places a strong emphasis on achieving just these positive effects - of rehabilitating. This implies that great efforts are made to avoid harmful effects from the measures applied, and to attempt to help the convicted person in both human and social terms. If this is successful, it will have the obvious advantage that after serving their sentence the convicted persons will be better citizens, better in their behaviour and less inclined to criminality (or - at the very least - no worse than before). But at the same time it might have the disadvantage that a "punishment" that looks more like help will not have a deterrent effect on some, or that it might actually have some attraction on account of its offers of treatment and thereby be a (contributory) reason why some people commit criminal acts, simply to be brought into the system.

This study has been ordered by the Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System so as to discover how *the convicted persons themselves experience* three different sanctions: night- time correctional institutions, probation and hostels for juvenile offenders. What are their effects on them? Do they become better or worse citizens as a result of what is done to them? Can the measures be improved? In the study we also look at the *views of members of staff* - what effect do they believe the measures taken have on those affected by them?

The questions the study attempts to answer start out from a view of the measures as containing elements of both punishment and rehabilitation. The aim is then to discover what effect they have on these two areas.

So the study will consider:

- whether the offender's experience of the sanctions and the members of staff involved is felt to contribute to a *stabilisation of the offender's everyday environment* (work, residence, family, friends, leisure activities),
- whether the offender and members of staff see a *reinforcement of personal resources* (education, "social skills") taking place,
- whether a *treatment of abuse and other problems* (alcohol, hash, psychological illnesses) is effected.

Furthermore, light will be thrown on

- what *limitations on personal freedom* the measures entail in practice,
- and *how these limitations are experienced* by offenders and staff respectively.

In addition, consideration will be given to:

- the views of offenders and those on probation on relations with the staff in the correctional institutions and the Prison Service respectively. This is something with which those committed to the institutions are very concerned, and many of them believe that it is of crucial importance to how the whole of their period spent in the institution or on probation affects them.
- the views of the inmates and probationers on the measures that have been taken against them.

The study is very concrete and empirical: it is quite simply an attempt to provide a picture of what the "consumers", i.e. the offenders, believe. It is thus not a theoretical analysis of the effect of punishment or treatment, and neither is it a legal analysis of whether laws and rules concerning the measures are observed.

Nor does the study attempt to adopt a stance on whether the three different measures actually *work*, that is to say whether they have the effect of preventing crime in individual cases. There is good reason for this being difficult to say, as those interviewed are not yet at the end of their sentences. They have been asked whether they themselves *believe* it is working, and it is not certain to what extent we can trust their replies to this question. Some of those interviewed, however, have been in a night-time correctional institution or under supervision before, and they at least can tell us something about what that has not been sufficient to prevent them from coming back. In addition, the Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System has later set in train a study of, among other things, how many are guilty of subsequent crimes after having been held in a correctional institution on a previous occasion.

It would perhaps also be appropriate to emphasise that this is not a study of the Greenland *system of sanctions* as such. Fines and warnings etc. also form part of this. So there will not be any discussion of whether one form of sanc-

tion is better than another. This must rather be seen as a study of the Greenland *institutions* for criminals, or of the measures which (in part) have *treatment* as their objective.

The preparatory work encompassed reports of various kinds concerning the Greenlandic system of sanctions in particular and the serving of sentences in Denmark in general.² But a comparison or an attempt to see it in the light of other reports has not been attempted here. I did in fact visit the Greenland Section in Herstedvester Prison, the closed prison in Vridsløse-lille, and the open prison at Horserød in order to gain an impression of what other kinds of imprisonment look like, but this has not been used for systematic comparisons either.

So it is the aim of this study first and foremost to provide a picture of how the various measures are *experienced* by those convicted. This means that their statements are at first reported without comment, even if for instance the staff might have a different picture of the real situation. Their picture is then drawn in a separate chapter. Finally, a chapter balances the conflicting points of view - where such are found - against each other. Then come the present author's interpretations, or rather attempts to explain the statements that have been made. These interpretations are incorporated at intervals under the heading of "Discussion".

14 inmates in the night-time correctional institutions (7 in Nuuk and 3 and 4 in each of the two smaller ones respectively) have been interviewed, which means just under 20% of those in night-time correctional institutions at the time of the study. Also 14 persons on probation were interviewed, corresponding to 8-9% of the total. In addition there were three residents from one of the two hostels for juvenile offenders, where at the time of the interviews there were 6 inmates (12 altogether in the two institutions). Those interviewed represented the major categories of crime (manslaughter, rape, violence, burglary, indecent exposure and other sexual crimes plus hash), various age groups, social backgrounds etc. Although the study is not large, an attempt has been made to provide as comprehensive a picture as possible. However, people differ greatly; this applies to criminals as much as others, and as will be seen, the measures have very varied effects from person to person. Although those interviewed were not intended to represent every conceivable "type", their very varied answers nevertheless give the feeling of a fairly broad picture.

The analyses in the report are based on the interviews. For reasons of space it has not been possible to provide more than a few scattered quotations here, so the text consists mainly of a summary of the statements and attitudes that emerged. Apart from this, there is no chapter providing a general summary of the study as such, but only summarising the three sections: night-time correctional institution, probation and hostel for juvenile offenders. A general conclusion would only be of value if it compared the three measures and saw them in relation to the system of sanctions in general, and, as said, that is not the intention in this work.

The criminals in Herstedvester are not included in the study, although the Greenland Section there is of course part of the Greenlandic penal system. This limitation has been undertaken partly because the situation of these inmates has already been well described, especially in Tine Bryld's books,³ and partly because there is already broad agreement that the possibility must be created for serving a sentence in a closed institutional establishment in Greenland. Nevertheless, as said, I chose to pay a visit to Herstedvester so as also to talk to the inmates there. The Commission has been given an account of this visit.

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I would like to express my thanks to:

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Method

This study has been written on the basis of a study deriving from interviews carried out in Greenland in the autumn of 1996.

The interviews were conducted in five towns: the three towns containing night-time correctional institutions, one with a hostel for juvenile offenders and one in which the Probation Service does not have an office but is represented by an appointed supervisor. Those undergoing probation come from all five towns. The study was carried out on the basis of two visits to Greenland, each of about three weeks duration.

In the institutions - both the night-time correctional institutions and the hostel for juvenile offenders - we started the visit with a general meeting attended by all convicted persons. Here we told them why we had come and asked them to answer three questions:

- What do you think of being here in the institution/hostel?
- If you yourself could decide, is there anything that should be different?
- Is it a good idea to place people in the institution/hostel when they have committed a criminal act?

The questions were not followed slavishly, but were mostly used to start the conversation. Everywhere, but especially in the correctional institutions, a great deal emerged that was clearly of great concern to the inmates.

After these general meetings, we chose whom to interview. The criteria were that we should have various types of crime represented, short and long sentences, new and old inmates, inmates of different sexes and ages etc. Only two refused to speak to us. They had both been in Herstedvester Prison previously and had psychological problems. Instead, we spoke to others who had been there, so that they, too, are represented. Among those interviewed there are unmarried, married and divorced inmates both with and without children, and there are also a few serving their sentences in their own towns in contrast to the great majority who are in institutions away from their native towns.

In the case of those under supervision, some were chosen on the basis of lists I had been sent beforehand and in which it was again the "variety" that decided whom I chose. Their probation officers had in some instances made arrangements beforehand; in the cases of others, they found them for us while we were there. In a few instances, this was a very considerable task for which the probation officers are gratefully thanked.

All the interviews were conducted in private, in the case of those held in institutions usually in their own rooms. Those under supervision were interviewed in premises in the offices of the Prison Service or, in the town where there was no such office, at our hotel. In addition, we spoke to two custodians

in each institution, with a member of staff in the hostel and with the probation officers in each town. These interviews also included concrete questions concerning the inmates/probationers we spoke to. In the case of two probationers, however, we had to renounce this "perspective-creating" interview, as the probation officer fell ill and we could not manage to interview her.

Altogether 14 inmates, 14 of those subject to probation orders, 3 hostel residents, 6 members of institution staffs, 1 member of a hostel staff and 5 probation officers were interviewed. In addition I spoke more informally with the heads of the three institutions, with a warden and various members of institution staff.

Interviews

The small interviewing team consisted of the same two persons who had travelled around a year before studying the district courts on behalf of the Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System: Naja Joelsen and the present writer. Naja is a law graduate with Greenlandic as her native tongue and speaks fluent Danish. I am a graduate in political science and eskimology with Danish as my native language and speak reasonable Greenlandic. This combination of specialist subject and linguistic capabilities has made it possible to offer to those interviewed the possibility of being interviewed in the language they themselves chose. For the vast majority this means Greenlandic, in which case Naja interviewed while I could follow and ask supplementary questions as we went. In the cases of the Danes and two Greenlanders, they were interviewed in Danish by myself. I also carried out one interview in Greenlandic. The interviews were tape-recorded, and subsequently Naja wrote out the roughly 700 pages directly and without translation. The material has thus been directly analysed in Greenlandic.

The Questions

Starting out from a guide on interviewing which on the whole was followed fairly closely, though with the addition of supplementary questions, we carried out the interviews with those listed above. Typically, the interviews lasted for one to two hours for those committed to correctional institutions, half an hour to an hour for those on probation, three quarters of an hour for hostel residents. We talked to the members of staff in the institutions for about an hour each and with the custodians in the correctional institutions for about an hour and a half. There were naturally considerable individual variations.

As there by and large are no direct quotations in the study, readers are completely dependent on the editing and interpretation made by the author. I have of course tried to be as faithful to the statements made as possible by recapitulating them without comment, but merely in a more or less organised order.

One problem in the study is that it is to a great extent about everyday life in the correctional institutions or in the offices of the Prison Service, which I have not myself had the opportunity of experiencing over a longer period. I have not been present when unpleasant episodes arose or good discussions took place. I have visited all the institutions and have gained a sense of the mood and the social conventions obtaining, but otherwise I have had nothing else to go on but the stories I have been told. I hope that by talking both to those convicted or put on probation and to the staff members I have been able to ensure the greatest possible degree of reliability. It may be that others would have reached conclusions different from mine. But there should be no doubt that those convicted and the staff said what I attribute to them.

Language

In recapitulating what has been said, I have tried to keep close to the words used in Greenlandic. In some cases this can mean that English words are used that are slightly unusual in the given context. For the information of the Greenland-speaking reader who will perhaps wonder what the persons interviewed actually said in their own language, the following is a list of very frequently used words and the chosen translation into English:

iluaqutaavoq is translated as *it is useful, beneficial or good (for me/you)*

iluaqutigi - *to have pleasure from, to have benefit from, to like*

ajoqutaavoq - *it is bad/harmful (for me/you)*

perorsaa - (and derivatives) *educational or developmental*

ajunngilaq - *that's OK or that's fine*

In a few instances the Greenlandic word has been kept in the text where the English translation could not be exact, irrespective of which English word was chosen.

In order to facilitate reading, terms such as "thief", "hash-smuggler" etc. have been used, although they are slightly incorrect. The use of such words implies a view that the person in question can be defined by a criminal act he once committed. But as a person he is of course characterised by many other things as long as he does not spend *most* of his time stealing, selling hash or being violent. And furthermore - if he does not do it again, he ought not to be thought of as a "thief" for the rest of his life. The problem is that corresponding expressions for the other deeds mentioned become terribly cumbersome: "a person sentenced for theft" cannot really be used, and "the man who was sentenced for hash smuggling" becomes too long. And so the more idiomatic, though perhaps less fortunate expressions have been used.

The Night-Time Correctional Institutions

Introduction

There are altogether three night-time correctional institutions for offenders in Greenland, a large one in Nuuk accommodating 54 inmates and two small ones in Aasiaat and Qaqortoq with ten places each. All three take all types of offenders: short stay, long stay, young and old, offenders convicted of serious criminal acts dangers to other individuals, and nice ladies who have fiddled the accounts. In Nuuk there are moreover three persons in custody (corresponding to being on remand in Britain), who are waiting for their cases to be heard. In the coastal towns such people are typically held in police cells.

Being placed in a correctional institution constitutes the most extensive deprivation of freedom that can be meted out in Greenland. If an offender is psychologically ill and/or is considered to be too dangerous to keep in the open system, he or she is sent to Denmark, to the Institution at Herstedvester or the County Hospital in Vordingborg.

The Background

When the criminal code was drawn up at the beginning of the 1950s, great emphasis was placed on the fact that there were to be no prisons in Greenland. But changes in the pattern of criminality and problems in finding suitable families to care for the criminals who were sentenced to being placed away from home in private households led to a need for other possible measures. So in 1963, with a change in the criminal code, the possibility was created of building correctional institutions. These were viewed as an extension to the criminal code - not as a modification to it or a reaction against it. Nowhere is there an actual description of the aim of the institutions, but against the background of the considerations accompanying their establishment we can conclude that the fundamental ideology of the criminal code that offenders should be treated individually and not excluded from the community etc. was also to apply to the correctional institutions. On the other hand, the institutions were *also* introduced in recognition of the fact that the sanctions so far applied had not been sufficient, and that in certain cases it was necessary actually to deprive people of their freedom. But nowhere is it specifically stated that the institutions *in themselves* were to have a specific aim of *treatment* or *education*. It can be said that the intention was to extend the existing measures with a system in which the deprivation of freedom could be applied in cases of serious or recurrent crime, but *without the harmful effects* known from an ordinary, closed prison system. Nevertheless, the hope of achieving definitely *positive results* from a period spent in a correctional institution can be justified if, as said, the institutions are regarded as part of the ideology of the criminal code as a whole.

These introductory remarks have been included here because in assessing the correctional institutions it is important to remember that they can be viewed in two ways: Is it the intention with them that they should simply keep the offenders locked up, but in such a way that it does as little harm as possible, or is it intended that they turn the offenders into better functioning people than they were before they were committed? If we are to answer the question of whether the institutions solve their tasks well enough, we must first decide what their tasks are actually believed to be. Here, the report is primarily intended to show what offenders themselves believe. But when we read about their expectations and criticism, it might be well to have this fundamental question at the back of our minds.

Everyday life

The correctional institutions in Greenland are open - much more open than the so-called open prisons in Denmark.⁴ This implies first and foremost that inmates are allowed - and are encouraged - to take ordinary work or training in the town. This can - see above - be viewed as a means of avoiding harmful effects from the period of enforced residence in that the offender retains his ability to work and his contact with the surrounding community, or as actual rehabilitation in cases where the offender has not had work before.

There are no bars to the windows, no ring wall and barbed wire fencing round the institutions. Seen from outside, they look like quite ordinary buildings capable of housing anything at all. The institution in Nuuk is large and has several extensions. With rooms on either side of long corridors, it is inevitable that it should have a somewhat dreary institutional character, though

The night-time correctional institution in Nuuk is an ordinary building among small industries placed a little outside the town center. It holds 54 rooms for inmates.





Traffic in and out of the house in Nuuk is surveyed by an officer. All movements of the inmates outside the house are registered.



The corridor in one of five sections of the night-time correctional institution in Nuuk.

attempts have been made to counter this by means of bright-coloured decorations on the walls. Each offender has a small room with a bed, chair, table and cupboard, and also a small washbasin. The windows cannot be opened, and fresh air enters through a ventilation duct above the window. Generally speaking, decoration in the form of posters etc. is sparse, which is presumably due to the fact that the inmates (in Nuuk) can risk frequently having to change rooms. If, on account of disciplinary offences, they are for instance confined to the "safe" section for a week, they do not return to the same room as they had before. With the existing massive need for accommodation, rooms cannot be left vacant for that length of time. In each corridor/ section there is a common room with sofa, easy chairs, coffee table and television. If you visit the institution during the day, the only life to be seen is in the common room in the safe section, where those confined to it are left together with any who have had permission to go out withdrawn for disciplinary reasons. In other sections there are many who are out at work, while those who are at home visit each other in their rooms. In Nuuk there is moreover a section known as the "annexe". Here, inmates live in rooms two and two together and they enjoy a greater degree of freedom than the others. This is a place for which you have to qualify by behaving well and refraining from breaking the rules. In the main building, the door is always locked. If an inmate wants to go out, he has to report to the duty officer's desk, where it is registered that he is leaving the building. The officer then opens the door by pressing a button.

There is of course less of the atmosphere of an institution about the two smaller units. At the centre of them there is a short corridor with five rooms on either side. When we visited Qaqortoq, the institution had just been extensively rebuilt and expanded, one effect of which was to give the inmates a large new common room, kitchen and dining room with space for a table tennis table etc. and also facilities for preparing catches. The staff have a small office with a desk where those going out and coming in can report. In addition a separate bedroom has been built for the officer on duty at night and a handsome office for the warden. When we visited it, the institution in

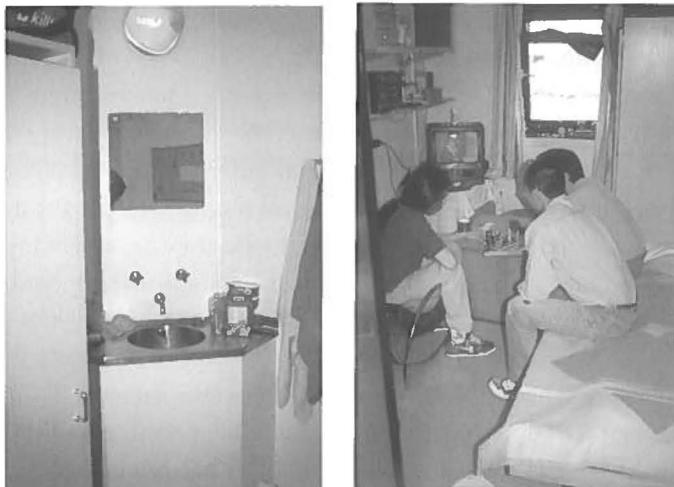
Aasiaat was undergoing a similar rebuilding, though it had not yet been finished. Here, the inmates still had only a small common room where they ate and relaxed in each other's company. There was no real kitchen, only a tiny facility for making tea. The duty officers had a very small room where there was just space for a couch, a writing desk, a coffee table and a chair. The warden also had a small office. But, of course, these circumstances are rapidly being improved.

Inmates are subject to a long list of rules restricting their freedom:

Residence. New inmates spend their first week in solitary confinement; they are confined to their rooms throughout, have their food brought to them and only go out twice a day for half an hour in the exercise yard. (This kind of solitary confinement is also used as a disciplinary measure if the institution's rules are broken). After this, they can start working in the town, but are not otherwise allowed out. After four weeks, they are given a "daytime exeat", that is to say permission to leave the institution within specific times on Saturdays and Sundays. After eight weeks they are given "evening exects", implying that they are allowed out on certain specific evenings during the week (typically three) from 4.30 pm to 9.30 pm, by which time they must be back. The precise days and times vary slightly from institution to institution. When they have fallen into a normal routine, the intention is that they will go out to work during the day if they have a job, and otherwise they must remain in the institution during the daytime. If they break the rules, a disciplinary measure might mean their being refused daytime and/or evening exects for a certain length of time. Not having an exeat does not necessarily mean that they cannot attend to their jobs, but in many cases simply that they may not be in town unless they are at work. All offenders must be in their rooms from 9.30 pm to 6.00 am each day. The door is locked from the outside. While serving their sentence, they are not allowed to spend the night anywhere else.⁵ Otherwise the rule is that offenders may not leave the institution without permission. In practice, this only means "without telling anyone", as they are permitted to go out at regular times - unless permission has been withdrawn again. In special cases, for instance if the inmates have evening or weekend



For every section of the house in Nuuk, there is a cosy corner with comfortable chairs and a tv set. During the day it is empty because the inmates are working outside in town.



Each inmate in Nuuk has a small room with a bed, chair, table, cupboard, and a small washbasin. The tv set is private. The windows cannot be opened, and fresh air enters through a ventilation duct above the window.

work, they can be given permission to go out at other times instead. In addition the head of the institution can give extraordinary permission to go out in connection with special events, or if an offender with whom there are no disciplinary problems wishes to participate for instance in club sports or evening classes at other times. There are moreover special rules allowing new inmates or those who have not yet been given permission to go out, to take part in activities (sports and sailing) outside the institution provided they are accompanied by a member of staff.

Visits. Those who are allowed to go out cannot have visitors to the institution, but they must see people they want to see by visiting them while allowed out. They are, however, allowed to have visitors if for instance a close relative who lives elsewhere is in town. Those not allowed out can have visitors during the periods when exeats are normally granted.

Work. Offenders have the duty to undertake employment as directed by the institution. In practice, this means they have to undertake normal employment outside the institution if they can find it. This might present difficulties especially for the small institutions, as there is unemployment in the small towns. As the situation is at the moment, however, there are no problems in Qaqortoq, where almost everyone has a job. In Aasiaat, no one has been able to find employment. It has also been possible to give a small

number jobs in the institutions themselves, for instance as caretakers or - in Nuuk - as assistants in the kitchen and laundry.

Finances. The institution administers offenders' finances while they are held in the institution. If they have an income, they themselves pay DKK 690 (1996) a week for board and lodging. The remainder is put in a bank account. Each week they receive DKK 350 from their own wages as pocket money. If they are not working because they *cannot* find work, they are given DKK 230 a week in pocket money, and if they *refuse* to work, are in solitary confinement or refused exects, they are given DKK 125. Pocket money can moreover be reduced to DKK 125 a week as an element in a disciplinary measure.

The pocket money has to last for everyday necessities such as cigarettes, coffee/tea, other provisions, personal hygiene, telephone and Greenlandic food. If, in addition, they want to use their own savings to buy consumer durables such as television, radio, clothing etc., this requires permission from the institution. Every time they have been given permission to make such purchases, receipts have to be produced for the staff. The aim with this rule is not to allow the institution to decide what are sensible or reasonable purchases, but only to ensure that the money is not spent on alcohol or hash, and that large sums of money do not circulate among inmates.

If they have credit cards, debit cards, chequebooks or the like, these will be confiscated during stay in the institution.

Alcohol and hash. It is naturally forbidden to possess, smoke or sell hash or other drugs in the institution. Similarly, there is a total ban on alcohol. Breaking this rule leads to disciplinary measures.

Other rules. All medicines, including medicines bought over the counter, must be kept by the staff. Inmates must accept that they can be subjected to body searches, for instance after having been out, or that their rooms can be searched. Mobile phones are not allowed. In addition, inmates must obey the regulations laid down by the head of the institution.

Disciplinary measures

If the rules are broken, the warden has various disciplinary measures at his disposal, which can be used separately or in combination:

- Withdrawal of exects (day/ evening/ both) for a specific period.
- Solitary confinement (isolation in a room; in the small institutions typically their own, in Nuuk in the closed section or, for instance in cases of gross intoxication in the detention room in the cellar).
- Reduction of pocket money

In addition, breaking the rule of not drinking alcohol will usually mean that inmates are obliged to take Antabuse before being allowed out again.

Furthermore, the Nuuk institution has at its disposal a proper isolation cell with a bed provided with belts for restraining inmates. However, accord-



The night-time correctional institution in Qaqortoq has recently been upgraded and an extension has been built. There is room for 10 inmates. The manager has his apartment on the 2nd floor in the building in the back.



In the extension there is a large room with kitchen and dining facilities. The inmates are invited to cook their own meals here, but for various reasons it has never really worked.

ing to the staff, it is only used on extremely rare occasions, perhaps once a year on average.

Atmosphere

Seen from an outsider's point of view, the night-time correctional institutions are characterised by a calm and perhaps rather sleepy atmosphere. The officers on duty sit in the office drinking coffee or they may be on their way out or coming back from some errand in town. Inmates go past and ask permission to go out, report they are home or ask about practical matters. Some are smiling and willing to chat, others are more withdrawn and taciturn. It is of course difficult to arrive at a thorough impression when, as a researcher you are only in the institution for a couple of hours a day for a week at a time. Of course, you do not see the inmate who returns drunk, or the quarrel between an officer and an inmate, and neither do you hear the orders that the inmates feel unreasonable or unintelligible. You hear of many things that look differently seen from the two groups' points of view, and the decision on who is right cannot be based on what you have seen for yourself. It becomes more a

question of the credibility of the two parties in the relevant matter. But two episodes I saw for myself at least exemplify that the tone between the parties can differ greatly:

An inmate has to go to the hospital and is driven there by one of the officers. As the car is approaching, the officer asks which entrance is closest to the department the inmate is to go to. The inmate says it is the other one. "You're lying", says the officer. In a somewhat hurt and aggrieved voice the inmate says that he is not. They drive to the other entrance, and as I remain in the car, I do not know whether it was the right one. But neither is that the essential element in this story.

Another day (by chance) I see the same inmate sitting on the arm of a chair in the office looking at the family photographs that the officer sitting in the armchair has with him. They are chatting and pointing to the pictures. The officer says that the pictures are of his daughter and grandchildren on holiday, and the inmate looks and asks questions.

As said, too much should not be read into these observations. When I recently visited the open State Prison at Horserød and the closed State Prison at Vridsløselille, it struck me that I was not leaving with an oppressive feeling that this was far worse than in Greenland. Most of the inmates were in the workshops, and the corridors were empty. The prisoners we met gave us a friendly greeting or did not see us. And yet one well knows - because staff and inmates who have tried both have said so - that there is an enormous difference between being in a closed prison in Denmark and an open prison in Greenland. In the correctional institutions in Greenland there are no hard drugs, no problems with strong prisoners who exploit or terrorise weak prisoners, no "prohibitions" among the prisoners about speaking to the staff etc. etc. In addition, the number of disciplinary cases in Greenland is much lower than in Denmark. One warden believed that this is incredible in view of the free conditions. "Just think how much trouble they *could* make..."! (Perhaps, after all, it is not so paradoxical - people have a tendency to behave as others behave towards them).

We only obtain a more comprehensive picture of "what it is like" when we chat to the inmates and the members of staff themselves, and that is what the following part of the report is about.

The Inmates Interviewed

Altogether 14 inmates were interviewed⁶. They consisted of 13 men and one woman. The woman's crime was of a kind that would make her easily recognisable if it were described in detail, and so there will be no analysis of her personal background etc. So in this section we shall be looking at the 13 men.

The men are of very much the same age; the great majority of them are in their 30s. A young man in his early 20s and one of rather more than 40 are there for hash smuggling. In addition there is one of about 50 who was convicted of violent behaviour towards his wife, and one in his late 20s convicted of child abuse. The remaining nine are between 31 and 37 years old. They were almost all found guilty of violent crimes: four for murder, one for attempted murder, one for rape. In addition there was one convicted of incest and two of theft.

As for training, the offenders generally had none, although there were a few exceptions. The two hash smugglers are in one case a student and in the other a trained craftsman. The two convicted of sex crimes have both done the STI course.⁷ Although the number interviewed is very small, the difference in educational background is nevertheless striking when we examine the categories of crime: the two convicted of sex crimes and hash smuggling have both had a training, while the two thieves and those convicted of violence or murder have had none.

The four with a training behind them have had jobs related to that training. Four of the other, untrained, men are hunters or fishermen of one kind or another, and three were helpers in various construction firms when sent to the institution. As the result of a large number of long sentences one had been out of the labour market for years.

None of the inmates was married at the time of the interview except for the one convicted of incest, and he was in the middle of a divorce. In his case and in that of the man convicted of using violence against his wife, the case has directly cost them their marriages. Another was divorced at an earlier date. The remainder have never been married, but six have lived together with women with whom they have children.⁸

The night-time correctional institution in Aasiaat looks like all the other houses. It is situated on the outskirts of the town and has room for 10 inmates.





The institution in Aasiaat was not yet upgraded in 1996 and these were the facilities for the inmates: a modest living room, a small kitchen and a pay phone in the corridor from where there is a door to all rooms.

As for living conditions, there are two who did not have their own home before being sent to the institution, but lived with their parents/foster parents. It might be a coincidence, but just these two men are in their mid-30s, "regulars" in the institution and the only ones in the study to have been convicted of theft. The remainder have had homes of their own. One of the 13 comes from Qaanaaq (Thule) and one is from Eastern Greenland. Altogether 11 come from a town other than that in which they are serving their sentence.

No difference can be seen between the two groups if we look at the inmates' earlier crimes. The four sentenced for hash smuggling and sex crimes are all first-time criminals if we choose to ignore the fact that one of the hash smugglers had been fined for driving under the influence. Only one of the others can otherwise show a clean sheet, and that is the one convicted of attempted murder. The remaining eight have all been convicted before, and six of them have been held in the night-time correctional institution before.⁹

The inmates in this study have been given sentences ranging from eight months to an indeterminate period. One is on remand.

Stabilisation of the Everyday Environment

When we talk of rehabilitation, there will naturally be an implicit idea that the person to be rehabilitated must be living an unstable and unhealthy life. So it becomes important to teach that person to get up early in the morning, go to bed early in the evening, to eat sensibly, take exercise and follow other healthy leisure interests. These can partly be objectives in their own right, partly be considered as a means to achieving the most important thing of all: to enable the person concerned to keep a job - and thus to get along without turning to crime. So this section will endeavour to discover whether the period spent in the correctional institution can be said to help the inmates to achieve or maintain a sensible way of life.

Everyday life in the institution is subject to a strict routine. Offenders are wakened at six o'clock in the morning, but may sleep on if they do not have work to go to. After this, the day in Nuuk proceeds as follows: The canteen is open from 6.30 to 8.00. Those in solitary confinement are given their breakfast at 7.30. At 8.30 the inmates have to clean the institution. At 10.00 those in solitary confinement are allowed to walk in the exercise yard, and at 11.30 they are given a hot midday meal. The canteen is open again from 11.45 to 12.30. Those in solitary confinement are in the exercise yard again at 3.00 pm and are given supper at 5.30. The canteen is open from 5.45 to 6.15 pm. By 9.30, all have to be in their rooms, which are locked. However, on Fridays and Saturdays, "bedtime" is postponed until the last film on the television set in the common room - which must have started before midnight - has finished. Getting-up time on Saturdays and Sundays is an hour later.

Inmates are allowed out on Saturdays from 1 - 5 pm and on Sundays from 9 - 12 and 1 - 5. They are allowed out in the evenings on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays from 6.30 to 9.30. Those in the "annexe" (a rather more open section) are also allowed out on Sunday evenings.

Work

An absolutely central element in the stay in the institution is the employment the inmates are expected to have out in the town. This is even stipulated in the Criminal Code, which does not otherwise contain rules governing the actual time spent in the institution.¹⁰ It is especially by means of employment that the offender can retain his links with society, on which the ideology behind the Criminal Code places so much emphasis. In addition, employment can have the positive effect that inmates might learn to operate in a stable manner - something they perhaps have not done before - and earn money which in the form of savings might be useful on release - an effect that can also be seen as an attempt to ward off the well-known harmful effects of a

The private rooms in Aasiaat are small. The window is covered with plastic because the curtain being washed. Also the room of the warder was very small.





Each of the two hostels in Greenland (Ilulissat and Sisimiut) can take 10 persons, mainly young people aged 15-21, but also inmates released on license from the night-time correctional institutions, e.g. on probation, and young people referred to the place by the social services. Usually they stay for a long period and they decorate their rooms to their liking.

period spent in prison. That such employment is also presupposed in the entire ideology behind the institutions can also be seen from the fact that provisions for employment and other facilities for activities in the institutions are minimal. A few inmates in each institution might be employed as cleaners etc., but apart from this there is nothing much to turn to.

Two of the inmates appear to have learned something from the work they have had during the time they have spent in the institution. In addition, there is one who has benefited from being obliged to look other people in the eye after his crime and conviction. Otherwise the attitude to work can be summed up as being of very great importance because the inmates would otherwise spend their time wandering around aimlessly in the institution. In a few cases, however, the inmates might be obliged to make do with a job for which they are actually over-qualified. Before being sent to the institution, five of them had what could be called an unstable way of life. These are the two thieves, whose lives are certainly very messy during the times when they are not in the institution. Nor have they any employment while in the institution. Of the other three "unstable" inmates, two often change their jobs because they are frequently dismissed. The third functions well in his work because he is prevented from drinking, and it is otherwise this that gives him problems in keeping a job.

Discussion

The two who were convicted of theft are in reality the two who most need to learn to obtain and keep a job, also because their crimes were presumably (partly) determined by their being unemployed and without a home; and they have no employment now. They have had their opportunities, but the staff have given up on them. There are naturally also limits to how many chances *employers* can give them. But as one of those interviewed suggested, there is something to suggest that as long as the inmates have to find a job completely on a par with anyone else, it will be those who perform best who

obtain them, and those who are most in need who are left behind. Perhaps a job on different conditions is a necessary alternative to the ordinary labour market in the same way as for instance the cleaners' jobs are used today - for those who cannot find normal employment. And then there are those who in practice are incapable of employment. There ought to be better opportunities for them. It does not seem reasonable that they should simply sit and play ludo all day long.

Financial Administration

As said above, the aim with the financial administration is partly to help the inmates to save up and partly to avoid their using their money on alcohol or hash, and finally to prevent large sums circulating in the institution. But it is not the staff's task to assess whether an inmate has any need of the jacket or hi-fi equipment he has thought of buying, even if his purchases mean that there will be no money left the day he is freed.

According to the warden in Nuuk, it is only a small minority that have any savings of significance on the day when they are freed. He estimates that about 75% have less than DKK 1000 and perhaps 10% have between 5000 and 10,000. Only quite a small number have any significant amount of money. They use their wages on televisions, stereos, clothes, gifts for the family and so on while serving their sentences. There are even inmates with part-time jobs who encounter problems deriving from the rules governing payment for their stay, who find it difficult to make ends meet at all. The pocket money they receive is of course also taken from their own wages. In general, the warden believes that in this way it can be said that most leave the institution

The living room in the hostel has a dining table and comfortable chairs. Pictures, plants, and fruit on the table make a homely atmosphere but there are rules to be obeyed.



with a better *material* foundation than they had when they came in, but rarely a better *financial* one.

It can be concluded that financial administration apparently does not work quite as intended in regard of the aim of ensuring that inmates have money to start on when they are released. They use it in any case. The arrangement is also a source of misunderstandings or a reason why inmates feel they are being cheated. Otherwise, some of the inmates believe the idea is good enough, but the pocket money is on the low side.

Discussion

It can hardly be surprising that most inmates believe the amount of pocket money is too low. The tutelage does not go so far as to ensure that all have money in their pockets when they are discharged, as inmates cannot be prevented from using it on "consumer durables" while they are in the institution. The result of this is that only a small minority in reality manage to save anything. None of the inmates regret this, but they presumably only discover the significance of it on the day they are released. Actually, it looks as though the system falls between two stools: Either money ought to be administered in earnest, so that the inmates *really* saved some money to be of benefit to them on their release (unless they then used it all on parties) or else simply no attempt should be made. Those interviewed were not asked whether this administration has the desired effect of limiting trade in hash and indebtedness among the inmates.

Leisure Activities

There is general and considerable dissatisfaction concerning the possibilities for occupying time in the institutions. For the lack of better facilities, the days are spent with television, cards and other pastimes - "toys" as one inmate put it. Only the most active discover ways of occupying themselves beyond this.

The possibility of exercise in two of the institutions consists in there once a week being the possibility of playing indoor football in the town's sports hall. This has also been on offer in the third institution, but according to one of the custodians it has been withdrawn because the inmates were not interested in it any longer. In addition to this there are table tennis tables and some small exercise rooms with exercise equipment. And furthermore, the wardens of the institutions are generally speaking quite open to the wishes of the inmates when it is a matter of taking part in organised sports activities in the town outside the regular hours out.

All in all, there are four of the inmates who can be said to have some exercise and 10 who do not have any, or at least not much. Apart from one who jogs, there are none who believe they are having *more* exercise than they did before: they have none at all, a little or a great deal - just the same as they are accustomed to. Two believe they have *less*. This impression is confirmed by

the warden in Nuuk, who also has no sense that the inmates are exercising more than they did before.

Altogether five of those interviewed believe there are no facilities for activities in the institution, and one points out that they themselves must take the initiative if anything is to happen. But it can be very difficult to get both the staff and the other inmates to take part. Two occupy themselves with carving, painting and drawing, but they have to use their own implements. One feels he has no peace to draw because there is so much activity in the corridors and common rooms, and there is constantly someone coming and knocking on his door. One attended Danish classes at evening school for a time, but none of those interviewed were making use of this kind of facility during the period of the interviews.

With one exception there is no feeling that anyone in the system is consciously *preventing* them from fulfilling themselves, but on the other hand neither do any of them feel that the staff take the initiative to set something in motion. They believe that the staff ought to be more out-going and take the initiative for sport, sailing and so on.

Food

If the inmates have formerly lived an unstable and unhealthy life, use could be made of the sojourn in the correctional institution to give them healthier eating habits in that they are served with three meals a day. But according to the inmates themselves they did not have unhealthy eating habits before, perhaps rather the contrary. Three believe they are given poorer food than they are accustomed to. Four say their food is about the same as always. One of these adds that he thinks the food is good; the other says he is tired of having open sandwiches in the evening. Five miss Greenlandic food. Only one says directly that he is getting better food than he did before. It is, incidentally, very interesting that two inmates in the same small institution describe the food respectively as good and only fit for dogs!

The warden in Nuuk believes that 25% of the inmates live on "hash and oatmeal" when they are not confined in the institution, and so that the food is an improvement for them. It is almost always the thieves whose lives are like that.

The Daily Routine

It is not easy to decide whether the inmates have a healthier daily routine than they had previously when they are committed to the institution with its fixed schedules. Of course, they are effectively prevented from partying all night, but apart from the fact that they are all wakened at six o'clock in the morning, they are not required to get up unless they have to go to work.

Of the 14 asked there is only one who clearly states that he has a better daily routine than he had before. This is one of the two convicted of theft. None of the others believe there have been any great changes. They say that

they have not lived a wild night life before. One who has been a fisherman says on the contrary that when he was at liberty he could manage with very little sleep when he was most under pressure, but that now he sleeps a lot.

Concerning the conditions of life otherwise, complaints about rooms were expressed in the general meeting in Nuuk. They are unhealthy; there is dust, damp, poor air. Some are very cold, others very warm. They are also said to be too small. And as one remarked above, there is a lot of noise in the corridors, which can be heard from the rooms because they are poorly sound insulated. (That is something one notices immediately as a visitor). We did not ask under what conditions they lived before this.

Discussion

The question is, of course, how much credit is to be given to the answers. For instance, neither of the two thieves, who did not even have a decent place to live, believes that they eat better or more regularly now.

Personal Resources

Apart from putting right an assumed unstable way of life, a period spent in a correctional institution can, as said above, be used constructively in the most fortunate cases so that the inmate comes out with more personal resources than he or she had beforehand. It might be imagined that inmates are given the possibility of a training, learn to prepare food, have time to think or to talk to others - and partly for this reason derive a better and more mellow relationship with themselves and their potential as well as to relatives and friends. This section will show how far this is so.

Education and Training

Two with the right background for it attend college. One of them is improving his old school leaving examination, while the other is taking his up again where he left off. For others, it is not so relevant to receive an education. Either they have a technical training they can use, or else they feel themselves to be too old. But among those interviewed there is one who is serving a very long sentence and would like to attend a college. However, that is not possible, as there is no college in the town where he is serving his sentence. Another is illiterate and obviously needs a school education, but neither can this be arranged locally. There is broad agreement among the inmates that they receive no encouragement at all from the staff to attend school or college.

Discussion

Only inmates with sufficient schooling to provide an obvious reason for continuing are encouraged or are themselves inclined to spend their time in the correctional institution to educate themselves. The other inmates have no fa-

cilities or proposals for improving their schooling or taking a practical training - according to their own accounts. In other words, this suggests that it is the inmates who had a fair amount of resources beforehand who are able to benefit from an education or training while committed to the institution.

Preparing Food

There are no formal arrangements for the inmates to make their own food in the correctional institutions. In Nuuk, food is prepared in the institution kitchen where both employees from the town and some inmates work. In the two small institutions, food is delivered from the restaurant kitchen. In Nuuk there are kitchenettes in the individual sections. In Aasiaat and Qaqortoq until recently there has only been one kitchenette for the use of the inmates, but as a result of modernisation proper kitchens have been installed in both.

In this connection the most important thing is the conclusion that there is no form of training in preparing food during the stay in the institution.

The Family

The question of relations between the inmates and their families is very difficult to deal with. Its inclusion in the study is in order to gain an idea of the effects of the stay in the institution in this field. Is it a good thing to get away from the family if everything has gone haywire at home? Or is it on the contrary a problem to be separated from your family and, perhaps, children? It is possible to ask these questions and receive usable answer to them because it is the entirely personal attitude of the inmates we are seeking. It is rather more difficult when we try to discover what the separation has meant for contact with the family and how families have reacted. We all have different expectations of our social network, and what can be a reasonable degree of contact for one might be completely insufficient for another. Some would prefer to do without their families, while others suffer under the separation. In addition, we must not be blind to the fact that the answers that are given to this type of question might be misleading - whether consciously or unconsciously on the part of the inmates. It can be difficult personally to recognise and to acknowledge to others that your family has turned its back on you. It is easier to say that they understand and support you, for of course that is what you dream of in this situation. Finally, it can be difficult to distinguish between the crime and the committal to the institution in this situation: if the relationship with the family has changed, to what extent is this due to the separation, and to what extent is the problem that you have committed a crime?

As there are only three night-time correctional institutions in Greenland - a country with 18 towns in all - it is obvious that many offenders must be placed in an institution in a different town from that from which they come. Some 75% of all inmates are serving their sentences in a different town from that in which their families live. They are not generally allowed home on

leave, irrespective of how long a sentence they are serving, and the high costs of transport in Greenland make anything more than a very small number of family visits quite unrealistic. This separation is especially difficult for inmates with children. Only one of those interviewed has such bad relations with his family and home town that he can see a benefit (apart from the other difficulties) in being separated from them. Three think it does not matter very much - one of these can ring to his family, one is serving his sentence in his own town and one does not care. Five believe it harms relations with their families.

Discussion

It is one of the really serious problems in the institution system that a sentence for some offenders implies years of total isolation from their family, and that this at the same time leads to very great differences in the effects the measures have on different inmates according to whether they are serving their sentences in their own town or not.

Friends

The four who are in their home town obviously keep up contact with their old friends. Most of the other ten, who are placed in a town other than that in which they have lived, lose contact with friends. Three have scarcely any contact with them, five have with a few. On the other hand, most manage to establish new contacts in the town in which the institution is situated. In this way, ten altogether have friends to visit when they are allowed out. One of the last four has a close friendship with a fellow inmate. One has just arrived in the institution and needs time to settle down. The last two, who in general are unhappy and have not assimilated, are completely without friends.

According to the inmates themselves, the attitude adopted to them by their friends is one of criticism but not rejection. None feel that their friends have turned their backs on them after what they did.

One convicted of rape and two convicted of murder assume it will be impossible to return to the town where they committed their crimes when they are released. The others do not expect problems in the local community; this group includes the other two convicted of murder, who in contrast to the first two have children and partners to return to.

Discussion

The difficulty with these questions of family and friends and relations with the home town is that on the one hand it is not easy to obtain complete answers, and on the other that they are so important. In efforts at rehabilitation it is absolutely essential that the offender should not be deprived of his social network. And although we have asked these questions tackling the subject directly, we cannot be sure that they lead to a true picture. Again, wishful thinking might have affected the answers.

Time and Peace

A possible positive effect of a stay in a night-time correctional institution might be that the offender is for a time removed from what might well be a tainted or chaotic everyday life and thus be given the opportunity of thinking his own situation through. There is only a very small number of inmates who believe that their everyday lives have been a mess, but they can nevertheless see an advantage in this enforced pause for thought. So six give a clear affirmative answer to the question of whether they are glad in this way to have been given "time and peace to think their own problems through". One of those who have been convicted of a sexual crime puts it in terms of being given the possibility of "finding himself again".

Four do not think they can spend this time to advantage. One says that he lies awake, unable to sleep, thinking of a dead brother. One is bothered by the din in the corridor and cannot find the peace he needs to be able to draw and do other things he would like to do. The one convicted of treating his wife violently says that he would prefer to forget it and so quite deliberately refrains from thinking about it. Finally, one says that it is simply frustrating to think about things too much because there is in any case nothing you can do about them while confined to the institution.

Three of those interviewed are slightly hesitant. One of them believes that it is probably a good thing to have some time and peace, but that his enormous consumption of hash prevents him from thinking about it constructively. One does not really know what to answer to this question. And a hash smuggler says that he has no need of time for reflection, but that it is quite in order that he should be punished. This question was not put to the one on remand.

Discussion

This is the single area in which the largest number of the offenders - 6 out of 13 - give a clear affirmative answer to the question of whether they are deriving any definite benefit from the time they are spending in the institution. To these can be added three whose answers are less categorical, but nevertheless not negative.

Conversations with the Staff

Rather than sit alone with grim thoughts it might perhaps be a help to some to talk to the staff in the institution about the problems weighing on them. But only two (one from Nuuk and one from one of the smaller correctional institutions) have had any benefit from this. Both are serving some quite special sentences, and they probably differ from the others by being weighed down by particularly burdensome pangs of conscience. They are both "nice" persons, who in a moment of desperation have done something criminal, completely unexpected to both themselves and their surroundings. Eleven say that they do not speak to the staff about personal matters. Five "can't use

them" or do not like them. One has been disappointed because they have simply told him he should talk to the prison service when he tried to talk to them. He has nothing against the prison service, it's not that. One benefited from conversations with the staff when he was in Denmark for mental examination, but he has not been able to obtain the same in Greenland.

The subject was also touched on at the general meeting with all the inmates in connection with the study. One said here that he had been referred to the doctor when he wanted to talk to one of the custodians about his problems, but there is a long wait. Another would in fact like to talk to them, "but it never really works, and it's not all that important". Conversely, a Danish inmate says that he thinks they have a fine relationship with the custodians. They come in and sit down and chat occasionally, and he finds that good and pleasant. He does not feel that this interferes with their role and position as custodians and supervisors. He thinks they see to their jobs well enough even so. Relations with the staff are much closer than in Denmark, where he has also experienced prison. Another says that the custodians are good enough as human beings, but they seem harsh in their everyday dealings. He thinks this might be because they are told by the administration to be like that.

Discussion - personal resources in general

On the basis of what the inmates tell, one gains a clear impression that no conscious or structured attempt is made on the part of the institution to develop the inmates' personal resources or social skills.

Treatment of Abuse and Other Problems

A large proportion - no record has been kept of precisely how many - of those convicted have problems with alcohol or hash abuse and/or psychological problems. The warden in Nuuk believes that 25% are hash abusers and 10-15% are psychologically ill. On the basis of his experience, he moreover believes that the clientele has become much worse over the last ten years and suspects that it is on account of hash. They have become more fanciful, more unrealistic. More pathetic. (A member of the prison service of many years standing does not on the other hand share this view). In addition, a study suggests that "in the large majority of instances" of criminal acts threatening other people, the perpetrator is under the influence of alcohol. (The same is, incidentally, said to be true of the victim in more than half the cases).¹¹ It goes without saying that much would be gained if during a stay in the correctional institution something could be done to alleviate some of these problems, but as things appear today there is nothing within the institutional system that can be offered to these people.

The night-time correctional institutions do not themselves have any treatment to offer, whether for alcohol or hash abuse or for psychological prob-

lems and illnesses. Of course, attempts are made to prevent possible abuse by prohibiting the introduction of alcohol or hash during the period in the institution, and there are strict disciplinary measures for disregarding this rule. A typical punishment for drinking is a week in solitary confinement + the loss of pocket money for that week + the withdrawal of exeats for a month + the withdrawal of permission to go out in the evenings for a further month. In addition, when the person concerned is again given permission to go out (or when they have to go to work - and in some cases they are allowed to do so) they will typically be compelled to take Antabuse for three or four months. This is sufficient in itself to prevent many from touching alcohol. The same rules apply to hash (though not the use of Antabuse!).

No psychological or psychiatric specialists of any kind are linked to the institutions, and if the offenders are to be offered treatment in this field, it is necessary to turn to the - very limited - services on offer from the health service.

Alcohol

All in all, four believe they *benefit* from the enforced residence in the institution. All of them take Antabuse at times. Of these, two do not think Antabuse is necessary, while the others realise that they cannot control their desire for alcohol without it. There are four who are taking or have taken Antabuse, but who *do not think it necessary*. Most of those forced to take Antabuse complain of the side effects. All talk of tiredness, but some also feel nausea, are inclined to vomit, have a bad taste in their mouth or suffer from headache. Six do *not* take and have not taken Antabuse.

When only two acknowledge that they need Antabuse, this means that the other 12 believe they can control their alcohol consumption, although a large proportion of them committed the crime for which they are in prison while in a state of intoxication.

The ban on the consumption of alcohol and the associated disciplinary measures are sufficient in themselves to prevent most inmates from drinking.

Discussion

The treatment of alcohol problems is in reality synonymous with the use of disciplinary punishments against any form of alcohol consumption: solitary confinement, loss of permission to go out and reduced pocket money. To this can be added the fact that the punishment is normally followed with the administration of Antabuse when permission to go out is restored. This is not intended as a disciplinary punishment but as a preventative measure. But in practice, it can be difficult for the inmates to see the difference, and Antabuse is indeed often seen as part of the disciplinary punishment.

Only a very small number of the inmates are really motivated to use Antabuse as a useful tool. They do not feel themselves to be alcoholics although they have committed (very serious) criminal acts while seriously un-

der the influence of alcohol. And perhaps they are not alcoholics after all. What normal medicine understands by alcoholic is someone who drinks every day and for whom withdrawal symptoms make them need alcohol from early in the morning. It is also typical of real alcoholics that a single glass can start things moving, so that the alcoholic dependent does not stop until he is more or less senseless. Without its being something the inmates were asked, one could imagine that they drink in the completely different way that is more common in Greenland. They can presumably easily do without alcohol during the week and so be perfectly capable of attending to a job. But during the weekends and especially on Saturdays, they go wild. Not because a single glass starts them off, but because they just want to have a good time with no holds barred. And it is in such situations they can lose control of themselves and commit wild acts.

So here we come up against the question of definitions: What is an alcohol problem? If it is that you drink every day and cannot stop, then it is presumably correct when the inmates say that this is not what they are suffering from. They are not alcoholics in that sense. If, on the other hand, it is defined as a problem that they cannot occasionally refrain from drinking themselves senseless, to the extent they can no longer control themselves, then this clearly applies to several of the inmates. But in that they themselves do not think they have a problem, it is very understandable that the vast majority feel distressed at having to take Antabuse.

The question is whether Antabuse is the correct solution for the *type* of alcohol problem the inmates have. It seems rather as though Antabuse in the night-time correctional institution acts partly as a punishment, partly as an insurance to prevent people - not from being alcoholics, but from breaking the rule about not consuming alcohol.

I have otherwise been told that it used to be common practice to give inmates Antabuse as a purely routine measure. Today, the warden in Nuuk says that the disciplinary punishments are sufficient to keep most of them in check. But the more incarnate drinkers need more.

Hash

Hash is forbidden, also in the outside community, and attempts are made to keep it away from the correctional institutions by searches and disciplinary punishments. They are not entirely successful. It is an open secret that hash can be obtained and is smoked in the institutions. In one of the smaller institutions, however, it is not available at the moment (there is no hash in the town), so there the inmates do not smoke. However, they have done so before, either while at liberty or in the institution.

In the other small institution and in Nuuk, smoking is quite widespread. In Nuuk, four out of the seven interviewed smoke it either on occasion or frequently. One, who has been committed both to Nuuk and the "dry" institution believes that the need for the calming effect of hash is less in the

smaller and quieter institution. One inmate with a massive hash abuse points out that he had not really anywhere to turn to find help for it. If the staff in the institution discover he is in possession of hash, he is punished for it, put in solitary confinement and so on, and that simply makes his problems greater.

Discussion

In the case of some inmates, there is a real problem of hash abuse, which in itself is difficult to understand, considering the price (1 gramme is said to cost about DKK 400 in Nuuk). In the case of others, it is a quieter means of sleeping or relaxing. How big the problem is, is of course difficult to say, but at least it can be said to exist. It is not something of which any attempt is made to cure people. A problematical situation arises when an inmate with abuse problems feels that he cannot ask for help to obtain treatment for them because he risks a disciplinary punishment.

Medical Help

All, with one exception, have attended the obligatory medical examination by a doctor. The one who has not done so maintains that the warders simply continue to delay it. In addition, seven have been for ordinary consultations. There are no complaints in this field.

Clergy

None of the inmates has spoken to a member of the clergy in connection with his stay in the institution. Eight say that they *do not need* to. One of these, however, says that if the clergyman wishes, he will talk to him! Four are *more open* to the idea. Two would *like to have contact* with a member of the clergy. One of them just wants to wait a while; the other has not done anything about it because he does not know to whom he should turn.

Of the four here described as "open to the idea", two have been convicted of murder, one for rape and one for a sexual crime. The two who would like to talk to a clergyman were both convicted of murder. This means, in other words, that four of the five murderers in the study are interested in (perhaps) talking to a member of the clergy. The last of the murderers reads the Bible for himself.

Discussion

One inmate would "actually" like to talk to a member of the clergy, but does not know how to make contact with him or her. A couple are open to the idea. This could suggest that a greater effort on the part of the clergy to visit the institution might have a beneficial effect. (It can be seen from the newspaper Atuagagdliutit/Grønlandsposten no. 26, 1997 that a member of the clergy has begun visiting the Nuuk institution once a month, so perhaps this effort is already being made there).

Psychologist or Psychiatrist

Three murderers have had conversations with psychiatrists or psychologists as a result of mental observation, commitment to Herstedvester or as acute crisis help, and all have been glad to receive it. In addition, five others would appreciate this kind of help, and one more says it might be a good idea. Three do not want it. Finally, there are two, who do not themselves want it, but where it can easily be imagined that it would be beneficial in view of their social and emotional situation as expressed when you talk to them. In addition, there is one of the offenders who would like to talk to a psychologist, and who is actually obliged by the court ruling to receive that kind of treatment, but who nevertheless does not receive it.

Discussion

It might perhaps sound rather unrealistic to imagine any notably greater access to psychological help - specialists of this caliber are not exactly cheap. But perhaps less specialised help could achieve something. Social education workers might perhaps be able to provide partial help, and might even be better able to supply the needs of some of the inmates. It nevertheless seems to be a cause for concern that inmates subject to a court ruling that they should receive psychiatric treatment are not in fact being given such treatment.

Limitation of Freedom

The concrete limitations on freedom associated with the committal to a night-time correctional institution can be summarised as primarily consisting in inmates being:

- compelled to remain in the institution every night and otherwise when not out at work or in possession of an exeat for a limited time (i.e. 4 afternoons/evenings a week), in addition to which they are locked in their own rooms from 9.30 pm. to 6.00 am.,
- in most cases also being compelled to be in a town away from their families,
- being forced to work if they are able. (In paradoxical cases, committal can also mean that they must give up a job because they are placed in an institution in a town suffering from unemployment).
- being under financial administration,
- being unable to receive visits,
- being totally forbidden to consume alcohol or hash.

In addition various punishments can be applied if these rules are not observed, and inmates are in general to a considerable extent subject to the authority of the institution.

There are two aspects to the inmates' opinions on this: What is their opinion of the actual limitation placed on their freedom? And what do they think of the treatment they receive at the hands of the staff? As will be described in the next section, this treatment is not without importance for the inmates' experience of the institution.

Reception. The initial solitary confinement and no permission to go out

In the case of some of those interviewed, their reception is something far back in time, and of course it can be difficult to remember in detail how it was conducted. Some had also been on remand beforehand or had been in a different institution, so it can be difficult unambiguously to say what was the actual reception. The memory of it can also be hazy because in the case of many it was a grim and unexpected situation to be in.

Most of those interviewed, when asked how they were received, latch on to the fact that they were first placed in the cellar. The length of time they spent there varies considerably - not least, it depends on when a room in which they could be placed became vacant. Some only spent a single night there, others a week, and others again have been kept back in the cellar for up to a month. In one of the small institutions, several inmates say that they were not locked in the cellar; they were allowed up to the others. One who came there from one of the other institutions was very positively surprised when on the second day he was there, the staff asked him whether he would like to go out hunting with the others. Part of the story might be that he was an old acquaintance in the institution. Also another from the same institution says that he was very soon taken out on hunting expeditions. He actually felt he had been made welcome. That is something said by none of the others.

In answer to the specific question of what information they were given on arrival, *seven* say that they were given a booklet containing the regulations. One moreover had them explained. Conversely, there was one who said he was not given sufficient information and that he had to discover the rest from the other inmates. *Five* say expressly that they were given no information. (Of these, two are veterans who were perhaps assumed by the staff to know it all beforehand). One of them says that the staff gave them a friendly reception and explained that he was to be locked up for a week. He and one of those saying they were not given any information, states that neither did they themselves ask about anything - they were too shocked at what had happened for them to be able to think of anything else. In addition, there was *one* who was only given the regulations when he himself asked for them, and *one* who was told that if he had problems, he could apply to the Prison Service or go to see a doctor. (This person was in fact unable to read and ought to have had the rules explained).

Only three had the presence of mind to ask any questions, and they felt they were given reasonable answers.

Discussion

Although it cannot be assumed that everyone can remember everything that happened when they arrived at the institution, it is rather disconcerting that only half say they were given information sheets/ regulations. There are also only very few - three in actual fact - who can remember that they themselves had any questions. This seems to suggest that the staff cannot assume that everything is clear and understood if the new inmate does not ask any questions. In view of how serious it is for the individual to be placed in a night-time correctional institution, the reception and the information provided on that occasion are not unimportant. They can presumably also be significant for the subsequent pattern of events.

The actual period spent in the institution

The inmates were asked how they themselves had been *during their early days in the institution*. A factor here, of course, is whether they had been in an institution before, whether they had been on remand before being convicted and to a certain extent what they had done. For instance, some can have to fight pangs of conscience or feelings of shame. There are indications that the thieves (who have experienced it many times) and the murderers, who have either experienced it before or are weighed down by terribly oppressive thoughts, are those who accept the solitary confinement of the early period most calmly. All the others suffer under it to varying degrees.

As for the stay in the institution as such, the inmates' statements suggest - in rough terms - that the thieves are so used to being in the institution that it is not something they bother much about. The murderers seem to accept their just fate - they know they have done something terrible and find it reasonable that they should expiate it, although it is hard for some of them. The hash inmates have something of the same attitude. Not that they believe they have done anything terrible, but at least something wrong for which they must pay. They have committed what could perhaps be called "conscious" or considered crimes. And they have more psychological resources to rely on. Those convicted of sex crimes are peaceful types who easily adapt and function well on the conditions laid down by the institution. They also feel that they need to be able to think and to straighten themselves out again. Nevertheless, one of them suffered considerably from the solitary confinement and the period spent without being allowed out at the start, when he was in a state of emotional chaos.

Hunters and fishers find the isolation most difficult to bear. They are used to living according to the weather and not according to the time of day, and they are accustomed always to being out in the open. Although they are allowed out, they never get *out* in that sense while serving their sentence, apart from short hunting trips. At the same time they are also often types who become restless from sedentary occupations.

The Rules

In practice there are three rules which are frequently broken - because it is tempting and easy to do in practice: the ban on drinking alcohol, the ban on smoking hash and the requirement that inmates should be back in the institution by specific times. When these rules are broken the warden can, as described above, mete out disciplinary punishments depending on the kind and extent of the breach.

There were only two inmates in the study who have not broken any of the regulations. They think the rules are good enough.

Then there are three who have broken the regulations, either a couple of times or in fact many times, and who have not been discovered. The two who have only done it a couple of times think the rules are all right. The one who had done many forbidden things has simply been lucky not to be discovered. He thinks the rules are too strict.

Three have each been punished on one occasion for breaches of discipline. Two of them think that the rules are all right, the last of them thinks they are too harsh. (He has been committed to an institution many times before and might have faced with many disciplinary measures before!)

Two have many breaches to their names but think the rules are reasonable enough.

Finally, there are two who are virtually constantly refused permission to go out on account of their breaches of the regulations, and who find it difficult to adapt to the rules. They are both maladjusted types who in general find it difficult to endure the time they are having to spend in the institution.

Put the other way round, it can be said that the attitude of ten out of fourteen is that the rules are good and reasonable enough. Many of those who have got into trouble on that account think that it is their own fault. Four, on the other hand think the regulations too strict. Two of these are inclined to believe that it is the conditions in the institution themselves (being refused permission to go out, the noise and disturbance, the staff) that make it so intolerable to them that they are forced to drink or smoke hash to stand it. There is in fact a good deal to suggest that these two *are* particularly sensitive, but it should also be pointed out that, as far as hash is concerned, others who have been in the Nuuk institution say, like them, that they smoked a great deal of hash there, but that they have nothing like as much need of it now they are in one of the smaller institutions.

Finally, there is one who indicates that it can be distressing to feel that the regulations are administered differently for different inmates. It is more difficult to take something that is felt as being arbitrary. Or, as a former inmate suggests, it can be felt as a lack of consistency, and the disciplining effect fails to materialise. Some inmates furthermore point out that rules are not only rules - in one of the small institutions, they can *understand* the way in which they are administered, and that makes them more acceptable.

Although the institutions are very open, the *regulations governing permission for being allowed out* are what - seen as a whole - make the offenders feel the loss of freedom most strongly. There is otherwise a great difference in how individuals react to it. It depends, as said, on their backgrounds and their crimes, but also on how good they are at adapting. For someone who likes to read it is easier to cope with not being allowed out. For someone who has no desire to drink, it is easier to live with a ban on alcohol than it is for those who miss their beers or their intoxication. And so on.

Discussion

Being away from home, having to be in the institution every night, not having work, being dependent on the kindness of the staff, the lack of leisure activities, and then all the disciplinary rules. These are the things that are felt, these are what makes the sanctions into sanctions. In addition it is thought-provoking to discover how relatively dispassionately these lacks are discussed. Most of those interviewed have a very acquiescent attitude, feeling that that is simply how things are. But the inmates who have children find the separation difficult, and most think it is difficult never to be able to spend the night away from the institution and not insignificant that they cannot sleep with their wives or girlfriends. Again it is striking that the regulations are experienced differently in the different institutions.

It might also be felt that rules that are changed and practised in a way the inmates feel to be arbitrary are felt to be more irritating than an unchanging pattern. For instance, the inmates generally accept the actual concept of the time they are allowed outside (although they naturally think those times are too short), but being deprived of that time or being faced with inequitable conditions (extra leave for those who occupy themselves with what the administration considers sensible things) are more difficult to take. A very ordinary psychological reaction in those deprived of their freedom is that they become very observant of whether the staff observe the rules to the letter. When you yourself are subject to very detailed rules, and the sanctions for breaking them are very tangible, it is not difficult to understand that inmates are very preoccupied with ensuring that those who administer these rules also observe them. The rules are, of course, not only limitations on freedom for the inmates, but they also provide a framework for how the staff treat them. It will be seen from the next section on the staff that this question concerns many of the inmates in the correctional institutions.

The Staff

By definition, the relationship between prisoner and custodian must be difficult. Irrespective of the situation, one of the two has power. He has the keys, he keeps the records, he can make reports. The other is obliged to put up with

that. Irrespective of how kind, competent and understanding the custodian is, it will always be like that. So it is logical enough that the relationship between the two can never turn into a real friendship or even begin to resemble one of equality. The prisoner might perhaps confide in the custodian if the custodian is sympathetic and considerate, but the converse is unthinkable. However, they can nevertheless respect each other as human beings.

When we held the general meeting for the inmates in Nuuk, it was striking how much of the time was spent with the inmates talking about the staff: what they were like, what they did, single episodes and general characteristics. Whatever question was asked, it was not long before the discussion turned on the staff. It was not quite so noticeable in the smaller institutions, but the staff are without doubt important for the inmates. It was obvious that the staff themselves play a part that is as essential to the inmates' experience of their time in the institution as all the rest combined - rules concerning permission to go out, food, disciplinary punishments etc.

Contact between the individual and members of staff

In the introduction, two small situations are described in which an inmate and a custodian are talking to each other as an illustration of how different the effect might be on each. Generally speaking, the atmosphere around the desk or the office is peaceful. But you do not need to sit there for long to discover that some of the inmates do not simply pass by and register that they are going out or coming in, as they must, but that they also come and ask the officers about small everyday matters.

The warden says that in Denmark the prisoners entirely avoid making contact with the warders - talking to a warder is a sign of weakness, it is "not done".

In general, the inmates say that they have nothing to do with the staff, or at least very little. Many of their statements suggest that they have been disappointed that the officers have not lived up to some of their expectations, and that inmates have consequently abandoned the possibility of talking properly to them. If we compare the inmates' statements with those of the custodians, it emerges that in many cases the custodians assess the contact far more positively than the inmates. Not surprisingly, it is with the best behaved inmates the custodians think they are on good terms. But good behaviour does not necessarily mean that, as an inmate, you think you are on good terms with the staff. It is perhaps more surprising that precisely one of the inmates the custodians describe as not being "against" the staff was in his interview extremely critical of them and their work. But he obviously nevertheless understands how to behave well and correctly towards them. Only one had no criticism of the custodians, and he is at the same time one of the quietest and best adjusted inmates. Otherwise what the inmates find lacking in the staff is kindness, encouragement - in general a more positive attitude - and the ability to deal with conflicts.

Contact persons

A new arrangement has been introduced, although it is not (yet) working properly. According to this, each inmate must have a contact person among the staff - i.e. a custodian whose task it is to get to know the inmate, to follow his case and be the person to whom the inmate will naturally turn with questions or problems. This arrangement has only been launched in one of the two small institutions, but here the inmates nevertheless simply talk to anyone they wish. In the other two institutions, the arrangement has basically also been introduced, but the inmates cannot remember being told anything about it.

The replies to the question of whom they turn to if they have a problem showed that at least half do not directly avoid turning to a member of staff. Among these were also several of those who were most critical. So in these cases the criticism does not mean that all communication is excluded.

Talk of criminality

Two have talked to the custodians about what they have done; the remainder have either refrained because they tried and were disappointed at the custodians' reaction, or else they gave up beforehand. Some felt no need for it. Only one believes that it is something the custodians have "no right" to talk to them about.

The duties of the staff - seen through the eyes of the inmates

The inmates were asked how they think the staff carry out their duties, and here they answer in very concrete terms, presumably on the basis of what can be assumed to be their general "everyday" expectations. The general attitude is that it is somewhere or other between OK and rather unsatisfactory.

After this, they were asked what they think the custodians' duties really are. Here, in some cases, the answers are rather utopian - what they might *wish* they were or what they *ought* to be.

Three inmates altogether are *generally well satisfied* with the way in which the custodians carry out their work. Of these, however, one wishes they would also *talk* to him and not simply refer him to the doctor or the Prison Service. All three are rather quiet types.

Three think the officers work reasonably *on the whole*. Their not saying all the time is because, as one inmate said, they find them lazy or inflexible, or feel they are somewhat lethargic in carrying out their duties.

The remainder, i.e. eight altogether, are *predominantly critical*. They believe the custodians are lazy, abuse their power and/or are moody.

One explains that the custodians' behaviour can also derive from the inmates' way of treating them, but he has several examples that he believes show that this is not always the case.

Discussion - the staff

The individual's relationship to the staff is determined by several things, partly, of course, by "chemistry", the personalities of the people concerned. But other psychological factors also play their part - how open the individuals are by nature, what they have done - and how they cope with it. Two in the study, both convicted of murder, both with a large number of disciplinary cases to their names, and both with a difficult psychological make up, feel persecuted. They feel this to the point that they believe it is the fault of the staff that they constantly feel frustrated and so break the rules. Two "nice" types with pangs of conscience after committing offences which anyone can see were not done "on purpose" (two, in other words, it is easier to forgive than is the case with most of the others) have a reasonable relationship with the staff. They need them and presumably also speak nicely to them. And they are the only ones who have talked to members of the staff about what they have done. The hash smugglers talk to the custodians "as little as possible" - they have no need of them. They are intelligent, critical, perhaps also querulous and therefore, of course, irritating. Several others also suggest they have tried to talk to members of staff about more personal matters, but they have been disappointed at receiving no response or else a response that was useless to them.

At the general meetings in two of the institutions and in three or four of the interviews it was also said that the inmates "do not trust" the custodians. "They don't trust me, and I don't trust them" said one inmate at a general meeting. This is a very important point. If people do not trust each other, it means that they interpret each other's actions and statements with a great deal of scepticism or that they themselves avoid being open in their communications with the other. Such a starting point must make it difficult to make progress in any kind of collaboration, agreement or simply everyday communication with each other. However, as already said, it is not all the inmates who look at it in this way, and nor is it probably entirely true to say that the custodians do not trust any of the inmates.

Of course it is easier for the staff to talk to some than to others. However, the picture emerging of the contact is fairly unambiguous in view of how different the inmates are as human beings. Many statements suggest that the custodians hesitate to talk to the inmates about serious things. One interpretation could be that they are unsure of themselves, and that it is for this reason they dare not establish closer relations with the inmates. They might be uncertain on a purely psychological level - how, for instance, they should deal with seriously depressed or violent inmates - and uncertain of their own competence, of what they are allowed to do and what not. In each case it is easier to say no and refer them to the Prison Service. As long as they are sitting around drinking coffee they do not risk doing anything wrong!

It is interesting to see how differently custodians and inmates as a whole interpret as relatively concrete a question as the amount of contact between them. In general, the custodians feel that they have more contact with the individual inmate than the other way round. This might possibly be due to differences in expectations or differences in what is considered to be "the right thing". For the custodians it is a question of having a good contact with the inmates, and for the inmates it is more interesting to be critical and staying at a distance.

It is also interesting that the critical views of the inmates do *not* lead to the attitude that it is consequently a matter of having as little to do with the custodians as possible. They say they have very little to do with them, but that is not the same thing. It clearly emerges that many of them mean - or wish - that if the custodians were different they would like to have more to do with them. Seven express the idea that they would like the custodians to be more active, partly by talking to the inmates, being together with them so that they get to know each other better and can talk to each other, also about weightier matters - and partly in a quite concrete sense by launching different activities. This also applies to those who are most critical - they think the problem could be solved with more committed custodians. Only one says expressly that he does not want to have more to do with the staff; in saying this, he bases himself on the more traditional attitude: that the relationship between inmates and members of staff can never be good in any case, so it is better to keep it to a minimum. (In this context it is probably no coincidence that the person concerned is a hash smuggler and a Dane). In other words the general attitude is not that: "I can't use them because they are prison warders", but rather: "I can unfortunately not use them because they do not have sufficient psychological insight and will not talk to me". One senses both a vulnerability and an openness in many cases. They quite simply want someone to look after them more.

As said in the section above on the rules, it emerges that it means a great deal to some of the inmates that the staff should also observe the regulations, just as the inmates are forced to observe for their own part. In this connection it can be quite surprising that in two of the institutions (I did not ask in the third) it was not possible for lower-ranking members of staff to lay their hands on a set of regulations for the institution. There were certainly information sheets for the inmates, but the custodians failed anywhere to find anything concerning their own duties and authority (on the use of force, for instance). A question in the general meeting: "We don't know what their authority is - do they know it themselves?" strikes right at the heart of matters here. Ought such a set of regulations not be freely available to all?

Relations between inmates

For the individual inmate, *the other inmates* are a very important part of the stay in a night- time correctional institution. To be shut up is one thing, but it

is quite a different matter for them that they are forced to form part of a group of people with whom they had no relationship when they arrived, and to whom they are to be in close proximity every day. This can itself be a problem, but to it has to be added the fact that this community of criminals can also be a harsh and "unhealthy" environment. So the inmates were asked a number of questions about this.

There is much to suggest that the environment in the institutions is not so rough as might perhaps be expected. The inmates at least say nothing about others making the stay more difficult for them than it might have been by means of bullying and other domineering behaviour, rather on the contrary. Only a few who were badly integrated beforehand find it difficult to cope with the social life in the institution. These and a few more also talk of the noise from the corridor, from the others, as a nuisance in their everyday lives. (Sound *does* carry in the institutions). Nevertheless, there come a few hints that the institution in Nuuk is a "training ground" for trouble makers. Otherwise it is probably worth emphasising that none of the first-time inmates have said - even in reply to direct questions on this - that the institution environment is particularly harsh or frightening. Only one has expressed horror at the thought that one of his fellow-inmates has murdered several people, but then such a crime is also a rarity. Otherwise several inmates also say that there is very little unrest in the institutions.

Discussion

Without wishing to make too close a comparison with Danish conditions, it is a quite special feature of the Greenlandic institutions that the environment is not particularly harsh. This is very important for the effect a stay in an institution has on the individual inmate.

Relations with the Prison Service

It is the duty of members of the Prison Service to maintain contact with the inmates of the night-time correctional institutions, to help them with personal and social problems and to prepare their release. In Nuuk, where there are three contact persons, they come to the institution one afternoon or evening a week, and inmates who want to talk to them can put their names on a list. In the smaller institutions, visits are less regular, partly because the local representatives are alone in their offices and must travel a good deal to see acting probation officers and probationers in the neighbouring towns.

How the individual inmate sees and uses the facilities offered by the Prison Service is not only a question of the efforts made by the contact person.

The inmate himself, his personal situation and expectations also play a role.

It emerges from the interviews that some of the inmates are very satisfied with the help they receive from the Prison Service. On the basis of a knowledge

of each separate individual it can roughly be said that those who are satisfied are those who feel the need to talk about their personal problems, those who have pangs of conscience and who are generally speaking open and amenable types (altogether about five in number).

Some do not talk to the representatives of the Prison Service because they have no need to. These include for instance the hash dealers, who do not have any personal problems into which they feel the need to initiate others. But they use their contact person (i.e. the welfare officer) for practical matters where it is necessary, for example in connection with their release on licence.

Finally, there are some who are dissatisfied with what the welfare service has to offer, typically on the basis of frustration that they cannot obtain help for what they think they need, or because they directly feel let down. These are the "maladjusted" ones, who from the point of view of the Prison Service are almost certainly very difficult to help because their vision of reality does not always coincide with what is "normal", and because in reality they have massive, possibly insoluble problems. Their criticism is based on lack of understanding, or they actually feel they have been let down or betrayed (in connection with the recommendations made to the court by the Prison Service in connection with their trial). Another group of dissatisfied inmates consists of the recidivists who cannot straighten their lives out, and whom the Prison Service can accordingly not help. They are even more dissatisfied because the welfare service is unable to find them work or a place to live.

Throughout these three categories one also hears of frustrations because the welfare service officers often reject questions and criticism by saying these are things they cannot do anything about. In relation to the structure of the system and its rules, the welfare officers can for instance not take up complaints about conditions in the institution, and neither, of course, can they conjure up jobs from nowhere. A criticism of the lack of depth in the conversations - the inmates say that the welfare officers simply ask questions such as "Is there anything you want to talk about?", "How are you?" - is perhaps in reality the most serious one. The slack formulation of the questions can leave one with a feeling that there is no real meaning in the meeting with the welfare officer, and this naturally colours the view of his work.

Discussion

One of the members of the Probation Service has been questioned about this criticism and gives an answer of which the following is part:

Probation Officer: We have too many conversations in there [in the institution]. Half of what we talk about ought to be something the staff saw to. So we are seen as the ones to get things done. Even here, where it is the custodians' territory. And so we say "There is nothing I can do about that." And we probably say that too often. "That isn't my field, that is the institution; ask the custodians, ask the warden." [...]

Question: But it is surely something to do with being disappointed as well, that is to say that if they have been released on licence before, they are a bit inclined to say, "Yes, but they didn't find anywhere for me to live", "They only talk".

Probation Officer: Yes, they say "they", but they have to do it themselves. They probably have great expectations that "someone's coming to talk to me", and then they think that we'll get something ... conjure it all up, but we don't.

Question: No, but when you make a few demands on them, then ...?

Probation Officer: Well, I have several times experienced one who would like to be placed outside, for instance in one of the hostels, because they hear that someone or other has had that ... it is done quickly. "Yes, you can apply for that, but then there will be an examination of the case..." No, then it doesn't matter. And then they probably think it's us who have [*words inaudible*] because we talk to them, and then we get all the blame. Actually, I'm sorry to hear this ... it isn't the intention that we should be such a disappointment! [...]

Question: But then there are some of them who say they can't be bothered talking to you, aren't there?

Probation Officer: Yes.

Question: But that is presumably not your fault?

Probation Officer: No, because well, when they are not going to be released for four years, what do they want with us? This is a distancing themselves because ... you could easily ... if you are committed and they are willing, then it can be done on a personal level: "Well, how are things?" It's very easy to be superficial: "Oh, I can't be bothered..." but then you have to entice them, "I just wanted to hear how you are doing. How is your work going?" You can easily get them to open up if you want to. And if they want to as well. But in my opinion there are lots of things to be seen to, or ought to be seen to ... I hope in time when it is divided into sections, closed, half open, open, that it will be easier. And then it's my great hope that the staff in that way will pull themselves together and be more committed to getting [*inaudible*].

Overriding considerations - treatment, help or punishment

So far in this account, the daily life of the institution and the way in which it affects the inmates has been divided into small areas that have been looked at independently. If anything in the structure or practice is to be changed, it is necessary to take hold of one or more single area unless the idea is to think of something entirely new. But the most interesting thing is of course not whether the inmates like the food or think that the bedtimes are unaccept-

able, but how they think the time spent in the institution as such affects them. That will be the subject of this section.

As said earlier, the idea behind the criminal code is that the sanctions applied should be *treatment* rather than *punishment*. Is this how they work in practice in the night-time correctional institutions?

Is the sanction reasonable?

When the inmate assesses the measures to which he is subjected and the effects they have on him, an inevitable question is whether he thinks the sentence he has been given is reasonable as a whole.

It does not appear that any of the inmates (with one exception) see the measures taken against them as being seriously unjust. They complain at various aspects of the loss of freedom to which they are subjected - it would probably be strange if they did not - but seen in relation to the crime they have committed, they consider their sentences to be reasonable enough. They should just have been 20-30% shorter ... On the other hand they do not think the concrete treatment they are given by members of staff is entirely fair. This applies especially to the night-time correctional institution in Nuuk.

The institution in society - and the inmates in the institution

In discussing whether the sanction is a *punishment* or not, we have to be aware that the concept is not always viewed as something negative. Some of the inmates consider the element of punishment to be necessary, reasonable or perhaps even useful, while others believe that it is wrong or directly harmful. And when there is any discussion of whether their being in the institution is *useful* or *a help*, it must not be understood as a question of whether it is *pleasant* to be in the institution, but of whether it can help the inmate to get a grip on himself and his life - and turn his back on criminality.

Five of the inmates mainly see detention in the night-time correctional institution as a punishment (- whether reasonable or pointless). However, they do not agree with each other on the objective and the effect of the punishment. One convicted of rape and a hash dealer see the punishment as a reasonable reaction to a crime and as an effective deterrent from doing the same thing again. One convicted of murder, who says he is innocent, sees no reasonable purpose in the institution. Another murderer, who has been imprisoned several times, believes on the basis of his own experience that the institution is pure incarceration that serves no purpose. However, he believes that much could be done if inmates were offered more help. Finally, there is a murderer who has killed a close member of the family. He has personally been given a great deal of help, but believes the others have received too little and as things are now, he considers the sanctions to be a punishment. The fourth inmate convicted of murder has not reflected on the sanction as such, but merely thinks he has been placed here because he has done something wrong.

Four believe that the measures contain elements of both (necessary and reasonable) punishment and help. They have been convicted of attempted murder, murder, hash and a sex-related crime.

Two, a thief and one convicted of sex-related crimes, do not believe they are being punished, but *helped* by being confined to the institution.

The other thief looks at the *element of crime prevention* in the fact that those confined to the institution are kept away from the town at night and during evenings at the weekend, and otherwise views the institution as an attempt to make people go straight, but taking himself as striking example, he does not think it is good enough.

Finally, one who was convicted of violent behaviour towards his wife expresses himself in a rather vague manner - he simply thinks it a good thing that there are correctional institutions because more and more crimes are being committed.

So some believe that the institution both punishes and helps, and when summed up in this way it can be said that there are altogether nine who declare that the institution (whether exclusively or in addition) *punishes*; eight believe that it (only/also) *helps*, possibly insufficiently; and in addition there are some who believe it *ought to help* more.

When we consider whether the inmates *themselves believe that as a simple matter of fact they are helped* or whether on the contrary they are *damaged* by it, it turns out that some believe it might well be beneficial to them to be kept in the institution, although they may possibly not feel that this effect stems from direct help, but simply from the framework around the time they serve. Conversely there are also those who believe that there are helpful elements in the sanctions although they do not think they themselves get anything out of them:

Five say that it is *good for them* in one way or another. Then there are *five with various reservations*: one who thinks it is unpleasant but that the deterrent implicit in it is a help to keep out of trouble another time; one who has previously derived a great deal of benefit from a good, long "pause for thought", but who has now been in the institution so many times that there appears to be no point in it; one who has got something out of it and learned from his experiences, but who feels that the institution now makes him depressed - though he would not call it harmful; and one who takes the punishment as a lesson, but who is irritated that his own training has been interrupted. Finally, one believes that it might help him, although he finds it irritating to be there. So there are *ten who only or mainly believe that it is good* (or perhaps "healthy" would be a better term for it) for them to be confined to the institution. Of these, eight have one or more acquaintances who have been convicted before, and they quite definitely believe that these acquaintances have benefited from it and turned their backs on crime. A few point out, however, that they also realise that there are those who simply come back time after time.

Three believe they have been damaged by the time spent in the institution. One of these is the man who believes himself to be innocent. He says he has suffered actual psychological damage. He also believes - and is the only one in the study to do so - that most of the others are also damaged by it. The second is the murderer who has been sentenced to the institution many times. He will not say that he is actually harmed, but at least it is of no help. In his view, the stay simply makes the problems increase and his situation become worse each time he is released. The third is the hash dealer. He feels he becomes more egocentric by being detained. He also believes that those who do not have a job will be impossible to reintegrate into society and that you can actually become even more adept at crime relating to hash by being kept in the institution. However, it is part of his assessment that he recognises he has benefited from having something done about his alcohol abuse.

It is worth noting here that two of the psychologically "maladjusted" characters who otherwise to a great extent argue that they have had a worse time in the institution than others, would *not* use the word "harmful" of it.

Discussion

The effects of the institution on the individual inmate depends not least on the inmates themselves and how they fit into the system. The institution generally speaking treats all in the same way. The thoughtful and sensible inmates, thanks to their own resources, can derive something better and more constructive from it than the maladjusted, unsettled, nervous ones. In the institution, it seems that those who by nature are open and function well in society continue in the same way, while those with few resources remain in the same state. In this way it can be said that the institutions act as intended in one important area: they are generally speaking not detrimental to the inmates. No fewer than ten of those interviewed would in fact accept this. Many of them even believe that it is directly beneficial. (A point of view hardly heard in Danish prisons!) But is that good enough? Ought more to be done? There are also some who suffer so much that they are damaged by the stay. Three in fact say that it is harmful to them. Of these, two are in a condition in which it must without further ado be said that psychological, psychiatric or some other form of help is necessary if detrimental effects are to be avoided.

Otherwise it is the general view of the inmates that they accept the measures as representing a reasonable sanction. This is not unimportant because acceptance of the system and the measures applied must be a necessary precondition for their being of any benefit at all to the individual from a time spent in an institution. If an inmate believes from the start that a grievous injustice has been done, he will scarcely be open to the possibilities that after all are - and can become - implicit in the time spent.

In this connection it must be mentioned that many inmates believe that the behaviour of the staff plays at least as great a part in determining how the measures work as the imprisonment does in itself.

Proposals for improvements in the institution

In the interviews with the inmates, the following proposals were made:

The possibility of weekend or Christmas leave. Three of the inmates say that they are never allowed to sleep outside the institution while serving their sentence, and one of them mentions that for those who have their families in a completely different part of the country this means they are totally cut off from them for perhaps many years. It is probably not a coincidence that it is those who have friends or families in the town in which the institution is situated who are agitating for weekend leave. Such an arrangement would be difficult to make use of for anyone without such a possibility. The one who would like to have holiday leave is serving a long sentence and has his family far away.

One points out that the transition on being released after permission to go out for only a few hours to total freedom is too sudden.

Occupational facilities. Several inmates say that there ought to be more for them to occupy themselves with in the institution. The wish was expressed partly by some who have no outside work, and who therefore are unoccupied all day, and partly from some who are out during the daytime but would like more facilities for leisure activities. It is suggested that someone should be appointed simply to look after the boat so that it could go out fishing every day and could act as a place of work for several of the offenders.

Courses and training. In recognition of the fact that not all can obtain work and that many in addition have had so little education that they could not be admitted to an STI course, it is suggested that work training and courses for artisans should be arranged under the auspices of the institution.

Permission to go out for longer periods during the week is the wish of three inmates.

A longer initial period without permission to go out. One inmate committed for a serious crime believes it would be reasonable in view of the victims and other people if the initial period of the sentence, when inmates are not allowed out, were to be extended. But, he points out, this presupposes that there is proper work to be done in the institution.

More openness in relation to the community. The inmates' activities in the local community are one thing; the knowledge in the local community of the institution as such is something quite different. It has been pointed out that people in the towns in which the institutions are placed, disapprove of the inmates, and so one inmate suggests that the local community should be better informed, for instance by arranging events in the institution for the local population.

Contact person in the local community. One suggestion is that individual inmates should be provided with contact persons in the local community - simply an ordinary person they can talk to, have contact with, visit privately, when they do not know anyone in the town, and so on. It would also be of

importance for contact with the community in the longer view - the contact that they have been told is an important part of the object with placing them there. "You can become quite afraid of the day when you will have to go out into the community again," says one of them. In answer to the question of whether the Prison Service cannot be used for this, the proposer says yes, to a certain extent, but the staff of the Prison Service says that they have themselves to fight for whatever they suggest, and that that has a disheartening, disappointing effect. And contact with another *private* individual would be something completely different from contact with someone in an office whose task it is to take care of matters for large numbers.

Information meetings. One inmate says that they are not provided with sufficient information on first arrival - information about what is to happen during the time they are there. Another believes that it would be a good thing to be provided with more basic information, not only on the institution regulations, but also on the actual aim, the idea behind their being kept there. He believes it would be useful to many to have this explained to them.

Meetings on cooperation. In the large correctional institution in Nuuk, three of the seven interviewed said that a monthly meeting on cooperation with the authorities could be useful. (There are such meetings in one of the small institutions, but the inmates feel it is frustrating that everything they suggest is rejected with: "That is what the regulations say". In the second of the small institutions there are no meetings because, according to one of the custodians, nothing would ever be said at them in any case.)¹²

Supervision and complaints authority. Several expressed a desire to have an independent supervisory and complaints authority that could respectively supervise and deal with complaints about conditions or episodes in the institution.

Different types of sections. The two hash smugglers believe that different kinds of sections should be introduced for different kinds of inmates.

On the other hand, some of the other categories of inmates say that different kinds of sections: closed/ half open/ open etc. would merely lead to confusion. "We're all human beings..." But a special section so that those who have been committed to Herstedvester Prison in Denmark could come home would be a good idea.

Other kinds of placements. None of those interviewed believe that the institutions should be completely abolished, but several spoke in favour of reviving the old system according to which you could be placed for instance with a sheep-farming family or a family in a small settlement. These could be some kind of guardians, they say - to replace the real families that many of those convicted have never known (either because they have never had any or because in reality they have never received any kind of upbringing from them). So they would like someone to lay down a framework for them and make demands. Alternatively it is proposed that a closed institution in the shape of a sheep farm could be established. It would be a good thing to change their

environment, they believe. One inmate also talks of far more intensive supervision as an alternative possibility.

Psychological and psychiatric help. In addition to the ideas of the two inmates quoted above, there are two who would like more qualified help in this field. As already said, there are many who would like to have someone with whom they could discuss serious problems. In this connection there are also several who say that the custodians ought to be better at dealing with psychological problems so that they could calm people down instead of infuriating them, and be more open and understanding.

The possibility of serving sentences in East Greenland. The East Greenland inmate interviewed thinks it would be better if it were possible to serve a sentence in East Greenland so that offenders need not be sent to another part of the country, where people speak a different language, where they are exposed to discrimination and where their families are very far away indeed. Another East Greenlander, who was not interviewed for the study otherwise, says that he would also prefer to serve his sentence in Ammassalik, but not in the town's lock-up as it is at present. He has experienced being on remand there for 11 months, and it was no fun ("tujorminarpoq"). A real night-time correctional institution in the town would be best, he believes.

More concrete/practical proposals. One inmate believes that release should be more thoroughly prepared [but this, of course, is the Prison Service's sphere], and that the locked windows in themselves make the inmates want to escape. He believes that if the windows could be opened, people would stay where they were.

One makes the point that your job should be taken into consideration when you are sent to the institution, and that you should have the possibility of postponing serving your sentence or be allowed to remain in the town where you have a job rather than be sent elsewhere.

Finally there is one who points out that the payphone for the inmates ought to be in an enclosed kiosk and not be hanging out on the corridor, as is the case in both the small institutions (or in a porch as is the case in Nuuk). On the one hand, there are always people walking in the corridor, and on the other sound travels so that it is possible to hear what is being said in the telephone if you are in one of the adjacent rooms. As the payphone is the sole lifeline many of the inmates really have with their families, he feels this is unfortunate.

At one of the general meetings, the inmates agreed that the list of desiderata can be reduced to two main headings: *occupation* for all and more *advice and help*.

Are the institutions "hotels" where you can find shelter and work?

To round off the discussion for the moment, this section addresses the question of whether the institutions are "comfortable". This is something that is often the subject of public debate. We have touched on it already, but here are some more coherent comments on the subject.

One convicted of a sex-related offence

Question: There are those in the community who think the night-time correctional institutions are too comfortable. What have you got to say on this?

Inmate: I can't see that the institutions are too comfortable. It might well be that some say things like that, seen from the outside, when they haven't tried it for themselves. [...]

Question: If people don't know the conditions, how would you explain them?

Inmate: I would really like to tell them how we are treated and what things are like in the institution.

Question: For instance?

Inmate: For instance tell them how difficult it was for me when I was in solitary confinement for a fortnight; that's what I would have told them. And then [what it was like when] I was not allowed out for a whole month. I wasn't allowed to have any fresh air then, only on the very rare occasion when we were down on the shore, and then we had to come back again before even an hour had passed. There were lots of things I would tell people about, for instance if I've broken one of the institution rules, if I've drunk a single beer on my way home, or perhaps two, something that doesn't do anyone any harm - two beers can be good for you. Then if I smell of it when I come home, they'll take me and lock me in my room and leave it locked for a whole week. And then my pocket money would be reduced to DKK 125 a week. And I lose permission to go out for three months. Those are conditions people don't know about here. And that they ought to be told about. Even so, other people always think that "because they've done something bad they must be treated harshly". [...]

We suffer a lot, especially those here for an unspecified time, they're the ones it's worst for.. Their thoughts, their lives must be in the doldrums because they're there for an indeterminate time. So if you've been given four or five years, that's a lot of years as well, and they can't be used to prepare offenders for going out into the community again if every time you come home you're locked up again straight away just because you've been caught with your breath smelling a bit [of beer]. Sometimes they won't let you out for three or four months. So if you do it three times a year you can end up only being allowed out three days that year. And this is supposed to be where they try to rehabilitate you. That's where it's all wrong.

The inmate interviewed here was one of those who did not want to be allowed out on licence when he had served 2/3 of his time, as is normal if you have behaved well and have a job and a place to live when you come out. So by some of the staff he was used as an example that some simply like being in the institution too much: They simply don't want to get out! He himself had a different explanation. He was only a few months off having served the whole sentence, and if he served it out he would be freed without the condition of supervision by the Probation Service for two years. That was an exchange he would like to have.¹³

In total contradiction to this statement, and also an illustration of how "nice" the institution is, is a statement from one of the supervisors:

Supervisor: ... but some of those creating most difficulties [when on probation] are those out on licence. [...] They are all asked if they want to be released on licence, and at the same time they are told it is on condition that they are on probation for a certain time during which they have to observe certain conditions. And they are asked if they are willing, and they are all *very* willing, just to be allowed out on licence. And those are the ones we have the biggest problems with, for once they are allowed out on licence, then, as a rule, or at least in many cases, they are totally indifferent to that probation.

A hash smuggler

Question: So when I ask you about that, it is to discover what the element of punishment consists of. For of course there is a punishment in it, and, in quite concrete terms, that is ...

Inmate: Yes, the reduction in the amount of freedom you have, and quite obviously the question of sleeping here at night, and those two or three times a week when you *have* to be down here earlier, and *having* to be in the building whether you want to be or not. That's where it is. That's where it hurts.

Question: When people out in the community say that: "Oh, it's just an hotel where they're given free food and a bed to sleep in and they're provided with work and training" and that sort of thing, then what do you think?

Inmate: Then I think they don't know what they're talking about. [...] it's much more demanding than that. You can't just spend your money as you want, and you have to produce documents every time you've used a krone on something. In addition to the DKK 350. So ...

Question: Then there's the story of some who speculate by committing criminal acts just to be allowed to come back to the institution because they haven't anywhere to go - do you believe that?

Inmate: No, I don't know if I believe it. I'd just say that the environment they move in is perhaps one where crime is accepted. And that perhaps the only way they can spend their time is doing something criminal. They've nothing else to do, and it's the only way they can get any money. We've got one down here they say .. always comes back ... he always gets out in the spring, and then he's always inside again in the winter. And then he spends the night here all winter. That's what they say. But that's because ... he does a lot of break-ins, and that's what he's inside for. He's always breaking in, and that's why he's always inside. And it's just to get money. That's what I think. He's nothing else to do.

Question: And that's not because he thinks it's particularly comfortable in the institution?

Inmate: Well, I don't really know what he thinks, but I have a feeling that he doesn't think particularly far ahead. You know, there are some who only think a metre ahead all the time. He's probably not going to get any better. No, he won't.

Question: So there's no speculation in it at all?

Inmate: No, there's not.

An East Greenlander

Question: There are some who say that there are occasionally East Greenlanders in the institution here who don't want to go home. Perhaps they get used to the big town or the conditions here. What do you think? Is that true?

Inmate: Yes, it is. I've noticed it as well. And I've also heard it. Earlier, when I was here for the first time - but at that time, when I was sent here the first time [some 15 years ago], I wanted to go home again. And I did as well, and then when I went home on licence, then [it started] all over again ... I wasn't interested in drink, but as usual I gradually started on it again, and when I was drinking a crazy amount I was sent back here. Then I changed my mind; I stopped being interested in going home and moved here. But if I hadn't begun to drink in those days I would just have stayed there. I didn't want to move into town from here either. But as things happened at that time ... (?), well, the way things went I'd also started smoking hash, and I couldn't get that over there. Perhaps there are some East Greenlanders who move here just to get that. But I really don't want to think about that now. If I'm still smoking hash when I'm let out, I'll go home even so. I hope I'll really get myself straightened out, I really do.

Question: Can it be said that conditions in the institution are too comfortable in relation to how it is on the east coast?

Inmate: No.

Question: If you compare things with Ammassalik or the settlements? Well, we know that there are a lot of people in Ammassalik who are not in very good circumstances, living for instance in tiny houses and without a job, and when they are sent here they are given a reasonable room and a job - is that a temptation?

Inmate: As for the work, well yes. Yes, but in my case however good a job I had or if I'm to think of my use of hash - however good it was, I'd go home again whatever. Even if my life in Ammassalik was poorer, like before, or it was nice and comfortable here; even if it was ever so much nicer, I'd go back. Perhaps I know why: I miss my children and my family, the people I've grown up together with ... now I'd rather be together with them. I'd really like to be together with them.

Question: But are there any who don't want to go back because they like it here? [implying: are there any who prefer conditions in the institution to conditions in East Greenland?]

Inmate: No, if it's put in that way that they like it ... you can't say that about the institution. The institution's nothing you like, I don't think. I've been here several times, and I've never got round to liking it. But as I've said before, it's as though I always end up in something bad *because* it's bad...

Question: But are there other East Greenlanders who keep on coming back to the institution?

Inmate: No. Perhaps only twice. Then they don't come back. There's one here as well who's been sent back [to the east coast] when he gets out. The institution's nothing anyone really wants, not on your life. You needn't think that.

Question: [Further explanation on the background to the question].

Inmate: Oh yes, there might be some who think that. That's to say they like the institution and come back. But I'm convinced it's not like that otherwise. It's the laws that are strict. They don't suit us. If they were to suit us they'd use discussions more and the institution would be pushed more into the background. Those for instance that are allowed out on licence and sent home, perhaps it would be better if they had someone from the Probation Service to talk to. A proper place to turn to. Then they'd go and talk to them of their own accord. If there was something like that it wouldn't be necessary for them to come back here.

He then says that such a contact place (= the Prison Service) would also be able to help those released to avoid starting to drink again.

Inmate: Because the rule are so strict, they're sent back here. [He must be thinking of the regulations relating to release on licence.]

Question: So you are suddenly let out into the big wide world with lots of heavy baggage on your mind, and then you come back because you turn back to booze?

Inmate: Yes, the temptation to come back here is very, *very* small. I was very depressed when I was sent back ... what was the good. When I got out we were happy when I got back to the East Coast and everything looked lovely and easy. But then, as usual, I started drinking. And when that had been going on for a time I was told: You've got to go back to the institution in Nuuk. Shit. It was as though my life had been crushed. Ice ... (?) Inside. Why not just talk to me about it? If I'd had someone to talk to, they didn't even ask me to come, only if I went myself. And over there I didn't have anyone to turn to.

He starts again saying the laws are too strict, that it is hardly possible to observe them. He imagines that the people who made them thought: "That chap's done something criminal; if we treat him really harshly, it'll be fine". That is how they must have thought.

Another East Greenlander who was not otherwise interviewed for the study says that he will *not* go back to East Greenland when he is released. He knows that he will resort to drink again straight away if he goes back, and so he would be back in the institution almost immediately. He would rather stay in

the town here where he has incidentally come into contact with and is receiving support from a small religious community. Continuing this, he does not believe either that it is entirely true when some say that it is because the East Greenlanders get a taste for the big towns that they don't want to go back when they have been in the institution. He thinks they think in the same way as he does - that they are frightened of going back to the old, incriminating acquaintances. But he also recognises that some might possibly be tempted to hang about in the big towns on account of the more "open" life and perhaps also because of the readier availability of hash. In addition, he points out that you are automatically sent back to the East Coast on being released so only those that can afford to do so go back to Nuuk for instance. He thinks that quite a lot stay in Ammassalik or Ittoqqortoormiit after all.

In the general meeting in one of the small institutions, the inmates say that the conditions are reasonably good, although there are very many things they are dissatisfied with. They think there could well be some who might be speculating in coming inside again, but this certainly does not apply to any of them at the moment!

The staff view of things

The institution officers, also called custodians or the staff, are the people who have most to do with the inmates in daily life. They wake them up, fetch food for them (in the small institutions) or are together with them at mealtimes (in Nuuk), go errands for those who are not allowed out, or accompany them to the doctor, drive those who need to be driven anywhere, open the door during the night if anyone needs the toilet, set them going on work in the correctional institution and so on. In addition, they talk to the inmates who need it, play table tennis and the like with them, or take them out fishing or to football in the hall. Then there is the paper work with daily reports and that kind of thing. The work is very much the subject of regulations. There is a regular framework for what the officers must or are allowed to do, and in cases of doubt it is the principal officer or the warden who decides. In the small institutions, the principal officer takes part in the daily round except that he has some extra areas of responsibility such as drawing up rotas for the custodians etc., and it is only the warden who has his own office. In Nuuk both the principal officer and the warden have their own offices. The principal officers were not included in the interviews. This was because it is the ordinary staff who have the close everyday contact with the inmates, whereas the principal officers are much more concerned with the administrative work. In addition, the wardens are all Danes who do not speak Greenlandic, and everything else being equal, this creates a distance in relation to those inmates who do not speak very much Danish.

In the small institutions there are normally only two on duty, whereas there are four at a time on duty in Nuuk. So there are many more inmates per warden on duty.

The work in the institution is characterised by days that are all much the same and by many routine tasks. However, this is experienced differently by the different officers - some think they have a lot to do, whereas others think that the dreary daily routine is only interrupted when there are disciplinary problems with the inmates, which is a pretty rare occurrence. Their task consists primarily in being there and ensuring that the regulations are observed and carrying out various service functions. But some custodians also see it as part of their duty to talk to the inmates if they have problems, or to try to encourage them to take part in activities of various kinds.

They have a dual relationship with the inmates. On the one hand, as officers they have to take care that they are not taken in, and on the other hand there are many who say that it is also important to treat the inmates decently.

The custodians seem to be quite satisfied with the way in which the institutions are run. They feel it is easy to go to the administration with criticism and proposals, and they do not feel uncertain as to what their tasks are. Nevertheless, it emerges that some can be in doubt as to what they are to do when it comes to enforcing the regulations. One explains that you can get caught between the inmates, who in some cases are very much aware of their rights, and the regulations which it is their job to enforce. It can make demands on them when the inmates ask for more than they are able to do for them, and they refuse to understand the reason for this.

One officer believes that the inmates' attitude towards the staff has become more "European" in the sense that, more than used to be the case, the inmates see the officers as enemies to be avoided as far as possible. Another officer has exactly the opposite impression, believing that the relationship has become better along with the appointment of more Greenlandic officers who are more able to explain and speak to the inmates.

Finally, there is elsewhere in the study a reference to a principal officer whose impression it is that the inmates themselves have become worse, more miserable than before, and it is his theory that it is the hash that is responsible for this.

The officers are broadly agreed that the institution does not have the purpose of punishing the inmates, but of rehabilitating them by teaching them to behave decently and attend to a job. Some, however, are more in doubt as to whether it in fact works in this way and they believe that the effect is rather simply to keep some criminals "off the streets" for a time.

The officers also talk of the big disparities between the inmates and differences in the effect the stay has on them. They believe that some would be receptive to a greater effort at social education, while others on the other hand think procedures should be harsher. There is a little disagreement as to whether any of the inmates use the institution as an hotel, where some custodians believe that it is only felt to be comfortable by a small group whose alternatives are worse, and that this does not apply to all the inmates. One officer believes that a harder line should be adopted to notorious recidivists.

Some inmates benefit from the stay and lean to manage on their own. It can be difficult to persuade others to do anything. Some are psychologically too deficient for it to be possible for the custodians to do anything useful for them, and these are the ones it is thought could be harmed by being held in the institution. In concrete terms there is some disagreement about who this can be applied to, but the custodians believe that the institution fails some of these types.

Several of the officers talk of their own training as the most important thing if the institutions are to be improved. They openly admit that there are many situations which they are simply not equipped to deal with - inmates for instance who are depressed, restless or directly aggressive. If in addition they are to make a specific developmental contribution on behalf of the individual offender, they believe this requires more knowledge. They furthermore point to the occupational facilities in the institution as something requiring serious attention, as unemployment prevents many of the inmates from finding work in town.

Discussion - the different points of view of the inmates and the staff

In the previous section, various points of view were summarised relating to the study of the interviews with the inmates and the staff. Many of these views are in direct contradiction of each other, and for the observer coming from outside, who has nothing but the statements on which to base a judgement, it can be difficult to determine who is right. In the following sections they are at least set up and contrasted with each other so readers can attempt to make their own assessment.

Stabilisation of the everyday environment

Work. Inmates and staff are entirely agreed that a prerequisite for deriving any benefit from the stay in the institution is that inmates should be occupied in one way or another. As not all have the possibility of taking work out in the town, either on account of general unemployment or because they cannot keep a job, there ought to be possibilities for sensible occupations or for training or attending courses in the institution.

Leisure activities

As is seen from the subject treated earlier, the inmates believe that they are offered very little in the way of leisure activities, and this is a recurrent complaint. For instance, in Nuuk they complain that the Sunday game of football in the hall can be cancelled as a kind of collective punishment if there has been trouble during the week. In another institution the inmates believe that

the staff can no longer be "bothered" to take part in football, jogging etc., with the result that such activities no longer take place.

The views of the staff are rather different. As for football in the hall in Nuuk, it is said to have been cancelled on one single occasion because the four officers who were on duty on the Sunday concerned did not believe they could cope with it. Of course this should not happen, but it has only occurred on that one occasion. As for sports activities in the small institution, one of the custodians believes that it is the inmates who cannot be bothered. After trying to persuade them to do something three or four times, he cannot be bothered any more.

In Nuuk there has also been some talk of making a better gymnastics room, where the staff have suggested that it was simply up to the inmates to produce proposals for fitting it out and saying what it should contain and so on. As such proposals have never been forthcoming, the project has been shelved for the time being. One of the inmates who involved himself in the project says that he gave up because he could not get that particular speaker engaged in it.

The sailing trips are very popular with some of the inmates, and in general they think there are not enough of them. It is not least a question of financial grants: in all three institutions the funding for that kind of activity is quickly used up, and after that it is up to the custodians to go out in their own free time. But according to the staff, it can also be a question of whether the inmates can be bothered. One officer argues that the inmates *say* they would like to go hunting, but when he goes down to the common room and asks how many want to go with him the following morning, there are hardly any who can be bothered. And if they say they would like to, they still cannot be bothered getting up at seven o'clock the next morning as agreed. They really have to be pushed. In Nuuk, several complained that it was only a specific group who were allowed to go, and this has unofficially been confirmed by a member of staff who also said that this often gives rise to arguments. The officers who go out quite simply prefer to have some of the seven or eight inmates with them who can be useful so that they can bring home a catch. On one occasion last summer there was a kind of picnic trip out in which all participated.

On the questions of who is it who cannot be bothered, it is again difficult to decide where the truth lies. But it is precisely in such cases that one is tempted to believe that the truth lies somewhere in the middle. An inmate in one of the small institutions has perhaps caught something of the right idea when he says that they lose all initiative "when everything is so limited". Perhaps neither side can really be bothered but think it could have been all right if....? It can at least be stated that less happens than both parties would like to see. This is where the statement that "You have to do things yourself - and there are a lot who find that difficult" probably strikes home. The system

believes that you have to do things yourself, but if you cannot, then is it right that nothing at all should happen.

Personal resources

Training. The inmates say very clearly that no one has ever tried to encourage them to follow courses or take up a training, and those who do so have themselves had the idea. This conflicts with what the staff say. Several of them say that they often tell the inmates to take something up, and some very much regret the poor facilities for evening classes etc. in one of the small towns. It is not possible for an outsider to determine who is right, or whether the truth lies somewhere in between. Perhaps, as they themselves say, it is the inmates who need a push - and that this push should be bigger than the staff give them. It may well be more or less the same as applies in the case of the leisure activities.

Cooking. Many of the inmates would certainly benefit from learning to cook and in general it would be healthy for them to accept some responsibility themselves for this part of the everyday tasks. In Qaqortoq, the building of the new kitchen has produced the physical framework enabling the inmates to make their own food. They have plentiful explanations as to why this is not possible. They are most inclined to the theory that the staff will not take part on account of staff policy or for financial reasons.

However, the staff's explanations are very largely different: One put the onus on the shoulders of the inmates. He says that the plan was abandoned for the time being because the inmates discovered that one of their number was particularly good at cooking, and so they set him to do it. But then he demanded to be paid for cooking for the others! In addition, the inmates produce all kinds of excuses, for instance that they cannot do any cooking because there are no saucepans. Then the warden buys five for them. But they are left in their wrappings and no one takes them into use ... It might be that they can work out how to throw a catfish into a saucepan with some rice and cook it. But they have not been able to come to any permanent arrangement. "It is too easy to obtain the food from the restaurant," says one member of staff. To the interviewer's proposal that the order for food from the restaurant could be cancelled, for instance once a week, so compelling inmates to do something for themselves, the person concerned laughed and said, "Yee-ees" that was right enough, but he was sure that it would lead to violent protests. On the other hand, he thinks they will get it going sooner or later.

Another custodian thinks it would really be a good thing if the inmates were given responsibility for their own food, but he believes this idea runs into difficulties in the administration, where they have no clear idea about how it should be organised, including the financial aspect. Finally, there is a custodian who says the problem is that the officers cannot undertake responsibility for the inmates having something to eat unless they are given a training to equip them for a scheme of that kind. He refers to the fact that there

have already been cases of undernourishment among inmates when an attempt was made to introduce a similar idea in Denmark.

The situation is slightly different in Nuuk. A custodian points out that in the Nuuk institution there is a lack of separate kitchen facilities in the individual sections. But it is also a problem that it would mean doing shopping, which would mean money in circulation, which again would imply an increased risk of hash dealing in the institution. So they would be compelled to establish an internal grocer's shop and an arrangement for buying on the basis of debit cards, and that would be difficult in practice. [If it were not possible to persuade a shop in town to take part in a debit card arrangement?] But on the other hand he believes the argument that it would mean some inmates not having anything to eat is probably a poor excuse for not pursuing the idea further.

Limitation of freedom

The possibility of weekend leave. Some of the inmates argue strongly that it should be possible to have weekend leave occasionally, at least in the latter part of the sentence if they have otherwise behaved well. They argue for instance that it is possible in Denmark, say how hard it is never to sleep outside the institution and claim that it would be part of the rehabilitation process to be allowed gradually to accustom themselves to freedom again, and for instance to try to combat the temptation to go drinking in a pub on a Friday evening.

A member of staff says that an important reason why weekend leave is not allowed is the injustice this would imply for inmates serving their sentences far from home. They would simply not be able to make use of such leave. And as for the argument regularly made by the inmates - that they should have a chance to show that they can control themselves, one warden has a story: he once extended the time they could spend out on a Sunday afternoon so they could have their dinners out. It was an experiment, and he made clear that a single failure to be back on time would lead to the immediate cancellation of the facility. *All* the inmates came home late on the very first occasion... That made him abandon experiments of that kind. For the time being, at least.

Locked windows. In the same way it is difficult to do anything about statements that the window's being locked make them want to escape. In a way it is undoubtedly correct, but on the other hand it is scarcely possible to draw the consequence of it and leave the windows unlocked. This was discovered in the new institution in Qaqortoq when some of the inmates one evening undid an unlocked window in the common room and sent a man out to steal some drink. They even managed to drink it before being discovered. The windows were then changed.

Transfers between the institutions. Some of the inmates have experienced being moved from one institution to another from one day to the next, without warning or explanation. One member of staff admits that this can happen

- and that it is unnecessary to do it in this way. Transfers can be necessary, but people can easily be informed beforehand. As he says, provided the inmate is given an explanation, it is much easier for him to accept it - almost irrespective of what the explanation is.

Regulations. At the general meeting in Nuuk and in some of the interviews, inmates gave the impression that the regulations change so you do not know what you have to go by, and also that they have been tightened up. The principal officer here does not believe this is true. He has compared the present regulations with some from a few years back and discovered that they were largely the same. On changes, he says that the "signing off time" (the time when the inmates have to be in their rooms) during the weekend has been changed from depending on films on television to being fixed - at first 11.30 pm and subsequently to midnight. Both changes have been made at the request of the inmates themselves. In addition, they are allowed rather more time out on Tuesdays and Sundays. So he cannot understand the objections. In one of the small institutions there certainly has been some tightening up, which the principal officer found necessary, and of course that was not popular. Perhaps the confusion or uncertainty as to what applies is a sign that the information did not reach everyone. And it might be that the information was not clear enough, or that the inmates were not attentive enough.

Relations between staff and inmates

This question has been thoroughly considered above, as seen from the respective points of view of the two groups. It is not necessary to make much more of it. But it is perhaps worth mentioning the points on which the groups agree there is a problem.

Staff training. Many of the inmates say that the staff are too badly trained to talk to them and give them the help and support they really need. And several of the officers entirely agree with them. There is nothing they would rather have than more training in psychology, conversational techniques, the solution of conflicts etc. One also develops a feeling that when the officers - according to the inmates - so often refuse to embark on a serious personal discussion with an inmate, or refer him to the doctor or the Prison Service, this is quite simply because of uncertainty. At the same time the two groups appear also to agree that in addition to this there is a need for more real psychological assistance in the institutions.

General meetings. Some of the inmates say that they would like to have general meetings with the staff so they could discuss problems and wishes on a regular basis. In one of the institutions, this happens. Here, they have meetings between the warden and the inmates at regular intervals. This is all right, but the inmates are irritated that almost anything they suggest is countered with the words: "That is what the regulations say", or "The Chief Constable has decided that". In another institution, as reported above, they stopped having meetings because the inmates said nothing at them. Now they must

come and ask for a meeting if they want one, and they do not do so. And if they are dissatisfied with something, it is usually about punishments for a disciplinary offence. Again it looks as though it is merely the initiative that is lacking. On both sides. In Nuuk, since the interviews, general meetings have been reintroduced.

Trust. A Danish member of staff (who was otherwise not interviewed for the study) says that an industrial injury you develop as a prison officer is that you fundamentally assume that everything people tell you is a lie. This is a consequence of its naturally often being the case - in Denmark. It would be ridiculous to say that it is not like that at all in Greenland, but from court cases it is generally known that Greenlanders do not lie to anything like the same extent as Danes. But of course it can be different in the institutions. At all events, most people are well aware of the enormous sense of hurt if someone says they are lying when they are not. This was also reflected in several of the interviews with the inmates. In view of the Danish officer's assertion, when they say, "They don't trust me, I don't trust them", one cannot avoid having a feeling that there might be good reason for this. It is a vicious circle: the inmates feel hurt by the lack of trust, and the staff - partly on account of experience of the inmates not being able to live up to a trust that after all has been shown them - see no reason to trust the inmates. The inmates think it is the custodians' fault, the custodians that it is the inmates'...

Concluding discussion - the institutions

A discussion of the question of whether or not committing people to a night-time correctional institution is a reasonable and sensible measure in itself is outside the scope of this report. The object has been to discover how the correctional institution itself works in view of the present day circumstances in the eyes of the inmates and the staff.

Despite the openness, committing someone to a night-time correctional institution is a very radical measure. But it looks as though - not least on account of this openness - it is possible to avoid the detrimental effects on the inmates that we know from prisons elsewhere in the world. At the same time, this form of sanction, in which the inmates can be kept in some suitable setting (work, abstinence) contains some obvious potentials that are simply not exploited. A large proportion of the inmates have problems, social problems relating to abuse of alcohol or hash, or psychological problems that could with advantage be treated while they were serving their sentences. It is obvious that being wakened up every morning, sent to work and dispatched to bed at an early hour is rarely sufficient in itself to bring about major changes.

If we are to consider the institutions and the way in which they work, it is worth remembering that fundamentally the inmates accept the measure and do not find it detrimental - indeed, in many cases they even see something

good in it. Surely it must be possible to base many beneficial improvements on this positive attitude.

Another good point from which to start out is the fact that inmates and staff are in fact agreed on some very important matters. Rather than focus on the points on which they do not trust each other, it is more interesting to notice that both parties believe:

- that is it immensely important that all inmates should be given some occupation and that there should be more sensible things to do inside the institution,
- that there should be a better possibility of education for the inmates (expanding their school education, vocational courses and, in the view of some, courses of a more practical nature - on home economics, rules on taxation, housing, divorce etc.),
- that the staff should be better trained.

Probation - Freedom under the Prison Service

2.1. Introduction

In accordance with the Criminal Code, it is possible to sentence an offender to probation. In itself, this merely consists in the Prison Service appointing a probation officer with whom the offender is compelled to remain in contact, as often and in such a way as the Prison Service shall decide. In addition, the offender must throughout the period concerned let the probation officer know where he or she is living and working. The duration of the period of probation is determined by the court and cannot normally exceed three years. One to two years is the norm. It is customary for the court also to apply certain injunctions in connection with the probation order. This might be that "the offender is obliged to observe the requirements of the Prison Service with regard to place of residence, work, training, use of leisure time or association with specific persons". The court can make a separate order to the effect that the person convicted shall be sent to another town or live in an institution or the like. In addition, the court can order treatment for problems of alcohol or drug abuse, or it can issue an order requiring total abstinence, while the offender can also be placed under financial administration. Corresponding measures apply to those released on licence from a night-time correctional institution on condition that they accept being placed on probation.¹⁴

In practice, all probationers are obliged to observe the conditions laid down by the Prison Service with regard to place of residence and work, and the vast majority are obliged to undergo treatment for alcohol. The mentally ill can be ordered to undergo treatment in the form of probation for an indeterminate time plus the injunction to undergo psychiatric treatment. The injunction of residence in a specific institution means in practice one of the two juvenile hostels that are discussed separately in the following chapter. Financial administration is applied to clients in night-time correctional institutions and a few others. The other injunctions for which the law allows are used very rarely.

In 1996 there were altogether 158 clients on probation and supervised by the Prison Service. Numbers peaked in 1992 with 247 probationers, and since 1994 they have shown a reduction.¹⁵

The Prison Service has a dual task: On the one hand it must keep a *check* on the offender by "remaining informed on the offender's circumstances including place of residence and occupation" and ensure that any injunctions asso-

ciated with the supervision "are applied and observed". On the one hand, the Prison Service must *support* the offender with

*"Guidance and support with regard to the solution of social and personal problems with the aim of improving the possibilities of the person concerned for living a life free from criminal acts. The Prison Service has furthermore the duty to encourage the offender to accept relevant offers."*¹⁶

In the Prison Service guidelines for staff¹⁷, it is furthermore stated that "the control function" and the "social function" "are equally important, and both should be fulfilled." Under this heading, there are clear instructions to the effect that one duty of the Prison Service is to: "make clients aware of the responsibilities contained in a sentence of probation". With reference to the support or social function, it says:

"It is difficult to determine the contents of this section, as there are great differences between one client's situation and that of another. It might entail personal discussions, help towards applying for a place to live, work, education and training, medical help and encouragement to undertake healthy leisure occupations."

How the probation is carried out in practice will be described in the relevant sections below.

The probationers interviewed

Probationers were interviewed in five different towns - the three towns with night-time correctional institutions, one of the two towns with a juvenile hostel and a town where the Prison Service has no office but is represented by a probation officer. Six of those interviewed are on probation because they have been released on licence from a night-time correctional institution. Probation almost always constitutes a condition of release on licence. Two of those interviewed are young people who have been sentenced to probation which in their case has meant that they have spent respectively 9 and 14 months in one of the juvenile hostels, but are now back in their home towns. One started his probation with a month in the local lock-up. Finally, five have been sentenced to probation as a measure in itself. There are offenders who have been released on licence and "straightforward" probationers represented in all five towns.

With regard to selecting probationers for interview, the study suffers from a methodological weakness. In order to carry out an interview, it is obvious that a prerequisite is being able to contact the probationer at all. Although the probation officers were very helpful, they were unable to contact all those we had selected at first, and it must be admitted that the group interviewed was

thus over-represented by probationers with a positive attitude - that is to say those who can be persuaded to turn up. We were unable to establish contact with the really difficult and unwilling probationers. Two things make up somewhat for this defect: on the one hand several of those interviewed talk of earlier periods on probation when they themselves were unwilling and collaborated badly with the probation officer, and on the other the probation officers talk of the difficulties encountered with unwilling probationers. So the study does not entirely overlook the fact that of this is also part of everyday life for the Prison Service.

Contact between probationer and probation officer

In the above-mentioned guidelines, it is stated that the start of the probation period must as far as possible be carried out in such a way that a representative of the Prison Service (in the towns where such are to be found) takes part during the court proceedings in cases where it is recommended that a sentence of probation should be passed. If the verdict agrees with the recommendation and no appeal is made, it will be possible to have a discussion with the offender immediately after the court proceedings. Here an "initial discussion" will typically be arranged. It must contain some quite specific points:

"During the initial discussion, the probationer must be given an exact explanation of the contents of the sentence and what obligations probation entails. The various associated injunctions are explained, and regular times are agreed for meetings for discussion or for the administration of Antabuse/Dipsan. [...] During the initial discussion, when information is given on procedure and on the probationer's obligations, it must also be explained that there is a possibility of making a report if the probationer is seen to be unwilling to cooperate with the probation order, and that recidivism will in all circumstances have consequences."

After this a plan is drawn up for the frequency of meetings, which must be frequent at first but can gradually be reduced in numbers, depending on how the probationer behaves.

Under the heading of "B-PLAN", the guidelines continue:

"Before the court reaches a decision, the Prison Service will as a rule have made a statement, or else a report on the offender will have been made, from which the social circumstances under which the person concerned lives will have emerged. In addition, it is to be assumed that possible deficiencies and problems will appear from this. On the basis of this information, a plan of treatment should be made at the commencement of the probation, determining certain objectives in cooperation with the probationer."

It says that this can for instance encompass housing, work and attendance at college, and although it might not exactly be possible to change these things during the course of the probation period, a start can be made with applications with which the probationer himself can continue, helped by the probation officer's "conversations, encouragement and exhortations".¹⁸

Such are the guidelines.

Introduction to supervision

The probationers' memory of what happened during their initial meeting with the probation officer is on the whole fairly modest. Six only remember that it was about agreeing when they were to take Antabuse. One of these was disappointed because he thought he would be given help with his problems. One remembers it mainly as a warning of what would happen if he did not observe the injunctions placed on him, and one of them simply did not start his probation until much later. One understood it as meaning they should discuss matters together if he had any problems.

Discussion

The probationers' vague recollections in this area do not mean that the probation officers have not said considerably more - they almost certainly did, for there are clear guidelines for the initial discussions. Nor is it the same as saying that the probationers do not think probation is a help (most of them do - and we shall be returning to that). However, it is nevertheless challenging and rather disturbing that they remember so little, because the probationers' first understanding of probation and its aims is so important for any benefit deriving from it.

The report entitled "Tilsyn" (Probation) from the Directorate for the Prison Service in Denmark¹⁹ describes some aims of probation that can put it in perspective:

"In probation work it is an essential task to make the probationer aware of what probation and special conditions [corresponding to injunctions in Greenland] imply, how the period of probation will be administered, and what is the aim of the period of probation." (p.13)

In particular, it states that the initial discussion must contain information on the significance of the sentence or release on licence in relation to being on probation, the special conditions attached, what the probation officer must check, how often the probationer must attend etc. But the aim of probation is not only to monitor:

"Therefore the supervising authority's function of support and help must be described with the same emphasis as the monitoring function." (p.44)

This is about the same as emerges from the Prison Service's own guidelines to their staff. In this connection it is the following precise instruction that is of interest:

"This part of the discussion, however, contains two elements in particular. To begin with it can to a greater extent be in the nature of a conversation in which the probationer is to be given the possibility of discussing his or her own wishes and needs. Secondly, the probationer's commitment to a positive outcome of the period of probation should be founded on a discussion of probation as a supporting function. The member of the Prison Service must thus take special care that the information given to the probationer has been understood, and that the probationer does not experience this first proper discussion with the member of the Prison Service as merely or mainly being a warning. The representative of the Prison Service shall as far as possible give the probationer confidence in the Prison Service, as the process intended to motivate the probationer to change his or her habits presupposes that the probationer has confidence and faith in the probation officer listening and understanding so that the probationer's account of his or her wishes and assessments is understood as clearly as he/she has understood what supervision and special conditions imply." (p. 45)

It must be assumed that when some of the probationers remember so little of this meeting, it is rather because they have forgotten it than that they have not heard it. It is also unrealistic to imagine that after the passage of time the probationer will remember everything that was said, and in particular the probationer will typically not be able to grasp a structure or intention in such a conversation. Therefore the probationers' description of their initial conversation will never be so coherent and complete as it perhaps was in reality. However, the replies nevertheless give the impression that it was not exactly the probation officer's "supportive function" that made the greatest impression on the probationers.

The frequency and place of meetings

Whereas it might be expected that the probationers might feel it irritating to be compelled to meet their probation officer - as some do - there are in fact more in the present material who are inclined to think the meetings too infrequent rather than too frequent. (Here we are completely ignoring the administration of Antabuse, which they generally think takes place too often!) As will be argued below, there are signs that a "lax" probation with infrequent,

superficial conversations has a more irritating or neutral effect on probationers than a "tighter" regime.

All meetings with the probation officer take place in the office or, if the Prison Service has no office in the town, in the probation officer's own home. There is no mention in the interview material of examples of home visits to the probationer. One of those interviewed would quite like to have the probation officer to look in.

Discussion

Apart from the fact that, all things being equal, home visits could be a help for the probation officer, who is to monitor and evaluate the probationer's everyday life with a view to giving useful and relevant advice, it is also possible to imagine a positive effect of the probation officer's giving expression to the commitment and interest that would be implicit in home visits. The interviews leave the impression that probation officers and probationers who can also talk about things that concern them in general in their everyday lives have the best contact. And after a home visit a relaxed chat of this kind could much more easily be given a more substantial content.

The aim and content of supervision

The aim of probation was at first unclear to the probationers, at least if they are to answer the question of "Did you have a clear idea of what was to happen during your period on probation?" Seven had no idea at all, and the rest answered very briefly that they understood that they had to come and be given Antabuse, that they would be monitored and so on. Again it was the single lone individual who believed that probation should imply the offer of help. Later in the interviews, the probationers were asked what the help functions consist of, and that they were certainly aware of. But this is not what first occurs to them. Generally speaking none of the interviewees themselves ask questions of or make demands on the probation officer. Either they cannot think of any, or otherwise - in some instances - they are obviously too shy.

Although they might want to, the probationers find it difficult to persuade themselves to go and see their probation officer. This is really rather strange when seen against with the way in which the probationers experience things when talking to their probation officers: They are all either neutral or positive - none of them find it unpleasant or feel constrained when they are in for discussion. So this is not the reason why they do not go to see the probation officer of their own accord. And furthermore - despite the slight absence of benefit from the initial conversation etc. - they have all confidence in the probation officer.

Discussion

It seems a little unfortunate that the probationers cannot formulate the aim of probation. One would think that a good result demands an understanding of the entire period of probation as a process during which any social and personal problems can be straightened out *and* they can be made aware of their own possibilities for taking action, planning the future and so on. The Prison Service's own guidelines contain a recommendation that a *plan of treatment* should be worked out in collaboration with the probationer so that there exists in writing a list of concrete tasks and aims to be achieved during the process. Making the aim and structure of the proceedings clear in this way would probably also be useful if it were (to a greater extent?) used in practice. None of the probation officers or probationers refer to plans of this kind.

That the probationers do not themselves ask questions also says something of their understanding of and active participation in the process that probation represents. Here, the probation officer ought also to be aware that questions from the probationer are a good sign. But it obviously demands a more advanced technique in listening and asking questions to set such a process in motion.

It is in itself a positive element that the probationers interviewed have confidence in their (present) probation officers. None of them feels humiliated, ignored or in any way badly treated. This is a good basis on which to work.

(However, it is appropriate here to point out again that the interviews only include probationers who are fundamentally reasonably positive in their attitudes to probation. In a section below a number of probationers are discussed with whom there are considerable problems and who - if it had been possible to interview them here - would probably have given a different impression).

Otherwise, the interesting feature here is to see in what areas the probationer and the probation officer *see the contact in different lights*. In some cases they agree that it is important and beneficial that the probationer should come to the discussions. In others they are agreed that it does not matter so much because the probationer is still managing reasonably well on his or her own. And in a couple of cases they agree that they find it difficult to converse when the probation officer regrets that it is not really possible to get on a wavelength with the probationer or to find a common basis of understanding. However, there are also some examples in which the probationers would in fact like more contact or perhaps rather more substantial contact, but where the probation officer has not understood this but is satisfied to note that the probationer is getting on and not breaking the injunctions.

Stabilisation of the everyday environment

As stated, the Prison Service has the task of monitoring and supporting offenders to help them to live a life free from crime. In other words, the Prison Service or the probation officer has through advice and directive to be able to motivate - or compel - offenders to put their lives in order. Here, we will first consider the function of the injunctions, all of which have the aim of "stabilising" or rehabilitating.

It is a basic condition of probation as such that the probation officer must be told if the offender wishes to go away/move out of the area or change jobs. The terms of a typical sentence of probation also contain an injunction to observe the Prison Service's regulations concerning place of residence and work and treatment for alcohol or drug abuse. "Place of residence and work" implies that the probation officer can compel the probationer to look for a flat and for work if his/her situation in these areas is unsatisfactory. On page 7 of the guidelines of the Prison Service, it is stated that the injunction concerning place of residence "can be effectuated when there is a question of possible choice". As an example it gives the young person who has a room in the family home but would rather live with friends who drink, etc. In such a case the probationer can be compelled to return to the parents' home. The injunction concerning work becomes relevant if the probationer refuses to take a job even if there is work to be had. This was introduced in the revision of the Criminal Code in 1979, as there were at that time many young people who were refusing to work and yet receiving social security benefits even though the fish factories were short of staff. The other injunctions such as financial administration or conditions concerning leisure time and persons with whom contact is forbidden, are very rarely used. Thus it applies to all those interviewed here that they are under injunctions regarding "place of residence and work". All but one are subject to an injunction requiring treatment for alcohol abuse. Both those put on probation for psychological problems are to be treated for their illness, and one of them is moreover under financial administration.

In practice, the injunction concerning "place of residence and work" is the source of frequent misunderstandings. When the sentence is read out in the district court, it is not unusual for the district judge simply to say that the person accused is sentenced to "probation conditions under the Prison Service concerning place of residence, work and treatment for alcohol abuse". This somewhat jargon-like way of expressing it makes many people think that they must *find them* a place of residence and a job, which the Prison Service of course can rarely do. The misunderstanding means partly that some probationers start their period of supervision with a disappointment, and partly that many members of the public think that the Prison Service taking care of the needs of the criminals and giving them advantages that are denied to other people.

Work

It is an important, but also difficult, task for the probation officers to help the probationers to find and retain a job. In two instances in this study - the two psychiatric cases - the Prison Service has in one way or another been involved in finding part-time light work. In the cases of the others, the probation officer has not been able to do anything but ask and advise the probationer and has not been directly implicated in applying for jobs or for appointments.

Place of residence

The same applies to places of residence: Apart from one of the psychiatric cases for whom the Prison Service in conjunction with the local authorities has obtained an apartment, there are none of the probationers whose place of residence has been the object of interference on the part of the Prison Service. In some cases, however, a probation officer has advised a probationer to have his or her name entered on the waiting list for an apartment.

Leisure activities

Sensible leisure activities also form part of a stable everyday environment. None of the probationers has a definite view on this, and very few of them have touched on the subject at all with their probation officers. According to the probationers, probation has nothing to do with their leisure time at all. They all say that they spend their leisure time as they always have done - with just one sole exception, who says that his sport suffers from his taking Antabuse. In this connection, it is probably relevant to take into consideration the fact that all clients drink less than before, and that it is inevitable that this *must* have some impact on their leisure. In two cases, probation officers point out that probationers now spend time on other and more sensible things than they did before.

Financial administration

Only one, a probationer who is at the same time a psychiatric case, is under financial administration, and he is content with that. But many more of the probationers are far more in command of their finances now that they are under supervision. In the case of some of them, this is presumably related to the fact that they have found work, but it is also due to their being better at saving or spending their money more sensibly. Again, abstinence from alcohol is probably an important factor.

Influence of everyday life

Those interviewed were asked how the fact of their being under supervision affects their daily lives. Taking them as a whole, one has the impression that the reply is "very little". Some say outright that they do not notice it at all. This applies to eight of the fourteen. There are slightly different nuances in their statements: One says that everything is fine and that he does not notice

it. Two say that they simply have to remember to turn up at meetings, and one simply says that he is told to come when his probation officer has not seen him for some time. One notices it on the basis of having to come and take his Antabuse - and then on the effect of it afterwards. And finally, one says that it does not bother him, because it does not get into the way of anything.

Four have a more positive way of putting it: One says that it is good and he likes it. Because he no longer drinks he is getting on better with other people. One thinks it is fine in the town where he is in now. He has previously been on probation in another town where he was constantly being put in the lock-up... One says that it varies a little, that it is not always nice (he is for instance grumbled at occasionally), but that he certainly has nothing against it and can make use of it. One says that it has a considerable effect on him, thinking here of the conversations he is beginning to embark on with his probation officer.

Finally, there are the two psychiatric patients. Both take medicine to combat their illnesses, and it can of course be rather difficult to distinguish this from the actual supervision. One of them says, however, that he does not notice the probation very much, although it is a "big" (serious) thing in his life. He tries to take it in his stride and is looking forward to being "discharged", as he puts it. The other is bothered by it in the sense that he is made sleepy by the injections he is being given in the hospital.

None of those interviewed feel it is *difficult* to observe the injunctions. One complains a little about the Antabuse; one feels uncomfortable when he has to turn up at the office; one says that of course you have to behave properly; one has difficulty in attending meetings during office hours on account of his work, and one mentions the threat hanging over you of being fetched if you do anything wrong - but none of them actually think it hard. (In the section below on limitations on freedom, there is a consideration of their answers to the question of whether they in fact observe the injunctions they are given.)

Discussion - stabilisation of the everyday environment

It looks from this material as though it is only in cases when the interviewees are psychiatric patients that the Prison Service can be of direct assistance in finding work and lodgings. Otherwise the injunction on "place of residence and work" really only means the probation officer talking to the probationer about his or her actions in this area. It is difficult to see any actively stabilising effect in it, but perhaps it means something to the probationers that it is discussed at all - as a result they probably think about their situation a little and have their attention concentrated on its importance. At any rate, five or six of those interviewed feel that probation has been of benefit when it comes to work and looking for work.

The overall impression of the effect of probation on the everyday lives of those interviewed is that this is not a measure that has a very profound effect in this sphere. The fact that none of them feels it difficult to observe the in-

junctions confirms this impression. So there is no question of a measure which the offenders feel demands any great effort on their part. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw the tentative conclusion that about half of those interviewed are more successfully in charge of their work situation and/or their finances on account of the supervision.

Personal Resources

Insofar as the Prison Service can help build up offenders' personal resources, this must be done on the basis of help and advice and not compulsion. Of the things here listed as areas in which the probationer would perhaps appreciate help, it is only training and education that can constitute an actual injunction in the terms of probation.

Education and training

None of the probationers taking part in this study has been ordered to take a training. Only one is training in STI, and this is something he is doing on his own initiative. Four others have previously abandoned their training (three of them in STI), and three have not had any training at all. One of the probation officers has done a great deal to motivate a probationer to take a training, but to no avail. None of the probationers interviewed expressed any plans or wishes in this direction, and none says that the probation officer has said anything about it. (They have not been asked directly whether they would like to embark on a training, but then neither has any of them personally mentioned it in connection with the question of wishes for the period of probation or the following period - except from the one attending STI.)

Family and friends

On relations with their families, the great majority of the probationers say that probation has not been of any significance and if there has been a change it is probably more the result of the crime of which they have been found guilty rather than probation itself.

Family and friends, at least according to the offenders themselves, have not been particularly inclined to criticise or distance themselves as a result of their having been sentenced. Seven say that their relatives or friends might not even know about it or that at any rate they say nothing about it.

The probation officers, as far as it is possible to judge, do not say much about family and friends in their conversations with the probationers, but in some cases they ask about their lives together with their partners or spouses. Nor has it been customary to bring members of the family in to meetings or to undertake visits in the homes. There is no instance in the study of anyone mentioning that this has happened.

Personal problems

Most probation officers encourage their probationers to talk about their personal problems by asking them how they are, how things are going and occasionally directly enquiring whether they have any problems. But there is a great deal of variation in the extent to which probationers take up this suggestion. Some are more open than others; some are embarrassed; some are directly antipathetic; and the probation officer also has to be cautious in the way in which he presses or tempts to get anything out of the probationers. Thus it is felt quite clearly that there is a great difference in how open the individual probationers are, and how they treat the problem. Some probationers say very little - so little that the probation officer finds it difficult to make worthwhile contact with them. Others, who now have probation officers to whom they talk to freely and get on well with, have previously had probation officers to whom they did not want top open up for various reasons.

It can be assumed that for some of the probationers, especially those who have committed the most serious crimes such as murder or those most under taboo such as sex crimes, it may be a problem to bear the sense of guilt that is linked to what they have done. However, not all probation officers talk to all probationers about their crimes. Seven probationers say that they *have* spoken to their probation officers about their crimes. Of these, three think it was a good thing, one that it was unpleasant in one way or another, and three were indifferent. Seven say that they *have not* spoken about it, and one thinks it has been a good thing to avoid it; three think it *could* have been a good thing, and three do not care. These are rough figures! The matter is further complicated by the fact that four think they have talked about it where the probation officer says they have not - or vice versa. Two of these are sorry that they have not talked about it, whereas the probation officer says that he/she has attempted to bring it up in vain...

It is not common for the probation officer to ask the probationers how he or she *feels about the actual supervision*. Seven have simply not talked to their probation officer about it. Some have touched on the subject of their own volition. Two say that their probation officer has asked them. One of them is a probationer whom the probation officer finds it completely impossible to supervise, and he probably asked him in order to get an idea of whether it could be done in a different way. But the probationer merely replied that he thought it was all right as it was... In one of the towns, the probation officer only takes up this question as evaluation when the period of probation has drawn to an end.

When those interviewed are asked whether the period on probation has meant that they *have felt better with themselves* or whether they have got to know themselves better, eight, i.e. rather more than half, say that they have - to a greater or lesser extent. This applies to the younger ones²⁰ and it also applies to all three murderers (one of whom is among the young ones). In

addition, one of the probationers with psychiatric problems says "perhaps a bit". The rest do not feel they look differently on themselves. But this is not the same as saying that they do not feel that the supervision as such has been a help to them in other ways. Only two of those mentioned here simply do not believe this at all.

Discussion - personal resources

In view of the fact that a large proportion of the probationers have no *training*, it is a matter for concern that it does not play a greater part in the probation process - that it is not simply mentioned more frequently. Only one probation officer in this study talks of having tried to motivate one probationer to undertake further schooling. And he has not even succeeded (yet). The probationer would actually like to but cannot pull himself together to go down to the college and register. So there is not much the probation officer can do, for as long as the person in question cannot be motivated to take this first step, it is scarcely likely that he would be able to go through with the actual course. Another problem of course is that many of the probationers have had such poor schooling that they cannot in any case be accepted for the courses they might want to embark on. But as several have interrupted courses behind them it can be deduced that they managed to be accepted at some earlier time. One probation officer talks of there nevertheless being many of the probationers who are so badly educated that they cannot manage a professional training, and they find themselves in difficulties. They are perhaps 25-30 years old before they "grow out" of their life of petty crime and are mature and motivated enough to embark on a training course. But then the educational opportunities are not there for them. There is no such thing as primary school courses for adults. And then it is difficult to do much for them.

It appears that *family and friends* look on the fact that they have a relative or friend on probation with a degree of forbearance. If this is an expression of tolerance, then it is presumably fine, but one might be allowed to wonder whether it would not be a good thing for the offender if his or her surroundings adopted a more definite attitude or supported him or her in their efforts to live without alcohol or free from crime. One of the institution officers interviewed for the study talks of this in a different context. He believes that the Prison Service should think in broader terms regarding the offenders' personal networks. In answer to the question of how it is possible to improve efforts to prevent criminality, he says that the Prison Service perhaps ought to be in closer contact with those who are not in the correctional institution and keep more of an eye on them. This should include contact with their families: parents, siblings or spouses. The officer believes that someone sentenced for a crime "is alone in the world", and something ought to be done about that by bringing in the network of family and friends he has - or ought to have - into the probation process.

Here it can be added that it is rather strange that visits to homes does not form part of normal supervision. The towns are so small that in purely practical terms it ought to be feasible, and for the probationer the supervision would be rather more than simply something or other taking place in an anonymous office. At the same time the probation officer would obtain a far better basis for talking to and advising the probationer if he or she had seen the homes of the offenders concerned. Some probationers also live in unacceptable conditions - sleeping on a friend's or a relative's sofa, and it must be unsatisfactory to have to assess such conditions merely on the basis of the probationer's own accounts.

During the conversations with those sentenced to the night-time correctional institutions it was remarked by several of them that the effect is provocatively superficial when the probation officer asks the question: "Are you all right?" The probation officer's intention is probably quite genuine, but it obviously seems dishonest to some. However, there are none of the interviewed probationers who talk of it in this way. But one can well imagine that such a loosely formulated question produces very different reactions according to whether or not the probationer is prepared to talk to the probation officer. It may well be that it is sufficient for one who is open by nature to admit to what is the problem, while for the more withdrawn or cautious types it simply sounds like an empty phrase. At all events, there are several of those interviewed who - though very meekly - suggest that they would like a firmer hold to be taken of them. Precisely because they are taciturn types, they seem to have something burning within them. It is as though some of the probation officers might perhaps be too cautious and that they misinterpret the probationers' silence as unwillingness to speak more openly. As one of the probation officers says, she can sometimes see on a probationer that he as it were hangs around when it is his time to go, and this usually means that he wants to come out with something. But he does not say so directly, and it has to be coaxed out of him.

Nor is it always so easy to have to *talk to the probationers about their criminal acts*. It can be traumatic, suppressed, made light of - in short difficult to touch on. This is illustrated very clearly by the fact that probationer and probation officer are not always agreed on whether they have talked about it at all. The "Report on Supervision" notes that it is important to do it nevertheless, not least for pedagogical purposes, as part of the attempt to convince the probationer of the attraction of a crime-free life. But it is also a subject that demands a great deal from the probation officer, says the report. The impression gained from the interviews with the probationers and not least with the probation officers themselves is that it is a difficult task on which probation officers must not give up. Either they hesitate to take the subject up at all because they are afraid of how the probationer will react, or they give up because the probationer is not particularly willing to talk about it. But in some cases the attempt succeeds and the result is conversations which the probationer has

been glad to have. Again, it is probably important that the probationer should be able to see a point in it, and it is this motivation to open up that it is difficult to mobilise if the probation officer is not very conscious or his or her aims and means. There must not only be a question of the probationer being given an opportunity to "repent of his sins" or being told that he has done something wrong. The conversation must approach circumstances and consequences so that the probationer is given a better understanding of himself in relation to what he has done.

There are obvious explanations for its being especially the young probationers and the murderers who appear to have *got to know themselves better* by coming to supervision. It can be imagined that the young are the most receptive because their lives are still open before them; they have not yet embedded themselves in a specific track or a role as criminals. As for the murderers, we can guess that the "existential" nature of their crime and therefore their feelings of guilt make their need for discussion and support greater - and thereby their openness to accept the offers made by the probation officers. Those who have not derived anything from the supervision in this area are all those over 30 who have been sentenced for something other than murder, that is to say the two slightly older "habitual criminals", the one sentenced for sex crimes, the two psychiatric probationers and the old hash smuggler. As for this last case, he has in reality no social or personal problems, but has simply allowed himself to be tempted to do something foolish, so he really needs no help. With regard to the two sentenced for sex crimes and the probationers who have psychiatric problems, and for that matter also the two "habitual criminals", the problem is probably the opposite - that they are very difficult to help with fundamental, personal matters. As will be seen later, however, they are grateful enough for much of the more concrete or practical help offered to them.

Treatment of Abuse and Other Problems

Treatment for alcohol and drug abuse

- In the Guidelines, pp. 5-6, it says that at the time of the recommendation of probation (which the Prison Service submits to the court), it has to be assessed whether the person accused is in need of treatment for alcohol abuse. If this is the case and the district court sentences the offender to probation, the treatment must start immediately after sentence is passed, when a medical examination has determined that the offender can tolerate it. It says moreover:

"In addition to taking Antabuse or Dipsan, the treatment for alcohol also entails discussions with the probationer regarding alcohol problems, self-understanding and limiting consumption."

With regard to the duration of the treatment - here in the sense of taking Antabuse - it is stated that it is to be reconsidered after three months have elapsed in the case of probationers who have been sentenced to a year's supervision and after six months for those who have been sentenced to two years. After this, an attempt can be made to discontinue it,

"... after the probationer has had explained to him very carefully that the administration of Antabuse can be recommenced at any time during the period of probation/release on licence if the Probation Service finds this necessary. It might be possible to reduce amounts after the prescribed number of months by gradually giving smaller doses, with the intervals between doses being extended."

So treatment for alcohol abuse consists primarily of the obligatory taking of Antabuse. A probation officer explains:

Probation officer: [Treatment for alcohol abuse] is administered so that when they start on probation - it should be uniform throughout Greenland - they must commence on for instance three months Antabuse treatment. And then they must stop. Then have a pause, and then, if they no longer have alcohol problems, they are not given more Antabuse. But if there are problems, if they have committed some crime, then we have the possibility of starting up again.

Question: So that means that after three months they may be allowed to drink a small amount of alcohol if they ...

Probation officer: We tell them not to. But then the position is such that when I go down to the police station I have access to their daily reports to see whether any of our probationers are in them. So in that way I can see whether they have been drunk or done anything illegal. So in that way we more or less have a check on them. [...]

Question: Do you yourself ask them whether they are drinking?

Probation officer: Yes, they are asked whether they have any alcohol problems.

Question: And what do they say to that?

Probation officer: Of course they say they haven't. *[laughs a little]*

Question: Can you believe them?

Probation officer: No-oh, well, no .. well yes ... believe and believe, well ... as a rule we can find out in one way or another. If there's been bother or something or other the police have been mixed up in, we find out. Otherwise not.

Question: Then what do they say when you say: "Yes, but you *do* have problems, because the police have had their hands on you."?

Probation officer: Well, if they have been drunk and the police have been mixed up in it, we talk to them about it and then I say that ... I always give them a chance because ... I'm not really very happy with Antabuse as a treatment for alcohol. But we have been instructed to do it in new cases. Partly because when you give people Antabuse they look forward to the

day when they don't have to take any more, and then they perhaps have a party. Or some of them turn to hash, even if they don't normally smoke hash they might start. So it's a choice between two evils, isn't it?

Question: So you don't like saying, "If you start drinking you'll be put on Antabuse again?"

Probation officer: No, I prefer to talk to them about it, at least at first. But of course, as I say, at the last national meeting [of the Prison Service] it was decided that we must give them Antabuse for the initial period.

The interviews with the probationers give the impression that the doses of Antabuse are decided individually, but also that the treatment is not followed up particularly closely. However, some probation officers say that they talk to their probationers about their alcohol consumption and try to make them aware of the harmful effects, not least its social effects. It is not particularly surprising that most of the probationers feel concerned about Antabuse and all its side effects. But it works, at least in the short run. All the probationers who are under orders to undergo treatment say that they drink less or not at all, even those who are no longer being given Antabuse. Within the purview of this study it cannot be seen whether they revert at the end of their supervision. Presumably the attention devoted to them by their probation officer in itself has an effect on their not drinking (so much) while under supervision.

Some of the probationers are happy to take Antabuse, or at least are willing to do so, and they see it as a help. Others are opposed to it. Others again have times when they can see it is useful and periods when they think it unnecessary or unreasonable.

It is interesting that the probationers have different views on their probation officers' reactions when they have broken the prohibition and taken to drinking. It is particularly noticeable that two probationers virtually ask for a rather sterner reaction on the part of their probation officers, whereas other probationers say that stern reactions on the contrary have made them react completely against it. One of the two actually says both: that the probation officer who sent him back to the night-time correctional institution because he broke the conditions for being allowed out on licence by drinking, and the probation officer who did not have time to keep a proper check on him both acted wrongly. The two who wanted their probation officer to adopt a firmer attitude to them are both on probation for the first time and have not committed any serious crimes. The two who do not like threats and harsh sanctions have both been sentenced for serious crimes, i.e. murder, and have been sentenced on several occasions. But as they themselves say, the probation officer and his or her way of dealing with matters is of significance. The first two referred to here have the same probation officer, and the other two both say that things are completely different now they have each been given new officers.

Discussion

Several probation officers make a great effort to make their probationers understand the intention with Antabuse and to make them aware of how much they can gain both personally and in a social sense by leaving the bottle alone. Other probation officers pay less attention to this. At all events, they are obviously often talking to deaf ears, and many probationers simply regard the taking of Antabuse as something that has to be gone through. That it is often administered over fixed periods (for instance three months at the beginning of the probation period and then an experimental period without) presumably helps to give them a rather skewed understanding of Antabuse, so that probationers comes to see it as part of the punishment more than an element in a process aimed at making them aware.

As said earlier on the treatment of alcohol abuse in the night-time correctional institutions, it might be considered whether under the auspices of the Probationary Service an attempt might be made to differentiate the treatment of the various types of abuse. Where Antabuse seems to be a reasonable solution for those who are really *dependent* on alcohol, i.e. those who wake up in the morning with a craving for alcohol, it is probably more doubtful whether it works in the long run for those who can actually refrain from drinking but who drink too much when they start. It is my guess that this latter group is far larger than the first one.

Psychological illness

Two of the probationers were sentenced according to Chapter 29 of the Criminal Code concerning special measures to be applied to psychologically abnormal offenders; in their cases, this means that they have been sentenced to probation for an indeterminate period (normally probation can only be applied for three years and for five in special circumstances). The measure entails the person sentenced having an appointed carer, and the court must regularly decide whether the probation should continue.²¹ The normal injunctions can form part of the terms of probation, including the obligation to undergo medical treatment. Both the probationers in the study thus have to take psychopharmacological drugs.

Both probationers understand they have been sentenced, and probation as such does not bother them. However, they both talk a good deal about its being unreasonable that they are to be "punished" for so long. Both are also sceptical, one even very critical, about the medicine they must take. They otherwise manage well enough with the light work and the apartments they have, and they are happy with the support person they have each been assigned. But one of them believes that the medicine is undermining his health, that the local medical officer is cheating him, and that he would benefit much more from talk therapy. He is also angry that his job only gives him DKK 10 an hour, even though this is in addition to his pension.

A couple of the other probationers have psychological problems of a less serious nature that do not require psychiatric treatment, but which they feel an unfulfilled need to have something done about.

Some of the probationers are a little reticent in opening up on this kind of problem. As another says - in a slightly different context:

Question: Have you spoken to him about the crimes he has committed?

Probation officer: Yes, a little. Because he is very unwilling to talk about it. He has committed murder. And when they are so unwilling to talk, then ... there is no psychologist or psychiatrist to pick thing up if anything goes wrong, so it is only rarely I go deeply into such serious matters.

Question: So you are cautious about that?

Probation officer: Yes, very, you need someone to pick things up if it is anything serious or if I manage to lance an enormous boil. So I haven't dared. For he is so good [= coping well] that they would refuse to take him. He would have to be very noticeable before they would take him [in the psychiatric ward in the hospital in Nuuk].

Question: So you have just touched on it, and then you discovered that he didn't want to, and so you respect that?

Probation officer: Yes.

Discussion

In the cases of the probationers suffering from psychiatric conditions and those with serious psychological problems, it is obvious that the treatment on offer leaves something to be desired, at least in the towns on the coast. It is nothing new that many people suffering from psychological illnesses are sceptical about the medicine they are being given, and it is obvious that it does not improve matters that in the small towns they cannot come to discuss their problems with a professionally qualified person. Several of the probation officers also say that they have difficulty in talking to or worming their way into the confidence of difficult probationers. This is also understandable enough, as they are not trained for this and there are obviously some very difficult probationers among those they have to deal with. A solution to this problem would partly be further training for the probation officers, partly a kind of more formalised consultant service for probation officers with psychological and psychiatric expertise. Nor would it be entirely unreasonable to introduce a system whereby probationers with an indeterminate sentence based on psychiatric indicators should at least once a year be able to have a conversation with a psychiatrist, both so as to give them the possibility of asking questions and to assess the medication and continued treatment. In one of the two cases considered here, the probationer's desire to be taken off medicine has been put to a psychiatrist in another town (presumably by telephone) by the probation officer, and the doctor has said that it can certainly

not be changed. But it is a very indirect form of assessment and treatment that is organised in this way.

Help or Monitoring

Limitation of freedom

Probation consists partly of a support function and partly of monitoring. Many of the efforts made by the probation officer consist of elements of both. They try for instance to help the probationer to find a job - by motivating him to it, guiding him as to where to turn to apply and so on, and at the same time they have to check that he does in fact make an application. The elements in probation that directly limit freedom consist typically in:

- The obligation to attend conversations with the probation officer
- The obligation to inform the probation officer concerning place of residence and to observe the decisions on this laid down by the Prison Service.
- The obligation to inform the probation officer concerning work or work applications and to observe the decisions on this laid down by the Prison Service.
- The obligation where relevant to submit to treatment for alcohol abuse (Antabuse).
- The obligation where relevant to submit to psychiatric (medical) treatment.
- The obligation where relevant to submit to financial administration.

If a probationer does not turn up for an arranged meeting, the probation officer must write to him or her twice, and then personally try to find him or her, and finally, if this is not successful, ask the police in writing to find and bring the probationer to the office. If the probationer is coming so as to be given Antabuse, he or she must be sought the day after failing to attend. If the probationer is unwilling to collaborate and does not observe the injunctions, after a minimum of three months and a maximum of six a report must be made via the head office of the Prison Service in Nuuk to the police/prosecuting authority, who must ultimately place the matter before the court. Here, probationers can be sentenced to a warning, a longer period of probation or they can have injunctions added or changed. If there is anything to suggest that this will not be effective, the court can impose fines or a maximum period of three months in the night-time correctional institution, or otherwise it is empowered to annul the previous sentence and impose a new one. More or less corresponding rules apply to those released on licence, though they risk being returned to the institution if they break the conditions.

Probation is in reality a quite considerable limitation on the rights of the individual. But as described above, none of the probationers believe that it is difficult to observe the injunctions or the conditions associated with supervision. But it naturally happens nevertheless that they fail to do so. In the section above on Treatment of Abuse, there is an account of how they react to the Antabuse or the prohibition against drinking (getting drunk). The other, far-reaching injunction is that they must present themselves for discussions or to receive their supply of Antabuse on certain regular days. Nor does this seem to be anything that bothers them greatly when you ask them directly, but the real question is whether they in fact attend.

Six say they have always been there on time. (The probation officer of one of these says that there was a failure on one occasion, when he had to write to him.) One failed to appear on one occasion because he forgot. He rang up of his own accord when he realised and was simply given a fresh time. One failed to attend on a couple of occasions because there was a great deal to be done in his place of work. He had told the probation officer beforehand that this might happen, and also explained afterwards. The probation officer was quite happy with this. These eight are not among those who give the probation officers problems.

One of the young ones says that he sometimes forgets to turn up because he does not feel it is necessary. Then he receives a letter and attends. The probation officer says that he writes when a week has passed after the day arranged. Another of the young ones, who today manages in an exemplary fashion, also once had problems in turning up. Then the probation officer rang up and said he must come. If he failed to turn up for a long period, the frequency of his appointments was increased to three times a week again. He found this quite in order. The young man sentenced for murder has also improved. During a previous period on probation he could well fail to turn up, but he always had an explanation when he did show up, says his probation officer. Now things are going fine. Something similar applies to one of the other young men, too.

One of the probationers with psychiatric problems says that he has forgotten a few times. This has been the result of his sleeping too much on account of his medicine, and as he did not have a job, his days were perhaps not particularly well structured. So he was simply told to come at a different time, but he has also experienced being fetched by the police.

The thirty-year-old thief is completely hopeless. He says himself that the probation officer does not grumble at him, but simply says he must come. But for his part, the probation officer is beside himself for spending so much time on this probationer, looking for him, giving him a new appointment and so on.

Finally there is the murderer who has been released on licence and taken back into custody on several occasions. During the first period on licence he often failed to appear because of drink. Now he does everything he can to

come or ring and explain beforehand. An agreement is an agreement, he says. But it used to be different.

Question: You take Antabuse and aren't allowed to drink - Have you nevertheless done so?

Probationer: Yes, when I was in [C-town] I drank a lot, you bet I did. [He says that he could drink even though he was on Antabuse.]

Question: Did your probation officer know you were drinking?

Probationer: Hmm, wherever I was he heard it on the grapevine.

Question: What happened when he found you had been drinking?

Probationer: Then he said I'd got to come; he rang just after I left work and said I'd got to come.

Question: Then what happened?

Probationer: Of course, he said I'd got to come and I did do. But not always. Sometimes ... if I said I'd come at such and such a time, say after supper, I just had my supper and went for a bath and then straight to the pub. Because I didn't want to see him.

Question: Were you punished for that?

Probationer: Hmm (yes).

Question: How?

Probationer: They ended up sending me back to the institution.

Question: What did you think about it going like that, you know with the probation officer first not saying so much about it, and then just sending you back?

Probationer: Like I said before, I don't think those from the institution should have any of these probation officers, well, as I said, when they put you back inside it's very hard on you as a person, and you're right down. .. Some are so far down that they think of committing suicide. 'Cause it's really dreadful to be locked up.

Question: If you'd had a different probation officer, would you not have drunk?

Probationer: No. It's true, I'm not telling a lie. It's as though you went over there and talked to him in a sort of distant way, humanly speaking; and it was as if [he] was more or less shut off, [...] and sometimes when you went there [he and his friends] just sat there and only thought about [their hobby]. He just didn't have time.

Question: And yet you really wanted to talk to him?

Probationer: Hmm (yes), he just gave me Antabuse and then they started working again. So I went home again while they were at it. It's as if it might have been good for me at that time if I'd had a different probation officer. [...]

Probationer: When I was in [B-town] it was like I say, that when I was told to come I pretty well always came if I could. And if I didn't turn up he asked me afterwards why I didn't come. But when I was in [C-town] ... when I

didn't turn up [the probation officer] didn't say anything. It was as if I embarrassed him ... as though he sort of became shy; he looked as though he didn't really like me, and as though I irritated him. Well, how shall I put it ...[...]

Question: What did you think about that?

Probationer: I think, that's to say then I thought, that if I hadn't had him as my probation officer things might have gone better. And besides, it was because he'd been a policeman as well - perhaps he'd been after me for a long time for what [I had done]. It's as if I'd rather have a probation officer who hadn't been a policeman, but just an ordinary person.

The probationer's present probation officer says:

Question: Has he ever failed to attend a meeting with you?

Probation officer: On a single occasion, if I remember rightly. Otherwise he is very stable and keeps his appointments.

Question: Did you do anything about it when he didn't show up?

Probation officer: No, I let him - because I knew he was so stable, and he always lets me know and rings if he can't - so it was a bit unusual. I think actually it was during the days he was going out to look for somewhere to live. We arranged that he should come again the following day, but he didn't. I rang to his place of work, but he'd gone. He had night and early morning work.. He had gone when I rang. I hadn't time to go and find him and in any case I didn't know where to look for him. But he came the following day of his own accord. So ... he pulls himself together ... [laughs briefly] I think that was the only time. Except that he left [B-town] ... [without letting me know].

Question: Is he good at keeping appointments otherwise?

Probation officer: Yes.

The extracts say a great deal about the personal relationship between probationer and probation officer - that a probationer is not merely a probationer with one specific way of behaving, but that various circumstances can produce very different reactions to the probation.

The effect of probation

How the probationers look on probation - as a help or as an irritation, and how they assess the effect of it on themselves are closely linked. And in addition it is also of significance whether they themselves believe they are in need of supervision as a whole, and whether the sanction is reasonable in relation to them and what they have done.

Although supervision is practised according to a quite formalised model with fixed times for meetings, the frequency of which is reduced, Antabuse, which is reduced and experimentally omitted, fixed routines for when to interfere if the injunctions are not observed etc., so there are very great differ-

ences in the ways in which the individual probationers experience it. It has both something to do with the probationer and the whole of his or her situation and attitude, and with the probation officer's way of dealing with the matter. The overall impression, however, is that the probationers accept, and at best like probation. They seem to respect the person who has been given the task of enforcing the terms of probation with them, and that they consider this as a measure that will help them to live without committing crimes rather than as a punishment. A problem in this connection, however, is the Antabuse which many resent having to take. Antabuse is also, apart from the unpleasant side effects, a very tangible expression of being placed under administration because people are not able to control themselves.

In answer to the question of whether they themselves feel *a need to be placed under supervision*, several of the probationers simply answer "no". Five answer by saying that they accept it as a reaction to what they have done or as a condition of being released on licence - that is to say without adopting a stance on whether they need it. Of these, two nevertheless believe (in answer to a later question) that it is something that is of benefit to them, while two see it as a punishment (which they moreover see as helping to prevent further criminality). Only two of those interviewed believe that they themselves need the supervision.

When the probationers are asked whether the *measures imposed on them are reasonable* it has to be remembered that in addition to being placed on probation, six of them have been in the night-time correctional institution, one in the lock-up and two in hostels, and that in this case it is the general measures imposed on them on which they are expressing an opinion. Five believe the sanction applied to them is *reasonable*. These have all been sentenced either to the night-time correctional institution or a juvenile hostel. Two, who have only been sentenced to probation, do not think it would have been unreasonable if they had received a *harsher* sanction - one of them (a hash dealer) says that for instance he could have started with a week in the lock-up. That would have given him something to think about. Four believe they have been given *too much*. They are the two probationers with psychiatric problems who have been given indeterminate terms on probation, the rapist, who has also been in the correctional institution and the man sentenced to two years on probation for violence and theft. Two *simply put up* with the judge's decision. (But one of them, the hash smuggler, says later that the requirement for the confiscation of the profits he is estimated to have made is completely impossible. He also says that society is turning itself into a handler of stolen goods by trying to lay hands on the money!) One says that her sentence to the correctional institution would have been reasonable enough if only she had been given some help during her stay there. As it is, she feels it has been detrimental to her. She likes probation.

Most, ten to be precise, think that they are given *a fair treatment by the probation officer*. (NB. the word for "fair" in Greenlandic can also mean "correct"

and thus in this context be interpreted as "correct" according to the regulations - which makes this slightly unclear, as the rules themselves can be felt to be unfair!) In addition, there are two who also feel this now, but who have had other experiences before. Finally, there are two who say "don't know", obviously mostly because they have not had much or particularly profound contact with their probation officers.

The content in the probation is described by five as "paarisaaneq" - to be looked after, in the sense of being protected, or "sissuerneqarneq" - to be looked after in the sense of having an eye kept on. There is no implicit evaluation or closer description here of what its effect is. Two believe that it is "help". Three believe that the content is the attempt to prevent further criminal acts - "so that I shall not commit any more crimes". One believes that probation is something to which one is subjected for drinking too much and not behaving properly. Finally, three reply "don't know".

How probation helps (if it does) is something the probationers explain in different ways. Some mention several elements, and some of the suggestions are in reality derivatives of each other. Five believe that it is a help in the sense that they drink less. Five believe that its effect is achieved through advice and conversation. Five refer to the elements limiting their freedom (injunctions), admonitions and threats of worse measures. Three do not believe it is a help at all. (The total is more than 14, as some mentioned several things).

There are very few probationers who feel *monitored* by their probation officers. Twelve say no to the question, and two say that have felt it during an earlier period on probation, but not now. One would like them to keep a closer eye on him. The monitoring of the probationers mostly takes place by the probation officer actually asking them what they have been doing. In some places the probation officers read the daily police reports to see whether any probationers are included in them, but otherwise there is no systematic monitoring of the probationers in the town. In the small towns they naturally see more of each other, and the probation officer can here sometimes not avoid seeing what a probationer is doing if, for instance, he goes into town himself. This is also mentioned by one of the probationers who was previously on probation in a small town. It can be felt as more of a burden than it does in the bigger places.

Whether probation in general - with monitoring and the limitation of freedom - is *felt to be irritating* is something to which seven give a clear negative. Two say that probation is all right, but that the Antabuse is a nuisance. One of the probationers with psychiatric problems says the same about his medicine. One thinks it is all right now, but it was irritating with an earlier probation officer. One thinks partly that it is a little embarrassing to be on probation, partly that a former probation officer behaved like an extra "parent" by keeping an eye on him, whereas he thinks that one pair of parents must be sufficient. One does not think it is otherwise irritating, but he once experienced being stopped on the quayside by the probation officer when he was

on his way on holiday to another town and had not announced this beforehand. This was rather embarrassing to him. He was allowed to go.

Collaboration with the social services. The probationers were also asked whether their probation officers collaborated on their case with the social services in the town. Only two say yes to this - one of these is one of the psychiatric cases who has been the subject of collaboration with an eye to finding him a place to live, arranging a pension etc. Both think it splendid that the authorities collaborate with each other. In addition there is one who has given his caseworker in the town permission to see his records - she explained to him that this required his signature - and he simply thinks it is all right that the various areas work together and that everything is open. One has not experienced collaboration of this kind but thinks it would be a good thing. His caseworker does not know he is on probation, and of course, he says, the two authorities are both in possession of much the same information. The rest of those interviewed do not know whether there is any collaboration (there is not, say the probation officers), but several believe it could be a good thing in cases where they needed help from the social services as well.

The effect of probation. Six of those interviewed have been on probation before and so have fallen back into criminal ways in spite of it. Of these, four say - without however using it as an excuse - that their previous probation officers were bad. One did not really keep an eye on his probationer and simply gave him Antabuse. The probationer still drank nevertheless. One came from the locality, and the probationer was unwilling to open up and confide in him. He was also very restrictive and authoritarian, and the probationer felt very much monitored and often failed to appear at meetings. One probationer says of a previous probation officer that he only asked "How are you?" when they were to have a conversation. The probationer regularly missed meetings and drank, and the probation officer reacted with threats of sanctions. Finally, one had in one place a probation officer who did not really bother about him and in another place one who was too involved in the local environment and its gossip, and who exceeded his powers. All four of these were very happy with the new probation officers each of them had been given. One of the other two who had earlier been on probation thinks that it is the same as last time. He finds probation all right. The other thinks the only difference is that he is given Antabuse too often now. He is pretty dissatisfied with the probation - disappointed that, after two months, it has not yet meant still more help and discussion.

Nine of the probationers do not believe that they *lack* anything in their present form their probation is taking. Three would like to have more opportunity for discussion and lack help in finding somewhere to live. One of those looking for more conversations is the one referred to above, the other is the psychiatric case who wants talk therapy instead of medicine, and the last is the one sentenced for sex crimes; he is burdened with things he would like to have help in talking about.

What the situation would have been if they *had not been on probation* is of course rather difficult to say. But seven believe they perhaps would have drunk and/or indulged in criminal acts. Three do not think it would have made any difference. These three are the same as those who do not think they derive any benefit from the supervision.

But there are none who think that probation is so pleasant that they would unhesitatingly think of *continuing voluntarily*. Twelve say no to this. One says "perhaps" and one says "perhaps not". Four are looking forward to being released from probation (including the two psychiatric cases and the one who has been released on licence so many times). The rest have not considered what it will entail when they stop and do not imagine any great changes in their way of life as a result.

If we otherwise look at what it is the satisfied probationers like in the supervision, there are two things that dominate: Those who are most positive think they benefit from *conversations* with the probation officers and they are happy that they are *drinking less*. Whether this is because of Antabuse, discussions or something quite different again is not always easy to decide. It is worth noting that only a small number really think they *need* supervision. But that does not prevent them from feeling it is of benefit nevertheless.

For the probationers who are dissatisfied with probation - or who have previously been on probation and found it useless - their complaints can be summed up as their being dissatisfied if their supervision in some way seems to them to be *without content*. For instance, they talk about not being given help, whether of a practical or psychological nature, that it is merely Antabuse and nothing else, that there is no point in going to the meetings with the probation officers etc. Some even wish the probation officer would keep more of an eye on them and be more insistent in conversations and admonitions. So it is not *primarily* the *elements limiting freedom* in the supervision that bother them - apart from the Antabuse. However, there are some who have bad experience from previous occasions with too much monitoring, threatens of detention and so on, though here one has the feeling that when their probation had this effect, it was also characterised by poor contact between the probation officer and probationer in general.

The two psychiatric cases differ considerably from the rest, not least because their probation encompasses compulsory medicine. Although they do not themselves think they need it, their probation officers are in no doubt that they would not be able to manage as well as they do if it were not for the medicine and support they are also given.

A special case is an old man who has been found guilty of smuggling hash. The probation officer describes him as a likeable chap who has probably lived a pretty rough life earlier but been forced to slow down for health reasons. He simply cannot see the point of the probation. It does not irritate him at all, but he does not really see that he derives any benefit from it. He would not have lived differently if he had not been on probation, he says. He

has no intention of doing anything criminal again, but that is not because of the probation. It is because doing what he has done has entailed some personal costs to him. Meanwhile, he accepts the sentence - it must be up to the judge, he says. What he did was criminal, and he has to accept the consequences. The probation officer explains his sentence by saying that he was bound to have some sanction applied, and it had to be more severe than a fine (on account of the severity of the offence) and less than the night-time correctional institution (on account of his age and health). But the probation officer does not believe that the probationer derives as little benefit from it as he himself says. Although he has no social or personal problems, he talks a great deal during their conversations, and the probation officer thinks that must be of some benefit.

Discussion - the effects of supervision

Probation is a sanction meted out in reaction to a criminal act. Although probation in itself has the effect of helping and supporting, it is not therefore reasonable to expect that those sentenced to it will be grateful for the help they are given. Or put in a different way: When the probationers do not merely express delight at the measure, this does not necessarily mean that there is anything wrong with the system. A certain dissatisfaction is to be expected. So there is all the more reason to notice that in this study we have found many who have been positive: That 12 believe they are given fair treatment - and the last two say "don't know" - is a splendid result, especially in view of how many are irritated at being forced to take Antabuse. And it is surely also satisfactory that seven do not feel probation irritating in addition to three more who say that probation itself is not irritating, but that the compulsion to take Antabuse or medicine is. Again, we must merely remember that those who see no point at all in the measure are under-represented in the study and so this reservation must be kept in mind throughout this section.

Few know whether their probation officers collaborate with the social services (which they do not do in general), and this is perhaps a symptom of their not being particularly thoroughly informed of what their probation officers do. On the other hand, the few whose probation officers do this, find it perfectly acceptable. There is obviously no fear here of "the authorities" or of abuse or monitoring.

That 13 of the 14 interviewed believe that probation helps prevent criminality is also a good result. (And when the fourteenth does not believe this, it is probably because his own spell on probation appears to be unwarranted).

Another point to be observed is that the many who find supervision a help point to the treatment for alcohol abuse, the conversations and advice and also the injunctions as elements that are effective. This suggests that the probationers see probation in a way that coincides well with the intentions, that is the self-understanding aimed at by the Prison Service. So probation does not have an entirely different effect from what was actually intended. The effect is what it is supposed to be.

It is remarkable that the most fundamental criticism expressed by the probationers is that the Prison Service does *too little* rather than too much. Indifferent probation officers and a probation that is felt to be pointless is worse than the feeling that someone is keeping an eye on you. A few of those interviewed, however, have also previously come across restrictive or authoritarian probation officers who merely succeeded in making them react in a contrary and unwilling manner. But the desire for "more supervision" is quite widespread. This desire is not merely directed at things requiring more resources. For instance, a few probationers would simply like to have more discussions. And then it is unfortunate when the probation officers do not realise this is the case, but interpret their silence as though there is something wrong. To fulfil some of the other wishes expressed, however, would demand resources - for instance better supervision of probationers with psychiatric conditions. But in view of how poor the treatment of these cases is at present, this does not seem to be unreasonable.

Almost all the probationers are under an injunction to have treatment against alcohol abuse, and it appears as though it is especially the abstinence from alcohol that leads to improvements in the other relevant areas: finance, work, leisure time etc. rather than that these things are improved by virtue of an individual effort. That is to say that alcohol is the dominant reason for most of the probationers' other problems, and that these automatically improve when the use of alcohol is brought under control. If this is correct, it is incredibly important for the probationers' lives after the end of their probation that they should learn to control its use on their own. In this connection there might be grounds for concern as to whether the very Antabuse-centred treatment for alcohol abuse is sufficient in itself, or whether the probationers are merely looking forward to the day when it finishes so that they can have a real party, as one of the probation officers says.

There are several paradoxes in the conclusions that can be drawn from this: Although only a very small number of probationers believe that they need the probation, there are nevertheless many of them who derive benefit from their conversations with the probation officer and from drinking less. And although they are in fact glad to be drinking less, it is quite obviously the Antabuse that heads the reasons for being irritated by the supervision.

Apart from this, it is striking and important that the probationers do not complain at the fundamental limitation of freedom that supervision implies. It can be said that the probationers accept probation as such, and that what they might be dissatisfied with (a "slack" or vapid supervision or one that is too characterised by force and threats) is something that can well be put right within the framework of the existing system. On the other hand it also suggests that it is largely dependent on the personalities of the probation officers and the extent to which they get on with their individual probationers - something that is difficult to improve by intervention or new arrangements emanating from the centre.

In one case it must be asked what point there really is in the probation order, and this is the one concerning the old man who has sold hash. As said, he has been subjected to this sanction out of consideration for the sense of justice. But he has no social or personal problems, and the probation officer can in reality not do anything for him. They get on well together, and neither the probationer nor the probation officer finds it unpleasant or pointless to talk to each other once a month. The probationer considers it as what it in fact is: a sanction, a reaction to the fact he has done something wrong. And the probation officer really thinks the same. But the question is whether it is a sensible use of resources.

The probationers with psychiatric problems feel probation to be a punishment, especially on account of their obligation to take medicine. In this connection one can ask how long it can be justified to continue the probation under the Prison Service, which of course is a measure taken as the result of a criminal act, if the aim increasingly becomes compelling them to take medicine which is thought necessary for them for quite other reasons.

The Views of the Probation Officers

This section will recapitulate a number of statements made by the probation officers included in the study. The aim is not only to allow the probation officers to express their own points of view, but just as much to try to compensate a little for the fact that it is only a small selection of probationers who have been interviewed. This chapter will present views on possibilities and problems with the general group of probationers as the probation officers see it.

Among the questions put to the probation officers is that of whether they think the individual probationers *make use of the potential for benefiting from the supervision*, that is to say whether they make use of the offer of help and support that is implicit in it. There are answers from ten of the probationers. The probation officers say that two of the probationers do benefit - they are willing to cooperate and make good use of the discussions. In four cases they cannot give a clear affirmative or negative, but in four cases they do not believe that the probationers go about things in the right way. They could derive more benefit if they wanted to, say the probation officers. Two of those mentioned by the probation officers are otherwise happy with probation, the third is one of the psychiatric cases, and the fourth is the young thief who does not think supervision is of much use at all.

The benefit of supervision to society

What benefit is it to society to have offenders on probation? Three probation officers with only brief experience of the job are fairly pessimistic. One believes that the effect is limited, especially because it is difficult to persuade

people to stop drinking, and he believes that alcohol is the cause of most of their criminal acts. Another thinks it is all right for those who want to collaborate, but it is pointless for the rest. The third thinks that supervision is very useful when it is a point of supporting those who are released from the night-time correctional institution, while the resources are too limited to be able to do anything that is likely to rehabilitate the probationers otherwise. The two probation officers in the study who have many years' experience look on it a little more positively. In general they think that although there are some hopelessly difficult cases, there is a preponderance of good results.

Discussion

Just as there are different probationers, so the probation officers are naturally also different people who see and experience in different ways. It is not possible on the basis of their comments to decide whether probation "works", but when compared with the interviews with the probationers, it can be said that at least probation works for *some*. And that is at least a result. We must also note that it is the probation officers who have been longest in the system who see things in the most positive light. It is clear that after only a few years they are most aware of the probationers who come back. Only after a greater number of years is it possible to begin to believe that those you have not seen for some years really have got themselves on an even keel.

Probationers who do not fit in with the supervision arrangement

According to the probation officers interviewed here, there are especially three groups of probationers who can cause problems or whom it is a waste of resources to have on probation:

- The "unwilling" ones, who simply do not turn up or with whom it is impossible to have a sensible discussion. One of the probation officers believes that this applies in particular to those released on licence. (However, there is nothing in the other interviews to suggest this).
- Those who are really in need of supervision. These include those sentenced for trading in hash, but who otherwise function well in society.
- Those sentenced who have psychological problems, traumas etc., who are not mentally ill, and for whom therefore no real treatment is possible because there is a lack of psychological expertise.

Changes that might improve probation

The probation officers were asked whether they have any ideas for changing anything in the arrangements for probation so that they could improve the probationers' chance of managing on their own and avoiding crime in the future. Their answers differed very greatly and can again be said to supplement each other:

- More training and guidance for the probation officers (are the wishes of an acting probation officer).
- Better treatment for alcohol-related problems than just Antabuse.
- Better funding and thus more time for the individual probationer.
- More consistency in reports and measures imposed on impossible probationers (are the wishes of two probation officers).
- Access to help from psychologist (This is mentioned by one probation officer here and by another in a different context).
- Better housing policy - more accommodation would make it easier to get the probationers out of the criminal and/or alcohol-dependent environments in which they are often trapped.

The function of the probation officer

If the task of supporting and monitoring the probationers is to be carried out satisfactorily, it is also important that the probation officers feel that their work is organised sensibly. So they were asked whether they had any comments on their own function as probation officers.

It is probably not a coincidence that only the three probation officers who are alone in their towns have comments on their own work - at least not when it is seen that they lack further training, supervision and/or simply someone with whom to discuss the cases. These wants are clearly not felt so strongly in the towns where there are several probation officers working.

Discussion - the probation officers

The five probation officers who have been interviewed here are all people whom the probationers like. Some are better liked than others, of course, but in relation to how previous probation officers are described by the probationers, it must be said that the general impression of these five is that they manage their jobs well. There are clearly others who are not so good at it. There are not many statements on which to form a judgement, but it looks as though the probationers among other things have on previous occasions found a lack of commitment and empathy in their probation officers.

As for the probation officers themselves, there are nevertheless differences between them, especially on the question of the benefit to be derived from probation: Some are clearly far more optimistic than others about the results achieved with the probationers. Put in positive terms, it could be said that there are only a few who believe that there are more failures than successes, and all are agreed that supervision has a beneficial effect on *some* - and that, of course, is better than nothing.

That some probationers are (too) difficult, is also obvious. Psychiatric cases, generally unwilling and negative probationers, and then those for whom supervision is totally irrelevant, are named as problematic. And the solutions to the problems must necessarily be different: the psychiatric cases require greater professional skills and the support of psychiatrically qualified

colleagues; the unwilling and negative characters perhaps require more time, perhaps a completely different kind of sanction, and those for whom it is irrelevant ought naturally not to be on probation at all.

An element comes in here that to some extent is outside the Prison Service's control: the decisions of the district courts. The Prison Service itself makes recommendations to the court where, in individual cases and on the basis of personal information etc., it advises in favour of or against probation. But the district court can judge as it wishes. Perhaps the district judges and lay assessors should be better informed on the activities of the Prison Service - and, for that matter, on the night-time correctional institutions and the juvenile hostels, so that they knew more about what it is they are sentencing people to when deciding on what measures to apply. But presumably both the Prison Service and the district court often feel that they lack a choice of possibilities. The example in the present study of a man sentenced to probation because it is the only measure available "between" a fine and the correctional institution seems to be a mistake. It is easy to understand why the district court thought as it did, but then it is the system of sanctions in which something is lacking. For instance community service - which is not known in Greenland today - could have been a far better suggestion for a sanction than the present one. Probation ought only to be given to people - including those out on licence - who are in need of it.

The probation officers themselves have a number of suggestions for improvements to the system. Not surprisingly, but not without reason either, they would among the things like to see more resources, more staff and better training. All these are things that cost money and require a great deal of preparation before they can be put into effect.

However, when a probation officer for instance says that the probationers come last in the list of tasks to be attended to, it might also be interesting to think on slightly different lines. Why not delegate more probation to acting probation officers? The old idea behind the criminal code is that the local communities themselves should take care of their offenders, and both in the hostels and the institutions there are voices among the inmates/inhabitants raised in favour of having "ordinary" people as contacts out in town. Perhaps this could also be used in the context of probation. It could be a way of relieving the burden on the probation officers. The problem would perhaps be finding qualified people, for as this study suggests, it requires both commitment and a certain charisma to take care of a probationer in a beneficial relationship. But if they had no more than one probationer each, it might perhaps be possible for an individual schoolteacher, factory foreman, nurse, manager or member of a parish council who with their experience at work with other people and their commitment to the community could have something to offer.

It is incredibly important that those working in the Prison Service should like their work, which more than many other jobs demands great psychologi-

cal reserves. A tired and despondent colleague is badly equipped to battle with probationers, who are often difficult to deal with. In the study there is just one who could be described not as burnt out but perhaps rather tired, and this can in fact be sensed in the probationers' statements. It can turn into a vicious circle, in which the probationers become more difficult and unwilling because they do not receive the necessary stimulus and encouragement. Such a vicious circle can only be broken if the colleague acquires new energy: supervision, courses, assistance of one kind or another. So the desire for such these things ought to be taken seriously.

Juvenile Hostels

Introduction

In addition to a sentence of probation, the court can - on the recommendation of the Prison Service - impose on the offender the obligation to "take up residence in a suitable home, including a private home, or institution". In this connection a maximum period must be decided for the compulsory residence.²² As the possibility of placing them in private homes is in practice not used at the moment, this clause means in fact that the court has the right to sentence an offender to a period living in a juvenile hostel. The fact that the court determines a *maximum* period means that the offender rarely stays in the hostel for the entire period, but is sent home when the Prison Service staff find that he or she has derived the desired benefit from the stay there. For the remainder of the period, the offender is then on probation in his or her native town.

There are two hostels, one in Sisimiut and one in Ilulissat. Both have 10 residents and a staff corresponding to seven full-time assistants (including one clerk and the warden, who is also responsible for probation).

The hostels can take young people, mainly aged 15-21, who have been sentenced under § 96. But places can also be allocated to prisoners released on licence from the night-time correctional institutions, i.e. probationers, if other residence facilities are socially unacceptable, and to young people over 15 year of age who are not criminals but have been referred by the social services. These last two groups are only taken in if there is room. At the moment it is the rule rather than the exception that there are vacancies in the hostels. The average occupancy in 1996 was 50%.²³

The rooms in the hostel that was visited in connection with this study are situated on a long corridor which an attempt has been made to liven up a little by allowing the residents to decorate their own doors. The rooms are slightly larger than those in the correctional institution, and they look more like ordinary private rooms decorated with posters etc. The large, L-shaped common room is much more in the nature of a sitting room than the common rooms in the institution. At one end there is a long dining table with room for all the residents and some staff, and at the broader end there is a large sofa group with coffee table and television. There are pictures, potted plants and a book case containing a radio and various games etc. The furniture is modern and not particularly "institutional". In the kitchen, which the residents themselves use when preparing breakfast or making sandwiches, there is also a table for about six. There is a laundry in the cellar, a room for working clothes and the like, and a fairly small workshop for handicraft or domestic industry.

The hostel acts as a social institution with certain limitations on freedom. Although it is not generally possible to recruit staff with an actual training in (social) pedagogics, those working there are called "pedagogical assistants". Even in this designation there is a clear indication of the fact that their function is primarily educative. At the same time there are various regulations governing the stay which reveal that the way in which residents behave is not entirely up to them. They have to be home by 11.00 pm from Sunday to Thursday, and by midnight on Fridays and Saturdays. The windows are blocked so that they can only be part opened. If a resident comes home drunk, the police will be asked to fetch him or her and place them in the lock-up. If a resident has been drinking at all, he or she will have to take Antabuse for at least a month and will be given a few days house arrest. Ignoring the regulations governing the time to come home also leads to house arrest, and in cases of frequent repetitions, to a reduction in pocket money.

The residents have the duty of keeping their rooms clean and washing their own clothes, and they are also in charge of serving breakfast and supper and clearing up afterwards. Only the hot midday meal is served by a member of staff, but the residents clear up and fill the dish washer. The residents are also responsible for keeping the common areas clean according to a fixed rota. They are not allowed to watch videos during normal working hours (so that the unemployed do not sit in front of the screen all day) or during mealtimes, and violent or pornographic films are totally prohibited.

In addition, in their everyday dealings with the residents, members of staff try to teach them to behave to each other in a more or less civilised fashion. For instance, they are not allowed to come to breakfast unwashed, and bad language is not tolerated. Residents who are not familiar with cleaning or washing clothes are given instructions. The residents' finances are administered by the staff. Visitors are allowed in the hostel.

The residents interviewed

The study entails three residents: two quite young people who have been sentenced for repeated theft and acts of violence respectively, and a young man in his early twenties who has been sentenced for serious violent crime. The first two are typical of the hostels' target group - they have been well embarked on a criminal lifestyle which was to a very large extent linked to an environment or a group of friends in their native towns. The third has committed a crime that could also have led to an institution sentence, but where it was estimated to be more beneficial to him to be made subject to the kind of institutional life the hostel could offer him.

Stabilisation of the everyday environment

The three interviewed all have jobs, and they are moreover "kept in check" by being wakened in the mornings, fixed mealtimes, common duties and

bedtimes. All three can see the advantages in this. The food is good (as has been experienced by the author herself!) and healthy, with fruit and vegetables. The position regarding sport and other leisure activities is more problematic. Whereas some of the other residents who were not interviewed here take part in team sports, this has no attraction for these three. Although they might wish to or could be motivated, this has not been done.

Discussion

The situation regarding work and the framework around everyday life is excellent, but the position regarding healthy leisure activities is less than entirely satisfactory. Perhaps the residents ought to be pushed - though perhaps this is unrealistic as of course it requires a good deal of effort to join when you do not know the clubs beforehand, and the expected length of stay is assumed to be relatively short. On the other hand, it is an obvious problem that the facilities for leisure activities in the hostel itself are limited to games and videos.

Personal resources

One of the three interviewed attends college. Of the other two, one has plans for doing so, and the other has thought of starting when he goes home. When these two say they have not been encouraged to take a training, this might be because the staff feel that their reasons for not doing so are reasonable enough. In the case of one of them it is also a question of whether he would be motivated or suited to taking a training.

The three have rather different things to say as to whether they take part in preparing food. What can be concluded from what they say is that participation in preparing food at least does not constitute part of the regular tasks that the residents have understood they are obliged to take part in. Perhaps some of them avoid it during the weekends?

All three suffer from homesickness to a greater or lesser extent. There is general agreement that this is the most difficult aspect of residence in the hostel - that they are so far away from home, family and friends. The youngest two are in contact with people of their own age in the town - one of them has become good friends with some workmates whom the other knew beforehand. Another resident in the hostel tells us that he finds it unpleasant that people in the town are not particularly friendly. They call the hostel "Pillaavik" [= "the punishment house"]. It is also difficult to have normal relationships with people when you cannot return their invitations. He does not think it is easy to invite them down into the hostel. On the one hand they are not particularly keen on going there, and on the other it is not his own home he is inviting them to.

There is only one of the three whom we interviewed who immediately says that he can spend his time in the hostel on getting to know himself bet-

ter. The reason why the other two do not say this is presumably that one of them has some psychological problems that will require a great effort before reaching that stage, and the other is very much against the whole project and simply does not understand why he should be there.

Discussion

It might be slightly surprising that the three young men do not say that they have to prepare food during the weekends. Why should this be? Otherwise it is an important part of the stay that residents should be made to participate in and thereby learn to do cleaning and washing, which must be said to help create an awareness of their responsibility towards themselves and others, as it says in the description of the aim of the hostel, and in quite concrete terms give them transferable skills.

In view of the youth of the residents, it is perhaps not surprising that they should be homesick. But usually the very fact that they are sent away from their own town constitutes an important part of the sanction applied - as a rule they have several sentences behind them for the same kind of crimes "deriving from their circle of friends" - and as their stay does not normally last for more than six to nine months, this is a secondary effect that has to be lived with. Perhaps, on the other hand, something could be done to establish some contacts with other young people via the clubs in the town. This could serve several purposes: On the one hand it could prevent the residents from mainly mixing with each other - i.e. with other criminals - and let them join non-criminal circles, and on the other it could mean that their daily lives became more interesting and thus increase the benefit from the stay and reduce the element of homesickness. As an inmate in one of the small night-time correctional institutions suggested, something might also be done to open up the hostel for other members of the local population and inform them about what is being done there. This could also make it easier for the residents to mix with people in the town and to invite some of them home. (The staff are in fact attempting to do this).

Treatment of alcohol abuse and other problems

It is a feature of the ordinary residents in the hostel that they do not really need treatment - this is one of the criteria for sending them there at all. The carefully laid-down framework and the possibilities of sanctions if the regulations are broken are assumed to be sufficient to keep the residents on the right track. Thus the warden states that his philosophy is that Antabuse is "something you have to deserve", in the sense that Antabuse is not something you are automatically given because it is assumed from the start that you cannot control yourself. (That this might mean that being forced to take Antabuse is a punishment for drinking alcohol is a different problem.) The

intention is presumably that the residents should feel how much better they manage when they are not drinking, and from those interviewed it also sounds as though it has this effect.

Generally speaking, the residents do not have serious personal problems requiring treatment. But one of the three interviewed is slightly atypical in that his criminal activities are more serious than is usual in the hostel, and he moreover suffers from some character aberrations. It is not surprising that he, though the only one of the three, says he would like to talk to a clergyman. It is more remarkable that he does not realise that this is possible for him. In addition, he is given reasonable psychological treatment, which in this study is quite unique. That he cannot say what benefit he derives from it is presumably due to the fact that - in view of his condition - it is difficult to define rather than that it is ineffective.

Limitation of freedom

The limitations placed on freedom in the hostel are quite obviously aimed only at *discipline*, not at *punishment*. The rules are there so as to have some check on the residents and to tie them to the educative project that their stay represents. Although, of course, it can be irritating to be subject to this kind of discipline, none of the residents interviewed (or those taking part in the general meeting) really have any objections either to the regulations or the way in which they are enforced. We heard some slight grumbles that the windows cannot be opened wide, but that was probably the only thing.

The staff

The staff in the hostel are, as said above, principally appointed to be in charge of educative tasks, as is suggested by the description of them as "pedagogical assistants". The relationship between residents and staff is different from what it is in the night-time correctional institution, says the resident who has experienced both. The staff are not looked on as "warders". This is also illustrated by the fact that it was natural for some members of staff to be sitting at the table when we had the general meeting with the residents. The residents themselves said that it did not matter that the staff heard what they had to say.

Nevertheless, the residents would probably not describe relations with the staff as close. At all events, they do not feel that they really talk to them much, but neither do they want this. Perhaps it is significant that at least two of them are still at an age when it might be important to be "tough" and when care and understanding are not things they are going to ask for. Nevertheless a single comment from one of them suggests that he would not be entirely

negative to the suggestion that it perhaps ought to be one of the duties of members of staff to talk rather more to the residents.

When one of the two young men was asked what kind of everyday contact he had to the staff, he replied "We don't have much contact". In answer to a subsequent question of whether they talk to him, he says yes. And in reply to yet another question - of what he thinks of the way in which they talk to each other, he says, "There's nothing wrong with it". (On account of his taciturnity, the questions do tend to determine the answers to some extent). He is asked whether he would describe the contact as "nice", "something he wants" or "unpleasant", and he chooses "something he wants". In reply to the subsequent question of whether it is soothing²⁴ he says "yes". He has a contact person, that is to say one member of staff whose task it is especially to follow him and his case, and contact with this person is OK. He has not chosen him himself, and that does not matter. He has not talked to anyone in the hostel about his crimes, but says after a brief pause for thought that perhaps he could do so. However, he says that the social services officer said to him when he came that what he had done was "too much". And he grumbled a bit at him for this. The person concerned has also grumbled at him since in connection with other things. The resident thinks this is all right - it draws his attention to things, and he thinks he learns something from it. If he has a problem, he himself goes to his contact person. He thinks that the contact person gives good and useful answers to the questions he asks.

The other one says that he does not talk to the staff in his everyday life. Nor does he want to, so that is all right. There is one member of staff he definitely does not like. He does not think it is necessary to have contact with the staff, but when he is asked whether he would think it a good thing if they were nicer as people (in his view), he says "perhaps ... yes". He has heard that there are contact persons, but he has not yet himself been given one. In answer to the question of whether he would like to choose one for himself if he were allowed, he says yes, and names one member of staff he likes. If he has problems, he chooses to talk to his girlfriend by telephone.

He has not talked to any member of staff about his crimes, but they have told him they will wait until they receive his records. When they come, they will take up the matter with him.

Discussion

The replies to these questions might appear surprising when we know that in the juvenile hostel a routine is fixed for the contact person to take regular thorough-going conversations with individual residents, and that during this conversation they are to ensure that they touch on the most important areas, practical and personal problems, plans and so on. The arrangement was admittedly relatively new at the time when the interviews took place, but it is nevertheless difficult to believe that the conversations are so few and so lim-

ited in scope as the residents make out. Again, the reason might be that it is more difficult for the resident to see the system and structure in a conversation that might appear to be very ordinary, but which in reality has been carefully planned by the member of staff. However, it is on the other hand somewhat problematical if the residents do not *feel* that there is much to be derived from more conversations/attention/guidance.

Relations between the residents

The answers to the questions regarding the residents' relations with each other are very short and uninformative. In reality they tell us most about what they do *not* mention. They can reasonably be interpreted as indicating that there are at least no major problems with difficult residents, cliques, unpleasant atmospheres and the like. If there had been, it could be expected that they would have been mentioned. Nor is there any feel of such problems when you visit the hostel. Perhaps the vague answers are the most positive that can reasonably be expected.

Overriding points of view - treatment, help or punishment?

Is the measure reasonable?

A central question is whether the resident is at all agreed that he has done something wrong, and whether it is reasonable that he should have been placed in the hostel.

The resident who has been guilty of violent crime says that it is very difficult to think of what he has done. He does not express an opinion on the measure itself - it is what the judge has decided, he says. He just does not really like the staff in the hostel.

One of the very young ones says of his own crimes (breaking and entering) that he has had enough. He thinks it is OK he has to live in the hostel, and that it is sensible for him himself. The stay helps to persuade him to say that he has had enough of crime - he does not want to be sent back here.

The other young one does not have any great pangs of conscience about the violent act of which he has been found guilty. He says he "hasn't anything against it" and that "it's over". To the question of whether he is embarrassed by it, he says not. He does not think it is his fault, he merely reacted when someone attacked him. It was their fault, but the judge did not really understand that, he says. He does not think it right that he has been sent to the hostel. He thinks he should have been given another chance, although he is well aware that he has already been given that twice when he was fined for assault.

The juvenile hostel in the community - and the residents in the juvenile hostel

The resident with a serious criminal record does not really know how to explain what the community derives from having a hostel. He says that perhaps he will discover that when he grows up a bit more, but now he is so young ... In his own case he puts it that perhaps he is there because he has been punished.

He was also asked what he thinks the effect of being here will have on him. To this he says that perhaps he has improved, he does not know for certain, but that the psychologist or the staff can say more about that. He is a little sorry that he has not been given any help with schooling while there. He left school early and could not manage STI because he was not good enough, he says. He knows it will be difficult for him to start again. But he would like to do something about it though he does not know where to turn for help [Earlier in the interview he said that he does not want to start a training because he cannot afford to be without a job.]

In answer to the question of whether he feels he has been punished or helped in the hostel, he says that he certainly has no sense of being severely punished, but only that they have their freedom limited at night. He thinks they are helped by the staff, but that they perhaps ought to be helped in a different way, for instance by the staff talking more to them.

The young man who has been sentenced for breaking and entering thinks that the community is using the hostel as a "way of reforming" them.

Question: Why were you put in the hostel?

Resident: Because I broke the law.

Question: To reform you or punish you - or both?

Resident: Both

When asked what this stay will mean for his future, he thinks for a moment and then says: "It's good for me". In answer to a subsequent question as to whether the effect on him is to reform him, he says yes. Those people he knows who have been there before have also benefited from it and have stopped committing criminal acts, he says.

The violent criminal is more sceptical:

Question: In your view, why is it that hostels are so useful to the community?

Resident: They just do harm. [grins]

Question: How?

Resident: Sending people away.

Question: Does that just do harm?

Resident: Yes.

Question: Is there nothing good at all [about the hostel]?

Resident: No. [smiles]

Question: You smile when you say that?

Resident: ... homesick ... [?]

Question: Why were you sent to the hostel?

Resident: It's them ... they try to put a limit on them [?]. The illegal things I've done and because I've got to behave properly. I asked them otherwise if I couldn't go to the institution instead; 'cause that would have been over quicker. They refused.

Question: Do you feel you are being punished or reformed here?

Resident: Well ... [grins] we're punished ... our windows can't even be opened ... yes, we're really being punished...

Question: Can you make use of your stay here for anything?

Resident: I just want to get it over with. I'm just waiting to go home.

He, too, is asked what significance the stay will have for his future, and to this he replies: "It's just a joke". He is unable to explain exactly what he means by this, but more questions are put to him:

Question: Haven't you learned anything from it?

Resident: No .. oohh, well .. perhaps I'll learn something from it . Perhaps I'll come to my senses a bit.

Question: Has it been a help to you? Has it helped you as a human being for the future, to avoid committing crimes and to live more quietly?

Resident: ...

Question: Has it taught you anything, to attend to your work properly, to be wakened up early in the morning ...?

Resident: Errh . what shall I say .. perhaps a bit like that.

He knows someone who has been in the hostel before, but he has not derived the intended benefit from it - he is in the institution now, says the resident. He says he does not know whether to blame the hostel, and in any case the person concerned "isn't all that bright". He also knows someone else who is back in his home town, but from what he knows he is continuing to drink and carry on....

At the general meeting some general views are also heard as to the effect of the hostel on the residents. They are asked whether they think it is at all beneficial, and all four taking part in the meeting believe it is. One of them talks of it using a phrase that can be translated roughly by "going forward" or "going on in the right direction". A chap who is a little older than the others and who is on release from a correctional institution says of two young ones he has been together with here for a year, that they have really learnt a lot from it. They have been reformed, he says. He himself has talked to them a lot, and he thinks they have improved a great deal. None of the four think they have been harmed by the stay. "You just get used to it," says one of them. One says that he doesn't think he'll be doing anything wrong again. It's

far too unpleasant, he says. When he is asked whether he has been frightened by it, he says something to the effect of: "No, that's not the reason, [it's because I have] got to understand myself better."

Some of them have also tried being on probation, including the one who has just arrived. It did not work. He explains it by saying "Nothing was done with us" (or: "Nothing happened with us").

Discussion - treatment, help or punishment?

The three residents are reasonably positive in their attitude to the hostel. They are not wildly enthusiastic about being there, but on the other hand they are not terribly critical.

The three interviewed can be seen as three quite interesting types. The first of them has some serious psychological problems that he is battling with. He accepts being there and thinks that perhaps he has improved as a result. But he would like some more treatment. The one sentenced for violent crime understands nothing of the whole idea behind the stay, and so he cannot see that it is of any benefit to him. It is simply something to be gone through. However, he does just admit that he has perhaps come a little more to his senses as a result of being there. His stay was far from over at the time of the interview; perhaps more can be achieved. The thief must be the ideal type, well understanding the idea behind the stay, and positive in his attitude to deriving something from it. There are of course some disciplinary problems, but that was one of the reasons for his coming.

Not unimportant in this context is the fact that the rather older resident on licence from an institution can see that several of the young people with whom he has lived there for some time are noticeably improving. (And moreover, this particular resident is fitting in well in the hostel, say the staff).

The question is what is needed to fire the two rather more difficult residents. This is not something the residents themselves have any ideas about, so it will be taken up in the concluding discussion below.

Proposals for improvements in the hostel

At the general meeting, the resident on licence from the night-time correctional institution suggested an arrangement with a private contact person in the town. (The suggestion is very much like one that was made in the institutions). He emphasises that it is not to criticise the staff or to say that they do too little, but he would simply like a contact out in town - someone to visit, someone who could encourage him a little, someone to turn to with practical problems and to be able to spend some time together with in normal surroundings.

At the general meeting there was also a suggestion that it ought to be possible to have a holiday in their home towns. Some of them shudder at the thought of spending Christmas here. They are well aware there is an explanation for it being so, but nevertheless ...

The views of the staff

The objective of the hostel

The overriding aim, according to the member of staff, is to make it possible for the residents to return to their own community and be absorbed into it without committing any further offences. He does not think there is any question of punishment in relation to the hostel, although he realises that ordinary people in town think there is: "That's where those criminals are kept down there..." But that is not what it is like. The residents are placed there to be helped on a purely human footing with their problems and their needs.

The member of staff himself thinks that his most important task is to get the residents to develop as human beings. To teach them to understand and accept responsibility, to take a grip on themselves and to find and keep a job. In reality, he can do this by acting as a kind of replacement father. He praises them when they have done something well and points out to them if they have done anything wrong. If they are going wrong, they have to be stopped, and then they have to be told and have explained properly what is wrong and why this is the reaction. He also believes it to be important that they should learn to express what they themselves think and feel, and that it is not just left to the staff to preach to them. He thinks that many of them find it difficult to talk to others and discuss their problems, and to be able to open up is something they must learn.

This member of staff thinks that the organisational framework for undertaking this task is good enough, but the lack of a workshop constitutes a serious limitation on the potential for self fulfilment. An extra common room would also be a good thing so that not everything had to take place at the same time in the room for eating, sitting and watching television.

The member of staff thinks it quite in order that the hostel should take in other residents than the original target group. But now and then a resident might be suffering from a serious psychological illness about which he does not in actual fact think the staff can do anything about as they do not have the necessary expertise.

What is the effect of the hostel on the residents?

Most of the residents come from problem homes where they have lacked love or support from their parents, and many of them have done badly at school, says the member of staff. There are also some "favourite children", but he believes there are more of the others. Although some of them revert to their evil ways after a stay in the hostel, he believes that most derive some benefit from it. If the hostels had not existed, there would have been a great need of them, he thinks. It is a good thing to be able to avoid putting the young people in the correctional institutions. He believes that they learn the things that the hostels aim at: responsibility and a better understanding of themselves. And he adds that many also become better at regulating their lives - some-

thing which many of them are bad at, and in the case of violent criminals this is often a core element in their criminality.

The member of staff does not think it can harm anyone to be sent to a hostel. He admits that there used to be a potential risk of their being looked after so much that they became dependent or "spoiled" as he calls it. At that time all food was served, and their pocket money system arranged in such a way that it did not in fact pay to go to work. Today, all this has been changed, so that they themselves take part in setting the tables and preparing the sandwiches, and it is only the hot dinners that are made by a member of staff. During the weekend they have to prepare their own food throughout the day, and this has opened the eyes of some of them to the harsh realities of life! In addition, the pocket money system has been changed so that there is real encouragement to find work.

The member of staff believes that the residents spend their time in the hostel in a sensible way, especially in their leisure time. Several of them attend clubs, find new friends whom they visit and so on. Once they have discovered the possibilities offered by the town, they make use of them, too. The only thing is, he thinks, that they tend to encounter people's view of the hostel based on the limited knowledge of it in the community. The staff have tried to do something about this by informing the local schools and colleges and by having open house, and they intend repeating both experiments. He knows perfectly well that ordinary people think the residents in the hostel are dreadful criminals, he says with a slight smile. The residents feel this. But those who are active have a good possibility of joining in activities in the clubs, and this they do.

Apart from the question of facilities for occupying themselves, the member of staff cannot point to anything specific that needs to be improved in the hostel. Where he does see a need for improvement, on the other hand is in the supervision awaiting the young people when they leave the hostel and go home. He does not think that always works well enough.

Discussion

The different views of the residents and the staff

As might be expected, there are not the same great differences between the views of the staff and the residents on the hostel as there are between the inmates and the custodians in the institutions. Whereas there are many quite conflicting views in the institutions, possible disagreements in the juvenile hostel are rather questions of degree.

Generally speaking, the residents do not feel that they are talked to sufficiently, and one of them specifically makes this a point of criticism. This is the very same resident with whom the member of staff says they have worked incredibly hard, while at the same time recognising that the person in ques-

tion does indeed have need of still more. The member of staff himself has a feeling that the resident concerned perhaps requires more treatment than the hostel is geared up to give.

The residents do not feel they are sufficiently encouraged to join in associations and clubs out in the town. This is slightly in contradiction of what the member of staff says about how well things are going and that the residents take part in so much. Perhaps the selection interviewed was atypical, or perhaps there are not many who have been able to embark on this. Again, it is a question of balance: the residents must also learn to take the initiative themselves, but if they cannot do so, perhaps they need to be pushed rather more.

The member of staff and the residents are agreed that people in the town know too little about the hostel and that the general attitude towards the residents hinders their integration in the life of the town. But in contrast to what the residents say, various information initiatives have in fact been tried; they have simply - obviously - not been sufficient, and the member of staff says that a fresh attempt will be made.

The lack of a workshop which everyone talks about is not really anything we need to consider more here. It has already been referred to as a serious problem in the Commission's working paper on the Prison Service.²⁵

Discussion - general considerations

As said above, the three residents interviewed represent three very different types. The means employed in the hostels clearly best suit the most normal of them, the one who "in reality" is a good boy who has gone slightly astray. The psychological deviant and the spoiled boy are wilful and represent much more difficult cases. The juvenile hostel can be seen as an attempt to *normalise* some young (and older) criminals, principally by placing them in a very *normal* framework. Here, one of the residents fits in almost by himself, and he has no difficulty in adapting. He is a reasonable person who reacts to the appeal to his common sense, which the hostel represents. The other two are more difficult, and so adapting does not go quite of its own accord. They obviously require a more conscious and determined effort. In the case of the psychological deviant, it is presumably necessary to have more professional competence, but otherwise a more structured treatment, for instance in the shape of concrete plans of action for the individual resident might perhaps be sufficient. In reality this is what many residents, both here and in other parts of the sanctions system, ask for.

In addition, it seems to be extremely strange that the juvenile hostels have about 50% of their accommodation vacant. As said in the chapter dealing with the institutions, there is much to suggest that more than anything else, a large proportion of the inmates there need someone to talk to, some positive values, quiet surroundings - and something that perhaps could be called upbringing. And this is exactly what the hostels have on offer. Why is use not made of them?

Annexe 1 - Interview guides

For the night-time correctional institutions

Personal information

Age

Sex

Education and occupation before sentence

Where did you live before coming to the institution? Are you going to live there again afterwards?

Are you married? (If no: Have you ever been?)

Children

Criminality and sanction

What have you done since you have been placed in the institution?

Are you on remand or serving a sentence (or possibly returned from Herstedvester Prison?)

How long have you been in the institution?

Have you been detained elsewhere in connection with this sentence?

If so, where and for how long?

How much longer must you remain in the institution?

Have you been sentenced for committing offences before?

If yes: Have you been in an institution before?

If yes: Where and for how long?

Have you previously been on probation?

If yes: Where and for how long?

Have you previously been sentenced to other measures?

If yes: Which?

Arrival in the institution

What were the procedures when you arrived in the institution?

What were you told?

Did you ask any questions?

Were your questions answered?

How did you get on at first?

How did you get on during the period when you were not allowed out?

Daily life in the institution

How would you describe your everyday life?

Do you have a job outside or in the institution?

Why/why not?

If yes: Where do you work?

What do you think of your job?

Have you had other jobs while you have been in the institution?

Have you had any offer of training?

If yes: Do you take part?

Why/why not?

Have you had any offer of physical exercise?

If yes: Do you take part?

Why/why not?

Have you been offered the opportunity of helping to prepare food?

If yes: Do you take part?

Why/why not?

Have you had the offer of other activities?

If yes: Which? Do you take part?

Why/why not?

The staff

How is your everyday contact with the staff? (How often, whom, why, what do you talk about?)

How would you describe the contact you have with the staff? (Too much/just right/not quite enough/too little/nice/neutral/unpleasant, only contact if necessary/also voluntary contact)

How would you describe your contact with your contact person in the institution (if you have one)?

Did you choose your own contact person?

If no: Would you rather have had a different member of staff? Why?

Has any member of staff spoken to you about what you have done?

How do you think the staff carry out their tasks?

Other officials and fellow inmates

Have you been to a doctor while you have been in the institution?

If yes: Have you any comments on this?

If no: Would you have liked to see a doctor?

If yes: Why did you not do so?

Have you talked to a clergyman since coming to the institution?

If yes: Have you any comments on this?

Did the clergyman talk to you about what you have done? (What did you think of this?)

Have you talked to a psychologist or psychiatrist while you have been in the institution?

If yes: Have you any comments on this?

Has the psychologist/psychiatrist talked to you about what you have done? (What did you think of this?)

If no: Would you have liked to talk to a psychologist or psychiatrist?

If no: Why have you not done so?

Describe your contact with the contact person appointed by the Prison Service.

How often do you talk to this person? Do you think it suitable?

What do you talk about?

Has the contact person talked to you about what you have done?
(What do you think of this?)

Do you yourself put questions to your contact person?

If yes: Do you feel you receive answers that are useful to you?

If no: Why not?

Have you yourself ever taken up contact with your contact person?

If yes: Why?

If no: Why not?

How do you get on with the other inmates?

Have you one or more close friends in the institution?

If yes: Have you got to know them here, or did you know them before?
What do your friends here mean for you?

Is there anyone in the institution you are on bad terms with?

If yes: How, and why?
What does this mean to you in your everyday life?

Do you think there is anyone in the institution who benefits the community? (How?)

Do you think there is anyone in the institution who spoils anything for the community? (How?)

Who do you go to if you have a problem?

Friends and family

How would you describe the contact you have with your family (parents, spouse/boyfriend/girlfriend/children)?

What does your family think about what you have done?

Where does your family live?

If they live in another town: Do they come to visit you? How often?

Do you visit your family?

If yes: How often?

If no: Why not?

How would you describe the contact you have with your friends?

What do your friends think about what you have done?

Have you any friends in this town?

If yes: Do you visit them?

If yes: How often?

If no: Why not?

If no: Have you friends in other towns who come to visit you? How often?

(If you live in another town:) Do you intend going back to your own town when you are released?

Why/why not?
Do you feel homesick?

Experience of the effect of the term in the institution

What do you yourself think about what you have done? (Guilt/shame)
Do you yourself think that the sanction imposed on you is reasonable in relation to what you have done?

When you were sentenced, was your case mentioned in the newspapers/on the radio?

If yes: Was your name mentioned?

What did it mean to you that your case was reported?

Do you think the treatment you receive in the institution is just?

How do you think about there being things you are not allowed to do because you are in the institution?

Are you given Antabuse?

If yes: How much/how often? Why?

What do you think of it?

Do you think it is necessary?

If no: Do you think it would be a good idea if you were to take Antabuse?

Have you ever broken any of the institution regulations?

If yes: Which ones?

Why?

What happened then?

What do you think of the way in which the staff reacted/the punishment you were given?

If no: Have you wanted to?

If yes: What persuaded you not to?

What do you think of the regulations in the institution?

How do you view the time you are going to have to spend in the institution? Are you trying to use it for any specific purpose, or do you just want to get it over with?

What would you use your time for if you could decide entirely for yourself?

Do you think you get anything out of

- working?

- training?

- peace and quiet to think through your own problems?

- the staff, through conversations (help to understand yourself better)?

- exercise?

- establishing a different relationship with your relatives?

- not drinking or smoking hash?

- the regular daily routine?

- the food?

- new friends?

If you yourself were to describe what the community derives from having a night-time correctional institution, how would you do so? (Suggestions: - treatment - atonement (society's revenge?) - dissuasion from committing more crimes - protection of society/victims against crimes)?

Changed to: Why are there such things as night-time correctional institutions?

What do you yourself think you get out of being held in the institution? (Atonement?)

Change to: Why have you been placed in the institution?

Have you any ideas about what will happen when you are released?

If yes: What?

If no: Why not?

Have you talked to anyone about what will happen?

If yes: Who? What did you talk about?

If no: Why not?

What do you want for yourself in the future?

Do you think there is any chance of your committing more crimes?

Why/why not?

If you think about your time in the institution, what significance do you think it has had for you when you have to manage on your own in freedom afterwards? (Suggestions: harmed you? - helped you? - not had any significance?) Why?

If you think about the others kept in the institution - or if you known anyone outside who has been held here, do you think they have changed since being placed in the institution?

If yes: How?

What might have prevented you from committing the crime you are here for?

Other comments

If you could decide entirely on your own, what ought the institutions to be like?

Have you any other comments on the institution?

What do you think about the questions we have asked you here?

Would you mind being contacted again at some later time if this study is to be followed up?

Staff in the institutions

Personal information

Age

Sex

Training

Position

How long have you worked in this institution?

Previous employment?

Do you speak Greenlandic and/or Danish?

Why did you start to work here?

Daily life in the institution

How would you describe an ordinary working day?

Do you find the days are much like one another?

If yes: What do you think about that?

If no: What makes them different?

Your task

How would you describe your duties in the institution?

What expectations do you think the authorities have of the way in which you attend to your duties?

Have you any sense of what duties the authorities consider the most important?

What expectations do you think the inmates have of the way in which you attend to your duties?

Have you any feeling of which duties the inmates think are most important?

What do you yourself think is your most important duty?

Have you any possibility of attending to your duties in the way in which you yourself think it should be done?

How would you describe your contacts with the inmates?

The inmates and the period spent in the institution

How do you think the time spent in the institution affects the inmates?

Can you mention any concrete areas in which the inmates benefit from the period spent here?

Can you mention any concrete areas in which the time spent here harms the inmates?

Do you think the inmates make use of the possibilities existing to derive benefit from the time they spend in the institution?

Have you any ideas as to how, if it were possible to change anything, it might be possible to improve the inmates' possibilities of managing and avoiding crime when they come out?

If you were to describe what the community derives from having the institution, how would you do this? (Suggestions: - treatment - atonement (society's revenge) - dissuasion from committing more crimes - protection of society/the victims against criminal acts?)

Do you think there are inmates for whom the institution is unsuitable?
If yes, why? Ought they to be placed elsewhere/in a different way?

The individual inmate

Can you tell me a little about NN?
What are your personal relations with NN?
How do you think NN gets on in the institution?
Have there been any disciplinary problems with NN?
Do you think holding NN in the institution is a reasonable measure?
What do you think the future holds for NN?

Other comments

Have you any comments relating to your own job?
- relating to the inmates?
- relating to the institution as such?
What do you think of the questions we have asked you?
Would you have any objection to being contacted at a later date if this study is to be followed up?

Probationer

Personal information

Age
Sex
Training and employment
Place of residence
Married/single/divorced?
Children

Crime and sanction

What have you done to be put on probation?
What conditions are attached to your period on probation?
How long have you been on probation?
Have you been subjected to any other measures in connection with this sentence?
If yes, what are they?
How long are you to remain on probation?
Have you previously been sentenced for having committed a crime?
If yes: Have you previously been in a night-time correctional institution?
If yes: Where? For how long?
Have you previously been on probation?
If yes: Where? For how long?

Have you ever received any other sentences?

If yes: Which?

If not on probation previously: Did you know what it meant when the judge said you were to be put on probation?

If no: How did you find out?

The start of probation

What were the proceedings when you spoke to your probation officer for the first time?

What were you told?

Did you ask about anything?

Did you receive answers to your questions?

Did you get a clear impression of what is to happen while you are on probation?

Were you given the opportunity to express your wishes regarding probation?

Did you yourself think you needed probation and the imposition of conditions?

Have you been given any papers connected with probation?

If yes: In what language?

Have you read them?

Could you understand them?

Daily life on probation

How does your being on probation affect your everyday life?

If work is a condition of probation: Where do you work?

What do you think of your work?

Have you had other jobs as a result of probation?

If training is a condition of probation: Where are you training?

What do you think of it?

Have you had any other training as a result of probation?

If residence is a condition of probation: Where do you live?

What do you think of it?

If treatment/abstinence is a condition of probation: How is it administered?

What do you think of it?

If financial administration is a condition of probation: How is it administered?

What do you think of it?

If treatment is a condition of probation: How is it administered?

What do you think of it?

Do you find it difficult to observe the conditions?

The probation officer

Who is your probation officer?

Describe your contact with your probation officer.

How many times have you spoken to this person within the last two months?

Do you find this appropriate?

How often on average have you had meetings with your probation officer during your period on probation?

Do you find this appropriate?

Where do you meet?

What do you talk about?

Do you yourself ask your probation officer questions?

If yes: Do you think you get useful answers?

If no: Why not?

Have you yourself ever sought contact with your probation officer?

If yes: Why?

If no: Why not?

What is the atmosphere like at your meetings?

Have you confidence in your probation officer?

How do you think your probation officer carries out his duties?

Have you ever failed to attend a meeting with your probation officer for more than a couple of days?

If you have failed to attend: What did your probation officer do the last time you did not turn up?

(If he/she is not allowed to drink alcohol:) Have you, nevertheless?

If yes: Why?

What happened?

What do you think of that?

Have you ever broken any of the other conditions relating to your probation?

If yes: Why?

Does your probation officer know you have broken the conditions?

What did your probation officer do the last time he/she discovered that you had broken a condition?

What do you think of the way in which your probation officer reacted?

Has your probation officer talked to you about the crime you have committed?

What do you think about that?

Have you talked to your probation officer about what it is like to be on probation?

Does your probation officer collaborate with others, for instance a local authority case worker, on your case?

If yes: How do you think that works?

If no: Do you think it would have been a good idea?

The effects experienced of probation

How do you yourself look on what you have done? (guilt/shame)

Do you yourself think the sanction applied is reasonable in relation to what you have done?

Do you think the treatment you receive from your probation officer is fair?

What does probation mean to you in your everyday life?

Has your probation meant that -

- you have improved your work situation?
- you have improved your financial situation?
- you have improved your housing situation?
- you have reduced your alcohol consumption?
- you have reduced the amount of hash you smoke?
- you have developed better leisure time habits?

- you have got an improved relationship to your family?

- you have got an improved relationship with others?

- you have improved your chances of leaving a life of crime?

What do you think your probation has primarily been about? (Suggestions: help and support/monitoring/both).

In which area has probation been a special help?

Do you think much of a check has been kept on you and your behaviour?

What do you think about that?

Has probation bothered you in any other way? If so: How?

What do your family and friends say to your being on probation?

If you have been on probation before: Has this probation been different?

If yes: How?

Do you feel there is anything you have lacked in your probation?

How do you think your situation would have been if you had not been on probation?

Have you any thoughts as to what will happen when you are no longer on probation?

If you could, would you like to continue on probation after the allotted time?

If you yourself were to describe what the community derives from having you on probation, what would you say?

What could have prevented you from committing a crime?

Is probation an appropriate way of preventing you from committing more crimes?

Other comments

If you could decide for yourself, what form ought probation to take?

Have you any comments otherwise on probation?

What do you think of the questions we have asked you here?
Would you have any objection to being contacted at a later date if this study is to be followed up?

Probation Officers

Personal information

Age

Sex

Training and position, possibly former employment

How long have you been a probation officer?

Why did you become a probation officer?

Have you attended courses or been given other information in connection with your duties as probation officer?

How many probationers are you in charge of at the moment?

The start of probation

How did it go when you spoke to your probationer for the first time?

What did you tell him/her?

Did he ask any questions?

Do you think he understood what is to happen while he is on probation?

Did he express any wishes regarding the probation?

Did you give him any papers relating to the probation?

If yes: In what language?

Daily life on probation

What are the conditions pertaining to the probation in each case?

How have these been decided? (By whom, why)

Do you think these are reasonable conditions?

If a job is one of the probation conditions: How does the probationer cope with it?

If training is one of the probation conditions: How does the probationer cope with it?

If residence is one of the probation conditions: How does the probationer cope with it?

If alcohol treatment/abstinence is one of the probation conditions: How is it administered?

How does the probationer cope with it?

If financial administration is one of the probation conditions: How is it administered?

How does the probationer cope with it?

If treatment is one of the probation conditions: How is it administered?

How does the probationer cope with it?

The probationer

Can you describe your probationer as a person?

Can you describe your contact with your probationer?

How many times have you talked to him over the last two months?

Do you think this is appropriate?

How often on average have you had a meeting with your probationer throughout the period of his probation?

Do you think this is appropriate?

Where do you meet?

What do you talk about?

Does the probationer himself ask any questions?

If yes: Do you feel able to answer them?

Has the probationer himself ever sought contact with you?

If yes: Why?

What is the atmosphere like at your meetings?

What do you think the probationer's attitude is to being on probation?

Has the probationer ever failed to attend a meeting with you for more than a couple of days?

If the probationer has failed to attend: What did you do about it?

Has he ever broken any of the other conditions relation to his probation?

What did you do about it?

Have you talked to the probationer about the crimes he has committed?

Have you talked to the probationer about what it is like being on probation?

Do you collaborate with others, for instance a local authority case worker on this probationer's case?

If yes: How do you think it works?

If no: Do you think it would be a good idea if you did?

Effects experienced of probation

Do you think that his probation has meant that

- he has improved his job situation?

- he has improved his financial situation?

- he has improved his housing situation?

- he has reduced his consumption of alcohol?

- he has reduced his consumption of hash?

- he has improved his leisure habits?

- he has improved his relationship with his family?

- he has improved his relationships with others?

- he has come to terms with himself?

He has improved his chances of living a life free from crime?

What do you think probation has primarily been about in his case?
(Suggestions: help and support/monitoring/both) - what is your duty
- how do you discharge it?

In what areas do you think you have been able to help especially?
Do you think you have kept a close eye on your probationer and his
behaviour?

Has this been necessary/unnecessary?

Have you any thoughts as to what will happen when the probationer is
no longer on probation?

Do you think his term of probation should have been longer or shorter
than was decided?

Why?

Do you think the probationer makes the best use of the possibilities to
derive some benefit from probation?

If you yourself were to describe what the community derives from
having an offender on probation, what would you say?

Do you think there are some probationers who are not suited to proba-
tion?

If yes, what sanctions would you suggest for them instead?

Other comments

Have you any ideas as to whether anything could be altered so as to
improve probationers' possibilities of managing for themselves and
avoiding crime after the end of the probation period?

Have you any comments to make on your own work as probation of-
ficer?

Have you any comments on probation in general?

What do you think of the questions we have asked you here?

Would you have any objection to being contacted at a later date if this
study is to be followed up?

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Annexe 3

Summary of the Commission's Proposals on the Future of the System of Correctional Institutions and Probation in Greenland, June 2000

The Penal Code of 1955

On the introduction of the Greenland Penal Code in 1955, there was no prison service or system of sanctions, and the idea was that the sanctions applying to the perpetrator used hitherto should continue to be applied with the cooperation of the local population. The fundamental idea was that it should continue to be the local community that looked after its own offenders.

The starting point was that measures characterised by welfare should be used, for instance a sentence to undertake work or a sentence to undergo training combined with probation. If this was not necessary in respect of the rehabilitation of the offender, a fine might be sufficient. In case of a possible need to place a "dangerous" criminal in an institution for a shorter period the first correctional institution was established in Nuuk, the so-called "detention centre" with accommodation for six offenders.

Meanwhile, it was not possible to find sufficient willing and suitable hosts or mentors with whom to place offenders, and so the most commonly applied sanction was a fine, even in the case of serious criminal acts. Conversely, the detention centre did not provide any worthwhile security against the most dangerous criminals, and in 1958 the first offender was transferred to detention in Denmark.

The following period saw a growing professionalisation in the application of a sentence both in and outside institutions. The detention centre was in 1967 replaced by a new, appropriate correctional institution with accommodation for 18, which in 1976 was further expanded to 28. In 1976-77 two new institutions were built (in Qaqortoq and Aasiaat), each with accommodation for eight, so that the total capacity in correctional institutions had risen to 42 by the end of the 1970s. On account of continued lack of space, the three institutions were expanded during the 1980s and 1990s so that now, at the beginning of 2000, there is capacity for 74 offenders in Greenland night-time correctional institutions.

Alongside the expansion of institution capacity, the Prison Service outside the institution was slowly built up, as trained personnel have been appointed in increasing numbers in the towns to take care of probation etc. In addition, two juvenile hostels have been established. Now, at the beginning of 2000, five departments and four local offices have been established, altogether employing 30 persons, several of these on a part-time basis. In addition there is a small number of contact persons in the towns in which the Prison Service is not represented, plus a number of private supervisors.

The Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System

Meanwhile, there continues to be a number of situations in which the general development of society and developments within the system of sanctions and the application of sentences do not harmonise. Partly against the background of the Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System set up in 1994 by the Danish Government and the Greenland Home Rule Government, the principal task of which has been to undertake a thorough examination and re-assessment of the entire Greenlandic legal system, that is to say the police, prosecuting authorities, courts, correctional institutions and forms of probation.

Many circumstances have come to light concerning the organisation and development of society and pertaining to the system of correctional institutions and the application of sentences, on which the Commission has been obliged to adopt a position. Among the most important, mention can be made of the following:

- The significant rise in recorded crime, not least serious crimes such as murder, assault and sex crimes
- A disproportion in the use of sanctions, i.e. the application of a relatively large number of fines (also on persons in need of measures to promote rehabilitation), the use of a relatively small number of sentences of probation, and a significant rise in the use of measures to deprive people of their freedom (in proportion to the size of the population, some three times as many such sentences are passed in Greenland as in Denmark).
- The ineffectiveness of the measures applied (fines that went paid, conditions of probation that were not observed, the widespread possibilities for those confined to institutions to mix in the local community)
- Insufficient scope of treatment in Greenland for offenders suffering from psychological illness
- The dispatch of offenders sentenced to prison to indeterminate periods in Denmark
- Random and disparate use of crime-prevention measures
- The need for a greater effort to help the victims of crime
- The linguistic problems in a bilingual society in which not everyone is bilingual.

For use in the treatment of these - and other - questions, the Commission has taken the initiative to institute a number of discussions and some studies which, like the present one, throw light on the views of both the persons affected and/or the general public on various aspects of the community and its institutions. In addition, the Commission has undertaken studies to throw light on practice in various areas and has initiated a number of research projects.

The choice of measures

The Greenland Penal Code is based on what is known as the *perpetrator principle*, that is to say the principle that in selecting the most appropriate measure the court must to a great extent pay heed to the individual offender's personal and social situation and what measures it must be assumed will prevent this individual offender from committing further criminal acts. In determining the measure to be applied, however, account must be taken of the type of crime, the so-called *crime principle*, and the practice in Greenland today is mainly to follow the crime principle and only in certain, typically more serious cases is the main emphasis laid on the perpetrator principle.

This has persuaded the Commission to propose the so-called "ladder principle of sanctions", which is half-way between the crime principle and the perpetrator principle. According to this model, the sanctions are ranked according to their relative seriousness, that is to say how radical their effect is likely to be on the offender, and at every stage efforts at treatment are introduced. The Commission proposes that the following sanctions should be applied:

- Warning
- Fine
- Suspended sentence
- Probation
- Community service
- Sentencing to institution and probation
- Detention in institution

In addition there are various measures that can be applied to certain groups of criminals (young people, the mentally ill and dangerous criminals)

By developing the system of sanctions according to severity, greater emphasis than previously is being placed on considerations of proportionality and equality, that is to say the same sanction for the same crime. In future, will in each criminal case the court assess what *type* of sanction is appropriate as a starting point to the crime committed (i.e. an assessment of the seriousness of the crime). A need for rehabilitation can mean that a less severe measure might be used than otherwise, but aggravating factors (for instance earlier crimes of a similar nature) can mean that a more stringent sanction is applied than would otherwise be the case. The idea is moreover that regard for rehabilitation should form part of each rung on the ladder in determining or planning the sanction.

In this strategy it is (still) in the view of the Commission not necessary or appropriate to introduce minimum and maximum penalties for each individual crime such as for instance are known in the Danish Penal Code.

Application of the measures

As in the case of the other legal authorities, the Prison Service is a national establishment in common with Denmark and administrated by the Directorate of the Prison Service in the Ministry of Justice. At a local level, the Prison Service as the authority governing the application of measures was, however, only given separate status (from the office of the Chief Constable) in 1978, and the local administration of the three night-time correctional institutions is still in the hands of the Chief Constable.

The local administration is thus today divided between the Chief Constable and the Head of Social Services, but as the main task of the Prison Service is to enforce sanctions whether in an institution or under conditions of freedom, there is already now a significant coincidence of undertakings and thereby collaboration between the two areas. So the Commission proposes that this situation should be reinforced by the establishment of a unified Prison Service with a joint administration so that tasks and resources can quickly and effectively be coordinated and prioritised, while account can also be taken of local developments in various parts of the country.

The serving of sentences of detention in a night-time correctional institution

Sentence of detention in a night-time correctional institution are today served in the three open institutions, to a certain extent in the police lock-ups and - on being released on probation from the correctional institutions - in the juvenile hostels run by the Prison Service. In addition there is the possibility of being sent to Herstedvester Prison in Denmark. Conditions relating to time spent in an institution emerge from the Study.

As emerges from the Study, a special feature of the institutions in Greenland is that being placed in one should to the smallest possible extent cut off the offender from the surrounding community, and so employment and leisure activities take place as far as possible outside the institution. This arrangement has an honourable historical background, and as more violent conflicts, disciplinary measure or other steps are applied fairly rarely in relation to prisons in other countries, the Commission recommends that the system of night-time correctional institutions should as a starting point continue to be characterised by the limited nature of the restrictions placed on inmates.

Meanwhile, it can offend the sense of justice that persons who have committed serious crimes are allowed move about freely in the town immediately after being sentenced and during the following period. Accordingly, the Commission proposes that - as new step - a special regime should be introduced into the three institutions, a so-called semi-closed setting. Offenders placed in a semi-closed setting may, meanwhile, not take employment outside the institutions and nor will they normally be allowed out. Meanwhile, within the institutions there must be no limitations on the freedom of the offenders to move about at will.

For inmates who cannot respect these limitations, the Commission proposes that an actual closed area should be established in the institution in Nuuk, separated from the other offenders in the institution and reasonably secure against escape.

As the Commission is agreed that persons sentenced in Greenland should as a general rule also serve their sentences in Greenland, the possibility ought to be created of accommodating in Greenland offenders who at present are sent to the Herstedvester Prison in Denmark. The Commission therefore proposes that in the night-time correctional institution in Nuuk a further closed section should be established for those sentenced to detention in a secure institution and arrangements should be made for the need for psychiatric assistance to be met by collaboration with the department of psychiatry in the general hospital in Nuuk.

The establishment of two closed sections - each with a provision for 10 inmates - presupposes that real possibilities for occupational and leisure facilities should be established in the institution, as these inmates will only be allowed out into town in special circumstances. The Commission proposes that such facilities for occupational and leisure activities should be common to the two closed sections.

It is assumed that the capacity to house 54 inmates in Nuuk will be maintained, and this institution will thus come to contain all four elements - open sections, a semi-closed area, a closed section and a secure section - while the small open institutions with 10 places each will only contain an open section and a semi-closed section. All three institutions are on the west coast of Greenland, and in connection with the transfer of inmates from secure accommodation in Denmark, the Commission proposes that a small institution should be established on the east coast of Greenland with a size and facilities corresponding to the other two small institutions.

On account of the size of Greenland and the dispersed nature of the towns, the Commission furthermore suggests that facilities for allowing inmates to live on probation in hostels should be extended, that the possibility of serving of short-term sentences in local police cells should be maintained, and that an attempt should be made to reintroduce the possibility of placing offenders in training and educational establishments or in family care etc.

Carrying out arrangements for probation

Sentences of probation are under the control of the staff in the offices and branches of the Prison Service. The probation terms allow for instance sentences to community service, supervision of those released on licence, the supervision of mental patients sentenced to treatment, including supervision on discharge from hospital, supervision of released prisoners from secure accommodation (at the moment Herstedvester in Denmark) etc., detention in juvenile hostel and detention in a night-time correctional institution or in family care. The departments and subsidiaries of the Prison Service mean-

while also have other tasks, such as the preparation of the case before a sentence of detention in a correctional institution is passed, the responsibility for care of those placed in correctional institutions and police cells and work on crime prevention.

As said, the work is carried out by the staff of the five sections and four subsidiaries of the Prison Service - the Prison Service thus being represented in nine of the 17 local authority areas in Greenland. In seven of the remaining eight authorities, the Prison Service is represented by a so-called contact person, and in a single authority - on the east coast - the Prison Service is not represented at all.

During all the time the Greenland Penal Code has existed, probation has not worked sufficiently effectively, primarily on account of a lack of professionalism and insufficient geographical distribution. If the conditions applying to probation are to work effectively, there must be persons in the offender's closest environment who can undertake the supervision duty and who are in a position to intervene if the probation conditions are broken, and who can also offer support as needed.

If such persons are not available, probation cannot be used.

This quite simple problem has existed for the authorities enforcing the sentence throughout the entire lifetime of the Penal Code. On account of the enormous geographical extent of Greenland, the scattered nature of the towns and settlements, the difficult and expensive transport facilities and the small size of the population, it has been almost impossible to recruit sufficient employees with a relevant training or a sufficient number of suitable and willing private individuals to undertake the task.

And when a desirable measure cannot be carried out, the court is obliged to replace it with another, less appropriate sanction.

The Commission therefore proposes that the Prison Service should be represented in all local authority areas as the starting point for a trained force with a suitable degree of employment, but otherwise by the use of contact persons, private supervisors and personal examiners. And such a force should be structured in such a way that these private individuals receive sufficient support from those who are professionally trained.

Furthermore, the Commission points out what demands must be made on an effective supervisory authority, and what tasks must be undertaken. These include, for instance, the following:

- guidance for the offender regarding the contents of the measures applied
- the establishment of supervision by the probation service as quickly as possible
- determination of the frequency of contact between the offender and the probation service
- working out a plan of action for the period of probation and possibly the time following

- monitoring that the offender observes the conditions laid down
- relevant measures in the event of the conditions not being met
- guidance and support with a view to solving social and personal problems.

Precisely on account of recruitment problems, the Commission proposes an increased effort with a view to the use of private foster families, educational and training institutions etc., and likewise the importance of a good, close collaboration with other authorities, both inside and outside the legal system, is underlined.

Other measures

As said, the Commission has examined the entire Greenlandic legal system, and is making a large number of proposals within the purview of the courts, in the police, facilities for the defence etc. But the Commission has also directed its attention to areas outside the core areas of the legal system, and recommendations for improvements have been made for instance in

- crime prevention efforts
- help to victims of crime
- the treatment of the mentally ill
- help with problems of language.

The Commission expects to submit its final report during 2001, but some of its proposals have already been implemented.

Notes

- 1 Verner Goldsmidt: *The Greenland Penal Code and its Sociological Background* in *Acta Sociologica* 1:217-265 (1956). Furthermore: *The Greenland Criminal Code. With an introduction by Dr. Verner Goldschmidt*. South Hackensack, N.J.: Fred B. Rothman & Co. (1970). There is a more up-to-date description in English in Pierre Rousseau: *The Greenlandic Justice System*, Yellowknife Regional Office, Department of Justice, Canada. (1993)
- 2 See references.
- 3 Tine Bryld: *De nederste i Herstedvester* and *Abel*. Copenhagen 1992.
- 4 Inmates in the Danish open prisons can, however, have what is known as "frigang", that is to say permission for instance to follow a course of study during the daytime, and in this case the rules for serving sentences are much like those in Greenland.
- 5 This is different from the position in Denmark where inmates are typically not allowed to leave the prison during the day (unless they have leave to undertake work or training, which is a privilege only enjoyed by small numbers). On the other hand, they can, subject to various regulations, be given weekend leave.
- 6 In addition, some of those on probation had previously been sentenced to a night-time correctional institution and we asked a little about that. However, it will be made quite clear in the text if they are statements from this group that are being quoted.
- 7 STI is a basic vocational education course designed on similar lines to the Danish EFG (Erhvervsfaglig Grunduddannelse - Basic Vocational Training).
- 8 Of the male population over 15 years of age in Greenland, rather more than 1/3 are married and only 4% are divorced.
- 9 Subsequent studies by the Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System will attempt to throw light on the relationship between social background and criminality.
- 10 The Criminal Code § 103: "Those convicted shall as far as possible be occupied with work to which they are suited or, to the extent found appropriate, be trained in a trade appropriate to them." Further down in the paragraph it also states that efforts must be made to ensure that "employment should be found outside the institution" if this is compatible with the due process of law etc.
- 11 The study was instigated by the Home Rule Government and the police. This result is quoted from the annual report "Grønlands Politi 1995", published by the Chief of Police in Greenland.
- 12 Since the visit to Nuuk, this type of meeting has been reintroduced.
- 13 The normal rule is that it is a condition of being allowed out on licence that inmates submit to supervision by the Probation Service. However, it is not

a rule that this must be so, though in practice it is very, very rare that anyone is allowed out on licence without fulfilling this condition. If inmates spend the entire time in the institution, then the sentence has been served, and they are released unconditionally.

- 14 Criminal Code §§ 94, 95, 96, 97 and 10 clause 4. The instructions concerning training, the prohibition of specific environments and association with specific persons (which could be relevant for those found guilty of sex-related crimes) are scarcely ever used in practice. It would be very difficult to monitor that the last two were observed. It used to be possible when the towns were smaller, but it would not be realistic today.
- 15 The Annual Report 1996.
- 16 Quoted from "Kriminalforsorgen i Frihed", Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System, annex 68, Chapter 3.3.1.2.
- 17 Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System: "Retningslinier for KiF i Grønland 1994", p. 1.
- 18 The : "Guidelines ..." pp. 1-2.
- 19 *Tilsyn - indstilling afgivet af den af Justitsministeriet, Direktoratet for Kriminalforsorgen nedsatte arbejdsgruppe vedrørende indhold i og anvendelsen af tilsyn og vilkår*, (Supervision - report of the working party on the contents and use of probation and conditions set up by the Directorate of Prison Service in the Ministry of Justice) October 1994. The Greenland Prison Service is not a direct part of the Danish service, but the ideas in this report can be interesting as inspiration for further considerations.
- 20 In precise terms, five of the six who are in their twenties. The sixth was not asked about this because his interview was rushed, but his probation officer quite definitely believes that he has changed and is more relaxed with himself.
- 21 Usually once a year - at the request of the person convicted or the Prison Service, or at the minimum every other year at the request of the prosecuting authority.
- 22 Criminal Code § 96.
- 23 Kriminalforsorgen: Årsberetning for 1996 - The Prison Service: Annual Report - 1996.
- 24 The word has a slightly different sense in Greenlandic to Danish/English, tending towards the sense of "something that gives you peace in your soul", something giving reassurance.
- 25 Den Grønlandske Retsvæsenskommision: Kriminalforsorgen i Frihed, Chapter 2 - Kriminalforsorgens arbejdsopgave 1995, p. 20. Annex no. 67, 1995.

Seen in an international perspective, the Greenlandic correctional institutions attract particular attention. The Greenlandic Penal Code is known for its so-called »offender principle«, according to which it is not the intention for the sentences to punish, but to find the measure to prevent the person from engaging in further crime.

The aim of rehabilitation plays an important part. For the same reason, there are no real prisons in Greenland, but only open institutions where inmates are only locked up at night and are assumed to have work in town during the day.

This study is the first comprehensive examination since 1975 to discover how the measures are experienced in practice.

The author, born 1965, has a MSc in social sciences and eskimology. She spend a year in a village on the west coast as a school teacher and knows the Greenland society and the language well. She conducted in 1995-1997 three major investigations for the Commission on the Greenlandic Legal System. This study is based on one of them.