

Grupiranje obsojencev

Povzetek raziskave, ki jo je opravil inštitut za kriminologijo pri pravni fakulteti v Ljubljani na pobudo republiškega sekretariata za notranje zadeve SR Slovenije.

Vodja raziskave: Katja Vodopivec, znanstveni sodelavec inštituta.

Konzultativna skupina:

— Audič Karel, tedaj pomočnik upravnika KPD Maribor,

— Bizaj Alojz, referent za socialno službo in postpenalno pomoč v oddelku za izvrševanje kazni RSNZ SR Slovenije,

— Čerin Miha, načelnik oddelka za izvrševanje kazni v RSNZ SR Slovenije,

— Dolenc Stane, referent za prevzgojo v istem oddelku,

— Mejak Feliks, upravnik KPD Ig,

— Skalar Vinko, psiholog medicinsko-psihološkega centra RSNZ SR Slovenije,

— Zlokarnik Janez, zdravnik RSNZ SR Slovenije.

Viri financiranja: sklad Borisa Kidriča v Ljubljani, republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve SR Slovenije.

Namen raziskave

Zakon o izvrševanju kazenskih sankcij, ki je začel veljati julija 1961, predvideva nameščanje obsojencev, obsojenih na več kot leto dni odvzema prostosti, v različne vrste kazenskih poboljševalnih domov oziroma znotraj domov v različne vrste oddelkov. Namen raziskave je bil ugotoviti, kakšne domove oziroma oddelke bi bilo treba formirati v SR Sloveniji glede na populacijo obsojencev v naših kazenskih poboljševalnih domovih in kako naj bi razporejali obsojence.

Popis obsojenih oseb

V ta namen smo popisali vse obsojene osebe, ki so bile na dan 1. februarja 1963 v kazenskih poboljševalnih domovih. Iz popisnega gradiva smo nato izločevali posamezne skupine obsojencev po naslednjem vrstnem redu:

— psihično motene obsojence (po navedbah zdravstvenega kartona in uprave doma, preverjenih z dodatnim psihologovim razgovorom z upravnim osebjem za vsakega obsojenca posebej);

— fizično bolne in stare obsojence (po navedbah zdravstvenega kartona, ki jih je preveril zdravnik splošne prakse);

— mladoletne in mlajše polnoletne obsojence, stare do 21 let;

— prvič obsojene odrasle;

— povratnike, stare več kot 21 let (ki so bili pred sedanjo kaznijo že dvakrat ali večkrat kaznovani za istovrstno ali sorodno kaznivo dejanje in so že prej prestajali kazen odvzema prostosti, ter obsojence, ki so bili prej dvakrat ali večkrat kaznovani za različna kazniva dejanja in so prej prestajali kazen odvzema prostosti, daljšo od šestih mesecev); in

— tako imenovane delne povratnike odrasle, kamor smo uvrščali vse ostale obsojence, ki jih nismo mogli šteti po gornji klasifikaciji niti med prvič obsojene niti med povratnike v ožjem pomenu besede.

Tabelarna obdelava popisnega gradiva po teh skupinah nam je dala naslednje rezultate:

Grupa	Število obsojencev		%	
	m	ž	m	ž
I. prvič obsojeni	197	30	25	23
II. delni povratniki	121	15	15	10
III. povratniki	226	12	29	9
IV. mlajši polnoletniki	83	8	11	6
V. fizično bolni, stari	75	34	10	26
VI. psihično moteni	79	34	10	26
Skupaj	781	133	100	100

Že iz tega pregleda je razvidno, da smo našli med ženskami obsojenkami mnogo več fizično bolnih in psihično motenih osebosti.

S hi² smo preverjali razlike med prvič obsojenimi, delnimi povratniki in povratniki. Strukture obsojencev teh skupin se značilno razlikujejo po naslednjih znakih: vrsta glavnega kaznivega dejanja, dolgost izrečene kazni, poklic, zakonski stan, število otrok, za katere je obsojenec dolžan skrbeti, število disciplinskih kazni in ugodnosti, dodeljenih obsojencem, ki so v domu najmanj šest mesecev. Pri vseh teh znakih smo našli značilne razlike med prvič obsojenimi, delnimi povratniki in povratniki v tem, da se delni povratniki strukturno bolj približujejo prvič obsojenim, kakor pa povratnikom. Statistično značilnih razlik med temi tremi skupinami nismo našli v starostnem sestavu obsojencev. Domnevamo torej, da smo obsojence upravičeno razdelili v tri skupine glede na vrsto povratka in dolgost prestalih kazni.

Vrste domov

Rezultati popisa so pokazali, da bi potrebovali v naših razmerah več vrst domov. Toda popisane skupine nam lahko služijo le

kot pripomoček za izračunavanje kapacitet posameznih vrst domov, ne moremo jih pa uporabiti kot absolutno ustrezen mehanizem za razvrščanje obsojencev v razne vrste domov.

Konzultativna skupina, ki je sodelovala pri raziskavi, je zato sprejela nekaj kriterijev, ki naj bi pomagali preračunavati popisane skupine na posamezne vrste domov. Nekateri od teh kriterijev so bili naslednji:

— Mlajši polnoletni (moški), ki bi mogli prestajati kazen odvzema prostosti v na pol odprtem ali odprtem sistemu zavodov, bi mogli prestajati kazen skupaj z odraslimi obsojenci. Mogoče pa je v okviru teh zavodov predvideti zanje posebne bivalnice.

— Mlajše polnoletne moške obsojence, stare 21 in 22 let (ki so v popisanih skupinah zajeti med odraslimi obsojenci), bi nameščali deloma v dom za mlajše polnoletne, deloma

pa v druge domove za odrasle obsojence glede na psihično strukturo osebnosti. Pri tem je treba upoštevati, da je delo s to skupino obsojenih najbolj težavno in odgovorno, zlasti še s storilci kaznivih dejanj zoper premoženje.

— Vrsta kaznivega dejanja ali dolgotrajna kazni praviloma nista merila za to, ali je mogoče predvideti namestitev obsojenca v zaprti ali odprti sistem prestajanja kazni.

— Ko bodo ocenjene kapacitete po popisu za razne vrste domov, naj se ugotovi, kako so razporejeni storilci kaznivih dejanj v prometu in storilci kaznivih dejanj zoper osebno dostojanstvo in moralo, ter naj se po potrebi naknadno korigirajo.

Na podlagi teh in drugih kriterijev smo izdelali približno procentualno razpredelnico o razdelitvi popisanih skupin na posamezne vrste zavodov za moške obsojence:

Popisana skupina	skupaj	na pol odprti, odprti sistem	Vrsta zavoda				
			splošni dom	dom za povratnike	dom za mlajše polnolet.	dom za fiz. bolne in stare	dom za psihično motene
I. prvič obsojeni	100	80	18	—	2	—	—
II. delni povratniki	100	60	27	10	3	—	—
III. povratniki	100	20	9	70	2	—	—
IV. mlajši polnoletniki	100	30	—	—	70	—	—
V. fizično bolni, stari	100	—	—	—	—	100	—
VI. psihično moteni	100	—	—	—	—	—	100
Skupaj	100	38	11	22	9	10	10

Razmerje obsojencev, ki naj bi prestajali kazen v na pol odprtem oziroma odprtem sistemu zavodov, bi moglo biti po mnenju konzultativne skupine naslednje:

- na pol odprti sistem . . . 40 %
- odprti sistem 60 %

Razen fizično bolnih bi lahko vse storilce kaznivih dejanj v prometu in zoper moralo po naši shemi razporedili v katerikoli dom. Zato posebnih korektur za te vrste storilcev nismo predvideli, razen da smo večkratne povratnike kaznivih dejanj zoper moralo (istovrstnih kaznivih dejanj) šteli med psihično motene storilce kaznivih dejanj.

Maksimalne kapacitete

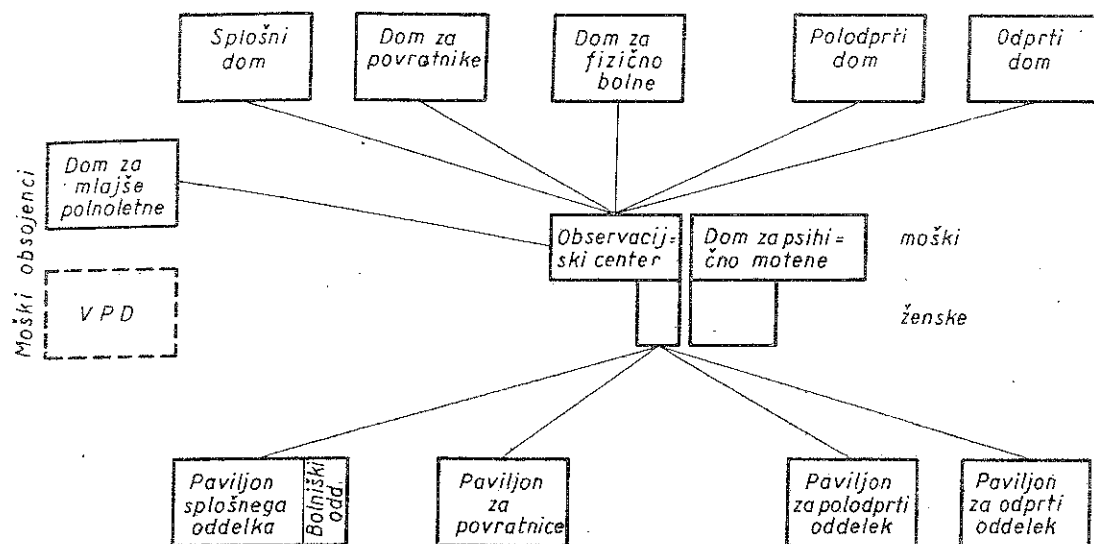
Pri izračunu maksimalnih kapacitet smo upoštevali najvišje stanje obsojencev v naših kazenskih poboljševalnih domovih v zadnjih štirih letih, izraženo v indeksih z indeksno bazo v letu 1963. Ker je štiriletno opazovanje zapornikov razmeroma kratko razdobje, smo ugotavljali splošne tendence glede naraščanja ali padanja števila obsojenih oseb tudi po podatkih sodne statistike za desetletno raz-

dobje. Iz teh podatkov sledi, da od leta 1955/1956 dalje stalno pada število prvič obsojenih in že enkrat prej kaznovanih; neenaakomerno fluktuacijo, deloma tudi s tendenco padanja, kažejo mlajši polnoletni in obsojenci, stari do 25 let, medtem ko število dvakratnih in večkratnih povratnikov stalno narašča. Zaradi tega smo sklepali, da zado- stuje, če upoštevamo maksimum zapornikov v kazenskih poboljševalnih domovih v zadnjih štirih letih za posamezne skupine obsojencev, medtem ko smo za dvakratne in večkratne povratnike izračunali parabolični trend, ki ima svoj vrh v letu 1963. Zato verjetno nismo upravičeni, da bi razmeroma visok indeks iz zadnjih štirih let za to populacijo zapornikov še povečevali.

Indeksi povečanja za izračunavanje maksimalnih kapacitet bi torej bili:

Indeksi za	moške	ženske
— prvič obsojene	116	114
— delne povratnike	100	100
— povratnike	136	106
— mlajše polnoletne	112	106

Domovi za moške obsojence



Dom za ženske obsojenke

Delež maximalnih kapacitet fizično bolnih in starih ter psihično motenih smo povečali za enak delež, kakor se je povprečno povečalo skupno število prvič obsojenih, delnih povratnikov, povratnikov in mlajših polnoletnih.

Populacija žensk, obsojenih več kot na enoletno kazen odvzema prostosti, je majhna in posamezne skupine ne dovoljujejo enake specifikacije kot za moške. Zato je konzultativna skupina sprejela naslednje predloge:

— Za mlajše polnoletnice v naših razmerah ne kaže ustanavljati posebnega doma, marveč bi jih razvrstili v paviljone po enakih kriterijih kot ostale obsojenke. V vsakem paviljonu pa bi bilo potrebno organizirati skupine mlajših mladoletnic v posebnih bivalnicah.

— Fizično bolne in stare bi zaradi majhnega števila obsojenk v posameznih skupinah namestili med ostale obsojenke, če so sposobne opravljati lažja dela. Dodelili pa bi jim posebne bivalnice, jim dovoljevali v njih več počitka in tudi sicer upoštevali navodila zdravnikov glede zaposlovanja, prehrane in zdravljenja.

— Za vse obsojenke predlaga konzultativna skupina skupen dom s štirimi paviljoni, in sicer:

- paviljon za odprti sistem prestajanja kazni,
- paviljon za na pol odprti sistem prestajanja kazni,
- paviljon za splošni dom z bolniškim oddelkom in oddelkom za nosečnice,

— paviljon za povratnice.

Dom naj bi bil blizu mestnega središča, obsojenke iz odprtega in na pol odprtega sistema prestajanja kazni bi se po možnosti vozile z domskim avtobusom na delo v mesto (bodisi v posebno organizirano delavnico pri enem izmed podjetij s pretežno žensko delovno silo, ali pa na prosta službena mesta).

Takšen predlog se je rodil iz finančnih razlogov. Ob dejanski realizaciji predloga pa bo treba upoštevati dosedanje slabe izkušnje, ki so jih imeli s spajanjem odprtih in na pol odprtih zavodov z zavodi zaprtega tipa drugo po svetu in pri nas.

Oddelek za psihično motene obsojenke in opazovalni center za ženske naj bi se organizirala v mestnem središču skupaj z zavodom za psihično motene moške obsojence.

Prikaz potrebnih vrst zavodov je razviden iz sheme.

Problematika

Raziskavo smo imenovali »grupiranje obsojencev«. S tem smo hoteli povedati, da nameravamo programirati le pogoje za individualizacijo tretmana, pogoje, ki jih je treba ustvariti pred smotrnim klasificiranjem obsojencev.

V našem kazenskem sistemu obravnava potepuhe, brezdelneže, agresivne alkoholomane in prostitutke po temeljnem zakonu o prekrških sodnik za prekrške kot upravni organ. Prepričani smo, da bi bila za to vrsto

ljudi in za večkratne starejše povratnike pri nas potrebna posebna delovna kolonija, ker jih je toliko in normalno družbeno sožitje tako motijo, da ne bomo mogli več dolgo odlašati z reševanjem te pereče problematike. Po naši presoji je prekrškarjev (moških), ki bi prišli v poštev za tako ustanovo, nekaj nad 100 (tem pa bi mogli prišteti tudi okoli 25 povratnikov iz naše skupine povratnikov, in sicer zlasti obsojence, stare na 40 let, pogostne storilce kaznivih dejanj zoper premoženje). Svojci in okolica teh ljudi pritiskajo na psihiatrično službo, ta pa nima možnosti hospitalizirati jih in se ukvarjati z njimi. Zato bo takšen zavod treba predvideti čimprej, bodisi v okviru izvrševanja kazni (določitev kraja bivanja po upravnem postopku) ali pa v okviru zdravstvene službe. Pri tem nas seveda moti dejstvo, da po veljajoči zakonodaji obsojenci ne bi smeli biti nastanjeni skupaj z osebami, katerim so izrečeni upravni ukrepi, čeprav gre za osebnostno podobno strukturirane in motene ljudi.

Za uspešno privajanje delu je potrebno ustvariti pogoje za uspeh pri delu. Uspeh pri delu pa je mogoče spodbujati z nagrajevanjem, z izpopolnjevanjem, z vidnimi dosežki v krajših časovnih razmikih in podobno. Šele uspešnost pri delu je lahko motivacija za privajanje delu. V kolikšni meri smo ustvarili pogoje za doseganje uspeha pri delu, je veliko vprašanje. Priučevanje, izobraževanje in kvalifikacija so o tem le zelo skromni pokazatelji. Vsekakor pa opravičujejo domnevo, da so ti pogoji za večino zapornikov skromni in možnosti zanje verjetno niso do kraja izkoriščene. Ker se nam dozdeva problematika zaposlovanja obsojencev pretežka za okvir te raziskave, smo mnenja, da bi bilo treba ta problem proučiti posebej.

Če primerjamo naše predloge z mednarodno sprejetimi načeli za izgradnjo domov, potem moremo ugotoviti, da jim v glavnem

ustrezajo. Le predvidena organizacija na pol odprtih in odprtih domov pri nas je različna od tega, kar so doslej razumeli v svetu in pri nas s pojmom odprti zavod in s pojmom na pol odprti zavod. Po našem mnenju bi lahko bili ti dve vrsti domov pod isto upravo, brez ograde in drugih zavarovalnih naprav, z obsežno zeleno površino, blizu mestnega središča. Razlika glede prestajanja kazni v enem ali drugem domu pa bi bila obratna, kot smo bili doslej navajeni misliti. Medtem ko bi obsojenci iz odprtega doma lahko odhajali na delo v mesto in bi se po delu vračali v dom, bi obsojenci iz na pol odprtega doma delali le v domskih delavnicah ali v bližini doma. Kriterij za delitev obsojencev v ti dve skupini naj bi bil: osebnostna zmogljivost vračati se iz odprtega, svobodnega okolja v dom in zmožnost za pozitivno sodelovanje z ljudmi na prostosti, brez nadzorstva.

Nekateri pisci ugotavljajo, da je le manjši tisti delež obsojencev, ki bi moral prestajati kazen v zavodih zaprtega tipa. Njihovo število ocenjujejo na 30%. Vendar ni bilo mogoče zaslediti, da bi bilo takšno načelo kjerkoli uresničeno v praksi. Zato menimo, da smo bili v našem predlogu dokaj realni, ko smo ocenili število moških obsojencev, ki bi lahko prestajali kazen v na pol odprtem ali odprtem domu, z 38% in število žensk obsojenk z 32%.

Raziskavo zaključujemo še z naslednjim mnenjem. V bodoče bodo obsojenci prestajali kazen v že obstoječih, bolj ali manj sodobnih stavbah in v novih paviljonih. Notranje vzdušje pa, v katerem bodo živeli dalj kot eno leto, ne bo odvisno samo od stavb in vrste obzidja, marveč predvsem od osebja, ki bo zaposleno v njih. Zato naj bi bila skrb, ki jo posvečamo izbiri in formiranju osebja, enaka, če ne celo bolj pomembna od skrbi, ki jo bomo posvetili izgradnji in organizaciji domov.

Katja Vodopivec

Grouping of Convicts

A summary of a research carried out by the Institute for Criminology attached to the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana at the request of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Slovenia (in our country responsible for penal institutions).

Head of the research: Katja Vodopivec, scientific collaborator of the Institute.

Group of consultants:

Karel Audič, then assistant of the warden of the Penal reformatory in Maribor

Alojz Bizaj, responsible for social service and post penal help in the Department for Correction at the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Slovenia

Miha Čerin, head of the Department for Correction at the same Secretariat

Stane Dolenc, responsible for reeducation in the same department

Feliks Mejak, warden of the Penal Reformatory (for women) at Ig

Vinko Skalar, psychologist at the Medico-psychological Centre of the above Secretariat

Janez Zlokarnik, physician at the named Centre

Sources of financing: Boris Kidrič Fund in Ljubljana, Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs SR of Slovenia.

Purpose of research

The law regulating the implementation of penal sanctions, which came into force in July 1961, provides for the placement of convicts sentenced to over one year imprisonment in various types of penal reformatories, resp. in various types of departments within the reformatories. The object of this research was to establish what type of institutions

respectively departments would have to be created in SR Slovenia (1.6000.000 inhabitants) in view of the convict population and how the said convicts should be distributed.

Census of convicts

For this purpose we have taken a census of all convicted persons that were in reformatories on the 1st of February 1963. From this census material we then singled out various groups of convicts in the following order:

— mentally disturbed convicts, assumed thus by the medical record and the management of the institution and verified by an additional consultation between the psychologist and the staff (for each individual convict);

— physically disabled and aged convicts (certified thus by the medical record and verified by the general practitioner);

— juvenile and youthful adult convicts up to 21 years of age;

— adult first offenders;

— recidivists of over 21 years of age (either such as have already been convicted twice of three times for the same type or a similar offence or such as have been previously convicted for various penal offences and have served prison sentences of over 6 month); and

— the so-called adult semi recidivists with whom we have classed all the remaining convicts whom we could not include either among first offenders nor among recidivists in the narrower sense of the word.

The arrangement of the census material in a table under the above groups yielded the following results:

Group	Number of convicts		%	
	male	female	male	female
I. first offenders	197	30	25	23
II. semi recidivists	121	15	15	10
III. recidivists	226	12	29	9
IV. youthful adults	83	8	11	6
V. physically disabled, aged	75	34	10	26
VI. mentally disturbed	79	34	10	26
Total	781	133	100	100

This survey reveals the fact that we have found a much larger number of physically disabled and mentally disturbed persons among female convicts.

With χ^2 we measured the differences between first offenders, semi recidivists and recidivists. The structures of convicts in these groups show significant differences in the following features: type of chief offence, lengths of the promulgated sentence, profession, married or single, number of children for whom the convict is obliged to provide, number of disciplinary penalties and advantages assigned to convict who have spent at least six months in the institution. All these features reveal characteristic differences among first offenders, semi recidivists and recidivists in that semi recidivists come closer in structure to first offenders than to recidivists. We therefore assume that we were justified in grouping the convicts under three heads according to the type of recidivism and the length of the sentence served. No statistically characteristic differences between these three groups have been found in the age grouping of the convicts.

Types of institutions

The census groups can serve only as an aid to the calculation of the capacities of various types of institution, and cannot be used as an absolutely reliable guide for placing convicts in them. The group of consultants who cooperated in the research adopted certain criteria which might be helpful in

assigning the census groups to different types of institution. Some of the criteria were as follows:

— Youthful male adults qualified to serve their sentences in a semi-open or open institution, could be placed together with adult convicts. But it is possible to reserve for them special living quarters within the framework of these institutions.

— Youthful male adult offenders aged 21 and 22 years (grouped in the census together with adult male offenders) could be placed partly in an institution for youthful adults and partly in other institutions for adult convicts in accordance with their personality. Here we must bear in mind that work with this group of convicts is most responsible and difficult especially with the recidivists against property.

— The type of offence and the length of the sentence are not a means for deciding whether it is possible to place a convict in an open or a closed institution.

— When the capacities of the various types of institutions have been established it is necessary to find out how the offenders against traffic rules and the offenders against personal dignity and moral have been grouped. If necessary certain improvements can be brought about.

On the basis of these and other criteria we have worked out a percentual table as to how the census groups have been distributed in various types of institutions planned. The table covers male convicts.

Census group	Types of institution						
	total	semi-open, open system	general inst.	inst. for recidivists	inst. for youthful adults	inst. for ill & old	inst. for mentally disturbed
I. first offenders	100	80	18	—	2	—	—
II. semi recidivists	100	60	27	10	3	—	—
III. recidivists	100	20	9	70	1	—	—
IV. youth. adults	100	30	—	—	70	—	—
V. ill, aged	100	—	—	—	—	100	—
VI. mentally dist.	100	—	—	—	—	—	100
Total	100	38	11	22	9	10	10

In the opinion of the group of consultants the numerical proportion of convicts serving their sentences in semi-open and open institutions could be as follows:

semi-open system 40 %
open system 60 %

With the exception of the physically ill

all the offenders against traffic rules and morals could according to our scheme be placed in any of these institutions. Therefore we have not contemplated special modifications for this type of offenders with the exception that we have included multirecidivists of offences against moral with the mentally disturbed offenders.

Maximum capacities

To calculate the maximum capacities we have taken into account the maximum number of convicts in our penal reformatories in the last four years expressed in indices with the index basis for 1963.

As a four year observation period is relatively short for the tracing of the general trend in the number of convicts, we also relied on the data of court statistics covering a period of ten years. From these data it follows that from 1955 onwards the number of first offenders and those once previously convicted has been steadily decreasing. Youthful adults and convicts of up to 25 years of age show unequal fluctuation and at times also a tendency to decrease. The number of multi-recidivists, however, is steadily on the increase. Therefore we have concluded that it suffices if we take into account the maximum of prisoners in reformatories within the last four years for individual groups of offenders, whereas we have worked out a parabolic trend for multirecidivists. The trend had its peak in 1963. Therefore we are probably not justified in assuming an increase in the relatively high index for the last four years for this type of the prison population.

Indices of the increase for the calculation of maximum capacities would therefore be

Indices for	male	female
— first offenders	116	114
— semi recidivists	100	100
— recidivists	136	106
— youthful adults	112	106

The proportion of maximum capacities for physically ill and aged as well as for the mentally disturbed have been increased in proportion to the increase in the number of other offenders.

The population of female convicts sentenced to imprisonment of over a year is small and does not permit of the same specification as for male convicts. Therefore the group of consultants adopted the following proposals: Our conditions do not permit our establishing separate institutions for youthful adults, but these offenders should be accommodated in houses together with other female convicts. But in each house separate premises should be reserved for youthful adult offenders. The physically sick and the aged should be accommodated together with the other

offenders if they are fit for light work. But they should be assigned special living quarters. They should be permitted more time for rest in the living quarters and the directions of the physician should be taken into account over employment, food and medical treatment.

For all the convicted females the group of consultants recommends a common institution with four houses viz.:

- a house for serving the prison term in the open system
- a house for serving the prison term in the semi-open system
- a general house with a hospital ward and a ward for pregnant women
- a house for recidivists.

The institution should be near a city centre. The convicts from the semi-open and open systems should so far as it is possible be transported by the institutional motorbus to their work in the city (either to a specially organized workshop attached to some enterprise which employs women or to free jobs.) This suggestion was the result of financial considerations. But when it comes to the actual realization of this plan we shall have to take into account the negative experiences we and some other countries have had from merging the open and semi open institutions with the closed institutions.

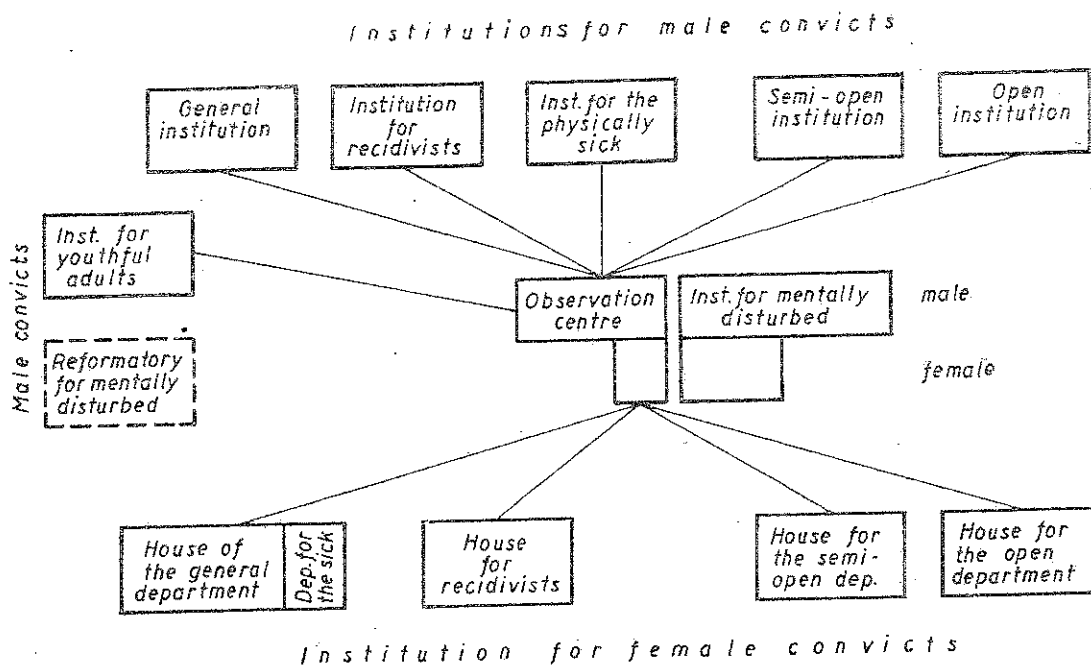
The department for psychically disturbed female convicts and the observation centre for women should be organized in the urban centre together with the institutions for psychically disturbed male convicts.

A schematic illustration of the necessary types of institution is shown in the attached table.

Incidental problems

This investigation has been called the »grouping of convicts«. Hereby we wanted to say that we contemplated only the programming of conditions for the individualization of treatment — conditions which have to be created prior to a well-planned classification of convicts.

According to our penal system the judge for minor offences as an administrative officer is the authority for dealing with tramps (hobo), idlers, aggressive drunks and prostitutes in accordance with the fundamental law on minor offences. We are convinced that for this type of offenders and for older multi-recidivists we ought to find special labour colonies because their number is considerable and they constitute such a distur-



bing social element that we cannot afford to postpone the solution of this urgent problem for any length of time. According to our estimate the number of minor male offenders who would come into consideration for such an institution amounts to something of over 100. To these we could add something like 25 recidivists of our group of recidivists, and more particularly convicts of over 40 years of age with several convictions for theft. The relatives and neighbours of such people urge for psychiatric treatment but the institutions concerned are unable to receive them and attend to their needs. Therefore the establishment of such an institution is a matter of urgency, be it within the framework of the implementation of penalty (appointed residence) or within the framework of the health service. In this matter we are hampered by the fact that according to the existent laws, convicts cannot be housed together with people who had been inflicted administrative measures, although in this case it is a question of people with similar personality structures and similar disturbances.

In the interests of a successful training for work it is necessary to create conditions for success in work. Success in work can be stimulated by rewards, by additional courses, by a visible achievement in a shorter period of time etc. Success in work in itself can become a motive for getting used to work. To what extent we have succeeded in establi-

shing auspicious conditions for work remains a great question. Training, education and qualification are only vague indicators. In any case they justify the assumption that for the majority of prisoners these conditions are very modest and the possibilities are probably not being exploited to the full. Because the problem of the employment of convicts seems too difficult to be dealt with within the framework of this research we are of opinion that this problem must be the subject of a special study.

If we compare our suggestions with internationally accepted principles for the establishment of institutions, then we must point out that our plans come up to international standards. Only such organization of semi-open and open institutions as we have in mind, differs from what has so been far understood under these terms abroad and in this country. In our opinion these two types of institution could be under the same management, without fences and other protective devices with wide green surfaces and near to a civis centre. Whereas the convicts of an open institution would be permitted to go to work in the town and would return to the institution at the end of the days work, the convicts of the semi-open institution would work only within or near the institution. The criterion for the assignment of convict to either of these two institutions would be the personal ability to return from the free surroundings to the institution and the capabi-

lity for positive cooperation with the people at liberty without supervision.

Several authors are of the opinion that the number of convicts who should serve their sentences in closed institutions is very small. They estimate their number at 30%. However, it was impossible to establish that this principle has been put in practice anywhere. Therefore we are of opinion that we were sufficiently realistic in our proposal when we estimated the number of male convicts qualified to serve their sentences in open or semi-open institutions at 38% and that of female convicts at 32%.

We conclude our investigation with the following opinion. In future our convicts whill serve their sentences in the already existing more or less up-to-date buildings and in new houses. The atmosphere, however, in which they will live for more than a year, will not depend solely on the buildings and the type of surrounding wall, but above all on the staff employed in the institution. Therefore the attention which we devote to the selection and formation of staffs should be equal if not superior to the attention which we devote to the building and organization of these institutions.