



The electronic version (PDF) of this publication was scanned by the UNICRI Documentation Centre from an original paper document in the UNICRI Library.

La version électronique (PDF) de cette publication a été numérisée par le centre de Documentation d'UNICRI à partir du document papier original de la Bibliothèque d'UNICRI.

Esta versión electrónica (PDF) ha sido escaneada por el Centro de Documentación de UNICRI a partir de un documento impreso original perteneciente a la Biblioteca de UNICRI.

Электронная версия (PDF) данной публикации была отсканирована Центром Документации UNICRI с оригинальной бумажной версии, находящейся в библиотеке UNICRI.

**UNSDRI**  
**UNITED NATIONS**  
**SOCIAL DEFENCE**  
**RESEARCH INSTITUTE**

**SOCIAL DEFENCE**  
**IN UGANDA**

**A Survey for Research**



**Publication No. 3**

**Rome, 1971**

## C O N T E N T S

	<i>Pages</i>
Foreward . . . . .	vii
Introduction . . . . .	1
Courts System . . . . .	6
Police Force . . . . .	16
Prison Service . . . . .	53
Probation Service . . . . .	76
Provisions for Juvenile Offenders . . . . .	107

## FOREWORD

*Criminological and sociological research in recent years has emphasized those of its efforts which are directed towards the better understanding, prevention and control of the phenomenon of social deviance in general and of delinquency in particular, in several countries of the world. Nowadays research offers decision makers relevant data for the continuous development of social defence techniques and for increasing the effectiveness of its sub-systems, police, courts, corrections and rehabilitation.*

*There is, however, considerable difficulty in applying the new general scientific knowledge in specific operational contexts.*

*The transfer of theoretical knowledge to the solution of concrete problems falls within the responsibility of the United Nations Social Defence Research Institute. The goal of this activity is to establish and improve close connections between research and action. In this perspective, the Institute is carrying out field studies, with special reference to the requirements of developing countries. This publication is in line with such a programme.*

*The country concerned is Uganda which seemed, from several different points of view, to represent a situation common to several other nations. In Uganda the impact of development is but one of several elements interacting in a situation of broad and rapid social change. There is the interplay of the heritage of strong rich cultural traditions with the influence of the super-structures of the colonial period and with the efforts involved in the rapid organization of an independent and modern state.*

Uganda has been an independent country since October 1962. Its Constitution was enacted in 1962, followed by the interim constitution of 1966 and the new constitution, providing for a unitary republic, on 8 September 1967. The total population is about ten million, nearly all indigenous. The territory covers an area of 91,076 square miles. The official language is English, but at least 40 tribal languages are also spoken. Over one half of the population is Christian, mainly Catholics and Protestants, one twentieth is Moslem and the remainder traditional tribal religionists with a few Indian Hindus and Sikhs. The education is organized by a rapidly expanding school system — adopted from the British — primary school (seven years), secondary school (four years for non-university students, six years for those who wish to go to university), etc. All instruction is given in English. The economy is mainly agricultural and export oriented, composed of predominantly small scale producers. Most farmers grow either coffee or cotton in addition to their food requirements. Industry is a still small, but expanding, sector.

A review of the structure of a legislative system, covering both its constitutional and other facets, will be an incomplete account without a description of the organization used to put the system into practice. An assessment which tries to cover the whole range of social defence institutions, in both their formal and substantive aspects, will lead to a comprehensive and coherent description of the system. This will create an informed basis for rational evaluation, so as to make social defence efforts more appropriate and responsive to the present and future requirements of the country considered. Obviously this type of exercise presents several limitations, the first being that it refers to a given historical, political and social moment. While a descriptive analysis is valid in itself, in offering a fairly complete picture of a multifaceted context, it also gives an opportunity for identifying specific areas where research seems to be needed with a view to assessing in greater depth the functioning of the different

techniques and structures which exist. The present report offers some indications in this direction.

The study was conducted under the supervision of UNSDRI using the direct collaboration of local experts. Special acknowledgement should be given to the Hon. F. L. Okwaare, formerly General Director of the Prison Administration and Professor E. P. Kibuka, Lecturer in Social Defence at the Makerere University, who prepared the preliminary reports on which the present publication is based. Thanks are also due to all the distinguished governmental authorities who, through their collaboration, made this survey possible.

ERWIN K. BAUMGARTEN

## INTRODUCTION

In all countries, old and new, and whatever their position on the developing-developed continuum, the problems facing the authorities in the field of social defence have a certain air of similarity. This arises principally from the feature common to all, that social defence is an area of low priority in the field of public services competing for limited resources. These resources are of both finance and trained manpower. Thus in all countries the social defence forces are under-staffed, under-equipped and under-financed relative to the standards which those responsible for running the various departments know to be optimum, if their allotted task is to be carried out adequately.

The social defence authorities in the newly developing countries have an even harder task. For they are faced with, first, ever greater all-round public demand for ever smaller resources, and secondly, with creating almost from afresh, or adapting from an existing organization, a social defence force appropriate to the national needs, aspirations and philosophy of their own emerging nation. As the existing organization is partly derivative from a western type of administration set up well before the new country gained its independence, it is quite likely to have some features which are more suited to the original cultural and social conditions from which these administrators came, than to the traditions of the country upon which it was imposed. Therefore it may be that the difficulties in affecting a suitable trans-

formation are as great as those in constructing a system almost from the start.

Whatever the background of the social defence arrangements in a new and developing country, therefore, the following factors can reasonably be predicted to be present:

(i) Lack of a tradition of capital investment.

(ii) Shortage of present resources in money and suitable manpower (especially trained).

(iii) Uncertainty as to exactly what type of social defence system is most appropriate to the country in question, largely arising from lack of tradition.

(iv) The necessity in a country determined to develop with a legal and constitutional framework, of basing the whole social defence system upon the constitution and legal code of the country. That is, the operating procedure of the social defence forces must give practical expression to the social and political philosophy expressed in the legal code.

(v) A lack of knowledge as to how at present to evaluate the workings of the social defence forces, and improve upon present working practices. (This, again, is a condition common to nearly all countries).

In such circumstances, of less-than-adequate resources, strict legal constraints and marked areas of uncertainty, all possible steps which can increase the clarity with which the objectives of the social defence forces are seen, and the efficiency with which they are attained, must be taken. In this area, the services of an international research institute, such as UNSDRI, operating as a technical partner with the local authorities and entirely within the boundary conditions of the constitution, legal code and indigenous traditions of a country, may be able to be of assistance. For it should be possible to consider each of the aspects of a social defence system, first in terms of its legal and constitutional framework as laid down by the government of the country, secondly in terms of a description of how it realises in practice the implications of this theoretical basis, and thirdly what specific areas of information must be developed in order

to enable the operating practice of the forces to approximate more closely to the theoretical intention. It is taken as an universal truth of all societies that none of the social agencies totally fulfils the goals provided for it. The question to which this study is addressed, therefore, is « What information must be acquired to provide the greatest gain in operating procedures, towards the legally desired standard, for the smallest outlay of the strictly limited resources ? ».

Thus the project is concerned, not to provide the answers to certain problems or fill certain gaps in the knowledge of the authorities responsible for the system, but to point out *which* areas of uncertainty can be explored with most profit, within the perspective of the legal framework and current operating situation. It is therefore a pre-research exploratory study.

The appropriate authorities of the Uganda social defence system very kindly agreed to the carrying out of this project. It has three purposes:

(i) To test the difficulties and possible pay-off of this type of study. That is, breaking fresh ground in its type of international cooperation, it is likely to be revealed as having several weaknesses and methodological shortcomings.

(ii) To act as a demonstration to interested authorities in other countries of the possibility of low-cost, small scale studies which may pave the way for large scale savings through greater efficiency later.

(iii) To provide some illumination on possible future actions for the Uganda authorities, wherever it may be the case that they have not already reached this conclusion.

The last point compels consideration of an important element in the study. As it is meant to be primarily a demonstration project, many conclusions concerning future focus of research are drawn which are already well known to the Uganda authorities. For it is intended to point out most of the possible appropriate areas of profitable information search. Only a few of these will be helpful to the Uganda authorities, in so far as they are fully aware of many of them. It is for the sake of completeness that these are included.

Thus the order of the sections of the report will be:

- I The Uganda Courts System;
- II The Uganda Police Force;
- III The Uganda Prison Service;
- IV The Uganda Probation Service;
- V The Uganda Juvenile Institutions.

Each of these sections will be treated in a similar manner. It will be divided into sub-sections concerned with:

- (i) The structure
- (ii) The function
- (iii) The personnel, and training of manpower for each section.

The sections are treated as separate units, although sub-sections may be considered either collectively or separately as seems appropriate for each section. Usually the constitutional and legal framework of the service is described; the existing system operating procedure is then given, and finally for the whole of that particular section the research implications are considered. The source materials for the legal framework are the Constitution and appropriate Acts and Regulations of Uganda. For the system description, they are a series of reports especially prepared for UNSDRI by Mr E. P. Kibuka, a noted Uganda criminologist. The research considerations are the result of analysis by UNSDRI research specialists. Again it must be stressed that the Uganda authorities have already acquired much of the information indicated; the fairly extended consideration provided here is on account of the demonstrative nature of the project.

Before we get into the actual body of the study, it is worthwhile discussing briefly certain factors relevant to information use.

First, our purpose is to consider which information may be most helpful in the making of rational decisions concerning the allocation of available resources, and yet which is in itself easy to acquire and to process. But it

must always be remembered that information on the variable features in any situation is not the only factor of significance in the decision. There are aspects of the problem which may override in importance all the variables upon which information can be collected. In particular, no amount of information showing that such and such is the case, and therefore that policy X is the most efficient way to deal with this situation, is of value, if it is constitutionally laid down that certain methods of dealing with such a situation are not permissible, and policy X is included amongst these. In short, information on variables is only one parameter in rational decision making. It is, however, the one with which this study is concerned.

Secondly, if information is to be valuable, it must be purposive. This means that information should be collected for a specific and specified reason; and that reason must derive from knowing in advance what questions it is hoped to answer by means of the information. For information is best defined as « that which reduces uncertainty »; if it is not known what area of uncertainty is to be reduced it is not surprising that it is almost impossible to specify what will reduce it. Thus, neither a single table of figures nor a small book of statistical data in themselves are qualified to be called information.

It is possible to collect a whole mass of figures, arranged in statistical fashion, concerning the operation of any system. But this is a process which takes time and manpower, and therefore ultimately costs money. It is therefore yet another drain on scarce resources. On the other hand, unless operations of a system are expressed numerically, the rational control to be exercised over that system is of a rather low level. « When you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers you know something about it, but when you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meagre and unsatisfactory kind ». (Lord Kelvin.)

Thus any social defence system wishing to improve its own level of performance must be prepared to attempt to measure what it is doing; it must also wish to do this as efficiently as possible. In this way the effort of collecting



quantities of numerical data concerning the operation of the system can be turned into useful information. This can be done only by an analysis of exactly what kind of questions it is hoped to answer from the resulting statistics, and a systematic and thorough collection of those statistics thought to be appropriate and adequate for answering these questions. If this preliminary precaution has been carried out, it is surprising how much help in rational decision making can be provided by a relatively small amount of statistical data, collected at relatively little cost and without the need for understanding refined statistical procedures on the part of those responsible for generating this information.

Thus in the account of the Uganda Social Defence System which makes up the bulk of this study, the interest is first in how a developing country organizes its new and growing social defence resources; and secondly upon how it can gain maximum potential benefit from small but appropriately focussed research studies.

## THE UGANDA COURTS SYSTEM

This study makes no claim to examine the fundamental assumptions underlying a particular social defence system. It merely attempts to describe briefly such a system and to point to certain areas where the specific organization of information may help to improve operating standards within the given terms of reference.

The position of the courts and judiciary is always governed by, and relative to, the Constitution. It derives from the general political organization of the country; this in turn is a function of both the national cultural tradition and the particular perspective in which the various areas of public power are considered to relate to each other and affect the people at large. Therefore to attempt any evaluation of the court and judiciary system is to encroach upon delicate, national political territory. Obviously this is not appropriate to, and is beyond the terms of reference of, a study such as this.

On the other hand, it is impossible to describe a social defence system without reference to the judicial system;

for it, its structure and policies, are the independent variable upon which the dependent variables of the social defence systems, police, prisons etc. themselves depend. Therefore a brief and simple factual description of the Uganda judicial system is given here, before more detailed consideration of the component parts of the remainder of the social defence system is presented.

The administration of justice in Uganda falls under the Judicial Department whose personnel comprise judges and magistrates on the one hand and the administrative, financial and other officers of the court on the other. The department is independent from immediate control by a political minister; for while the Attorney General is its spokesman in parliament and at cabinet meetings, the department is actually headed by the Chief Justice and supervised in its day-to-day administration by the Chief Registrar. In the Uganda Government Standing Orders, the Chief Registrar is defined as a responsible officer in respect of the High Court, and as carrying the same responsibilities as those of a permanent secretary. His position is therefore covered by the 1967 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, which establishes him as having the supervision of his particular department of the Government, in this case the judiciary.

When the new integrated court system was introduced in 1964 Uganda achieved a single and simplified system of courts. This now consists of the Court of Appeal of East Africa, which is the final court of appeal, the Uganda High Court and the Magistrates' Courts. Each of these is now described briefly.

### *The Court of Appeal for East Africa.*

Although the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda stipulates the establishment of a Court of Appeal for Uganda, other than the present Court of Appeal for East Africa, such a court has not yet been set up. The present Court of Appeal for East Africa therefore is the appeal court for Uganda, as it is for Kenya and Tanzania. Art. 89 (1) of

the Constitution provides that « An appeal shall lie to the Court of Appeal from any such final decision of the High Court of Uganda, other than any decision on any question as to the interpretation of this Constitution, as Parliament may prescribe ». It is envisaged in Art. 89 (6) that until the Court of Appeal is established in Uganda, Art. 89 (1) is to refer to the Court of Appeal for East Africa. This circuit court is based in Nairobi in the Republic of Kenya, its sessions in Uganda are held in Kampala four times a year, and each session normally lasts about two weeks. The appointment of judges to this court is governed by the Court of Appeal for East Africa Act 1962; briefly the persons qualified for appointment as judges of the High Courts of the partner states qualify for appointment to the offices of President, Vice-President, and Justice of Appeal for the Court of Appeal for East Africa.

#### *The High Court of Uganda.*

The High Court of Uganda has been the longest lived of the Uganda courts, dating back to 1902. It has, of course, been modified as has been appropriate to the development of the country. It is included in the 1967 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda of which Chapter 8, Art. 83 (1) reads « There shall be a High Court for Uganda, which shall have unlimited jurisdiction throughout Uganda subject to the provisions of this Constitution and of any law enacted by Parliament ».

The Judicature Act of 1967 also lays down the details for the operation of the High Court. Section 3 grants the High Court general jurisdiction over all persons, over all crimes and over all matters in Uganda. Such jurisdiction is either original, appellate, or revisional. The original criminal jurisdiction is exercised in respect of capital offences, which are excluded from the jurisdiction of the magistrates' courts. Any other cases triable by the magistrates' courts can be tried by the High Court in its original jurisdiction provided the Director of Public Prosecutions so chooses.

The High Court can sit in such places as the Chief Justice thinks most appropriate. This is provided for in Art. 83 (4) of the Constitution. The High Court Building

is in Kampala, and the judges when they are not on circuit; circuits are held regularly in different parts of the country.

When on circuit the Court normally deals with criminal cases in its original jurisdiction, criminal appeals are heard in Kampala. There are 14 judges of the High Court plus the Chief Justice who is appointed by the President. The other judges are appointed by the President upon the advice of the Judicial Service Commission. Art. 84 (3) and (4) of the Constitution lay down the qualifications which must apply to those who hold office as judges, and Art. 85 gives the conditions of tenure of office. Basically this lays down that a judge may not be removed from office unless through serious inability to perform his functions, or misbehaviour occurs.

#### *The Magistrates' Courts.*

The Magistrates' Courts form the lower division of the Uganda Judicial System. They were established by the Magistrates' Courts Act which came into force at the end of 1964. Sections 1 and 2 of that Act provide as follows:

« 1. The Chief Justice may, after consultation with the Minister, divide Uganda into magisterial areas for the purposes of this Act.

2. (i) There shall be established a court for every magisterial area, being known as the magistrate's court ».

Uganda is divided for the purposes of the Act into 11 magisterial areas.

The criminal jurisdiction of the Magistrates' Court is determined by the grade of Magistrate presiding. Section 3 of the Magistrates' Courts Act provides:

« There shall be the following grades of magistrate, that is to say:

- a) Chief Magistrate;
- b) Magistrate Grade I;
- c) Magistrate Grade II;
- d) Magistrate Grade III.

Section 10 of the Magistrates' Courts Act lists specifically the extent of criminal jurisdiction for each grade of magistrate.

The Chief Magistrate and Grade I Magistrates have jurisdiction to try any offence other than the offence of murder, manslaughter or rape and offences under the provisions of Sections 23, 28 and 31 of the Penal Code, or attempts to commit, aiding and abetting or inciting the commission of any such offences. Magistrates Grade II or III can try any offence save those excluded in the fourth schedule of the Act. All grades of magistrate are limited in the sentences they can impose by the first schedule of the Magistrates' Courts Act. Apart from their original jurisdiction, Chief Magistrates have appellate jurisdiction. Appeal from the decisions of Grade II or III Magistrates are to the Chief Magistrate.

A recent Act, Act 23 of 1969, introduced another type of magistrate specifically for the purposes of dealing with petty cases, who are known as Petty Sessional Magistrates. They are intended to remove some of the more time-consuming but minor cases from the senior magistrates. The system has not yet been in operation long enough for any comments to be made on its operation.

In each of the eleven magisterial areas there are a number of magistrates' courts situated in the towns and administrative centres. The Chief Magistrate sits at the Headquarters of each area, although he can sit anywhere in that area. There is at least one Grade I Magistrate, and usually more in each area, posted where the work load is greatest. The magistrates go on circuit within their own area, as not every community has its own resident magistrate. The appointment of all magistrates again is by the President on the advice of the Judicial Service Commission. Except for the Mengo magisterial area which has four Chief Magistrates, the number of Chief Magistrates corresponds to the number of designated magisterial areas; the number of all other categories of magistrates depends upon the volume of work and financial resources.

The Chief and Grade I Magistrates require legal qualifications before appointment. These are not a pre-requisite for the lower grade magistracies, where lay personnel may be appointed.

The whole question of legal training and legal qualification is under revision in many countries in the world, and Uganda is one of these countries. It is therefore predictable that some changes will be made in the present system and that new training requirements and procedures will be introduced. It is not yet possible to say what form these will take.

There are three classes of special courts in Uganda, two of which, coroners' courts and courts marshal, are not relevant to this report. The juvenile court sits in Kampala and the authority for the establishment of this court rests in the Rules and practice and upon no statutory requirement. In the Children and Young Persons Legislation provisions have been included for the proposed establishment of juvenile courts throughout the country.

The everyday administration of the courts and their operating procedures is under the overall responsibility of the Chief Registrar. He is a professional lawyer who has both legal and administrative responsibilities. These are generally not of particular relevance to this study, although they are of course important in their own setting. One aspect which may be noted here is the use of circulars and practice notices which are issued from time to time by the Chief Registrar to magistrates. They are not concerned with the judicial discretion of a magistrate, but are merely for guidance, and to streamline or unify the details of operating practice. The following circular can be quoted both as an example of the informal transmission of information to standardize procedures and also as a demonstration of the style of handling juvenile offenders in Uganda at the time (1955).

#### « YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS »

« As the result of representations made by the Probation Officer, the Chief Justice requests magistrates to give effect to suggestions made by that Probation Officer with regard to the trial of youthful offenders in general, youthful offenders being defined as persons to the age of committal to a Reformatory.

« These suggestions in brief are:

(a) that one period in each week, i.e. morning, afternoon or whole day according to need be reserved for the trial of youthful offenders, if any;

(b) that during any such trial the court be cleared of all persons whose presence is not essential at the trial;

(c) that the local Probation Officer, if any, should be informed of the period so reserved for the trial of such cases.

« It is considered that such a system will better ensure that such trials be held without undue publicity while simplifying the work of the Probation Officer because without such a system they may remain unaware that a youthful offender is on trial.

« 2. The introduction of such a system is particularly necessary in Kampala as the Remand Home is about to be removed to another site, so creating difficulty over transport in bringing youthful offenders to court.

« 3. It should be noted that the procedure indicated does not refer to remandees of an accused who is a youthful offender. But applications for such remandees should normally be dealt with in chambers ».

One of the more unusual but important functions of the Court system is the provision of interpreters. For although English is the official language of the Court, not every Ugandan can speak and understand it. Article 15 (2) (f) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda provides « Every person who is charged with a criminal offence shall be permitted to have without payment the assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand the language used at the trial of the charge ». There is a small corpus of assistant clerical officers, qualified as interpreters, permanently on the staff of the Court.

The Judicial Service Commission, established at the time of independence, 1962, has been preserved through the various constitutional changes. At present it is composed of the Chief Justice (chairman), the Attorney General and not more than three other members, appointed by the President.

## Prosecutions.

Prosecution of criminal cases in Uganda is by the Director of Public Prosecutions, who is represented by State Attorneys, the Police, public prosecutors and members of the general public. The post of Director of Public Prosecutions was instituted in 1960 to share some of the workload of the Attorney General, and under the 1967 Constitution this is made clear. Art. 71 (5) says « In the exercise of the power conferred to him by this article the Director of Public Prosecutions shall be subject to the direction and control of the Attorney General ».

The Criminal Procedure Code, Chapter 107 of the Laws of Uganda, lays down the main extent and limitation of the powers of the Director of Public Prosecutions: (a) (section 77) — the power to enter a *nolle prosequi* in all trials before the High Court. (b) (section 81) — the appointment of public prosecutors, who are subject to his directions. (c) (section 83) — the right to instruct that a charge be withdrawn without the leave of the Court when a trial has begun in a Magistrates' Court. Normally a charge can be withdrawn only with the consent of the Court. (d) (section 84) — to authorize the public prosecutor or some other person to prosecute in a Magistrates' Court without the permission of the Court. Normally the prosecution can take place only with the permission of the presiding Magistrate. Finally, concerning the Director of Public Prosecutions, Section 8 of the Advocates Act lays down that he has precedence over all of the advocates except for the Attorney General and the Solicitor General.

The Police prosecutions are authorized by Section 29 of the Police Act, and most of the cases in the Chief Magistrates' Courts and Grade I Magistrates' Courts are instituted and conducted by the police. The public prosecutors are whomsoever the Director of Public Prosecutions sees fit to appoint to that post.

There is no restriction on the right of a private citizen to institute criminal proceedings. Most of the criminal cases coming before Grade II and Grade III Magistrates are the result of prosecutions by a member of the public.

There is a provision for legal aid for those whose means are insufficient to enable them to engage advocates of their own in the case of capital charges. This is covered by the Poor Persons Defence Act. Unless the charge is murder, authority must be sought from a High Court Judge to provide a defence advocate under such a disposition. This authority is normally granted.

#### *Ugandanization.*

It must be stated that Ugandanization has been implemented more slowly in the judicial system than elsewhere in the Uganda social defence system. The administrative side is almost totally staffed by Ugandans but experienced and learned judges are not to be created quickly, so that the replacement of expatriates by highly qualified Uganda nationals is proceeding steadily but rather slowly. For the Uganda Government appreciates that while it is extremely important to have judges of the same culture as the people over whom they are presiding, it is equally important that these judges should be men of wide learning and experience. However, Uganda judges are now being appointed to the High Court. The Senior Magistrates are roughly one half Ugandans and one half non-Ugandans, but all the Grades II and III Magistrates are Uganda nationals. Thus the requirements for the future expansion and development of the judiciary in the manpower projections seem particularly high. However, it is not within the terms of reference of this study to discuss the details of this service.

One of the great problems facing those responsible for the development of the judicial system is accommodation. Even the highest courts operate in severely cramped and inadequate surroundings. The Grade III courts are often without office or courtroom space. This, of course, has a markedly adverse effect upon the institution of an efficient and modern judiciary system which can quickly gain the allegiance and support of the majority of the population. At the moment a new High Court building is under construction and more buildings are to be considered.

Thus the Uganda judicial system finds itself with the double problem of having on the one hand insufficient skilled manpower and on the other inadequate physical facilities to allow its present manpower to operate as efficiently as it could.

Before we do pass on to the detailed part of the report, there are three ways in which simple operational research of the kind exemplified later may be able to be of help, in the operation of the courts. None of these affects in any way the underlying principles upon which the judicial system operates.

First it is reasonable to assume that the Uganda authorities are anxious that the courts should create a good public impression at the time when social conditions in Uganda are changing so quickly. Thus any studies which can be made, or information gained, concerning the degree of acceptance which the general public has shown towards the courts would be useful. Particularly important are any details which could be gleaned on those aspects of the judicial system which arouse most hostility in the general public. For it may prove to be possible to alter these, once they are known.

Secondly, the courts system has manpower problems of recruitment and wastage; again a common phenomenon in social defence systems everywhere. It may be possible with very small effort to locate specific reasons why such trained manpower as there is available to fill certain posts within the judiciary at various levels is not prepared to do so. The Uganda authorities are, in fact, undertaking such studies; they are mentioned here in order to provide a complete account of where research can be useful for those countries which may be interested to learn from the practices of Uganda.

Finally, a comprehensive system of statistical record keeping of the activities of the courts provides a useful alternative perspective to that shown by the police statistics. If the number of cases heard in each magisterial area is recorded, broken down by time, area, type of offence and

details of sentence, the basic raw data is available for an analysis of the changing patterns of criminal activity, and the changing responses of the social defence system in return.

## POLICE FORCE

### (i) *The Structure of the Force.*

#### A) The Constitutional and Legal Background.

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1967, reads:

« Article 68. (1) There shall be a police force for Uganda, which shall be styled the Uganda Police Force, and such other police forces in Uganda as Parliament may prescribe.

(2) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, every police force in Uganda shall be organised and administered in such a manner as Parliament may prescribe.

Article 69. (1) The Uganda Police Force shall be under the command of an Inspector General of Police, whose office shall be a public office.

(2) The President or such other Minister as may be authorised in that behalf by the President may give to the Inspector General of Police such directions with respect to the maintaining and securing of public safety and public order as he may consider necessary and the Inspector General shall comply with these directions or cause them to be complied with.

(3) The question whether any, and if so what, directions have been given under clause (2) of this article, shall not be inquired into in any court ».

The relevant sections of the Police Act read as follows:

« 3. (5) Every administration shall, so soon as the Minister after consultation with the Inspector General is satisfied that it is expedient to do so, establish within the area of its authority an administration police force to be known by the name of the administration.

(6) An administration police force shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, operate in the area within the authority of the administration, and its constitution, powers and duties shall be regulated in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

4. Subject to the provisions of this Act, every police force shall be employed in and throughout Uganda for the prevention and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, the preservation of law and order, the protection of property and the due enforcement of all laws and regulations with which they are directly charged; and as a military force when called upon, in pursuance of section 10 of this Act, to discharge such military duties within or without Uganda as may be required of them by or under the authority of the Minister; and for the performance of all such duties shall be entitled to carry arms.

5. The ranks of the Force and their precedence, command and seniority shall be such as the Minister may from time to time by regulations prescribe.

7. (4) The Inspector General may, subject to the provisions of this Act, from time to time make standing orders for police officers in relation to —

(a) enlistment, discharge and training;

(b) arms, accoutrements, clothing and equipment;

(c) places of residence, duties, distribution and inspection;

(d) such other matters as he may deem expedient for preventing neglect and promoting efficiency and discipline on the part of police officers in the discharge of their duties.

(5) Subject to the directions of the Minister, the Inspector General may make standing orders relating to pay, leave, conditions of service and transfer of members of the Force.

9. (1) The command of the Force in any region shall be vested in the Regional Commander. Such officer

shall carry out the orders of the Inspector General in all matters connected with the duties, discipline, interior economy and training of members of the Force under him ».

Sections 87 A - 87 R lay down the conditions under which the other police forces mentioned in Art. 68 (1) of the Constitution have their existence and operate.

#### B) Present Operating Practice.

The structure of the Uganda Police Force can be analyzed along three main dimensions: by hierarchy, topography and function.

Hierarchically, the Police Force is organized on traditional lines, with many elements of the system set up by the former administration still to be seen. The Uganda Police Force, like the other disciplined forces in Uganda comes under one of the ministries, in this case the Ministry of Internal Affairs. There is, therefore, a political Minister who is head of this Ministry, with a Permanent Secretary as principal public officer responsible for the overall direct control and administration of the Ministry. The Inspector General of Police is head of the Force.

The Inspector General and Deputy Inspector General are assisted by Senior Assistant Commissioners of Police in charge of the Special Branch, the Special Force, General Duties for Uniformed Police, C.I.D., and Assistant Commissioners of Police for Training and Operations. Alongside these posts are those of the Regional Commanders.

The Police Headquarters staff is made up of the Inspector General, his deputy and five Senior Assistant Commissioners in charge of the main departments. Thus in any local area of activity, there is a dual source of authority and control. That is to say, it must be resolved whether the official in whose area the particular problem is occurring, or the Headquarters staff member responsible for the particular type of situation, has the final authority.

Again this is a problem which is common to police forces in practically every country. For most national police systems are inevitably organized by area and function,

and in all such countries the exact areas of responsibility for the two commanders whose authority derives from different functions within the police service, are potential sources of difficulty.

The Regional Commander undertakes the overall direction, coordination and control of the police force activities in his region and answers to the Deputy Inspector General, but he derives his authority from the Inspector General directly. There are four such regions in Uganda, although they are not formal governmental regions, but rather units created for police purposes. Three of these are commanded by Assistant Commissioners (the North, West and Eastern regions) and the fourth, the Bugandan region, is commanded by a Senior Assistant Commissioner. Thus if rank is in question as to who has the higher authority in any situation involving both officials, it seems that the functional divisions are the overriding ones in so far as they are commanded by Senior Assistant Commissioners.

As the Ugandanization of the senior posts of command is now all but complete, the operation of the Uganda police force is now entirely in the hands of Uganda nationals, and the significance of expatriate officers deriving from the previous administration has now almost disappeared. So far the general impression given is that the Uganda Police Force is fairly strictly sub-divided into separate, self-contained functionary units. However, Section 4 of the Police Act, as quoted above, affirms that every police officer in every police force throughout Uganda shall be employed for the maintenance of law and order and for the protection of life and property. Thus the provision is made for some overlap between the various units in both theoretical functions and operating practices. In fact, all policemen are first recruited as general purpose policemen, and later on may specialize as a result of particular interest or capability, but they may be posted to other units should the Inspector General feel it necessary.

Below the level of Regional Commander the topographical breakdown into smaller units and sub-units is con-

tinued. The interesting feature is the level at which there is a change from a strictly topographical organization to a functional one at the local level. For while District Commanders are responsible for specific areas of the country, i.e. one of the eighteen administrative districts in Uganda, the police stations and sub-stations do not necessarily follow the administrative division of the country or district. Instead they are opened in those areas for which, in the opinion of the Inspector General, there is a particular need of such a station to ensure the maintenance of law and order and the protection of life and property. Thus there may be a relatively high density of police stations, sub-stations or outposts in some areas, and other large areas with very small police presence. The type of information required to enable the Inspector General, or his appointed Deputy, to make such a decision as to where and where not to allocate his resources is one obvious example of the type of question with which this study is concerned, and it will be discussed further below.

#### *Other police forces.*

The existence of police forces other than the main Uganda Police Force, which was mentioned in Art. 68 of the Constitution and Section 87 F - 87 M of the Police Act, should be described briefly. These various police forces have their origin in the different systems used by the previous administration. The general policy is now to absorb the administrative and state police forces into the main Uganda Police Force. Indeed, that which used to be known as the Kabaka's Police Force has already been absorbed in the national police forces and there are only a few hundred police officers still remaining in the administrative and state police forces. With the integration of the courts in Uganda and since the introduction of an overall Republican Constitution in 1967, the need for small separate local forces has much decreased.

More important from the point of view of long-term information planning are the Special Constables — Sections

67-74 of the Police Act, and the Police Reserve — Sections 75-85.

The relevant sections of the Police Act read as follows:  
For the Special Constables:

« 67. (1) Where it appears that any unlawful assembly, or riot, or disturbance of the peace has occurred, or may reasonably be apprehended, and that the police ordinarily employed for preserving the peace are not sufficient for its preservation or for the security of property in the area where such unlawful assembly or riot or disturbance of the peace has occurred or is apprehended, it shall be lawful for any magistrate having jurisdiction in such area, on the application of a superior police officer or an officer in charge of police, to appoint by writing, in the prescribed form, any residents of the neighbourhood to act as special constables in the Force in such number, for such time and within such limits as he shall deem necessary.

(2) The magistrate by whom any special constable has been appointed under subsection (1) of this section or, in his absence, any magistrate exercising jurisdiction in the area in which such special constable has been appointed, is hereby empowered to suspend or determine the appointment of any special constable if he considers such appointment can be safely suspended or determined and shall forthwith transmit notice thereof in the prescribed form to the special constable concerned.

(3) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (1) of this section, the Minister may, if he thinks fit, establish a force of special constables in the Force and authorise the Inspector General to enrol in such force such persons as may offer their services and whose services he accepts, subject to the conditions hereinafter appearing or as may be prescribed.

68. Every special constable while on duty shall have the same powers, privileges and protection as a police officer of equivalent rank and shall be liable to perform the same duties and shall be subordinate to the same police officers as any such police officer.



72. The Inspector General may make regulations for the general governance of special constables and without prejudice to the generality of such power may make regulations regarding —

- (a) their appointment, retirement and dismissal;
- (b) their rank and remuneration;
- (c) their terms of service and discipline;
- (d) their training;
- (e) their duties and responsibilities when on duty;
- (f) the uniform and equipment to be worn and the arms to be carried by them;
- (g) the application of any part of this Act to them.

74. (1) Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this Part of this Act the Inspector General may at any time, if it appears to him to be expedient in the interests of public order and safety so to do, appoint any person to be a special constable in the Force for such period and within such area as he may consider necessary, and any special constable so appointed shall be deemed to be a police officer during the period of his service as a special constable:

Provided that, whenever any special constable has been appointed under the provisions of this section, the Inspector General shall forthwith transmit to the Minister notice of such appointment and of the circumstances which rendered such appointment expedient ».

From these extracts of the Police Act it is clear that the purpose of this part of the Act is to make possible the sudden recruitment of extra personnel for times of emergency or sudden extra demand upon the police forces, so that the police force can operate with a lower level of manpower in times of normal social conditions, and not be compelled to carry a staff complement which is necessary only in times of emergency and means normally an excessive overuse of resources. The existence of such an Act enables the senior police authorities to call upon extra manpower immediately without having to wait for further legal and political clearance. The Police Reserve is established by

sections 75 - 85 of the Police Act, of which the relevant sections read as follows:

« 75. There shall be established in Uganda a reserve police force to be known as the Uganda Police Reserve (hereinafter in this Part of this Act referred to as the « Reserve ») which shall consist of such police officers of good character to the satisfaction of the Inspector General who have —

- (a) finally completed their engagement in the Force; or
- (b) been allowed to terminate their engagement in the Force before the expiration thereof, and who offer themselves for service in the Reserve.

78. The Inspector General may, by order, call the whole or any part of the Reserve up for service whenever it appears to him advisable to do so and any officer in charge of police of the Force may likewise call up for service that part of the Reserve in the area within his charge. Such calling up order shall be promulgated in such manner as the Inspector General or the officer in charge of police, as the case may be, shall think fit in order to bring it to the notice of all the members of the Reserve concerned and the provisions of section 20 of the Interpretation Act shall not apply to any such order.

79. All members of the Reserve shall undergo a course of training and instruction for a period of one week in every year. The times of such courses and the training and instruction to be given therein shall be the subject of such directions as the Inspector General may, from time to time, give in that behalf ».

The Police Reserve as a body, fulfil in many ways the same organizational purpose as do the Special Constables; that is they form a reserve of manpower who can be called upon in times of need, but who do not normally form much of a drain on resources of the Police Force as a whole. They differ in that they are experienced officers, who still maintain a level of training. It is therefore reasonable to assume that they are the more efficient and more reliable members of this additional force.

Thus the Uganda Police Force is so divided as to form a rational system of command and control with an entirely vertical organization, combining two elements of function and geographical location. It is now the purpose of this study to discuss what types of research can most help such a system to further the standards of operating efficiency.

(ii) *The Functions of the Police.*

As the functions of the police force are so closely tied with its structure, when considered from the point of view of information development, it is convenient to describe these briefly before discussing the research implications of the whole.

A) *The Constitutional and Legal Framework.*

The constitutional basis for police operations is provided by Art.69 (2) of the 1967 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

This article makes it clear that the two chief criteria by which police operating procedures are to be assessed are public safety and public order, and that responsibility for these rests with the Inspector General, who is in turn responsible to the President.

The Police Act, Section 26 elaborates a little on this.

« 26. (1) Every police officer shall exercise such powers and perform such duties as are by law conferred or imposed on police officers, and shall obey all lawful directions in respect of the execution of his office which he may from time to time receive from any competent authority.

(2) Every police officer shall be deemed to be on duty at all times and may, subject to the provisions of this Act, at any time be detailed for duty in any part of Uganda.

(3) It shall be the duty of every police officer promptly to obey and execute all orders and warrants lawfully issued to him by any competent authority, to collect and communicate intelligence affecting the public peace, to prevent the commission of offences and public nuisances, to detect and bring offenders to justice, and to apprehend all persons whom he is legally authorised to apprehend and

for whose apprehension sufficient ground exists; and, for any of the purposes mentioned in this subsection, he may, without a warrant, enter at any hour of the day or night any premises lawfully licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquor or any place in which he has reasonable grounds to suspect that illegal drinking or gambling is taking place or to which dissolute or disorderly characters are resorting ».

This provides a specific breakdown of the types of behaviour on the part of individuals which are seen to constitute threats to public safety and public order.

These are translated into specific directives by the Police General Standing Orders, which are generally distributed throughout the police force.

B) *Present Operating Practice.*

In order to achieve the objectives of public safety, public order, the prevention of crime and detection and apprehension of offenders, the Police Force is operated and administered in four main branches:

(1) The Uniformed, « General Duties » Branch. It is their task, by their presence, whether in stations or posts, or on patrols, to prevent the commission of crime; and, when an offence has been committed, to arrest the offenders.

(2) The Criminal Investigation Department. This is the specialized part of the force which has the specific responsibility of detecting crime and preparing the papers relating to criminal proceedings. These papers may be presented to the Director of Public Prosecutions or presented directly in the Courts in minor cases. (The police powers to institute criminal proceedings are laid down in section 29 of the Police Act). The C.I.D. has at its disposal the appropriate specialized services, such as Forensic Laboratories and Identification Bureau.

(3) The Special Branch. This is that separate arm of the force which has to deal with what is usually known as « intelligence » and « anti-subversion activities ». « Subversion » is used in this context to mean any attempt to affect or influence the people, the State, the Nation or the Government or any or all of them by unlawful means.

(4) The Special Force Units. These are designed to supplement the normal police establishment in any area if abnormal threats to law and order arise. Thus these units are required to deal with such situations as riots or unlawful and potentially dangerous congregations of large numbers of people.

In carrying out their functions the police have the use of ancillary equipment, particularly laboratories and various types of motor vehicles, equipped with radio and telecommunication facilities. This kind of resource, being expensive and in relatively short supply in every country, is in particular short supply in developing countries, including Uganda. Therefore most efficient usage of such equipment as is available assumes a particular importance in these countries.

One respect in which the Uganda police differ from the police forces in many parts of the world is that they are not armed in the normal course of their duties. They can be armed only for dealing with specifically dangerous situations or individuals and can use their arms only when commanded to do so by senior officers.

The powers of the police to bring the prosecution in the magistrates' courts have already been mentioned; and this is the means by which the majority of the suspected offenders whom they arrest are dealt with. The police may also dismiss or discharge any offence reported to them, and quite a number of offences reported to them are dealt with in this manner. Thus the police form an important part of the decision making aspect of the social defence system in Uganda, and do not simply function within the system without discretion of their own. The police also have the right to caution offenders in trivial cases, and this procedure is used quite frequently especially in the case of petty traffic offences.

Uganda is faced with the problem of ever increasing motor traffic and, like the police forces all over the world, Uganda police are finding more and more of their time taken up with problems emanating from road traffic, many of them quite trivial but still time-consuming. Thus the Uganda authorities have had to give serious thought to the possibility of setting up a separate traffic department.

The manner in which any system functions in detail can best be shown by measuring some aspects of its variations; that is, statistically. The overall work load of the Uganda police can be represented by a series of tables which give the outline of what they are called upon to do, and a more detailed description of the combined parts which make up this overall picture.

Table I shows the overall figures of cases reported to the police for years 1960-1967 inclusive. The table is divided into offences against the Penal Code of Uganda (i.e. more serious offences) and the overall grand total (i.e. the Penal Code offences combined with a variety of petty complaints and misdemeanours). For both categories the percentages by which the total increased or decreased relative to the previous year is also included.

TABLE I

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
<i>Penal Code Offences</i>	47,195	42,104	47,375	46,007	48,850	51,959	69,093	75,674
<i>Percentage Increase</i>		-11	+13	-3	+6	+6	+33	+10
<i>Decrease</i>								
<i>Overall Grand Total</i>	77,735	75,510	75,995	76,903	77,080	81,514	101,836	110,926
<i>Percentage Increase</i>		-3	+1	+1	+0	+6	+23	+8
<i>Decrease</i>								

From this very simple table the main assertion which can be made with some confidence is that the overall picture is of a constant rise in the volume of crime reported to the police despite certain fluctuations.

These figures can be broken down in several ways and one of the simplest, but most useful is, into the various categories represented in the Penal Code. (These figures are for the years 1960-1965 only.)

Table II shows the raw figures and table III shows these figures as percentage changes from the previous one.

TABLE II

OFFENCES REPORTED TO THE POLICE, 1960-1965  
CATEGORIZED BY DIVISIONS OF THE PENAL CODE

Divisions Year	I & II	III	IV	V & VI	VII-IX
1960 . . . . .	2,508	1,380	11,532	31,394	339
1961 . . . . .	1,464	1,159	10,163	24,984	334
1962 . . . . .	2,440	1,263	12,406	30,842	424
1963 . . . . .	2,221	1,377	12,560	29,493	356
1964 . . . . .	2,215	1,406	14,768	30,111	350
1965 . . . . .	2,265	1,455	15,727	32,141	371

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE RISE-FALL FOR OFFENCES SHOWN IN TABLE II

Year Divisions	1961 %	1962 %	1963 %	1964 %	1965 %
I & II . . . . .	- 4.6	- 67.0	- 9.0	- 8.7	+ 2.3
III . . . . .	- 16.0	+ 8.1	+ 9.0	+ 2.1	+ 3.5
IV . . . . .	- 3.1	+ 22.1	+ 1.2	+ 17.8	+ 6.5
V & VI . . . . .	+ 20.4	+ 23.3	- 4.4	+ 2.1	+ 6.7
VII-IX . . . . .	- 1.5	+ 2.7	- 16.0	- 1.7	+ 6.0

The divisions of the Penal Code are as follows:

- I & II = offences against order and lawful authority
- III = offences injurious to the public
- IV = offences against the person
- V & VI = offences against property
- VII - IX = miscellaneous offences.

Finally the picture as regards those types of crime which are regarded as most serious by the general public can be made more clear by lifting out these specific categories from the general figures.

Table IV and table V (p. 29) show these figures for 1958-67 in raw and percentage forms respectively.

TABLE IV

MURDER, ROBBERY, RAPE, AND THEFT OFFENCES REPORTED TO THE POLICE

Year	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Murder and Manslaughter (including attempts) . . . . .	633	888	922	907	1,101	1,398	1,536	1,681	1,839	1,769
Robbery . . . . .	1,181	1,309	1,723	1,503	1,614	1,570	1,918	2,038	3,431	3,495
Rape . . . . .	386	330	549	454	335	550	576	689	1,203	1,256
Theft (common) . . . . .			10,878	10,461	10,520	9,345	8,876	9,565	15,423	18,614

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE INCREASE AND DECREASE IN RESPECT OF OFFENCES GIVEN IN TABLE IV

Year	1959 %	1960 %	1961 %	1962 %	1963 %	1964 %	1965 %	1966 %	1967 %
Murder and Manslaughter (including attempts) . . . . .	+ 30.0	+ 3.8	- 1.5	+ 22.0	+ 27.0	+ 10.0	+ 9.5	+ 9.8	- 9.8
Robbery . . . . .	+ 10.0	+ 30.0	- 11.7	+ 7.0	- 2.0	+ 22.0	+ 6.0	+ 70.0	+ 19.0
Rape . . . . .	- 15.0	+ 66.0	- 17.0	+ 18.0	- 2.0	+ 4.0	+ 19.0	+ 74.0	+ 4.0
Theft (common) . . . . .			- 4.0	+ 0.5	- 11.0	- 5.0	+ 7.0	+ 60.0	+ 12.0

### C. Possible Areas of Information Search.

We are now to consider what particular areas or subjects for research can be expected to yield the largest pay-off in helping the police force to improve its operating efficiency, and thus come closer to attaining the objectives set for it in its constitutional terms of reference. It is important to remember again the point made in the introduction that information must be purposive if it is to be valuable. We are to consider the specific instance of Uganda because an example from real life makes for a more meaningful demonstration than a mere theoretical discussion; in the discussion that follows there is no assumption that the particular points are or are not already under study by the Uganda authorities.

There are several boundary conditions which should be specified as being « given » as constitutionally decreed and therefore not operationally alterable.

For instance the overall control of the police force by Parliament, as represented by the Minister, cannot be considered as an appropriate area for research of this nature. In short, the discussion must be confined to those areas where the operating procedure of the police force is specifically stated to be at the discretion of the President, or his appointed representative, i.e., usually the Minister or the Inspector General of the police.

There is a second category of possible variables which for the purposes of studies such as this must be regarded as fixed constants. This includes the more wide ranging aspects such as the ranks and hierachical organization of the force, which may be altered by the Minister, but which would require a very large scale, specifically directed research project, if it were intended to throw useful light on these by the use of research.

Thus we have limited the study to a consideration of specific, more or less day to day, operating problems.

The first of these to be considered has been chosen as the first because it also illustrates another limitation in applying rational information processing to everyday operating problems. In the description of the operating

practice, it was pointed out that there are two sources of authority within the region; the Regional Commander and the commander overall of that department of the force responsible for a particular problem. Thus if the particular offence against public safety and order is armed robbery, in which the offender is immediately known, there are no difficulties. For this is a job for the General Duties branch, and the Regional Commander will be a General Duties officer. If the offender is not known, the services of the C.I.D. branch may be required, in which case the officers of that branch are under authority both from their own commander and the commander of the Region.

A third possibility is that the offence is subversion of some kind thus making necessary the calling in of the Special branch. Again the officers from this branch have a dual source of command above them. It may be that there are certain situations for which it is imperative that the specialist officers have undisputed command. (This is likely for instance in a subversion case.) At such a time it is not further information, as to who does what which is required to make clear the most rational command structure, but a directive which is based upon an absolute system of priorities; in this case, for instance, it could be that all subversion problems be treated as overriding all others in importance.

In the description of the present practice, it was pointed out that this split source of authority is common in nearly all police systems. It is difficult to see how statistical research can help very much in resolving this difficulty; in the last analysis, and for situations where there is no clear directive, it is dependent upon the good sense and the cooperation of the two respective commanding officers. However, there is some information which can be helpful to these officers in achieving a working system of cooperation.

This information will be primarily concerned with the previous pattern of criminal behaviour in the area. For instance, have the majority of those apprehended for committing the offence in question in the area been local or

non-local people? Has there been a recent increase in this particular type of offence? Is there any reason to believe that it is associated with any change in local conditions? The answers to the first two of these questions are numerical and can be ascertained by a fairly simple, systematic process of data collection in the course of police activity. The answer to the third question demands a comparison of these figures with other external sociological factors and so is not so immediately easy for a police unit to do for itself, although it may happen to be within their capacity.

It will help the two commanding officers, of the region and of the specialized units, to coordinate their efforts and make appropriate adjustments to the mutual responsibilities of command if each appreciates the picture given by these few chosen statistics.

#### *Statistical Breakdown by detail of offence, time and area.*

This first instance, as well as illustrating another boundary condition limiting the potential use of research, also introduces the most common form of purposive statistics to be required in the potential organization of a system such as a police force. This is the breakdown of the work done numerically, not only by another subdivision of the type of offence, but by area and time. Thus the picture which will be developed will be not only how much of the various types of criminal activity the Uganda police force has to deal with but where each type is more or less common, and above all where each type is becoming more or less common, i.e. how the picture is changing over time.

The second area where research will be helpful, therefore, is that of problems concerned with the specific allocations of resources. Among these are the decisions required as to where one or more new police stations or posts should be opened (or perhaps closed), and how they should be manned; also the allocation of scarce and special resources, such as the laboratory equipment and mechanical transport discussed in the functioning of the police. In both these cases it is desirable to know in which parts of the country

those crimes which require the services of the specialized ancillary equipment are most common. For a breakdown by class of offence, by time and by area will show that traffic offences, for instance, may be more frequent in one area, whereas quite close by there may be a higher incidence of personal violence, but fewer traffic violations. Thus if this is the case, it must be known and known clearly, i.e. numerically, before the rational decision can be taken to allocate motor vehicles, but to relatively few stations, in the first area, and have a higher density of police presence in the second.

One of the problems which is mentioned in the report on the present operating procedure by the Uganda research worker was the amount of effort diverted into traffic control by general duties policemen. This is really one aspect of a larger question of what proportion of time various officers use in doing various jobs, and as such will be considered in a little while. However, before such a question can be approached, it will be necessary to know the specific details by time and place of the various types of traffic offences, so that it is possible to study specifically where special traffic police would be most employed, at what hours, and dealing with what kind of offences. This piece of information will be pre-requisite to any decision as to whether it is more efficient and cheaper simply to boost the manpower allocation of any given station or area, or whether it is worthwhile undertaking the cost of setting up a separate traffic department for that particular area. For instance, if traffic problems are discovered to be highly localized both in geographical area and time of day or hour, this will require a different strategy from if they are discovered to have a constant level of occurrence throughout the day across much of the country.

In view of the fact that only about 10% of the population live in urban areas in Uganda, and that there are few villages, as the standard living situation is one of scattered homesteads, it seems most unlikely that traffic would be a widespread problem. Rather, it is more likely to be intensely concentrated in one or two small areas. But some measure of exactly how much this is true, if at all, is

the kind of statistic which is not difficult to collect and is necessary for an efficient police strategy.

Another category of potentially difficult decisions which can be helped by class of offence, time and area breakdowns of criminal activities is that of the usage of special constables and police reserves. It has been pointed out that the use of these two supplementary sources of manpower is an efficient way of keeping the manpower level down in times of normality and raising it quickly in times of special need. The difficult decision is to know what frequency and what severity of occurrence of criminal behaviour is enough to warrant a situation being regarded no longer as extraordinary but as routine. In other words, when does it become more efficient simply to increase the size of the local police establishment rather than continue to call upon and then dismiss the auxiliaries provided by the reserve and special constables? In order to decide this, it is necessary to know, again, the details of how the crime picture in a local area is changing — so that once more details of types of offences over time within a specific area are a necessary starting point for a rational analysis of this difficulty.

In general these comments concerning analysis of the incidence of crime by offence, time and place may be made. The first principle which may be applied in all cases is to ask a question: « For what purpose are these figures required? ». If the problem is merely whether to set up a traffic department the offences can be divided into traffic serious, traffic minor and other offences, which can include everything from murder to mild drunkenness. If the decision to be made is whether to allocate certain C.I.D. experts to a given station, the distinction will have to be made between the types of offences in which they may specialize, (e.g. murder, other offences involving violence, robbery, etc.) from the types of offences which will not be their concern (e.g. traffic, public disorder, etc.).

Secondly, just as the categories used in breaking down the number of offences depend upon the questions to be answered, so do the different units of time which can be

used. If the decision to be made is how best to allocate the working hours of a small but fixed number of men at a given police station, it will be necessary to divide the pattern of offences in the area into different hours of the day, days of the week, and seasons of the year. For only when this is done will it become clear at which times the types of offences more easily and effectively deterred by large scale police presence are more frequent. For instance, it may be the case that armed robbery in public places is found to be most common in the hours of the early evening, at the week ends (this, like all the other specific examples in this study, is highly hypothetical; there is no suggestion that this is actually the case). If so, it would be clearly most rational to have the majority of the available manpower out in public places at these times, rather than either early in the morning or in mid-week.

On the other hand, if the decision to be made is how many policemen should be allocated to a police station which seems to be faced with a changing local crime occurrence rate, then the pattern which the figures must show is one making clear the rise and fall of criminal activity over the different seasons, so that times and future peak needs can be predicted.

The parameter of area or locality is much more easy to settle. It is, self-evidently, the area concerned in the problem under study. Thus if the decision to be made is stated clearly, the topographical parameter will become clear without need for further analysis.

The other type of statistical data collection and analysis, which at this level of operation will pay practical and immediate dividends, is that concerned with the work done by the individual officers and collective units within the Uganda Police Force. That is to say, it is desirable to record the number of working hours over a given time which each officer gives to each different aspect of his job. For instance, the fact that all police officers can be employed as the Minister and the Inspector General think fit for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of life and

property has already been described. If it is known exactly what proportion of their time the various ranks of the force special departments have spent doing their own special jobs and what proportion of their time in performing more general duty, decisions concerning the numbers and positioning of the manpower within that special department can be made much more clearly.

Comparably, a statistical record of the percentage of calls for police assistance which required the use of ancillary equipment (such as mechanical transport), divided again by time and area will enable a more refined allocation of resources to be made. Again it will be noticed that in order to say what statistical record shall be kept of the use, and potential use, of mechanical transport or any other support equipment, it is necessary first to decide what questions relating to the use of this equipment it is desired to answer.

It should be pointed out that when purposive statistical data gathering of the type mentioned above is introduced, certain tendencies should become apparent which are in fact misleading.

First of all, there is the universal phenomenon that when a unified system of crime recording and analysis is introduced there seems to be a marked increase in the incidence of crime. At least, changes in recording or reporting methods used by the police normally have this effect. It is also obviously true, but yet forgotten surprisingly often, that more policemen and more efficient police operating procedures produce more crime. This is explained, of course, by two factors. First, if there are more police around, and they are known to be fairly efficient, the public are more inclined to report offences to them, so that offences which would not have figured in the statistical returns previously appear now. Also it is true that policemen, like any other group of people, find a justification for their own role; therefore the more policemen there are looking for crime, the more crime they find.

All the above does not mean to say that if the numerical record of crime shows a steadily increasing incidence,

such an increase is entirely false. For instance, table IV in this chapter shows that various types of offences almost certainly have increased. For Uganda has had to face some very difficult and disturbing social conditions, not least the influx of many refugees from other countries.

What it is very difficult to state with any confidence is what proportion of the apparent trebling of serious crimes in the years 1956-1967 is genuine, and what proportion is due to more efficient methods of police recording, or public willingness to report the offences, or simply more policemen.

This introduces the concept of the « dark number », that is the number of offences committed which are not recorded by the police. Only if this number were known would there be an absolute measure of the extent to which the changing figures of offences known to the police show a genuine change in the incidence of crime. In no country, indeed by definition, is this known.

This problem of the dark number is one which for the moment can safely be left to the academic criminologist; for it is almost certain that any effort made by the police statistical and recording officer to investigate such a vague problem would have a minimum pay-off for efficient investment of manpower.

### (iii) *The Personnel and Training of the Force.*

#### A) *The Constitutional and Legal Background.*

The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the Police Act, which is chapter 312 of the Laws of Uganda both lay down regulations at higher level of generality than that concerned with the make up of the personnel of the police force. Thus the organization of the police force is within the immediate control of the Minister responsible and the Inspector General of the Police.



B) Present Operating Practice.

The Uganda Police Force was made up of 6,603 officers, in 1968. These could be broken down by rank, function and geographical area as follows:

TABLE VI  
UGANDA POLICE FORCE ESTABLISHMENT

Command	Superior Officers	Inspectorate	Other Ranks	Signals Branch	Traffic & Traffic Branch	Trackers	Miscellaneous
Force Hdtrs . . . . .	78	18	371	48	58	—	35
Special Branch . . . . .	33	39	205	—	25	—	—
C.I.D. . . . .	72	344	582	—	2	—	—
Special Force . . . . .	26	26	747	11	104	—	—
Buganda Region . . . . .	31	59	1,295	4	168	—	13
Eastern Region . . . . .	16	22	707	23	68	—	4
Western Region . . . . .	7	10	316	47	26	—	—
Northern Region . . . . .	7	6	284	29	14	—	2
Karamoja Area . . . . .	4	3	128	28	20	249	—
Railway Police . . . . .	4	5	143	—	3	—	—
<b>Total Duty Posts . . . . .</b>	<b>278</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>4,778</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>488</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>54</b>
Leave Reliefs . . . . .	9	25	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Total Force Establishment</b>	<b>287</b>	<b>557</b>	<b>4,778</b>	<b>190</b>	<b>488</b>	<b>249</b>	<b>54</b>

As an example of the way in which each of the individual departments is structured in greater detail, it is worth looking briefly at the Criminal Investigation Department; this is of interest particularly because it deals with the more traditional aspects of police work, i.e. catching criminals; and also makes particular use of specialized sub-units of forensic science.

Tables VII and VIII give the details of allocation of personnel both within the C.I.D. and within all its specialized departments:

TABLE VII  
C.I.D. ESTABLISHMENT

Establishment 1967-68	(Established Posts and Exact Strength - 1968) Rank	Strength
1	Senior Assistant Commissioner of Police	1
9	Senior Superintendent of Police . . .	8
11	Superintendent of Police . . . . .	13
51	Assistant Superintendent of Police . .	50
104	Inspector of Police . . . . .	47
240	Assistant Inspector of Police . . . .	149
1	Head Constable . . . . .	1
38	Station Sergeant . . . . .	23
64	Sergeant . . . . .	69
108	Corporal . . . . .	131
371	Detective Constable . . . . .	352

TABLE VIII  
IDENTIFICATION BUREAU

Establishment	Rank	Strength
1	Senior Superintendent of Police . . .	1
2	Deputy Superintendent of Police . . .	2
4	Assistant Superintendent of Police . .	3
5	Inspector of Police . . . . .	4
10	Assistant Inspector of Police . . . .	4
Nil	Detective Station Sergeant . . . . .	1
6	Detective Sergeant . . . . .	5
5	Detective Corporal . . . . .	5
20	Constable . . . . .	19

The proportion of various ranks to the overall complement of the police force can be seen by comparing the above tables with Table IX which gives the number in each rank down to the different ranks of constables.

TABLE IX  
POLICE MANPOWER BY RANKS

1967-68	Rank
1	Inspector General of Police
1	Deputy Inspector General of Police
5	Senior Asst. Commissioners of Police
6	Asst. Commissioners of Police
26	Senior Superintendents of Police
48	Superintendents of Police
198	Deputy Supt. & Asst. Supt. of Police
183	Inspectors of Police
374	Asst. Inspectors of Police
4778	Different ranks of constables (i.e. from Head Constable Major to ordinary constable)

One of the most interesting features of Table VII is the contrast between the established number of posts (i.e. the number which it is thought appropriate to be filled) and the actual strength (i.e. the number of men actually available to fill these posts). There is a marked contrast between the establishment and strength at the Inspector and Assistant Inspector levels. This is on account of the fact that as the Uganda Police Force developed its own unified system of operation, coupled with an integrated national courts system as the country grew away from the previous administration, the extra burden of everyday work fell largely upon these inspectorate ranks. At the same time many of the best inspectors had to be promoted to fill senior ranks in the police force as expatriates were replaced; so the C.I.D. was faced with particular problems of allocation of resources, and as a result refined its analysis of the relative needs and availability of trained manpower to a

very high degree. In particular the staff is distributed in such a way that the various specialized units cover very large geographical areas.

The country has been divided for the specific purpose of maximum utilization of the C.I.D. resources, into six field areas. Thus the Kampala area which is the metropolitan centre of Uganda, has in an area of somewhat over 78 sq. miles, eight police stations and smaller units. In the Mengo C.I.D. district, there are nine stations with C.I.D. elements in an area of 10,000 sq. miles. The Mbale area, has quite a small population in an area of 1,200 sq. miles but is much more densely covered than Mengo because it is known to have the highest local rate of crimes of violence in Uganda. This contrasts with the Gulu area which, although containing a population of 1,100,000, is able to spread its resources much more thinly owing to the more stable social conditions, and covers 21,000 sq. miles.

#### *Women Police.*

The Uganda Police Force employs a small but growing number of women police officers. At present these number just under one hundred in all. They are fully integrated into the service, being part of the same command hierarchy and being posted to a variety of different units, both Headquarters and stations in the field. Particularly in the towns, and especially in Kampala, the work which is being done by the women police officers is being found to be extremely valuable. Their especial area of success seems to be with juvenile offenders, and social workers and the public at large seem to react very well to these women police officers. It is therefore very likely that their number will increase considerably.

#### *Salaries.*

The salaries of the police officers are in line with the scales of other government offices. Thus the salary of the Deputy Inspector General of Police is in the same scale as

that of the Deputy Commissioner for Agriculture, the Deputy Auditor General etc. The salaries of other superior officers are in the same scale as those of the technical and non-professional senior officers in other governmental departments. The pattern is consistent through to the lower ranks.

#### *Manpower projections.*

In any attempt to control the operation of a system through rational allocation of resources, it is clearly essential to project future requirements. The Uganda authorities have done this and their findings illustrate how this can be done in a developing country. The main source is Uganda's second Five Year Plan « Work for Progress », 1966-71. The following extracts are from chapter 18, paragraphs 4-9.

« 18.4. Not only is the Police small in relation to the population — and three years ago it was smaller still — but it has to cope with an increasing volume and sophistication of crime. Over the ten-year period 1955-1965 the population increased by about 29 percent, but the number of reported crimes rose by about 70 percent. This problem is far more likely to grow than diminish. Unfortunately more complex, more urbanised and more wealthy societies breed more crime, not less. The accelerated rise in incomes and wealth which the Second Plan will start will further add to the work of the Police, not least because urban population can be expected to increase twice as fast as total population.

« 18.5. Another factor that is making extra demands on the Police Force is the integration of local courts with the Central Government court system. The Police are directly involved in prosecution work in courts and in the giving of evidence, and this increase in work places a greater burden on them even if procedures can be introduced to reduce court delays.

« 18.6. In these circumstances the Government feels that the Police Force must be steadily increased during the

Second Plan, so that by 1971 it is at least 10,000 strong, which is an increase of some 3,000. Even at that there will still be 880 people per policeman (the population having grown by 1,000,000 in the same period).

« 18.7. Special efforts will be made to ensure a more effective distribution of Police stations and posts in the country. The ideal situation would be to establish a Police station at every sizeable centre of population in Uganda. While this is not possible to achieve in the near future, the first phases of this expansion will be put in operation within the resources available during the Plan period. In addition the Police will be provided with better transport and communications facilities.

« 18.8. One of the major problems about expanding the Police Force is housing. Police and their families must be housed by the Force, for operational and personal security reasons. This costs a great deal of money. Not only is there the 3,000 expansion to provide for; some of the present strength are not in Force housing, and many who are so housed are in very poor and unsatisfactory dwellings. Police housing could absorb up to £ 10 million even with very modest standards of comfort. An absolute minimum of £ 5 million will be spent on it during the Plan, and more if it can be made available.

« 18.9. The planned increase in the size of the Force will increase the annual recurrent costs by over £ 1 million to about £ 4 million by the end of the Plan ».

The senior police authorities would prefer to increase their manpower annually by 10% until they achieve a coverage of one policeman to 600/700 people. The present average Police cover in Uganda is one policeman to 1,300/1,400 people. The Police coverage in most developed countries is round about one to 500/600 people but this in itself is not a particularly meaningful figure as the optimum rate for police coverage is so obviously dependent upon the traditions and culture of any given community or country.

The Manpower unit of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development has projected the requirements up to 1973 as shown below.

UGANDA POLICE FORCE ESTABLISHMENT  
PROJECTIONS FOR 1973 REQUIREMENTS

TABLE X

	1969 Establishment	1973 Requirements
I.		
1. Superior Officers . . . . .	287	516
2. Inspectorate . . . . .	557	1,510
3. « Other Ranks » - (Other Ranks, Signal Branch, and Traffic Branch)	5,456	12,750
II. C.I.D. Personnel		
1. Superior Officers . . . . .	72	172
2. Inspectorate . . . . .	344	847
3. « Other Ranks » . . . . .	584	1,365

Notes:

1) Projections for 1973 requirements take into account normal wastage (and promotions in the case of Inspectorate and « Other Ranks » cadres).

2) Practically all superior officers will come from the Inspectorate Rank, and it is assumed that 100% of the requirements will come from the immediate lower ranks through promotion.

3) The assumptions used for overall projection apply to the C.I.D. projections also.

The Manpower unit used an economic projection rate of over 160% for 1969 to 1973; and this rate allows for normal wastage of 20% in the superior officers cadre and 10% in the other ranks. This therefore leads to the net growth of the service which takes into consideration these basic social factors:

a) population growth estimated between 2.5% and 3%;

b) the annual economic growth, particularly the gross national product, and per capita income; and

c) the social factors connected with the culture and social change including modernization, urbanization and industrialization.

The figure 516 projected in the superior officers rank for 1973 includes the present establishment of 287 plus an additional growth figure of 229, which is being expected to come from the Inspectorate cadre. The Manpower unit particularly was guided by the fact that by 1969 the estimated population for Uganda will be about 8.1 million, that is using the growth rate of 3% per annum, however, by the 1969 census the population of Uganda was 9.6 million; and they also considered that the present coverage is one policeman per roughly 1,300 people. But the desired optimum coverage which will enable the Police to carry out their duties more effectively would be in the range of 1:600/700. For 1973, the population of Uganda was being projected to 9.4 million.

It has been pointed out that the ratio of one policeman to 1,300 people found in Uganda is one of the lowest in the world. However, it is reported from Uganda that many of the local people are under the impression that it is a very highly policed state. The explanation of this is interesting and a good instance of the type of special problems with which the authorities of a developing country have to contend. As is frequent in many new countries which are still settling into being one nation, there have been areas of political unrest in various parts of the country. Extra policemen had to be posted in when there were real threats to the maintenance of law, and the posting of these extra policemen was interpreted by the local inhabitants as extra recruitment on a large scale. This impression was exaggerated by the fact that many of the people in the more remote parts of the country were also coming into contact with an organized police force for the first time. Thus a major problem for those responsible for the police force is to assess the relationships between the newly developed force and the people whom they are serving, where there is no tradition of this type of social control.

The wish of the police authorities to reduce their police/public ratio to 1:600, contrasted with the apparent difficulty of doing this in the economic manpower projection, makes it clear that this is a particularly striking example of the main

social needs competing for the few social resources. It is of course the case that as the needs of a society are becoming more recognized so the competition for the resources exceeds the supply, and this even in the richest countries.

One of the consequences of an increase in size of the police force as in the manpower projections, or even more on the scale envisaged by the senior police administration, is, of course, the proportional rise in cost. This will be even more than the corresponding rise in the gross national product, taken as an indicator of the general economic development of the country. Thus, if the police force is to be allocated a greater share of the national resources, the case for its development being more urgent than that of other aspects of the economy or social service programmes must be made.

If the police force is to expand, large scale recruitment will be necessary. The present recruitment standards are a good physique, good health and a basic educational standard of seven years' schooling. Quite a number of policemen are recruited who have ten or eleven years of schooling. As in Uganda, now and for the next few years, there is expected to be a glut of school leavers with this seven years' qualification, it is not anticipated that there will be major recruitment problems at the lower level of the force.

It is official policy of the Uganda Police Force to fill the highest ranks where possible from those promoted from the ranks of constable, provided that the people so promoted have the appropriate experience and have proved their worth and quality during their service. Many senior police officers have risen in the force in this way. However, it is thought desirable that some recruitment should be made of those with rather higher educational achievements. These people, particularly university graduates, are recruited normally at the rank of Inspector of Police/Cadet. Since crime appears to be increasing in sheer quantity and in sophistication in Uganda (a phenomenon nearly universal in countries as the general level of prosperity increases) there is a growing need for higher educated personnel in the Police Force. At present the Uganda Government is finding it

difficult to attract university graduates into this type of work. Again this is a problem for police and social defence forces in most countries.

### *Training.*

The Police Force has two training institutions for its personnel:

(i) Nsambya Police Training School. This school with accommodation for a student population of 256 is headed by a Senior Superintendent of Police, eight Assistant Superintendents of Police and sixty instructor staff, made up of five officers of the Inspectorate grade and others ranging from Sergeant to ordinary Police Constable. Some of the recruits on completing the course with outstanding performance can be retained to join the instructor staff. In the main, the school does not rely on outside lecturers except the instructors from St. John's Ambulance in First Aid. Although the physical accommodation is for 256 students, of late the number of students has jumped from this figure to almost 400, and the authorities look at this trend as likely to increase as the Force grows in number.

The following types of courses are run at the School:

(a) Recruitment and Enlistment Courses. These courses form the bulk of courses run at the School. It has already been indicated that all policemen are in the main recruited as general purpose policemen, and that after recruitment they are sent for training at this School. The School therefore provides training for all policemen working in the various branches of the Force including the other units such as the Police Band. It also provides training for the personnel of the Administration Forces.

This course lasts for at least 32 weeks and its curriculum includes the following:

Police Act, Traffic Act, Public Riot Act, Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Justice Act, Laws of Evidence (including the practical aspects of giving evidence to courts), Working of the Courts, English, Physical Training, Armoury, General Police duties and Drill.

Recruitment of policemen at this bottom rank is carried out in squads of 24 people and the training programme functions continuously as different squads come in successively.

There are three examinations which every recruit has to pass before he or she can qualify as a member of the force. People who fail to pass are referred back or, if they are very poor, dismissed.

(b) The Promotion Courses. All Policemen from the ordinary constable to Assistant Inspector of Police, before being promoted to the next rank, have to attend a promotion course, and these promotion courses differ in length and substance according to the rank of officers attending them. One important aspect of the promotion courses is that if an officer fails to satisfy the requirements of the course, his chance of promotion at that time is forfeited. The bulk of the promotion courses are run at the Police College, and only courses for officers being promoted from the lower ranks to the intermediate ranks are run at the School.

(ii) Uganda Police College. The Police College has facilities for 90 students and is headed by a Senior Superintendent of Police assisted by eight superior officers, ten officers of the Inspectorate rank and 35 of other ranks. Apart from these members of the Force, the College also relies very heavily on outside lectures both from government and non-government bodies.

The College offers two types of course:

(a) The Advanced Course. This lasts 4-9 months, and is in the form of in-service courses for certain ranks who have already been at the Training School. The curriculum of this course has a broader outlook, and apart from the main Police subjects includes general civics courses, an introduction to criminology, penology and sociology, and Police Laws plus the Laws of Uganda. Knowledge available from research in the fields of criminology and penology is made available to the students.

(b) Promotion Courses. Other promotion courses not run at the Training School are conducted at this College.

(c) The College also provides a venue for the senior staff conferences from time to time, and these conferences in many ways act as training seminars to these officers of the superior ranks.

(d) Induction courses for those recruited at the Inspectorate level or higher.

Apart from the two training institutions in Uganda, the Police Force from time to time sends its officers especially from the ranks of the Inspectorate and Superior Officers to courses which are provided by the British Police College in the United Kingdom. In the main these courses last for about three months. Apart from these courses, officers from these ranks are given the chance to go on visits of observation to the United Kingdom to get an insight of how British police forces function.

C) Possible areas of information search.

Questions which concern personnel and manpower, before systematic and rational improvement can be made in any organization, are much more diffuse than those already examined. As one of the stated objectives of this study is to give examples of areas where easy research can bring a sizeable pay-off, only moderate complexity may reasonably be introduced into this discussion. This does not mean, however, that there is nothing at all to be said.

First of all there are some problems, referred to or implied in the descriptive text immediately above, which can benefit from the information generated by a breakdown of criminal activity by type of offence, time and place, and as a proportion of the workload of individual officers. The manpower projection figures which figured so prominently above can derive added sophistication from such simple records. For only when it is possible to estimate where and what type of offence the greatest increase in the criminal activity is likely to be, is it possible to state exactly how much manpower and of what sort will be required to deal with it. Likewise the projections which include consideration of spending more money on transport and communication facilities will also require a numerical, detailed,

measurement of where the present resources are most used and where there is greatest evidence for their particular inadequacy. Without such statistical evidence it will not be possible to make the ultimately tricky, but important, decision as to whether to invest a given amount of money in extra men, or extra technological equipment. It is perhaps surprising but nevertheless helpful to regard manpower and technical equipment as being in some sense interchangeable, and therefore alternative investments.

Two areas where such an analysis of workloads along several dimensions have helped the Uganda authorities in their decisions concerning allocations of resources and future needs were, in fact, mentioned in the text. The first was the distribution of C.I.D. resources by known and projected workload, and second the projected extra need for officers of inspector rank in the C.I.D. as a result of the introduction of the unified courts system.

One difficulty in the general problem of projecting future manpower requirements is to devise a means of calculating whether the projected increase will be the same, proportionately, for all ranks, or whether some levels of staff will need to increase relatively more or less than others. Thus some kind of rationale of future operating policy, expressed in terms of expected workload at different levels, has to be worked out for such a forecast finally to be made. It is extremely difficult to predict this sort of thing specifically, so that without becoming involved in the complexities of sophisticated research it may be adequate simply to state what the expected workload is. The same difficulty of providing a statistical basis for future projections applies to the specialized departments within the Police Force, i.e. C.I.D., Special branch and Special force units. As their work is so much more specifically focussed than that of the General Duties branch, it may be possible to project this workload more easily. Only if this can be done proportionately to the rest of the Force can a final rational projection be made of the ratio of increase in the various specialized departments, to the General Duties branch. It is clear from the account provided by the Uganda authorities that they have come to terms with the difficulties of this

kind of research; as is the case in all countries, they find the lack of social indicators in this area a distinct operational handicap.

In the system account given above there is frequent reference to the existing ratio of police to general population of approximately 1 to 1,300 people and to the desired ratio of 1 to approximately 650 people. This means twice the present number of policemen for the same population, while the population is increasing quite rapidly. It is reasonable to ask what help research can provide in attempting to assess what is the optimum ratio, and if it is not possible to attain this, in which types of area it is least harmful to work below the operating ceiling.

Here we enter a slightly different aspect of operational research. For before this question can be finally and authoritatively answered, it will be necessary to state the order of priorities of the police force within the country. In fact, this is rarely, if ever, done in any country, at least in a form which has been widely published. All countries have published general aspirations and overall objectives for their police forces; no countries have provided a rank order of objectives which states openly which objectives are to be achieved if only a selection of these are possible. When such an order of priorities exists operational research projects on a fairly limited scale can provide information as to where sub-optimal manning levels will detract least from the attainment of the stated goals.

This displays an interesting aspect of operational research, in that it starts from the assumption that the optimum performance of the system is not, and never will be, reached. This is true of all systems, social and industrial in all cultures. The purpose of operational research is to pinpoint where the gap between objective and performance is greatest, and hopefully to suggest what can be done about it. Thus for research to be able to help in such fields as the optimal manning ratio, it is essential that the why and wherefore of the police role in society be spelt out in very specific detail. (For instance, to return to our specific demonstration from this more general discussion, the rationale underlying the deployment of C.I.D. resources into

six areas of widely differing size, and more importantly differing population totals, is a practical instance of this theoretical point.)

Reference was made in the account to problems which the Uganda authorities have found in recruiting manpower with higher educational qualifications, and having recruited them, keeping them. The wastage rate of 20% for superior officers for instance is disconcerting, but again all too common throughout the world. The process of Ugandanization makes for a temporary increase in this rate. This is a problem with which those countries with developed social defence systems have been struggling for some time, and not too successfully. One small piece of research which could be done, but from all available evidence appears to be done very little in any country, or at least if it is the results are not published, is to request from those who resign prior to retirement an account of their main reasons for doing so. This would at least reveal whether the main reasons are financial (better opportunities elsewhere), dissatisfaction with conditions inside the force, or others. For it would be possible to compile some kind of scale which would provide guidance as to those aspects of the service most requiring modification if this particular problem is to be mitigated. Even if it is probably not enough to provide all the required information, it is at least a start.

One feature common to many developing countries is the experience of some of their peoples coming into contact with the official police force for the first time. It would be highly desirable to focus more research effort on the image presented by this police force, as the degree of acceptance by these elements of the population of the whole concept of law in a modern, large, complex society, is probably controlled by this. It is unfortunately a complex area for research work, and it is difficult to suggest small scale studies which the police can carry out easily themselves. One record which can be kept is of the number and detailed nature of complaints which were made, which may give some guidance as to which aspects of the police activity caused some difficulty for the inexperienced populace.

A parallel question is raised in considering the effect of the women's police force. It is known that they have been well received in certain quarters. The extent to which it is desirable to extend the role, and therefore to increase the size, of the women's police force is dependent upon the extent and nature of this good impression that they have created, and knowing in which areas of society this positive image particularly applies.

The final feature to be discussed relative to research is that of staff training. Research into the training of manpower has proved to be a particularly difficult and complex business, and at present tackled only by full time research workers. The UNSDRI is at present working on an attempt to devise and publicise a simple method of analysing certain aspects of training courses.

But even this is proving to be quite a research problem. One piece of information which can be recorded without much trouble is that of the extent to which people who take certain courses, particularly advanced courses, progress up through ranks thereafter. For it can be assumed that there is an informal but widespread opinion among the members of any such service anywhere, that to have attended certain courses or functions or to have had certain training experiences is significant for one's future career. The manner in which the various training programmes are evaluated in this informal information exchange will often determine the seriousness with which they are requested and undertaken by members of the service. It is therefore a useful piece of information for the planning authorities to have, so that they may make appropriate adjustments in the value and presentation of the various training programmes.

## PRISON SERVICE

### (i) *Structure of the Service.*

#### A) The Constitutional and Legal Background.

The Uganda Prison Service is not mentioned specifically in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, but



is established under Chapter 313 of the Laws of Uganda, 1964 edition. Chapter 313 is The Prisons Act. Section 3 of this Act states « There shall be established a Uganda Prison Service. All members of the Uganda Prison Service established in the provisions of the Prisons Ordinance (repealed by this Act) shall be members of such Service ».

The Prison Service is controlled by the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, as it is a disciplined force within the provision of Art. 23 (1). Therefore the staff are under a code of discipline, one result of which is that they are trained to be able both to receive and give orders; therefore, items such as parades and drill are included in their training programme. The staff are obliged to swear an initial oath of allegiance and obedience when they take up their appointment.

Section 5 (1) of The Prisons Act states that the administration of the service and the control and supervision of all prisoners shall be vested in the Commissioner of Prisons subject to the direction of the Minister. The Minister concerned is the Minister of Internal Affairs. Although both the Uganda Police Force and the Uganda Prison Service are within the same Ministry, and co-ordinated by the same Minister and his Permanent Secretary, each service is a separate department.

The main external control over the operation of the Prison Service is provided by Section 74 of The Prisons Act. In this section the Minister is empowered to appoint fit and proper persons to be visiting justices for each prison. Sub-sections (2) - (5), of Section 74 and Section 75 of the Act give the details for the provisions of inspection by visiting justices or other public officials. These are as follows:

« (2) The district commissioner, the chief magistrates and resident magistrates and all administrative officers in any area, in which a prison is situated shall be *ex officio* visiting justices of that prison.

(3) A visiting justice may at any time visit a prison in respect of which he is a visiting justice:

Provided that a female visiting justice shall not visit that part of a prison set aside for the detention of male prisoners.

(4) A visiting justice may inspect several wards, cells, yards, punishment cells, and other apartments and divisions of the prison, inspect and test the quality and quantity of the prisoners' food, hear the complaints, if any, of the prisoners, and question any prisoner or prison officer, and shall ascertain so far as possible whether this Act and the rules made thereunder and the prison standing orders are adhered to, and shall call the attention of the officer in charge to any irregularity that may be observed in the working of the prison or in the treatment of any prisoner confined therein, and shall exercise and perform such other duties as may be prescribed.

(5) The visiting justices for any prison may appoint a chairman and may act as a Board of visiting justices and may at the end of each year or at any other convenient time render a report to the Commissioner on the state of the prison for which they are visiting justices.

75. (1) A member of the Cabinet or a judge may at any time he thinks fit enter into and examine the condition of any prison, and of the prisoners therein and may question any prisoner or prison officer, and may enter any observations he thinks fit to make in reference to the condition of the prison in a visitor's book to be kept for that purpose by the officer in charge. The officer in charge shall inform the Commissioner of any observations so entered in the visitor's book.

(2) Every magistrate and justice of the peace shall have the same powers as a member of the Cabinet or a judge in respect of any prison within his jurisdiction ».

## B) Present Operating Practice.

The service is a hierarchical organization, structured vertically. It is headed by the Commissioner of Prisons, (a public officer in accordance with Art. 130 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda) who according to Section 5 (1) of the Prisons Act has the overall responsibility for the Service's administration, control, supervision and guidance, subject to the direction of the Minister. His

immediate assistants are a Deputy Commissioner and several Assistant Commissioners of Prisons.

The Uganda Prisons Service is now organized in a way which represents a considerable advance upon the system taken over at independence in 1962.

Like the Police Force, it is organized in the senior levels by function and area. However, owing to the very different nature of the work and hence of operating procedures, this resemblance does not result in similar administrative problems. For each area is self-contained in the Prison Service, and the functions of the specialist divisions at Prison Headquarters are mostly supportive and advisory. Thus the country is divided for Prison Service purposes into four Regions, in each of which is a Prisons Regional Commander. His office acts as the divisional administrative and organizational unit.

The four Regional Commanders are Senior Superintendents of Prisons, and are accountable to the Commissioner of Prisons for all the Uganda Government Prisons in their respective Regions. The four Regional Commanders are:

*a)* The Senior Superintendent of Prisons Buganda Region, responsible for the Murchison Bay Group of Prisons and other prisons in this Region, whose office is at Luzira near Kampala. He is responsible for eight prisons, 3 of which are Prison Farms. Three Prisons in this Region, namely the Upper Prison in the Murchison Bay Group, the Young Persons' Prison Bugungu (near Jinja) and the Reformatory School (also near Jinja) and the Uganda Prisons Staff College, are not his responsibility. These four institutions (3 prisons and the Staff College) come directly under the Commissioner of Prisons.

*b)* The Senior Superintendent of Prisons, Eastern Region; whose office is at Mbale; he is responsible for 7 prisons (two of which are Prison Farms).

*c)* The Senior Superintendent of Prisons, Northern Region, whose office is at Gulu; he is responsible for 7 prisons (two of which are Prison Farms).

*d)* The Senior Superintendent of Prisons, Western Region, whose office is at Fort Portal; he is responsible for 8 prisons (four of which are Prison Farms).

There is a Superintendent of Prisons in charge of each Prison, responsible to the Regional Commander and ultimately to the Commissioner of Prisons.

(ii) *The Functioning of the Service.*

The main document which provides the framework within which the service operates is the Prison Rules. These rules cover most aspects of the day to day procedure of the prison service and certain of them deserve particular attention.

Rule No. 4 gives power to the Commissioner to set aside prisons or parts of prisons for the detention of different classes of offenders. The Uganda Government prisons are classified by both location and purpose, in the following basic groups:

- (a) Reception and Allocation Centre;
- (b) District Prisons;
- (c) Open Prison Farms; and
- (d) Special Institutions e.g. Reformatory School, Young Persons' Prison, Womens' Prison, Persistent Offenders' and Remand Prisons.

Secondly the prisons are classified according to records of offenders and length of their sentences. Thus there are prisons for:

- (a) First Offenders — further classified into:
  - (i) long term first offenders (star) prison farms;
  - (ii) medium term first offenders prisons;
  - (iii) short term first offenders prisons.
- (b) Recidivists — further classified into:
  - (i) Maximum security prisons in which certain categories of prisoners are kept (particularly those convicted of serious crimes); and

(ii) the other categories of recidivists go to appropriate prison farms and district prisons.

Rule No. 5 of the Prison Rules lays down the principle underlying the classification of offenders, namely to facilitate prisoners' training while at the same time minimising the danger of contamination. Classification of offenders in Uganda as in most countries is according to the prisoners' criminal behaviour, record and sentences rather than their delinquent personalities. This is due to the fact that Uganda has the same shortage of specialist professional personnel required to undertake the classification based on delinquent personalities as all countries have.

The classification and orientation of prisoners is undertaken at the prisons where they are admitted. This is done by the Reception Boards.

The Uganda Prisons Service has, in all, 32 institutions within the categories described above. Most of the urban prisons (largely district prisons) are closed institutions. All prison farms are open and situated in rural areas.

#### *Physical Accommodation of the Prisoners.*

Most of the accommodation in prisons consists of association wards of approximately 72' x 22' fitted with flush lavatories, showers and drinking water. Large institutions usually have between 12 and 16 wards accommodating a population ranging between 480 and 640 inmates. Each prison has a limited number of segregation cells. Accommodation in the Maximum Security Prison consists mainly of cells.

The Uganda medical authorities suggest that each prisoner be allowed at least 40 sq. feet. But, as in other countries, the problem of overcrowding reduces available space to 30 sq. feet per prisoner. The wards are sufficiently ventilated, and in most cases are provided with electricity. Where there is no electricity, use is made of pressure and hurricane lamps. All prisons, even those in rural areas, are fitted with modern amenities and services.

Since independence Uganda has established six large rural open prison farms to provide adequate employment

to prisoners and also to alleviate overcrowding. These prison farms are of minimum security. The area of each prison farm ranges between 3,000 and 7,000 acres.

#### *Vocational Training, and Treatment of Offenders.*

Rule No. 3 of the Prison Rules lays down the principles governing in general the treatment and vocational training of offenders in Uganda Government Prisons. Thus Rule No. 3 states:

« These Rules shall be applied, due allowance being made for difference in character and respect for discipline of various types of prisoners, in accordance with the following principles:

(a) discipline and order shall be maintained with fairness but firmness, and with no more restriction than is required for safe custody and ensure a well-ordered community life;

(b) in the control of prisoners, prison officers should seek to influence them, through their own example and leadership, so as to enlist their willing co-operation;

(c) at all times the treatment of convicted prisoners shall be such as to encourage their self-respect and sense of personal responsibility, so as to rebuild their morale, to inculcate in them the habit of good citizenship and hard work, to encourage them to lead a good and useful life on discharge and to fit them to do so. »

The basic policy of the Uganda Government for the training and treatment of prisoners is directed towards the ultimate restoration of the prisoner into society as a law abiding citizen, particularly through vocational training. In each prison there is a Welfare and Rehabilitation Officer, who is in charge of vocational training and has overall particular responsibility for all aspects of rehabilitative work. These responsibilities range from operating the earnings scheme system on the one hand, to supervising aftercare arrangements and ensuring the availability of cultural and

religious facilities on the other. These officers liaise particularly closely with local discharged prisoners' aid societies and guide them in the conduct of their concern for individual prisoners.

The institutional training programmes are based upon several guiding principles laid down by the Commissioner. First the institutional treatment of prisoners must take the form of developing their abilities as is most in accordance with the overall Uganda economic development. (This is specified in paragraph 18-10 of Uganda's Second Five Year Development Plan « Work for Progress ».) Secondly, the institutional programme must provide work for prisoners while they are still in the prison, and thirdly it must provide facilities for recreational activities to provide some balance within the experience of imprisonment.

The training of prisoners is aimed at encouraging their regular and reliable work habits. This normally takes place in one of three areas:

(i) agriculture and livestock, including poultry and fisheries;

(ii) industrial activities such as furniture making, printing, metal work, brick and block manufacturing etc.;

(iii) vocational training in the various artisan trades such as: carpentry, shoe-making, building, tailoring, plumbing, printing, book-binding, and metal work.

Government policy on prison farms is threefold:

(i) the production of food-stuffs for inmates and sale to the public;

(ii) production of revenue to the Government; and

(iii) the vocational training of inmates in modern methods of farming, for their rehabilitation on discharge.

There is liaison and consultation between the Uganda Prisons Service, particularly in respect of its Prison Farms Programmes, and the Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry and of Animal Husbandry, Game and Fisheries.

The prison farms contribute to national economy through:

(i) acting as a demonstration model to members of the public on farming and livestock; and

(ii) acting as centres for seed multiplication for the Ministry of Agriculture to distribute for the farmers of Uganda.

In planning work on the prison farms, every effort is made to assess production including the development and expansion of such Farms; to set targets of acreage and revenue which must be obtained from such prison farms, livestock, poultry and fisheries; to determine the most profitable and useful crops according to trends in market prices; and to make proper arrangements for seed multiplication in collaboration with Government Ministries. Lectures are given to prisoners on scientific farming, livestock, poultry and fishery management.

The Prison Farms mainly grow such cash and food crops as cotton (the prisons, as a single unit, are the largest cotton producers in Uganda for the export market), tobacco, sugar-cane plantation, soya beans, beans, ground-nuts, finger millet, maize, rice and a wide variety of vegetables. They also keep a variety of livestock, poultry and fisheries.

Besides foodstuffs issued for institutional kitchens, prison farms in 1968/69 produced revenue to the Government of 2,300,000 shillings in cash.

The Service policy is that prisoners should be required to work, as far as possible, for the same number of hours as people outside prison, so that they (prisoners) can be effectively trained on the job for their social rehabilitation. In allocating work to prisoners, the Service gives consideration to the prisoners' abilities, interest when genuine and acceptable, and future rehabilitation.

The Prison workshops have the most modern machinery and equipment available. The Prisons Industries accept or undertake work for the Prisons Department, Government Ministries, Government Departments and private customers, on a competitive basis with other industrial

(private) companies. This includes such items as tailoring, carpentry, high class furniture manufacture, shoe making, making of native handicrafts, printing and book binding. Senior members of the Uganda Prisons Service undertake extensive training both locally and overseas, and are therefore well equipped with modern knowledge and experience to operate effectively vocational training and rehabilitative programmes for the inmates.

In the Service's experience it has been found that the training of prisoners in farming, livestock and poultry is proving to be particularly useful. This is due to the fact that Uganda is primarily an agricultural country; hence training prisoners in farming is more likely to encourage them on discharge to settle and work on the land instead of moving to towns to look for employment. This is to be pursued further by working out experimental plans for model small farms to be taken care of by individual prisoners on the prison farms. These small model farms, are in keeping with the real-life farming situation of ordinary people everywhere in the country, so, if prisoners can be trained to run these small farms, it is more likely that on discharge they will find it easy to settle down in rural areas managing similar farms.

One of the main incentives offered to induce prisoners to work hard and well is the earnings scheme. Only medium and long term sentence prisoners, that is, prisoners sentenced to imprisonment for a period of six months and above, participate in the earnings scheme. The short term prisoners, in accordance with Rule 10 (2) of the Prison Rules, subject to good conduct and industry, may be eligible for a gratuity determined by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Other incentives for good conduct and industry include remission of sentence and a variety of privileges. Section 49 of the Prisons Act makes provision for the remission of part of sentence of certain prisoners. Section 49 (1) states:

« Convicted criminal prisoners sentenced to imprisonment whether by one sentence or consecutive sentences for a period exceeding one month may by industry and good conduct earn remission of one third of the remaining period of their sentence or sentences ».

Remission, earnings scheme, the stage system and privileges may also be applied as sanctions to enforce good discipline.

In addition to the vocational training programmes, education classes are run for inmates who wish to further their education. Opportunities for correspondence courses are available for the prisoners. In each prison a library is provided for prisoners.

#### *Young Persons' Prison.*

The Young Persons' Prison, the only one of its kind in Uganda, caters for male adolescents of ages ranging between 17 and 21 years. This institution is run on different lines from the ordinary prison, and greater emphasis is placed on vocational training and education of the youthful offenders. There is a full-time school within the institution and the youths are required to attend classes. Various vocational training programmes are provided: the regime is extremely liberal, and the young men compete in athletics and other games with pupils from surrounding ordinary schools, and attend church services in ordinary churches.

#### *(iii) Manpower and training.*

As the constitutional and legal framework is no different from that described at the start of the Prison Service Section, it is reasonable to proceed directly to a description of the current situation.

#### *B) Current Operating Practice.*

The Uganda Prisons Service staff is divided into two categories. The first consists of members of the Disciplined and Uniformed Uganda Prisons Service, (within the context of Art. 23 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda). These include all members of the Service from the Commissioner to the Warders, who form the substantive staff. The second category consists of the non-uniformed

staff (or civilians) made up of the specialist/technical and clerical employees. This second category deals with technical and specialist divisions of the Service under the direction of the Commissioner.

The table below gives the recent staff position of the Uganda Prisons Service and shows the change in manpower, since independence in October 1962.

TABLE I

UGANDA PRISONS SERVICE  
ESTABLISHED POSTS

Personnel	1961-62	1962-63	1966-67	1968-69
1. Commissioner . . . . .	1	1	1	1
2. Deputy Commissioner . . . . .	1	1	1	1
3. Assist. Commissioner . . . . .	—	1	3	3
4. Senior Superintendent . . . . .	4	4	6	10
5. Superintendent . . . . .	10	10	19	31
6. Deputy Superintendent Assistant Superintendent Assist. Superintendent (Cadet)	33	51	66	77
7. Principal Officer . . . . .	45	47	57	63
8. Principal Officer (Women) . . . . .	2	2	4	4
9. Other Junior Prison Officers	2,169	2,179	2,730	3,074
10. Technical and Analogous Staff	69	154	115	166

There are annual reviews of the manpower resources of the Prison Service, in the light of the commitments of the Service, made by the Uganda Government. From this a projection of future manpower needs is made, and at the moment the projected increase in the current Five-Year Development Plan is of 9% p.a. for junior staff. This is subject to financial resources. The details of the

projected requirements as calculated by the Manpower unit of the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development are shown in Table 2 following:

TABLE II

MANPOWER PROJECTIONS FOR THE PRISONS DEPARTMENT  
1968/69 - 1974/75

Personnel	Position 1968-69	1974-75 Net. Requirements	In Post 1974-75
Commissioner of Prisons . . . . .	1	—	1
Deputy Commissioner of Prisons . . . . .	1	—	1
Assistant Commissioner of Prisons . . . . .	3	2	5
Senior Superintendent . . . . .	10	7	17
Superintendent . . . . .	31	22	53
Deputy Superintendent . . . . .	60	43	103
Assistant Superintendent . . . . .			
Assistant Superintendent (Cadet) . . . . .			
Principal Officer . . . . .	65	46	111
Principal Officer (Women) . . . . .	4	2	6
Warders, Chief Warders . . . . .	3,131	2,190	5,321
Technical Staff . . . . .	166	117	283
GRAND TOTAL . . . . .	3,472	2,429	5,901

Notes to Table II.

(a) A growth rate of 130 has been used in this projection. The Prison Service is classified in the Uganda High Level Manpower Survey as a miscellaneous service; the specifically stated top priority services e.g. agriculture, education, construction etc. are allocated a growth rate of 170.

(b) A normal wastage rate of 10% is assumed. As the Prison Service is practically all Ugandanized, the high wastage rate which normally applies as a result of accelerated Ugandanization, therefore, is not applicable.

### *Recruitment and Salaries.*

The basic level of education required for recruitment to the junior levels of the Service is as for the Police, i.e. seven years schooling, or above. As was mentioned in the Police Report there is a large number of school leavers with these qualifications predicted for the next few years in Uganda so that recruitment at least from this point of view will be no problem. However, it will be a few years before the Prison Service really feels the benefit of these leavers, as the age limits for recruitment are 23-33. So far the problem has always been quality rather than quantity of application for the Prison Service. In this respect Uganda is fortunate for most countries are short both of quality and quantity in their recruitment of new officers.

Recruitment is also conducted at the level of Assistant Superintendent of Prisons, and this requires a higher degree of education, close to that of university entrance and preferably a university degree. At this level there is no surplus of potential recruits, a fact mentioned in the Police Report. Many of the senior posts, of course, are filled by promoted junior officers who have shown their particular abilities and merit. The direct recruitment at the Assistant Superintendent of Prisons level is one of the innovations introduced since the independence of Uganda.

For the non-uniformed technical or specialist personnel, appointment is by the Public Service Commission, and the basic qualifications demanded are in line with those required for similar posts elsewhere in the Uganda Public Service. Thus for a Prison Senior Agricultural Officer, who is a professional man in the field of agriculture, the basic qualifications required are similar to those required of a Senior Agricultural Officer. The same is true of all other posts on the technical side.

The salaries of the uniformed staff of the Uganda Prisons Service are exactly parallel to those of the Police. Thus the Assistant Commissioner of Prisons and the Assistant Commissioner of Police are of the same rank and on the same salary scale and this applies equally to the most junior member of the Service. As in the Police, the com-

parable ranks of Junior Prison Officers enjoy some fringe benefits — free housing, free uniform and exemption from taxation.

### *Staff Training.*

The Uganda Prison Service is in line with most modern and progressive social defence forces in emphasizing initial and recurrent training for all prison officers for all ranks and categories. It is the declared policy of the Government to provide appropriate training for junior prison officers who are in daily contact with inmates, and for the senior prison officers, whose problems tend to be of a more general administrative, management and criminological kind. The details of how these objectives are transmitted into practice are shown by the contents of the training courses described shortly.

The Commissioner of Prisons has final personal responsibility for the training programmes and the Prisons Staff College is under the command of a senior Superintendent of Prisons and reports directly to him. The Staff College is itself staffed by a completely representative range of officers, extending from a Superintendent of Prisons through to basic grade officers. It is situated 7 miles outside Kampala; it has accommodation for 250 recruits and 40 officers at any one time.

The courses run at this training school include:

- i) The 24-month Course for the Newly Recruited Assistant Superintendent of Prisons/Cadet.

This Course has been running since 1963 and the syllabus includes:

Prisons Act, Prisons Rules, Prisons Standing Orders, Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Preventive Detention Act, Relevant Miscellaneous Legislation, Principles of Contemporary Criminology and Penology, Computation of Sentences, Prison Officers Discipline Code, Drill and Parades, Inculcation of Discipline, Weapon Training and Judo, Rehabilitation Programmes, Control, Supervision, Management and Security Procedures.

The students are expected to pass an examination before they can be confirmed in their appointment. Thereafter the students are sent to Britain or to Australia for a further period of three months training before they are posted out for duty.

The Lecturers on this course include Officers from both the Staff College and Prisons Headquarters. In addition, outside lecturers come from various institutions, such as the University, Government Ministries, Departments and other agencies whose co-operation is regarded as relevant to the training of these officers. The training programme for this course is drawn up by the Senior Superintendent of Prisons in charge, in consultation with the Commissioner.

*ii) The Course for Recruits (Warders/Wardresses).*

On enlisting all recruit Warders/Wardresses undergo a six month basic residential training at the Prison Staff College. The syllabus for this course includes:

Prisons Act, Prisons Rules, Prisons Standing Orders, Preventive Detention Act, Computation of Sentence, Prison Officers Discipline Code, Drill and Parades, Inculcation of discipline, Weapon training, Judo, Control, Supervision, Management, and Security Procedure.

At the end of this course the recruits sit for an examination, and those successful are posted to institutions for duty. The students who fail to satisfy the requirements in the final examination are normally referred for a further period of training or are discharged. In-service training is provided at the institutions.

Instructors for this course are drawn from the Staff College and from Prisons Headquarters. As on the Senior Staff's course, use is made of outside lecturers.

*iii) When pressure on facilities allows, refresher courses for all grades of prison officers will be conducted.*

The training of senior officers is also augmented by several special methods. First, seminars and conferences are occasionally organized for selected senior officers. Secondly, the majority of senior officers have at some time a period

of training in either Britain or Australia. There are about 15 officers attending training in one or the other of these places every year. Thirdly, certain selected senior officers attend full time university courses, either in Uganda or abroad.

A large and up to date library on criminological and penological research, along with other aspects of behavioural science, is provided at the Staff College for all members of the service. All ranks of Officers who are at the college are encouraged to make use of this library, and particularly senior officers are encouraged to undertake systematic private studies. Finally a small number of very senior officers, including the Commissioner, attend international meetings in the criminological world.

*C) Possible Areas of Information Search.*

Because research with respect to a prison service does not divide into « immediate » and « long-term » in quite the same way as for a police force, all the research questions are dealt with together at the end of the description of the prison service and not included at the end of the separate sections, as was done for the police report.

The problems of any prison service which seem to call for the assistance of research to aid their solution are somewhat different from those of the police force. For the latter are largely concerned with the day to day allocation of resources, and the variation in tactics to achieve specific short term ends in the immediate and ever changing circumstances in open society. On the other hand, the major problems of a prison service are always of a long term nature. The short term immediate problems, normally concerned with good order within the prison, do not admit of local immediate research projects beyond specific inquiries into particular difficulties. Thus although the prison service is organized, like the police force in Uganda, by area and function, each area is self contained and its relationship with Headquarters special function units clearly defined.



There are four areas which do have considerable similarities between the prison and police forces, and it will be convenient to start with them. First is the felt need to recruit staff members with a high level of education, preferably graduates. It would be a parallel operation to that in the police, to attempt to discover why such graduates as do join the force and then leave it, do so. What is really required is a survey of a sample of graduates as they emerge from university as to their attitude towards the prison service. For it may transpire that the main problem is one of image rather than any inherent unalterable features of the prison service.

The suggestion in the previous paragraph leads into the wider question of ascertaining the general image of the prison service within society. Again in a new and developing society, in which formal imprisonment was not always a traditional means of social control, considerable effort in building up good public relations will pay sizeable dividends later. It may also affect the treatment given by society at large to an ex-prisoner on his discharge after sentence. Obviously only the vaguest steps can be taken to improve the general image of the prison service if it is not established roughly what this is.

Both these possible areas discussed differ from most of the suggestions re the police force in that they really call for external research work, in the specific sense that data on them cannot be collected statistically in the routine course of their job by serving prison officers.

The third area of overlap with the police is one which can be partly covered by on-going statistical record keeping, although it will require more than this. This is the whole field of projections of manpower needs. The first essential point is that no final assessment can be established for manpower needs unless the functions which that manpower is to carry out are specifically defined. Again, as stated in the introduction, the value of statistics can be proportional only to the clarity with which the purpose for which they are required is specified. So in any manpower projection some assumption has to be made as to whether a given level of staff are imagined to be doing the same job in

« n » years time as they are doing now, or whether their functions will be changed. For if prison staff are to take a constructive and personal interest in their prisoners, a higher ratio of staff to prisoners is necessary than if they are merely to cope with the security aspects of their job. The extent to which the change in their work pattern along this dimension is foreseen must be known before the projections can be finally made.

The same consideration, of the change in role of the staff, applies at a higher level in considering the role of the prison service. It is necessary to consider not only the predicted extent of criminal activity, compounded by greater police efficiency leading to more convicted criminals, but also the possible increase or decrease of the use of sanctions and punishments other than imprisonment.

Thus the Uganda authorities, for instance, in the description given above have made an important start on a difficult but important aspect of their work. It is reasonable to predict that they, like every other social defence administration in the world, will find that such projections become more accurate only slowly over a period of time.

The final area of comparability with the police is that of the training of staff. It has already been pointed out that UNSDRI is making a detailed study of the problem of assessing and researching into training which will be published separately. Here two general suggestions may be offered. First, the assumptions which underlie the construction of any training programme have to be spelled out if the real value of the course is to be tested. Thus in Uganda, again as in practically all other national prison systems, the assumption is made that drill, parades and other paramilitary styles of training are the best way of ensuring discipline both within the staff and the prisoners. This leads to the second general point, that this assertion, concerning the value of drill, or any other assertion may be true for one country but not for another. The hypothesis that drill is an invaluable basis for training staff in Uganda may well be wholly true, without it necessarily being true in other countries with different cultural traditions and different current social problems and needs. The point is, then, that what has been

found by research to be true in some countries, may well not be true in others. It is becoming more and more accepted in criminological circles that although the *methods* of research are transferable from one country to another, the *results* usually are not. Thus what may be true about training in Uganda may not be true about staff training in, for instance, France or Sweden, and, of course, vice versa. This is emphasized at this length because it is wished to stress the need for each country to conduct its own research within its own national and cultural context. In no field of social defence work is this more true than staff training: what is appropriate can be decided only within the country.

We may now turn to some problems more specifically related to the prison situation. The most important of these is concerned with the need to assess the effectiveness of various measures taken. This is a difficult and long term process, and the best discussion on it so far is to be found in « The Evaluation of Penal Measure » by L. T. Wilkins; Random House, 1969.

The Uganda authorities lay particular stress upon the value of vocational training. It has been found in many countries, again especially the highly industrialized ones with extensive and developed prison systems dating back many years, that vocational training within the prison has a disappointingly low correlation with successful social readjustment and crime-free careers on the part of the prisoners afterwards. This is quite likely to be another case of the situation varying from country to country. Uganda, as we have already said, is primarily an agricultural country, and vocational training emphasizing various farming skills is therefore particularly appropriate. However, the Uganda authorities in the long run will clearly be anxious to know exactly how much profit in terms of less recidivism, as distinct from immediate economic benefit, the system gains from this emphasis. Thus some record of which type of prisoners are given vocational training and which are not will be kept, and also of which prisoners who received vocational training have a successful post-prison career and

which find themselves in further criminal activity. In brief, the assumptions that fitting a prisoner with a specific skill and the experience of regular work habits will lead to his non-return to crime are ones which require testing extensively over time. It must be emphasized that the rationale of the Uganda authorities as described on page 60 of the descriptive section is both logical and convincing. It will require several years careful research to evaluate exactly how well this works.

It may be the case that, although subsequent research will reveal that the rehabilitation rate achieved by such enlightened vocational training is not all that is hoped, there are still good reasons for continuing such a programme. First, the authorities may assert that it is better as an end in itself to treat prisoners humanely in terms of giving them worthwhile and meaningful work to do during their imprisonment, however little effect this has on their subsequent rehabilitation. This is a moral position with which few can quarrel. It may also be the case that although only moderate rehabilitation results can be shown by such a programme, considerable economic gains to the country are achieved. This too is a perfectly valid argument, and raises difficult decisions only if it is shown by rigorous long term research that the goals of economic production and personal rehabilitation clash. This could happen if it were to be found that, for instance, it is better for the prisoner's training if he is allowed to make mistakes in his work programme, and learn from these; while it makes for a better production method if he is instructed in the correct method to start with and then made to stick to that.

Two areas which are particularly difficult to research are those involving the effect of welfare and rehabilitation officers, and the competitiveness of prison industries with the outside commercial production. The Uganda authorities will be regarded as both fortunate and wise, in taking the opportunity provided by innovations possible in a newly developing society to make this kind of arrangement, desired by all prison authorities in developed countries. For in nearly all developed countries the prison authorities' most serious problem is the difficulty of organizing work

programmes to the level of outside industry, owing to sanctions preventing their competing in that market.

In order to measure the effectiveness of this particular arrangement, and the effectiveness of the vocational training programmes in general, it is necessary to keep an accurate and detailed record of what percentage of prisoners who have worked or learnt any one trade while in prison continue in that livelihood after their release. Thus ongoing research operations of a prison system must inevitably include very close liaison with the aftercare authorities, whoever they may be.

The classification of prisoners is one of the major difficulties of prison systems everywhere; that this is true also in Uganda was mentioned in the descriptive text. It is difficult to suggest short term research help in improving classification methods; this is primarily an administrative and organizational problem. The point which must be emphasized here is that classification is one of the most critical times for data gathering, and therefore for research generally. Whatever arrangements are found possible and decided upon, it is of the highest importance that the needs of research are taken into consideration, so that all the data, which are required to be gathered to generate needed information, are gathered at that time. For this is often the most convenient occasion for this to be done.

One area where the immediate gathering of routine operating statistics, divided in considerable detail into type, time and place is that of the complaints recorded by, or made by, various visiting justices, judges, members of the cabinet, etc. whose supervising role is recorded in the description. Usually, in most prison systems, these are recorded purely for the purposes of checking that particular incident. If a complete record of these, and of the more minor complaints made by prisoners, is kept for the service as a whole, not with a view to punishing or checking on individuals, but solely to gain a general body of information, a useful picture can be built up. This will show up those aspects of the system which are proving to be particularly troublesome and giving rise either to more problems than seem reasonable, or to difficulties which are quite easily

soluble once they have been appreciated. This is one area of research which with very little effort, other than the centralizing of the various records of the different institutions, can give considerable information to decision making authorities as regards potential areas of improvement, and yet which seems to be not used by the authorities in most countries.

The question of which statistics are to be kept, and how, has been answered by implication in comments made above. The basic principle as ever is that it depends upon which questions it is desired to answer. Generally speaking, the more statistical records are broken down, the more information they contain. Thus an overall reconviction or success rate is not particularly helpful. If it is broken down in terms of the different rates for *a*) each age group, *b*) each type of offence, *c*) the type of prison in which the sentence is served, *d*) the length of sentence and *e*) type of training programme to which allocated during the sentence, it will become very much more useful. Further details which can be added on the background of the prisoner (area of origin, social conditions, employment history, educational level etc.) would add yet more potential information, particularly when all these factors are considered in relation to each other.

A second set of statistics which is of enormous importance in planning the future development and possible diversification of the prison system is that of the relative costs of the different institutions, training programmes, departments etc. This material is a pre-requisite to any attempt to develop a cost benefit analysis of the various parts of the social defence system. The fact that cost benefit analysis is still in an embryonic stage in social defence research, in even the most developed countries, does not mean that the developing countries need not be well placed to take full advantage of it when the appropriate techniques have been devised. The first requirement to take this advantage will be a large amount of appropriate raw data.

The final point which is really a re-emphasis, but which sums up all that has been said about research in developing countries, is very brief. It is becoming generally accepted

among progressive research workers in theoretical criminology that social defence systems must follow the lead of technology and industrial production, and build in the research facilities as an integral part of its systems, rather than look upon it as an external process to be applied by a team of temporary visitors. The developing countries, whose new social defence systems have not yet ossified, have splendid opportunities to incorporate their research departments in the very centre of their new systems. The organized collection of purposive data is the first stage of this, and it is very much hoped that this is an opportunity which will not be missed.

## PROBATION SERVICE

### (i) *Structure of the Probation Service.*

#### A) The Constitutional and Legal Background.

The actual legal background upon which the Probation Service is based, as it now stands in Uganda, is the Probation Act, revised edition of 1964. However, in two respects this relatively simple point of reference must be qualified before we progress further.

First, there is a comprehensive Children and Young Persons Bill, at the time of writing going through the final stages of implementation in Uganda. As a result of this the future picture may differ considerably, particularly as regards the high level of organization, from that described in this study. But as the main purpose of the study is to describe a social defence system at a certain point of its development and make general inferences for research purposes from this, the fact that the description may be already outdated by the time it is printed is not particularly important. As little is yet known about the way in which the new bill will affect the situation, it is not considered further in this study.

Secondly, the Probation Service has, more than any other aspect of the social defence system in Uganda, started

and matured in a rather informal fashion, and many of its present features are most clearly understood within this perspective. Although the previous administration had considered the possibility of probation services since 1931, it was only in 1947 that the first Probation Officer, British trained and experienced in that system, was appointed. Although he was appointed as a kind of social worker, the impetus for his appointment came from the judiciary and not from the social welfare agencies. For all that, the new service was made a part of the Public Relations and Welfare Department, and it has remained within that department (which has now been expanded into the Ministry of Culture and Community Development) ever since. Probation was first applied in the Magistrates Courts and for some time the authority for its application derived from rules of practice (originating from the Chief Justices' High Court circulars) and not from any statutory requirement. There were several reports and studies concerning the possible future development of the Probation services in the 1950s, but only in 1962 at independence was a comprehensive Probation Act passed. This together with the probation rules of 1963 became the statutory authority and basis of the Uganda Probation Service.

The two principal sections of the Act, sections 15 and 16 state: (15) « There shall be a Probation Service consisting of Public Officers who shall perform such duties as may be imposed upon them by the provisions of this act » (16) « The Minister may make rules prescribing the duties of Probation Officers ». These sections lay down the outlines of the Probation Service and the rules referred to in section 16 provide the guidelines of the everyday operation of the service.

#### B) Present Operating Practice.

A detailed description of the various recommendations which were made as a result of the studies and committees concerned with the Probation Service in the 1950s is not called for in this study. They were all aimed at improving the provisions of social welfare service in Uganda. Inevi-

tably they had to consider whether the Probation Department, being half social welfare and half directly dealing with crime and delinquency, belonged more to the Ministry concerned with social welfare or to the Ministry concerned with justice, prisons and police. Eventually it was decided that the Probation Service should stay within the Social Welfare Ministry, to provide the most efficient, coordinated and supportive social services. There was and is considerable support in Uganda for a closer attachment to the Ministry of Interior, concerned with police and prisons, and it is quite possible that this change may be made in the near future. At least it seems likely that the probation service will be made more independent of the Social Welfare Ministry (that is the Ministry of Culture and Community Development), even if it is not hived off from it.

The organizational structure of the Probation Service is as follows:

It is headed by the Principal Welfare Officer, who is responsible to the Commissioner for Community Development Probation and Welfare Services. His responsibilities include the overall delinquency programme, both simple probation and the aftercare of ex-inmates of the Approved and Reformed School, the institutional care for delinquent children, and family and child care services. The immediate assistant to the Principal Welfare Officer is the Senior Probation Officer, and he takes charge of the delinquency programme, including the Approval School and Remand Homes.

In almost every administrative district there is a probation office, headed by a Probation Officer whose administrative responsibility is to the Senior Probation Officer, but whose working responsibility is primarily to the Chief Magistrates' Courts of that district. He has the responsibility of supervising the junior case workers in his area. There are complex detailed differences in this working system in some of the more widespread areas, where there are not enough probation officers to give a complete coverage.

The number of case workers in each district is a function more of the volume of work than of the geographical size of that district. Therefore, every year a Senior

Probation Officer has to review the volume of work in each office, and weighing this with the size of the area, and number of courts being served, work out staff postings as he thinks best. It has recently been thought desirable to create four regional offices to cover the area, each manned by a Senior Probation Officer to effect a more efficient and flexible system of organization as the service grows.

At the moment, by law, all courts can make use of probation. However, in the time of the previous administration, probation services were restricted to the higher courts only, and very few African courts were able to use them. This was largely owing to the limitation of the resources available, and that position still applies. The High Courts Chief, First and Second Class Magistrates' courts may use the Probation Service, but a Ministry circular of 1967 limited the use of the probation to those courts, purely for reasons of lack of sufficient probation personnel.

The probation service has been very fortunate in having an organized and efficient Statistical Unit created in 1961, and responsible for collecting the service's statistics from the other office. Thus the probation service has for some time had a fine basis for self-evaluating research, particularly in view of the small size of the service.

Two other specialized units were created within the service. First, the Prison Enquiry Welfare Service, essentially a reorganized aftercare service, was set up in 1961. It dealt with prison welfare enquiries, including family problems, and preparing release programmes for prisoners prior to their resettlement in society. With the agreement of the Prison Department, this unit was transferred to that department in 1967, where it now forms part of the Welfare Rehabilitation Department of the Prison Service.

In 1965 in order to provide this service with a separate consultative unit, the Inspectorate Unit was set up. It was intended that it should provide professional consultation, guidance and supervision for more junior staff members, and was welcomed by the staff; however, shortage of senior skilled staff members has compelled the temporary suspension of the Unit.

(ii) *The functioning of the Service.*

Rule 2 of the Probation Rules states: « Probation Officers shall at all times be available for work in the courts, and where there is more than one Probation Officer serving a court a Duty Officer shall attend regularly to appear before judge or magistrate when called upon to do so ».

Thus a Probation Officer is basically an officer of the courts, and he is expected to give his full attention to court duties. But yet the Probation Service is not part of the judiciary, but part of the social welfare service. Being within an amalgamated social welfare service, the duties of the staff of that service are defined in a Government Sessional Paper of 1958/59, No. 4, Para. 18-19. These read as follows:

« The duties of the staff of the Social Welfare Section will be:

(a) to carry out recommendations made by the welfare committee;

(b) to survey in detail, and make recommendations on, the welfare problems in the urban and peri-urban areas to which they are posted;

(c) to undertake work in connection with the probation of offenders and the after-care of ex-prisoners;

(d) to train social welfare workers in the service of government, local authorities and voluntary agencies;

(e) to encourage and assist in the co-ordination of work of voluntary agencies;

(f) to staff community centres already erected by the African Housing Department on African Housing Estates, and others which it is intended to erect;

(g) to encourage the formation of social clubs;

(h) to implement programmes of informal adult education;

(i) to implement programmes of homecraft and mothercraft training;

(j) to assist in the alleviation of social distress;

(k) to assist in the organisation of recreational and sporting activities, especially among young people.

In understanding Probation and After-Care work, the staff cannot, and will not, confine their activities solely to the urban areas but will operate throughout the districts to which they are posted ».

From this it becomes evident that the Probation Act and the Sessional Paper are in some way conflicting documents in defining and describing the duties of a Probation Officer. For the Sessional Paper is the administrative blue print of the Service, and this gives a much broader area of responsibility than that provided by the specifically focussed Probation Act and Probation Rules. A report by a visiting adviser to the Uganda Government in 1966 pointed out the following particular problems resulting from this<sup>1</sup>: Staff management seems to be somewhat confused, arising from the different sources of responsibility. Physical equipment is often very poor, both as regards office accommodation and the availability of transport, although the officer's case load may be spread over a very large area. Both salaries and accommodation are inadequate for the responsibilities which field officers are being required to undertake. Finally, the different languages spoken in Uganda can create problems when officers are posted to areas where they are not familiar with the local language.

The report of this visiting adviser was accepted by the Uganda Government and the main item in it, apart from improving the points mentioned above, was that the probation officers should be relieved of their welfare functions to enable them to concentrate fully on their probation responsibilities with particular reference to liaison with the approved school and remand homes.

Another visiting expert, at about the same time, provided the following description of certain aspects of the

<sup>(1)</sup> « Report on the Recommendations of Family and Child Care Services in Uganda », prepared by Miss C. F. Jayne, Child Care Adviser, Ministry of Culture and Community Development, 1967.

Service which gives a valuable description of the nature of the work performed. (paraphrase)

*Aims:* (a) to rehabilitate offenders and prevent recidivism;

(b) to provide care and protection of children certified by courts as in need of care and protection and beyond parental control; and

(c) to rehabilitate families in social distress.

*Services rendered:* In August, 1965, there were 1,048 active cases, nationally, classified and proportioned as follows:

Probation . . . . .	60%
After-Care (including both juveniles from reformatories and a few ex-prisoners) . . . . .	16%
Care and Protection, Beyond Control	16%
Social Distress . . . . .	8%

Thus, on a national basis, three quarters of the cases were strictly correctional and fewer than 10% of the case-load involved families under social distress.

At the time of the visit to a district office, in early October, 1965, the Probation/Social Welfare Unit had 43 active cases as follows:

Probation	32	74%
adults 26		
juveniles 6		
After-care	7	16%
Beyond Control	1	2%
Missing	3	8%

*Assessment:* Probation cases are judged each month to be 'unsatisfactory' (if sent to prison or reformatory), 'doubtful' (if by leaving home without notice the probationer committed a breach of probation), or 'satisfactory' (neither incarcerated nor whereabouts unknown). Note of such case status is made on the jacket or case folder. At

the time of the interview with the Officer in Charge, Statistics Section, these reported judgements had not been tabulated on a nation-wide basis, and he had no idea of the proportions of cases rated in each of the three categories. One major problem was that the various definitions called for were lacking in clarity.

From the available data, the Probation/Welfare units are seen to be providing mainly court-linked service. These are focussed on the individual person under arrest or on probation. Time is not available to engage in preventive work with the families of probationers. Nor, apparently, is the Probation/Welfare branch offering any significant amount of other family services, as stipulated in aim (c): 'To rehabilitate families in 'social distress''. Finally the extent to which aims (a) and (b) are attained, could not at this time be determined<sup>2</sup>.

Yet another expert's study in 1968 suggested that all probation services be transferred to the Ministry of the Interior. As a result of all these, and as has already been said, the Probation Service is likely to become a more independent service within any Ministry, either its present one, or the Ministry of the Interior.

The practical effect of these new arrangements will probably be that the small number of professional probation staff will be able to give all their attention to court work, including the aftercare of young men from the Approved and Reform Schools. On the whole, this development is very much looked forward to by the probation staff, particularly as it is expected that the greater clarification and concentration of duties will lead to higher professional standards. There will still be, as in any society, no clear cut line between social welfare and pre-delinquency services; thus communication between the social welfare and probation services must remain very close, and the majority of these cases will be retained within the responsibility of the Probation Department. In the three districts where there are remand homes at the moment, the responsibility for these

(<sup>2</sup>) A confidential report of a UNICEF/UN Bureau of Social Affairs Assessment by H. S. Maas, 1966.

lies ultimately with the Probation Officer of the area and the Warden of the home is responsible to him. However arrangements are being made to remove this responsibility from the Probation Officer, and to appoint wardens with full responsibility.

Section 15 (2) of the Probation Act reads: « The Minister shall appoint a probation committee, or probation committees, consisting of such persons as he thinks fit which shall review the work of probation officers in individual cases, and perform such other duties in connection with probation as may be imposed upon them by the provision of this Act ». It is hoped that, by a more thorough implementation of this section, the field officers of the Probation Service will be given the extra support and guidance which many feel they lack at the moment.

The general picture of the way in which the probation service functions in detail can, as so often, most clearly, simply and briefly be given by statistical presentation. It is possible to display the activity in more than one type of breakdown of statistical information. As an example of this, two quite different breakdowns for different years are given in tables I and II. Table I is a General Summary of the Case Activities in 1968, showing the kind of calls that were made upon the probation officers' time. Thus this is the necessary raw data in its simplest form for a breakdown of workload of officers.

Table II, which is for 1963, shows the year's activity by the type of cases handled. This tells us nothing about how much time the probation officer spent or effort he put into different types of activity, but it does provide a basic material for analysing the type of social situation which is likely to result in a demand for his services.

These are not, of course, the only ways in which the overall activities undertaken by the Department can be explained; but it is hoped that they demonstrate the different types of information required for answering different types of questions.

As the majority of probation activity is shown by these tables, and in greater detail in table IX - XII at the end of

TABLE I

Month	Visits Paid	Visits Received	Total Visits	Enquiries for Court	Enquiries App'd School	Enquiries for Reform School	Enquiries for Prisons	Others	Total Enquiries	Grand Total for the Month
January . . . . .	315	518	833	116	66	46	45	151	424	1,257
February . . . . .	372	791	1,163	116	78	37	50	151	432	1,594
March . . . . .	297	527	824	139	66	44	46	143	432	1,256
April . . . . .	290	478	768	110	61	29	34	165	399	1,167
May . . . . .	198	397	595	132	37	22	19	93	303	898
June . . . . .	302	333	635	143	51	66	38	116	414	1,049
July . . . . .	431	470	901	167	76	38	46	177	504	1,405
August . . . . .	355	580	935	155	48	38	61	162	244	1,179
September . . . . .	430	558	988	155	49	62	56	167	489	1,477
October . . . . .	484	441	925	146	73	60	79	105	463	1,388
November . . . . .	457	503	960	119	80	61	39	187	486	1,446
December . . . . .	301	348	649	121	53	39	35	213	461	1,110
GRAND TOTAL . . . . .	4,272	5,944	10,216	1,599	738	542	548	1,830	5,257	15,473
Average . . . . .	356	495	851	133	62	45	46	153	438	1,289



TABLE II

Month	Probation Case	Care and Protection	Beyond Control	Approved School	Reform School	Social Distress	Total
January . . . . .	669	52	18	137	152	121	1,149
February . . . . .	635	53	20	139	153	151	1,156
March . . . . .	642	36	19	141	152	152	1,162
April . . . . .	640	50	18	140	155	180	1,182
May . . . . .	629	51	22	114	170	190	1,176
June . . . . .	661	50	18	133	159	199	1,220
July . . . . .	676	60	15	133	158	221	1,263
August . . . . .	655	54	18	150	180	976	1,306
September . . . . .	654	68	16	125	164	184	1,211
October . . . . .	662	40	13	129	164	199	1,207
November . . . . .	669	81	13	128	163	313	1,367
December . . . . .	720	57	13	97	156	324	1,367

this section, we may concentrate on a slightly more detailed breakdown of one aspect of the work of the service.

Probation as a method of dealing with offenders can be applied in all cases where the offender is not convicted of murder, treason or rape, or attempting to commit these offences. The actual law governing these is the Probation Act, Section 31 (1) which states as follow: « Where a court by or before which a person is convicted of an offence not being the offence the sentence for which is fixed by law is of an opinion that due inquiry has been made that having regard to the circumstances including the nature of the offence and the character of the offender it is expedient to do so the court may instead of sentencing him make a Probation Order ».

The caseloads of the probation officers can be collected for a year, and the various years compared to show overall changing trends in the activity of the probation service, and therefore the calls made upon its services. Table III shows this:

Neither after care nor social distress cases are included in this table. Table IV gives the total number of people placed upon probation (i.e. leaving out « care and protection » and « beyond control » cases), expressed as a percentage change of the base rate of the previous year.

Both Tables III and IV give the collective totals for adults plus juveniles. These tables show most clearly that there has not been a dramatic rise in people placed upon probation except for years 1961 and 1965. Both these peak years were followed by a drop over the next year or two. It is not known to what extent this is due to there being no probation officers available to many of the courts who are now sitting in place of what used to be African Courts (and now are Grade II Magistrates' Courts), which can award probation, but are probably inhibited by the lack of facilities for doing so. One possible result of this is that the courts become less interested in probation as they find it difficult to obtain and therefore get into the habit of using several different sanctions. This in turn will lead to a diminishing demand for probation, so that the use thereof becomes progressively more limited. Further light can be

TABLE III

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total Adults on Probation . . . . .	211	326	234	300	312	389	320	279	299
Total Juveniles on Probation . . . . .	52	96	83	146	186	221	277	254	280
Total Care and Protection on Supervision . . . . .	30	54	92	92	44	31	28	42	55
Total Beyond Control on Supervision . . . . .	10	25	24	36	37	24	19	13	6
<b>GRAND TOTAL . . . . .</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>501</b>	<b>442</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>579</b>	<b>665</b>	<b>644</b>	<b>588</b>	<b>640</b>

TABLE IV

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total persons placed on Probation	263	422	326	456	496	610	597	533	579
Percentage Rise or Fall . . . . .		+ 60%	- 23%	+ 40%	+ 10%	+ 10%	- 2%	- 1%	+ 9%

thrown on this by the percentage of people who are placed on probation relative to the total of those who are placed on probation or bound-over or cautioned or otherwise mildly dealt with.

Table V shows this breakdown over the years 1960-68.

This picture can be further extended by showing the number of people placed on probation as a percentage of the total number of persons convicted. Table VI does this.

These figures show that on the whole use of probation has not expanded in Uganda, relative to the increase in the activities of the rest of the social defence system, despite an absolute overall increase, approximately doubling the caseload.

Table VI can be broken down into greater detail to show the relationship of probation to other significant forms of criminal sanctions. This is shown in Table VII.

The sources of Tables V, VI and VII are police statistics: the remainder are from the statistics of the Probation Service.

There is a considerable uncertainty in most countries which operate probation services as to whether probation is more suitable for juvenile offenders or for adult. Operative statistical record keeping cannot solve this problem, but it can at least show what practice is followed. This would be a necessary piece of information before research into the relative desirability of the two systems can be undertaken. On the whole there seems to be a tendency in most countries to swing towards a greater concentration upon juveniles as the most appropriate recipients of the services of the probation officer. Table VIII shows that this is the case also in Uganda, expressing the percentage of juvenile probationers to adult probationers for each year.

This area, however, is one which is likely to be altered by the new Children and Young Persons legislation, in which the term juvenile will be dropped and the term youthful offender, defined as somebody below 18 years of age, is substituted.

The workload, and changing patterns thereof, in the Probation Service can be displayed in even greater detail. Tables IX - XII (following) show the relative changes that

TABLE V

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
(i) Total « Probation, Bound-Over, Cautioned or Otherwise Dealt-With » . . . . .	1,313	1,268	1,077	954	1,799	1,712	2,955	2,620	—
(ii) Total Persons Placed on Probation . . . . .	263	422	326	456	498	610	597	533	579
Percentage of (ii) to (i) . . . . .	10%	33%	30%	48%	28%	42%	20%	20%	—

TABLE VI

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total persons convicted . . . . .	20,619	19,026	22,069	23,603	26,687	26,718	45,162	47,582	—
Total persons placed on Probation	263	422	326	456	498	610	587	533	579
Percentage of total persons convicted	1.3%	2.2%	1.5%	1.9%	1.9%	2.3%	1.3%	1.1%	—

TABLE VII

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
1. Totals convicted in courts . . . . .	20,619	19,026	22,069	23,603	26,687	26,718	45,162	47,582	—
2. Imprisoned . . . . .	8,138	7,557	8,766	10,378	12,872	12,294	19,271	23,173	—
3. Capital punishment . . . . .	61	39	44	36	26	17	27	13	—
4. Fined . . . . .	6,191	7,183	9,304	9,079	9,673	11,720	22,909	21,740	—
5. Bound-over, cautioned, probation, and otherwise (figures in brackets show probation cases) . . . . .	1,313 (263)	1,268 (422)	1,077 (326)	954 (456)	1,799 (496)	1,712 (610)	2,955 (597)	2,620 (533)	(579)
6. Column (5) as %age of column (1) . . . . .	6.4%	6.7%	4.9%	4.0%	6.7%	6.4%	6.5%	5.5%	—
7. Actual %age of Probation cases to total convicted persons	1.3%	2.2%	1.5%	1.9%	1.9%	2.3%	1.3%	1.1%	—

TABLE VIII

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Total persons on probation . . . . .	263	422	326	456	498	610	597	533	579
Total juveniles on probation . . . . .	52	96	83	146	186	221	277	254	280
Percentage of juveniles on probation to adults on probation . . . . .	20%	23%	26%	32%	38%	36%	46%	48%	48%

PROBATION STATISTICS  
YEARLY STATISTICAL RETURNS FOR PROBATION OF ADULTS

TABLE IX

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
(i) New cases on Probation:									
Female . . . . .	8	22	27	44	35	52	50	32	31
Male . . . . .	203	304	216	256	277	337	270	247	268
Total . . . . .	211	326	243	300	312	389	320	279	299
(ii) Probation Order Period:									
Less than 2 years . . . . .	149	263	204	240	252	331	275	200	230
» 3 » . . . . .	52	62	37	55	57	55	44	76	56
Complete 3 » . . . . .	10	1	2	5	3	3	1	3	13
(iii) Nature of Completion - (after period stated in (ii) above): -									
Satisfactory . . . . .	100	158	146	149	184	219	172	98	12
Unsatisfactory . . . . .	14	16	21	11	13	14	14	12	5
Doubtful . . . . .	8	13	13	24	27	41	23	14	2
Unknown (including un- completed as yet and untraceable) . . . . .	89	139	63	116	88	115	111	155	280
(iv) Disposal of unsatisfactory cases: -									
Prison . . . . .	7	12	16	6	5	12	9	10	3
Reform School . . . . .	6	2	5	3	5	—	5	2	2
Otherwise dealt with . . . . .	1	2	—	2	3	2	—	2	—

Source: Case Jackets, Case Registers, from the Probation Office.

YEARLY STATISTICAL RETURNS FOR PROBATION  
OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

TABLE X

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
(i) New cases on Probation:									
Female . . . . .	2	10	7	10	4	14	27	28	14
Male . . . . .	50	86	76	136	182	207	230	226	266
Total . . . . .	52	96	83	146	186	221	277	254	280
(ii) Probation Period:									
Less than 2 years . . . . .	40	54	64	95	139	145	201	182	187
» 3 » . . . . .	9	39	18	47	45	67	67	62	77
Complete 3 » . . . . .	3	3	1	4	2	9	9	10	16
(iii) Nature of Completion - (after period stated in (ii) above): -									
Satisfactory . . . . .	26	44	49	84	123	128	151	86	9
Unsatisfactory . . . . .	6	15	8	10	15	24	17	22	5
Doubtful . . . . .	—	8	12	7	19	26	38	21	—
Unknown . . . . .	20	29	14	45	29	43	71	125	266
(iv) Disposal of unsatisfactory cases: -									
Approved School . . . . .	3	7	5	9	6	14	10	12	2
Reform School . . . . .	2	4	1	—	5	10	7	7	2
Otherwise Dealt with . . . . .	1	4	2	1	4	—	—	3	1

Source: Case Jackets, Case Registers, from the Probation Office.

YEARLY STATISTICAL RETURNS FOR PROBATION OF JUVENILE  
PRE-DELINQUENTS (CARE AND PROTECTION AND BEYOND CONTROL BELOW 16 YEARS OF AGE)

TABLE XI

Year	1960		1961		1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968	
	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C
1. (a) New cases on Supervision:																		
Female	4	3	6	2	7	1	20	3	12	8	7	1	4	—	4	1	11	1
Male	26	7	48	23	85	23	72	33	32	29	24	23	24	19	38	12	44	5
Grand Total	40		79		116		128		81		55		47		55		61	
1. (b) Care and Probation Total	30		59		92		92		44		31		28		42		55	
Beyond Control Total	10		25		24		36		37		24		19		13		6	
2. (a) Supervision Period of Care and Protection:																		
Less than 2 years	5		21		60		41		28		12		8		13		21	
» 3 »	12		32		30		40		16		19		18		20		20	
Complete 3 »	13		1		2		11		—		—		2		9		14	
2. (b) Supervision Period of Beyond Control:																		
Less than 2 years	2		7		12		13		19		10		7		6		5	
» 3 »	—		10		9		18		15		14		8		7		1	
Complete 3 »	8		8		3		5		3		—		4		—		—	
3. Nature of completion after period stated:																		
Satisfactory	25		44		75		75		38		27		32		5		—	
Unsatisfactory	4		10		7		9		4		2		—		—		—	
Doubtful	3		8		12		8		8		17		6		3		1	
Unknown	8		17		22		36		31		9		18		47		60	
4. Disposal of unsatisfactory cases:-																		
Approved School	2		10		3		6		3		2		—		—		—	
Otherwise Dealt with	2		—		4		5		1		—		—		—		—	

Source: Case Jackets, Case Registers, from the Probation Office.

TABLE XII

TYPES OF OFFENCES COMMITTED BY THOSE PLACED ON PROBATION BY YEAR

Year	1960		1961		1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968	
	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C	C/P	B/C
1. Against Public Order			4		5		—		9		3		11		2		2	
2. Corruption			4		—		6		1		1		2		4		1	
3. Against Administration of Justice (also Perjury)			1		—		3		1		1		3		2		—	
4. Escapes			—		—		1		1		3		3		4		1	
5. False Information			5		7		5		5		4		2		3		6	
6. Against Morality			—		1		2		—		1		1		—		—	
7. Vagrancy and Kindred Offences (Idle and Disorderly)			6		11		11		4		9		19		22		2	
8. Manslaughter			1		1		3		3		2		3		7		2	
9. Murder			1		—		3		—		1		1		—		—	
10. Attempted Suicide			5		11		9		20		14		13		18		15	
11. Concealing of Birth			1		6		9		4		4		10		6		5	
12. Criminal Negligence			—		—		—		1		—		—		—		—	
13. Against Life and Health (Grievous Harm)			9		19		20		17		31		37		39		52	
14. Common Assault			10		19		13		18		28		38		24		39	
15. Common Theft (Also Attempted)			57		112		89		99		124		191		140		144	
16. Theft of Bicycle			10		16		15		16		13		15		14		19	
17. Theft of or from a Motor Vehicle			13		11		9		19		16		16		57		8	
18. Theft in Public Service			3		7		—		—		6		4		2		2	
19. Theft by Servant or Agent			37		55		23		45		51		46		59		33	

## TYPES OF OFFENCES COMMITTED BY THOSE PLACED ON PROBATION BY YEAR

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
20. Theft from a Dwelling House . . . . .	1	2	6	10	9	12	4	7	18
21. Theft from a Person . . . . .	3	7	9	10	9	9	11	3	11
22. Unlawful use of a Vehicle . . . . .	4	2	2	—	3	2	5	1	5
23. Burglary, House and Store Breaking (also Attempted) . . . . .	13	23	23	37	34	35	37	37	59
24. Possession of Implements for House Breaking . . . . .	1	4	8	1	1	2	2	—	2
25. False Pretences . . . . .	4	8	3	9	8	8	1	4	3
26. Receiving or Unlawful Possession of Stolen Property . . . . .	19	14	17	14	32	15	27	25	33
27. Fraud (also False Accounting) . . . . .	—	1	4	2	1	2	4	—	1
28. Malignous Injury to Property . . . . .	2	6	7	17	10	11	14	16	13
29. Forgery and Uttering False Document . . . . .	19	25	11	28	24	32	27	14	15
30. Conspiracy . . . . .	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	2
31. Personation . . . . .	1	7	1	4	14	13	9	5	11
32. Against Game Ordinance . . . . .	1	4	—	2	3	6	3	3	1
33. Illegal Practice of Medicine . . . . .	1	2	—	—	4	1	—	1	2
34. Arson . . . . .	—	4	2	4	1	4	10	5	6
35. Robbery . . . . .	—	4	3	4	6	10	10	14	16
36. Hawking . . . . .	13	2	—	2	1	3	—	2	2
37. Rape . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—
38. Defilement of a Girl . . . . .	3	3	3	2	4	11	13	16	20

## TYPES OF OFFENCES COMMITTED BY THOSE PLACED ON PROBATION BY YEAR

Year	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1965	1967	1968
39. Abduction . . . . .	1	1	—	—	1	0	2	—	—
40. Drunkenness . . . . .	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
41. Offences Against Waragi Ordinance . . . . .	3	6	2	15	15	5	3	4	3
42. Possession of Poison or Drugs . . . . .	2	—	2	4	—	4	1	3	1
43. Criminal Trespass . . . . .	—	2	2	2	—	2	3	—	—
44. Child Stealing . . . . .	—	1	—	—	3	2	1	1	1
45. Infanticide . . . . .	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—
46. Abortion . . . . .	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—
47. Attempt to Sell a Person . . . . .	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
48. Against Traffic Act . . . . .	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	1	2
49. Desecring a Child . . . . .	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
50. Causing Death by Rash Act . . . . .	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
51. Going Armed in Public . . . . .	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
52. Theft of Animals or Birds . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	2	1
53. Affray . . . . .	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
54. Having Carnal Knowledge of an Animal . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
55. Registration While Under 21 . . . . .	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
56. Unlawful Assembly . . . . .	—	—	—	11	—	—	—	—	—
GRAND TOTAL . . . . .	263	422	326	446	498	610	597	533	579

Source: Case Jackets, Case Registers, from the Probation Office.

occurred in the numbers of clients by different sex, different age, convictions for different offences, and the changing success rate over the years.

(iii) *Manpower and Training.*

At the time when the information for this study was compiled, the Uganda Probation Service was made up of a very small number of officers who undertook professional work. The head of the service, the Principal Welfare Officer is an equivalent in status and salary to an Assistant Commissioner of Police or Prisons. He is assisted by Senior Probation officers, equivalent to Senior Superintendents of Police or Prisons; the rest of the Service is staffed by Probation Officers, Assistant Probation Officers, Senior Probation Assistants and Probation Assistants. The difference between the establishment and strength in early 1969 is shown by Table XIII.

TABLE XIII

Establishment No.	Post	Strength at 1/3/69
1	Principal Welfare Officer . . . . .	—
4	Senior Probation Officer . . . . .	3
13	Probation Officer . . . . .	9
18	Assistant Probation Officer . . . . .	9
31	Senior Probation Assistant / Probation Assistant . . . . .	31
4	Probation Officer (Training officers) . . .	3

In view of the widespread caseloads of many of these officers (it is not unknown for officers to travel up to a hundred miles to visit a single case), the thinness with which the resources are spread is very evident.

*Recruitment and Salaries.*

Appointment and promotion to every post in the department is made by the Government Public Service Commission. Ideally all people working in the department should be holders of recognized professional certificates or

diplomas in social work. However, owing to the scarcity of people with such qualifications, and the demand for them in the several areas of social work in Uganda, it has been impossible to maintain this requirement. Recruitment into the Service can be at any level or rank, this is decided by the Public Service Commission in each case dependent upon the level of post vacant and the quality of the applicant. It is normal practice to give precedence to applicants from within the service provided their qualifications are adequate.

Those young university graduates who join the Service join direct as Probation Officers. On the other hand, the Assistant Probation Officer posts are mostly filled by Probation Assistants who have shown the necessary ability and merit while in the junior rank, and passed the appropriate written promotion examinations. The educational requirement for Probation Assistants is a modest one, and is judged partly in the light of the general experience and maturity of the applicant. The turnover within the department is regrettably high as is often the case in services where there is greater demand for people with the appropriate qualifications than there is supply of candidates. Despite this, all the reports of the various visiting experts over the years have commented upon the high level of dedication and achievement shown by the staff of the department.

The wastage rate is made worse by the relatively low salaries of the officers. The salary of a newly appointed university graduate in Probation compares unfavourably with that which he would gain had he joined the Administrative class of the Civil Service or a parallel service classified as priority. Thus the Service is in the common « double-bind » position of having low status through its low number of qualified men, and finding it difficult to attract more qualified manpower on account of this low status. This in turn leads to a shortage of adequately trained supervisory staff to give adequate help and support to the less qualified field staff. Thus for some time to come it will not be possible to have qualified probation workers both at the district operating office and at the training centres: and they are urgently needed in both places.

The Probation Service and the Ministry of Culture and Community Development are both aware and concerned about this situation. The projected manpower growth discussed in the next section is regarded by the Ministry as the most immediate step to begin to remedy the situation. To enable the extra senior posts foreseen in the manpower projections to be filled, it is realized by the Ministry that salaries and working conditions for the staff, particularly at middle and senior levels, will have to be brought into line with those in other aspects of the public service. Arrangements to bring this about are now in hand.

### *Manpower Needs and Projections.*

All discussion of manpower needs for the Probation Department must be made in the light of the following information. In « Work for Progress », Uganda's Second Five-Year Development Plan, the following allocation rules are laid down. « In deciding on its priorities for social development the Government has, therefore, attached most importance to two factors:

(a) the extent to which each service contributes to economic growth; and

(b) the impact of each service in bringing some benefit to a very large number of the population ». On the basis of these criteria, health and education, for instance, are regarded as high priority. Probation and other welfare services are given only low priority. It is also the case that in the senior high level manpower survey reports social workers are mentioned either very briefly or not at all.

The general effect of the image presented of social workers in official and influential papers of the situation just mentioned has been that social work as a profession has not really been recognized in Uganda as requiring the same investment of high level training as other public sectors. Also the Probation Department was one of the first areas of public service to achieve a very high level of Ugandanization soon after independence. As this gave the

impression that highly qualified expatriates were not essential to the job, it was assumed that highly qualified Ugandans were not essential either, and that those with only moderate training would be adequate. In fact, the reason for this rapid and almost complete Ugandanization was the recognition that this type of work could be undertaken to full effect only by people of the same culture as their clients; i.e. expatriates, however qualified, have only limited relevance to such a service.

It is not necessary to the purpose of this study to reproduce the details of the various levels of educational qualification required by the developing Probation Service. However, the levels laid down by the Manpower Unit of the Ministry of Economic Development are regarded as low by the members of the Probation Service and efforts are being made to raise the stated optimum educational levels required.

One particular problem which requires considerable study and urgent solution is that, in the Probation Service, the higher level manpower has to carry out independent work of its own, rather than essentially supervising large numbers of junior staff, as is the case in most administrative work. Thus for the Service to function in the way that it should it needs to be structured differently in terms of levels of manpower from either administrative departments or such forces as the police and prison services. For in the latter relatively few senior officers can supervise and control large numbers of police constables or prison officers etc. In the Probation Service however, the « rank and file » who do the bulk of the everyday field work ought themselves to be highly qualified people with the supporting services of relatively few clerical and other professional unqualified staff. Thus the diagrammatic representation of an ideal probation structure would resemble a diamond, with relatively few people at the very top or the more humble posts, and the vast majority in the middle level, i.e. fairly responsible posts. This contrasts with the pyramid structure which is usual in large organizations.

The existing arrangements for training Probation Officers entail the training of Probation workers being integra-



ted in the overall training programme of social case workers who may be operating in either Government or non-government voluntary welfare agencies. Three types of social work training are provided:

(i) Makerere University College — A two-year diploma course in social work and social administration. This course, which qualifies about 20 students a year, has to meet the requirements of all the social work professions throughout East Africa. Only three people of those who have qualified so far (since 1966) have taken employment in the Probation Service.

(ii) Scholarships to Overseas Universities or Training Schemes — There are five staff at present in posts who have had overseas scholarships, plus eight who have had some overseas experience. Overseas training has largely been in Britain although two officers have had experience in the U.S.A., and one other trained at Lusaka (Zambia) School of Social Work. The experience of overseas study is clearly of benefit as a means of broadening the outlook and introducing the students to professional standards elsewhere. It is, however, suitable only for those who are sufficiently mature to be able to assess what they see critically, and to select what could be applied in the home environment. Overseas experience is often regarded as a qualification for senior or administrative posts. It cannot be regarded as a source of professionally trained social workers at the field level.

(iii) In-Service Training at Nsamizi Training Centre — Courses of varying lengths, up to one year, have been provided at this Civil Service Staff College. All Probation Assistants and most of the Probation Officers have had their training at Nsamizi. While the training centre has fulfilled a valuable function in giving limited training to members of staff who have to perform professional duties, it cannot be said to be providing adequate training. For the time is too short for the necessary syllabus if complete training is to be given, and it is really focussed upon in-service, not initial, training.

It seems that, in order to meet the training needs of the workers, three types of training are necessary:

(i) High level training, required for the social administrators, social researchers and social worker trainers at national level. This type of training for relatively few persons can best be provided at the university level, including the post graduate level. It could be provided through fellowships and scholarships to overseas schools of social work. A rate of one officer a year would be adequate. This training is most required for Senior Probation Officers and a few Probation Officers who will be working on staff training.

(ii) Training of professional supervisors, most particularly the District or Area Probation Officers. These personnel also require training at a university level, but a degree or professional diploma in social work or applied social studies is quite adequate.

(iii) Middle-level and Field-level Workers — this is the category of workers who handle the actual probation cases. And these are the workers who for a long time have been coming to Nsamizi for initial in-service courses. For this type of worker, a full time pre-service professional course is required, to equip him with the necessary professional skills and techniques which cannot be provided by the present in-service courses.

The Ministry of Culture and Community Development is starting a pre-service professional training course in social work, lasting for 21 months at Nsamizi Training Centre. This is largely to meet the need stated in the preceding paragraph. This course will emphasize generic training in preventive welfare services, and will help train personnel to staff the various probation, welfare, youth and community development services both at middle and field levels.

C) Possible areas of information search.

There is much less to be written in such a report as this concerning the potential uses of research for probation than for police or prison services, at least in the context of

the Uganda situation which is providing our example. There are several reasons for this.

First, the Probation Service is very much smaller, less complex and less diverse. Therefore the factual aspects of its operation can be displayed and analyzed very much more easily than for larger organizations. As an instance of this, it has been possible to reproduce quite extensive tables which between them display many of the operating features of the Probation Service. If the parallel tables and statistical records for the Police and Prison Services had been included in this report, with anything like the same degree of detail, they would have occupied many pages, and so given the study an appearance of being nothing but a mass of statistical details. These would either have been left unexplained or required such extensive explanation that the whole report would have been blown up to an undesirable size. It is for this reason that these figures have not been included for these services.

The existence and consistent operation of a specialist statistical unit within so small a force as the probation system has guaranteed the production of the required data. Both for this reason and because of the particular circumstances of the Service, the problems which require solutions in the Probation Service are not primarily those which are dependent upon the generation of fresh information.

The most outstanding instance of the more general type of problem implied at the end of the previous sentence is that of to which Ministry, and in what way, the Probation Service should be attached. For the conflict of purposes (i.e. half social welfare and half corrections) and of control (half social welfare section and half as servants of the courts) has already been mentioned. The role which research can play in the resolution of this is limited. The Probation Act and the Sessional Paper of 1958 are in conflict, and in actual practice, the Probation Service observes the requirements of the one more than the other; or it may be the case that it half observes the requirements of both. Whatever the actual situation, research can show only what is, in fact, the practice and this may make it easier to decide either to adjust the regulations so that the theory coincides

with the practice, or take steps to alter the practical operation of the system to fit the theory. There is no easy answer to this decision because probation does indeed belong to the middle ground between social services of a welfare and supportive kind, and social defence activities emanating from the administration of justice. One particular point upon which research may be able to throw some light, but would require a special study of attitudes, rather than an addition to the regular keeping of operational statistics, is the possible vicious circle concerning the demand for probation. It may be that those who argue for keeping the probation service small use as their chief argument the limited demand for probation. This limited demand may very easily be itself a product of the fact that the court authorities know full well that there are not many probation resources available, and therefore they are reluctant to, or not in the habit of, calling upon them. Thus the smallness of the service becomes self-perpetuating. If research could study the attitudes of the various High Court and Magistrates' Court officials, it could establish whether or not this is true, and this would be important information in any decision concerning the future of the service.

The allocation of resources has been described in the text as being a function of workload and not of area, and the statistical information included in the list plus other breakdowns by area is quite adequate to allow these decisions to be made properly. The allocation of resources to other than manpower, may, however, be helped by research activity. This requires the keeping of figures on time spent travelling to and contacting distant cases, and even more an attempt to assess how much time could have been saved by the greater availability of efficient transport. Thus it may turn out that the purchase of one new car could considerably increase the working potential of several staff members, and thus increase the total services rendered for a small outlay relative to the cost of one new probation officer.

This introduces the whole concept of cost benefit analysis. It has already been noted that cost benefit analysis is just appearing in criminological calculations. In the very

few countries in which this has been carried out, community based corrections including probation have normally been found to produce a very much greater return for given financial investment than imprisonment of any kind. We must remember the caveat stated at the end of the prison report that research results from one country are not necessarily applicable in another and it may well be therefore that this is not true of Uganda. But all countries which are concerned to produce as good a social defence system as possible for limited investment should give serious thought to the extent to which this may be true of their own country.

It has been computed by the Uganda authorities that the Probation Service cost 0.13% of the total public expenditure for Uganda in 1967/68. This figure, expressed as a ratio of the work undertaken, can be used as some guide for the relative efficiency of the Service. Parallel figures for the other categories in Table VII page 89 for instance, will show the approximate relative cost of various other penal sanctions. It must always be remembered that there are other factors than the ratio of cost to effectiveness in the organization of a complex system, but at least this will show the planning authorities in which ever country undertakes such a study whether or not such a service as probation is an expensive luxury or a cheap form of high quality social defence.

It would be a much wider study, and certainly not within the terms of reference of this report, to attempt a parallel analysis between the cost of crime to the country and the economic resources invested in combating this. Such a figure, which would be extremely difficult to compute, would provide some information as to the extent to which social defence activities may reasonably claim to have a higher social priority than they are normally accorded in the national planning of nearly all countries.

To return to the specific topic of probation, studies on wastage parallel to those discussed in the previous police and prison sections can be carried out, although it may be inferred from the reports of the Uganda authorities that the reasons for this are already known. Finally,

it must be pointed out that the extensive statistical coverage of the operations of the probation service such as that provided in Table I - XII of this text, does not necessarily give an immediate indication of the quality of the services rendered to the clients of the system. It is extremely difficult quantitatively to measure qualitative problems of this kind, and the most successful approach so far has been to break down these qualitative questions into more specific small scale questions, where research projects can be more easily undertaken. Nevertheless, these are basically of a type more suitable to an academic research organization than the on-going record-keeping of a service statistical unit.

## PROVISIONS FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS

(The situation described below is likely to be even more changed than the situation for probation by the new Children and Young Persons legislation. Again as the main purpose of this report is not to present an absolutely up-to-date description of one country, the changes produced by this will not be considered further. For the new system has not yet been established enough for its implications with respect to research to become clear. One significant change will be that when the age of criminal responsibility is raised from 7 to 10 years, the committal of young boys to the Approved School will also alter in some notable manner.)

In Uganda there three types of juvenile institutions which cater for young people who come in conflict with the law. These are, in order of decreasing severity: a) the Reformatory School, b) the Approved School, c) the Remand Homes. There is also the young persons prison, which has been briefly described in the section of the Prison Service. As this is not different from the rest of the Prison Service except in the ways described in that section, it will not be considered further.

Owing to the fact that the operation of all three types of institutions for juveniles is on such a small scale, it is unnecessary to use the breakdown into functions, staffing,

etc., which has been followed up to now, but rather to give a simple, short, integrated description.

The first of the three categories mentioned is under the control of the Uganda Prison Service, and therefore is ultimately part of the Ministry of the Interior. The second and third are administered by the Department of Community Development and Social Welfare, in the Ministry of Culture and Community Development, thus as they have quite separate operational channels of responsibility and also legal bases, they will be considered separately in this study.

### *The Reformatory School.*

#### Legal background.

The Reformatory School, first established in 1951, was rebuilt in 1964, in which year the Reformatory Schools Act Chapter III of the laws of Uganda, which is now its legal basis, was passed. The Reformatory School, being part of the Prison Service, is ultimately administered by the Commissioner of Prisons and is run by the Superintendent in charge who holds the rank of superintendent in the uniformed prison service. He wears civilian clothes, owing to the informal nature of the programme at the school.

The School officers are all selected prison officers, most of them former teachers. The school is divided into houses, each having a housemaster with some teaching experience and a special interest in this kind of work. The main difference in staffing from other institutions in the Prison Service is the presence of matrons, who provide both the psychological benefits of a mature mother figure and also supervise the domestic running of the school.

The School has a farm of about 200 acres, classrooms, work shop and accommodation in dormitories for 200 boys. It takes boys between the ages of 14-17 on admission, though it is authorized to detain them until the age of 21. The boys admitted to the school must first be convicted of a criminal offence.

The training programme provided for the boys is typical of the pattern followed in most progressive countries

for the training of delinquent adolescents. There is emphasis upon formal classroom education, particularly as many of the boys at the school, of all ages, have had little or no experience of formal schooling beforehand. Thus the education programme provided is primarily of a remedial nature.

Great emphasis is laid also upon vocational training either in a skilled artisan trade or in modern agricultural methods. It is the aim of the school to provide an individualized training programme for each boy as regards his education and vocational training. Recreational activities, covering the normal span of activities suitable for young men, football and other ball games, boy scouting concepts, etc., form part of the programme for all boys.

It has already been said that the school runs upon a house system. Thus it is possible to provide some kind of individualized experience for each of the boys, and to provide an environment in which the boys are able to develop some kind of the self discipline and maturity which they will need on their return to open society. Their sentence at the school is an indeterminate one, and the date of discharge is determined by their progress. The house staff is particularly important in assessing this. The school is under the supervision of a Committee of Visitors, under section 18 B of the Reformatory Schools Act. This committee is required to visit the school regularly and exercise overall control to make sure that the school is being properly run in accordance with the details of the Act and other directives issued by the Minister, and also to provide a referral body for the more difficult discipline and release cases.

The Reformatory Schools Act, section 32 (1) states « Every youthful offender sent to a reformatory school shall, on expiration of his period of detention, if that period expires before he attains the age of twenty-one years, remain up to the age of twenty-one years under the supervision of the superintendent of the school ». In these cases, therefore, the aftercare of the boys is the responsibility of the School. The Probation Service, on behalf of the superintendent supervizes the boys on discharge. Therefore most

of the boys released from the school on licence are ordered to live in the charge of the Probation Officer of their localities.

Where the services of the Probation Officers are not available, the local administrative officer or chiefs may be required to help.

### *The Approved School.*

The Approved School, like the Reformatory School, is at present unique of its kind in Uganda. Again like the Reformatory School it was opened in 1951 as a result of the Approved School Ordinance, which was ultimately replaced by the Approved Schools Act, Chapter 110 of the laws of Uganda, 1964.

The Court alone has the power to commit children and young persons to an Approved School. This is laid down by Section 7 of the Approved Schools Act; Section 10 of this Act gives the conditions governing such a committal:

« Where a court orders —

(a) a child to be sent to an approved school, the order shall be an authority for his detention therein for a period of three years or until he attains the age of twelve whichever is the longer; or

(b) a young person to be sent to an approved school, the order shall be an authority for his detention for a period of three years or until he attains the age of sixteen whichever is the longer:

Provided that the person for the time being in charge of the approved school to which such child or young person is sent may, with the approval of the Minister, shorten the period of detention ».

Section 12 empowers the officer in charge of the School, with the approval of the Minister, to detain the inmate for a further period, if it is considered necessary for the inmate's care or training; but no inmate can be detained beyond the date on which he attains the age of 19 years. The Minister is guided by the recommendation

of the Committee of Visitors in granting or not the requested approval.

The Principal Welfare Officer, who is responsible for the Probation Service in Uganda, is also responsible for the Approved School, and the Remand Homes. Thus he has overall supervision of all aspects of the treatment of young offenders. The School accommodates boys from the ages of 7 to 17 from all parts of the country, including those who have been found to be in need of care and protection, beyond parental control, or convicted young offenders.

The School has accommodation for 120 boys but in recent years the population has been almost double. It is sited on an estate of 375 acres and has normal classroom, living, workshop, dormitory and hospital facilities. In general the material provisions, (clothing, accommodation, food, etc.), which are made by the School are slightly above that of the average rural standing in Uganda; it is a policy not to raise the living standard to such a level that it might be difficult for the boy to adjust to a lower standard at his home on his release.

The general objectives in the school are, inevitably rather diffuse: for it is called upon to provide programmes for young children of 7 and adolescents of 16 or more in the same surroundings.

This has led to a debate parallel to that in the Probation Service as to whether the school more properly belongs with the Probation Service in the Department of Social Welfare, or in the Department of Education; for there is no doubt that the backbone of its programme is primarily classroom education at various levels. Yet many of the boys who come to it are confirmed delinquents with severe social adjustment problems. Thus the school is called upon to be something of all things to all boys.

This was described by one of the Uganda authorities in the following words « Thus it has to offer character training to all its inmates, provide proper care and guidance to some of its young inmates, stop criminality in those who are sent there after being found guilty of committing specific offences; and it is expected to provide adjustment to

those with behaviour and personality maladjustment. But it has also security problems and problems of eliminating or neutralizing contamination risks, most particularly of those youngsters sent there as in need of care and protection from those sophisticated young criminals. »

The programme at the school is therefore inevitably something of a compromise. The School is divided into two sections, Senior and Junior. The Junior concentrates upon formal school learning, with some handicraft. The Seniors, among whom illiteracy is high, have remedial classes and some vocational training. It has been found that a number of boys who leave the school either as potential accomplished tradesmen or with good academic reports failed to continue with their newly acquired trade or schooling upon leaving the Approved School. This disappointing phenomenon seems to be widespread throughout the countries which emphasize trade training as part of their programmes for young offenders. It has not been adequately explained or thoroughly examined.

Both sections acquire a fair amount of farming experience, as seems appropriate in such an agriculturally oriented country.

The overall impression given by the Approved School programme is one very similar to the Reformatory School: housemasters, for instance, are used to break down the large organization into small units where some kind of case-work relationship is possible for all of the boys. Likewise a progressive system of grades leading to release is the standard practice, and 18 months is roughly the average length of stay for each boy.

It becomes very clear to anyone studying the details of the running of the school that the greatest problem facing the staff and the administration is lack of funds; shortage of space, equipment, and above all skilled personnel, coupled with severe overcrowding of the boys all mean that instead of devoting the major part of their energies to a constructive and individualized training, the staff is pre-occupied mostly simply in keeping the school ticking over.

Some of the young people sent there are quite serious, disturbed, determined trouble makers. This means that the

school has to maintain a more strict standard of discipline than is appropriate for many of the boys there; but without this the school would be threatened with disorder.

Section 13 of the Approved Schools Act states as follows: « A person sent to an approved school shall, after the expiration of the period of his detention, be under the supervision of such a person as the Minister shall appoint for a period of two years or until he attains the age of 19 years, whichever may be the shorter period ». The Probation Service is the channel through which aftercare is carried out, although there are considerable difficulties in certain cases, when the boys' homes are inaccessible to the probation officer and sometimes unknown even to the boys themselves. As a preliminary towards building up the aftercare programme for the boy, each boy goes on at least one period of 15 days home leave each year.

The school is supervised, like the Reformatory School, by a Committee of Visitors, appointed under section 17 A of the Approved Schools Act.

#### *Personnel.*

The staff consists of the Headmaster who is of the same rank and salary scale as the Senior Probation Officer, Senior Superintendent of Police etc. His immediate assistants are the Master, and Senior Housemaster, (and after-care officer.) These are of the same rank as probation officers. There is a supporting staff of housemasters, teachers and instructors for the technical trades, plus one matron. The staff is completely composed of Uganda nationals. The recruitment of the staff is identical to that in the Probation Service, and as is described in the appropriate part of that section.

The training of the staff of the school is part of the overall training programme for probation workers and all other social case workers operating in government or non-governmental voluntary welfare agencies. Thus the general provisions are, again, as described for the training of probation workers in that section of the report.

Apart from the headmaster, who trained abroad, the staff have attended local training programmes offered at the Nsamizi Training Centre. It is hoped that when the new long-term diploma course begins at that Centre, most of the staff will be able to attend it. It is the agreed policy now to send as many of the staff as possible to other countries, both African and non-African to see how similar schools are run there.

There is a still unresolved difficulty in that the provision of training which is contemplated is for a higher level of staff potential than that actually recruited at the moment. It has already been pointed out that the probation and social welfare fields find difficulty in recruiting people of the desired upper educational level. Thus the improvement in training is largely linked with the ability to provide improved standards of recruiting.

#### *Manpower Projections.*

The establishment of future manpower requirements is made particularly striking by the fact that the Ministry wishes not only to upgrade the present staff levels at the Approved School, but create two quite fresh new schools. These are planned to be much smaller than the existing school, but even so they will require more than doubling the present manpower strength by 1973 if the full programme is to be carried through. Thus it has been found necessary to produce two levels of manpower projection, one for that which will be regarded as optimal by the appropriate authorities if the new programme is to have the complete effect required, and the other for the minimum level of educational requirements if the programme is to function at all. The present target is the optimal one, and this has been used as the basis for calculation in the setting up of the new diploma course. The Ministry is giving full attention to the problems involved in recruiting and retaining staff of the appropriate level. For it is realized both that the treatment of offenders at this particular age is most critical for their future life and also that the quality of this

treatment is controlled above all by the quality of the staff available to provide it.

The report of the 1966-67 visiting expert contained a special section on the approved school. This emphasized in particular two points which the Government have accepted. First, that the present overcrowding should be dealt with not only by the building of two new schools, but also by the speeding up of discharges within the school. It was also suggested that the procedure whereby the boys are recommended for the school by the probation staff be revised. Secondly, there are good grounds for regionalizing the schools; in particular these are the different languages to be found in Uganda, and facilitating home leave and liaison with the boys' homes.

Sites have already been acquired on which the two new schools will be built. The new Children and Young Person's legislation will also help to regulate the process by altering the duration of stay at the school required by any boy, the release on licence procedure and certain other details.

No mention has been made in this report of an approved school for girls. There has been considerable debate among the social defence experts and authorities, both visiting and resident in Uganda, as to the need for this. Some have argued that there are not enough cases suitable for this kind of training to make the provision of such an approved school worthwhile. At the moment however, the Uganda authorities are of the considered opinion that 25 or so girls at any one time would benefit markedly from this type of training, and they will therefore set up a school for 20-30 girls in the fairly near future.

Some of the operating characteristics of the service can be shown, as often, most neatly by statistical breakdowns. Table I shows the general picture of how many boys were involved in entering or leaving the school during each year.

The steady rise in the demand for the services of the Approved School (which contrasts somewhat with the much smaller increase in the demand for probation services) becomes apparent.

## ANNUAL STATISTICS FOR THE APPROVED SCHOOL 1960-1967

Year	1960	1961	1962 1/7 - 30/6	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Population on January 1st . . . . .	89	112	148		133	129	171	211
» » December 31st . . . . .	112	132	145		129	171	211	140
New Admissions . . . . .	55	74	61		56	99	88	60
Released on Licence . . . . .	37	47	47		37	44	38	109
» » expiration of committal	—	1	1		—	3	—	5
Recalled on revocation of licence	4	1	1		—	—	—	—
Absconders at large on December 31st . . . . .	1	2	2		3	3	2	2
Transferred to Reformatory School	—	—	6		3	11	5	12
Average length of stay in School	2 yrs	—	2 yrs		2 yrs	2 yrs	2 yrs	1 yrs
Peak population of School during the year * . . . . .	3 mns	*	3 mns	*	1 mon	5 mns	5 mns	11 mns
					*	192	216	226

\* Statistics for 1960 to 1964 not available

Table II shows the age on admission of each boy during each year.

TABLE II  
AGE ON ADMISSION (AS ON COURT ORDER)

Year	1960	1961	1962 1/7 - 30/6	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
7 - 9 . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
9 - 10 . . . . .	3	4	}	4	1	2	8	1
10 - 11 . . . . .	9	7			9	20	10	2
11 - 12 . . . . .	11	5	}	25	3	18	14	4
12 - 13 . . . . .	14	14				16	20	20
13 - 14 . . . . .	10	12			11	15	17	14
14 - 15 . . . . .	7	19		21	10	14	14	9
15 - 16 . . . . .	1	8		11	6	10	4	17
16 - 17 . . . . .	—	5		—	—	—	—	1
	55	74	61	56	99	88	60	

The considerable range of ages, which must entail great risk of contamination of the younger by the older boys, is very marked. The majority of the boys are admitted when they are 12 or 13, with the 14 to 15 group as the next most frequent. This age group, coinciding roughly with the onset of puberty and the beginning of adolescence appears to be the most delinquency-prone in most cultures.

The breakdown of offences for which the boys were sentenced (not reproduced) shows that there is very little pattern of the offences: most are of the social nuisance rather than severe crime category. The most serious piece of information to be shown up by such an analysis is the number of boys received for relatively minor offences. Indeed when the number of boys with previous convictions is compared with the number of boys received, (Table III) it becomes clear that many adolescents are being sent to the Approved School as a result of their first conviction for delinquency. When it is remembered also that the probation service is not being called upon as often as it feels it might, and there is a recent but strong trend in most countries towards non-institutional treatment for young first



offenders, this is a little surprising. On the other hand the « care and protection » and « beyond control » cases in the table seem to be decreasing, which may suggest that this type of problem in Uganda is being more efficiently handled by the field social work services.

TABLE III

Year	No. of Boys Admitted	No. of Boys Admitted Without Previous Conviction
1960	24	14
1961	40	22
1965	92	63
1967	55	46

The full breakdown of receptions by tribe and area has also been undertaken by the Approved School authorities; this makes for a very large table, which will not be reproduced here, but the two most important findings can be mentioned. First the school has an inmate from practically every district of the country at any one time. Since most of the boys who are admitted have no previous schooling, the problem of a common language both among the boys and between staff and boys is very severe. For there is no one vernacular language widely spoken in Uganda, and English, which is the official language is mostly learnt at school. Secondly, the table shows a large number of non-Ugandans admitted to the school. These are often the children of immigrant labourers working on insecure jobs; or even themselves illegal immigrants, with their parents living in a neighbouring country. Thus effective aftercare arrangements are extremely difficult to provide.

#### *The Remand Homes.*

The Approved Schools Act, (Part II, sections 4 to 6), makes provision for the setting up and operating of Remand Homes. Section 4 (1) gives the essential details:

« A court on remanding or committing for trial a child or young person who is not released on bail, shall,

instead of remanding him to custody in a prison, remand him in custody in a place of detention provided under this Act and named in the order of remand, to be there detained for the period for which he is remanded or until he is thence delivered in due course of law:

Provided that in the case of a young person who, in the opinion of the court, is of so unruly a character that he cannot be safely so remanded, or is of so depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be so detained, the court shall have power to order him to be detained in a prison ».

In Uganda the Remand Homes at present serve four purposes:

(a) As places of detention for all juveniles on remand who are appearing before the court, especially a juvenile court; thus segregating them from the adults on remand who are held in prisons and who may have previous criminal records.

(b) As places in which the officer dealing with the juvenile offenders may have the opportunity for observing the behaviour of such juveniles while in secure surroundings.

(c) To serve as Probation Homes and Probation Hostels where very young offenders are temporarily housed, usually for a maximum period of six months, pending the finding of foster homes.

(d) As Children's Homes or places of safety for children who are picked up by Police and Welfare Officers as in need of care and protection or who, after being proved to be in real need of care and protection, may be committed in a place of safety for a period not exceeding twelve months.

There are three Remand Homes in Uganda at the moment, although there will shortly be more. Both of those in the areas of major population concentration suffer from considerable overcrowding.

The day to day running of the Remand Homes is under the supervision of the Probation Officers in charge of those probation areas in which the homes are situated. The

staff is headed by a warden, who is a fully trained probation officer at the largest Remand Home in Kampala, and probation assistants in the other homes. There are in each home an assistant warden, a matron, a handicrafts instructor and two or three guardians.

Because the Remand Home service is so small, no formal manpower projection has been undertaken. However, the Ministry of Culture and Community Development has prepared a detailed programme of modernization and upgrading of the various staff posts. This will include extra training programmes which may be considered appropriate for the different staff members. It is expected that certain probation officers from the new two-year training course will be selected, if they are interested, to work in the Remand Homes.

The task of making the daily routine in the homes stimulating and interesting is difficult because of the high turn-over rate of arriving and departing children. Recent introduction of handicraft programmes, along with a curriculum emphasizing simple hygiene and the basics of literacy, however, has proved very successful in introducing a purposeful and cheerful atmosphere.

The main hindrance to improving further the quality of programme offered to the young people is the overcrowding, which is regarded as having reached crisis proportions. Two steps are being taken to deal with this. First, and most fundamental, is the plan to build four new Remand Homes in the next two years. The second has been to cut down on the number of committals received through children being placed on probation with the condition of residence in the Remand Home. This was at one time a fairly common practice. The activities of voluntary agencies, particularly the Salvation Army and the Save the Children Fund are also helping to remove some of the strain upon this aspect of the system.

Apart from the problem of overcrowding, compounded by lack of suitable basic equipment arising from shortage of funds, there is a need for further Remand Homes for simple geographical reasons. The function of a Remand Home is primarily to serve the court and to help boys

prior to court hearing; therefore the Remand Home must be within easy reach of the court. At present, the expense and difficulties of transport, in addition to the fact that the nearest Remand Home may be full, causes boys to be held in police cells or the nearest prison in inappropriate conditions. Therefore small Remand Homes are to be provided very quickly in some of the new urban areas. Consideration is being given also to changing the condition of residence requirements of probation orders. These are more or less suspended until an experimental specific purpose hostel can be evaluated in the Kampala Region.

The following statistical tables show that some quite young children are received into the Remand Homes. A plan by the Ministry of Culture and Community Development to build six new children's homes will remove some of the cases which at present find themselves inappropriately in the Remand Homes.

The general amount and type of activity involving the Remand Homes can be seen from the following statistical records.

Table IV shows admissions for all Remand Homes, broken down by reason for committal, and by sex.

Table V shows the ages of the receptions. The large number of unknowns is explained by two particular factors. First the lodgers, who either are already entered elsewhere in the probation department statistics, or else are merely escorts and not genuine social defence cases, are not recorded. Secondly a surprising number of children do not know their own age when they are received.

Table VI shows the very low standard of education which the majority of receptions have experienced. This merely emphasizes the great problem caused through illiteracy in developing countries, and the high correlation between low levels of education and social maladjustment in all countries.

Table VII show the activity at the largest of the Remand Homes in terms of length of time each youngster stayed in the home. This, when considered along with the number of receptions and discharges, shows the impossibility of providing a long term continuous programme, and

TABLE IV  
ADMISSIONS ALL REMAND HOMES - BY YEAR

	1960		1961		1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
1. Remand	357	18	309	19	243	17	195	7	213	10	576	12	554	41	569	20	684	10
2. Care and Protection	71	14	95	—	137	12	213	42	150	29	141	26	111	12	163	20	98	14
3. Beyond Control	16	4	41	—	11	1	40	5	50	16	41	5	25	2	11	4	8	1
4. Probation	11	—	6	—	12	4	11	4	5	—	3	—	8	—	2	—	34	4
5. Welfare & Safety	18	8	13	3	21	6	24	—	16	10	8	3	23	1	7	—	46	11
6. Lodgers	48	—	86	10	192	4	148	7	174	12	145	10	180	7	89	6	65	3
7. Total	521	44	550	32	616	44	631	65	608	77	914	56	901	63	841	50	935	43
8. Grand Total	565		582		660		696		685		970		964		891		978	
9. Line (1) as percentage of Line (8)	67%		57%		40%		31%		33%		61%		62%		66%		71%	

NB. - Lodgers include -

- (i) Approved and Reform School inmates,
- (ii) Escorts of the above inmates, and
- (iii) The physically or mentally handicapped.

TABLE V

COMBINED RETURNS (ALL REMAND HOMES)  
AGE GROUPS BY YEAR

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
1. Between 5 & 10 years	20	31	21	48	61	33	43
2. » 10 & 12 »	40	77	34	92	91	76	79
3. » 12 & 14 »	130	146	65	162	154	139	208
4. » 14 & 16 »	139	123	43	245	316	215	258
5. 16 years and above	125	75	39	100	155	79	121
6. Unknown (untraceable)	175	344	483	323	287	349	269
7. Grand Total	660	696	685	970	964	891	978

STANDARD OF EDUCATION BY YEAR  
(COMBINED RETURNS - ALL REMAND HOMES)

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
1. No schooling . . . . .	246	300	208	230	244	243	348	305	329
2. Primary Level I - IV . . . . .	236	183	242	277	267	336	320	176	307
3. » » V - VII . . . . .	28	31	106	119	121	188	164	184	178
4. » » VIII - S. II . . . . .	20	64	104	60	31	70	100	179	97
5. Senior II and above . . . . .	35	4	—	10	18	20	21	35	67
6. Unknown . . . . .	—	—	—	—	4	14	11	12	—
<b>GRAND TOTAL . . . . .</b>	<b>565</b>	<b>582</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>696</b>	<b>685</b>	<b>970</b>	<b>964</b>	<b>891</b>	<b>978</b>

PERIOD OF STAY AT KAMPALA REMAND HOME

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
1. Less than 1 week . . . . .	68	60	72	108	91	86	84
2. » » 2 weeks . . . . .	214	210	226	335	284	271	264
3. Two to four » . . . . .	130	141	137	204	172	165	160
4. One to six months . . . . .	61	60	64	96	81	76	74
5. Over six months . . . . .	7	8	6	12	10	10	9
6. Unknown . . . . .	2	1	5	1	2	3	3
<b>GRAND TOTAL . . . . .</b>	<b>482</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>756</b>	<b>640</b>	<b>611</b>	<b>594</b>

thus of catering adequately for both short term and the long term residence.

The tables showing the offences for which children are sent to Remand Homes and the tribes from which they come both make it clear that the situation for the Remand Homes is parallel to that of the Approved School. That is to say, the vast majority are for some kind of moderate or minor offence against property and they come from all over Uganda.

#### *Possible Areas of Information Search.*

The whole field of provisions for juvenile offenders is, like probation, a much smaller part of the social defence system than the two main components considered first. Thus the small scale makes it relatively easy to keep check on what is happening statistically, and the problems are more concerned with how to implement what is known to be desirable than to establish what these desirable changes are. Thus the greatest need for a small department such as this is for official backing to achieve what it would like to achieve.

What role, then, is there for research in such a situation? It may help in two ways. First and immediately, research can provide the information in a clear and indisputable form which will be the basis upon which claims for greater investment of scarce resources can be made. For these components of the social defence system are not deprived of resources for any casual reason, but merely because there are other equally worthy uses for such scarce resources in any country. Such a small unit of the public sector, and one which does not have immediately obvious relevance to national progress, will need to have all the information which does support its case clearly and unambiguously displayed. It is a relatively simple research task to present the bare minimum of detail in this way; it is a more complicated task to demonstrate the cost to the national development of increasing juvenile delinquency, but it can be done. One study which may be particularly revealing would be to project the extra work load required of the

police and prison services by a given unchecked rate of increasing juvenile delinquency, over a considerable number of years.

The other role for research is to evaluate a new programme when it is started. It will be important that research makes clear that in social defence no programme can guarantee success; no-one has any final answer as to how convicted delinquents should best be treated. Therefore whatever new project is selected in the light of whatever resources are made available, it will have to be evaluated and assessed in relation to possible alternative uses of the same resources.

One of the main roles of research in this aspect of the development will be to consider alternative approaches and solutions of some of the problems which prove particularly difficult. This will include particularly the assessment of the appropriateness of certain methods, which may have been found useful elsewhere, within the context of the Uganda cultural traditions. As a particular instance in the field of the provisions for juveniles, the extent to which such facilities can be removed from institutional patterns might especially be investigated.

There are certain specific points within the current Uganda situation upon which research of a fairly simple nature could throw some light. The main pre-requisite for the analyses which are suggested in the following paragraphs will be a regular and systematic collection and tabulation of the appropriate data, starting from the original premise that this can be done only when it is known what questions are to be answered.

The apparent lack of influence upon subsequent success or relapse into delinquency of vocational training programmes has already been mentioned. Likewise, it is not known how long the effect of a regular and ordered routine in a reform or approved school remains with a young person upon discharge. Some follow-up studies, based primarily upon the collection of pre-determined statistics by aftercare officers, will be the first stage in understanding this problem better. In Uganda this problem is apparently understood as little as it is everywhere else; but it seems that there is

a good opportunity here for research findings which would be of interest internationally.

The fact that both the Approved School and the Remand Homes have to play different roles at the same time for different categories of boy has already been mentioned. In the making of any decision, concerning the future programmes to be followed in these institutions, it will be important to have comprehensive statistical records of exactly the proportion of each kind of boy, and the reactions of the various categories to different training programmes. In particular the reactions of different categories of boy to the different lengths of sentence in the Approved School could be recorded without too much difficulty; this would be particularly helpful for deciding whether or not the policy of having all boys stay for roughly the same length of time is appropriate.

There are two studies requiring data which cannot be gained simply from organized routine record-keeping, but which could be undertaken without too much trouble, and would help with two particular operating problems. First, when it is planned to build up the staff at the rate indicated in the report it will be very useful to know why many people who are qualified to join the staff (e.g. recently trained social workers) either do not join, or if they do, soon leave. That is, some factual information on whether pay, or hours of work, or accommodation, or promotion prospects or whatever are seen as the greatest obstacle to remaining in the service, will show up what substantive changes can be made to the most advantage. Indeed, it will show whether the main problem is one of substantive working conditions, or rather the public image.

Secondly, the relationship with the probation service in their role of aftercare agents can be investigated fairly easily. It is often the case that members of the probation service resent their extra role as aftercare agents for discharged institutional boys, and this may be so in Uganda also. A brief survey could show whether this is indeed a problem, and again if it is with substantive reasons, what these reasons are. Only with this information will it be possible to decide what steps are best taken to ameliorate the situation.

Finally, there are two areas where an introduction of research in the immediate future will save a lot of uncertainty and unnecessary changes of policy later on. For the authorities are introducing a new legislative scheme for children and young persons, as has been mentioned. They are also about to embark upon sizeable building projects for both approved schools and remand homes. It will be easiest to keep a close check on the practical efforts of the new legislation if it is decided in advance which statistics are to be kept, in what fashion, and where correlated, before the new system begins. This refers back to the point made earlier in the report, that a research facility which is built into any system from the beginning is far more effective and far more productive for a given cost than is one which is added on, externally, later. However, there are occasions when external retrospective research can be helpful, and a small scale survey of the main failings and inadequacies of the older style Remand Homes and Approved Schools is such an instance. Rational statements as to the way in which the new schools and homes are improvements in design over the old styles can be made, in the last analysis, only when the particular weaknesses of the old system can be described in some objective manner.

## C O N T E N T S

	<i>Pages</i>
Foreward . . . . .	VII
Introduction . . . . .	1
Courts System . . . . .	6
Police Force . . . . .	16
Prison Service . . . . .	53
Probation Service . . . . .	76
Provisions for Juvenile Offenders . . . . .	107