Staff Problems in a Maximum Security Prison

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So we have sought through these years to build up a diversified staff of sufficient numbers and good quality. The late Sir Lionel Fox, this Journal, No. 1 July, 1960.

Whilst a wonderful sense of companionship existed amongst the officers, the "Couldn't care less" and "Bang 'em up" attitude was noticeable in some cases. Officer N. Smith, this Journal No. 5 July, 1962.

"It's the prisoners who run this Prison." *Title of article by Terrence Morris, Pauline Morris and Barbara Biely,* this Journal, No. 2 January, 1961, *and now Mrs. Morris makes a further comment, based on a lecture given as part of the educational activities of the Howard League for Penal Reform.*

IN A MOST recent issue of the PRISON SERVICE JOURNAL (January 1962) the Chairman of the Prison Commission suggests that they are today faced with a three-fold problem to which there are three keys. The existing organisation of our penal system must be as effective as we can make it, it must be flexible and every means must be sought to increase our knowledge and understanding of the problems which face us today and in the future. Mr. Peterson goes on to suggest that the most important key to this problem is the training and effective use of staff.

Staff problems and industrial relations are never very easy to resolve, and one difficulty facing the Commission today is that this is a problem which appears to be simple, whereas in reality it is extremely complex. It is commonly supposed by many of those working in the service that the essential problems are overcrowding and under-staffing; but whilst it is true that the present flood of prisoners presents grave difficulties, and equally true that there is a shortage of officers (particulary in some prisons), it is in fact most unlikely that the character of the prison would undergo a fundamental change if numbers were reduced and the staff increased overnight. Some of the staff are perceptive enough to regard adminstration, teamwork and leadership as being

major problem areas, rather than overcrowding and staff shortages *per se*.

This is a situation which can in many ways be compared with an industrial organisation in which the traditional sources of unskilled labour are rapidly drying up and economic rationalisation by means of mechanisation, time and motion study, improved methods of accounting and stock control and so forth, have not yet come into operation. The prison officer, perhaps without knowing it, is sharing the problems of the industrial worker in a society undergoing rapid technological and social change.

If the *Prison Officer's Magazine* is an accurate barometer of the feelings of the ordinary prison officer, then there is reason to believe that the staff feel uncertain, or even hostile, towards current trends in prison administration. Month after month letters and articles appear, which range from cynicism and criticism to outright vilification of every aspect of penal adminstration. The prize article in April, 1961 starts: "After many years in the prison service I can honestly say I have never known morale amongst staff to be at so low an ebb". . . And a letter in the same issue refers to the staff situation as "desperate". The pages of each issue seem to suggest that the basis of these troubles lie in low pay, long hours and endless grievances of a material nature. These may well be contributory factors, but they are not, I think, the fundamental issues underlying staff problems in prisons today.

Unfortunately these are the kinds of problem which tend to be extremely difficult to investigate because, although the staff feel very deeply about their status and morale within the service, they are very reluctant to speak frankly to outsiders about it, because they see prison as a secret world which only those in the service can really understand, and because outsiders might *mis*understand, they must not be allowed to know about it.

From what I have read of prison officers' writing and from what I have gathered from them in conversation, the uniformed staff seem, for the most part, perpetually discontented (even allowing for the possibility that complaining is in itself part of the job satisfaction). As in many large organisations there is a good deal of grumbling in the Gatehouse, the Officers Mess, or in P.O.A. branch meetings. In fact, the opportunity to vent one's discontent upon senior officials particularly, for example, the Prison Commissioners (whose identity blurs into the haze of an impersonal bureaucracy) probably constitutes one of the major aspects of the prison officer's emotional security. Provided he is relatively discreet, he may complain to his heart's content about the prison, its administration, his pay, the policy of the Commissioners, or anything else, and remain immune from the sanctions of reprimand or dismissal.

The subjects of discontent are

legion—hours of work and overtime form the focus of general discontent, though closer probing frequently reveals that these are connected with pay. Shortage of quarters is regarded as indicating lack of concern by the Commissioners, who are generally believed to be more concerned about prisoners than about staff. Uniforms are another focus of complaint, though as in the case of quarters it is the administrative aspect of their supply rather than their actual quality which is the cause of discontent.

I am sure it is unnecessary to continue this catalogue of complaints—the monthly issues of the *Prison Officers Magazine* contain little else. Nor perhaps is it surprising that officers complain in these ways. For them the pinpricks which stem from the inadequacies of the bureaucratic machine are very real, and the underlying causes of dissatisfaction are far more difficult to recognise or to understand.

In the main it would seem that fundamental problems originate from the ambiguities of the prison system itself, and the emotive and intellectual conflicts that they impose on the prison staff. There is not only the apparent dichotomy of containment and reform, but a further divergence between the ideal of "social service" (which occupies a significant place in the recruiting literature) and the requirements of the discipline code for officers. In one context the officer is expected to use his initiative positively, to do his job well, and to expedite the process of reform, while in another he is required to adhere to a complex system of rules devised for the day to day administration of the prison. This conflicting situation seems to arise partly because Rules and Standing Orders have never been fundamentally altered to keep in line with modern policy, and partly because of the hierarchical structure of the staff which inhibits those in the lower echelons (and often more senior staff too) from taking initiative and accepting responsibility. The majority of officers *prefer* a simple system of clear and unambiguous objectives and they are reluctant to accept new ideas because of the increased flexibility of the regime which frequently accompanies them. On the other hand there is a large minority of officers who languish under the rigidity and 'dependency' which many of the senior uniformed staff impose upon them, and would prefer a greater degree of autonomy which would, incidentally, accelerate the move of prison officers towards professional status.

The Discipline Code to which the prison officer is subject is as comprehensive in its details as that part of the Prison Rules which governs the conduct of prisoners. To take but one example, trafficking is considered one of the most serious offences against the Discipline Code, but there is no differentiation made between the officer who systemat-

ically supplies goods for financial gain and the officer who gives a cigarette spontaneously as part of a genuinely warm relationship with a prisoner. Similarly, whilst officers are encouraged to take an interest in the personal problems of men whilst they are in prison, and to work to the ideal of Rule 6, which states that "the purposes of training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge and to fit them to do so", at the same time they are expressly forbidden to have any communication whatever with a man after discharge.

Undoubtedly the problems associated with the system of promotion contribute in no small part to staff discontent. Because of the slowness of promotion, and the virtual impossibility of dismissal, there are few incentives, if any, for the discipline officer to improve his efficiency. The problem is complicated by the fact that there are specialists in the prison service such as trade assistants, whose promotion is regarded in a different way and for whom advancement comes, on the whole, more rapidly. This in itself does not contribute to good inter-departmental staff relations.

It is possible for the uniformed staff to be promoted to the Assistant Governor grade, but here in rests a major source of discontent. The prison officer is usually at an educational disadvantage when compared with outside applicants who frequently have university qualifications; but it is in the so-called 'Country House Test' that the disadvantage is most apparent. Although this test applies only to those already in the service, uniformed officers feel they may lack the social adaptability and confidence which, they believe, the test is designed to assess, and their failure rate is comparatively high. Although serving officers are never actually in direct competition with 'outsiders', many of them *believe* that they are, and although the facts are known by the P.O.A. officially, it is a belief which dies very hard. Furthermore the number of officers who have managed to get on to the A.G.'s course has recently been steadily increasing, but because 'civilians' do better, there is a great deal of bitterness against entry into the higher ranks "via the back door". They resent the fact that A.G.'s newly recruited from civilian life have to be trained by the uniformed staff, and the strength of their feelings is reflected in the P.O.'s magazine for July 1961 where the leading article on the front page reads: "The Prison Commissioners have now advertised an open competition for some 22 more men Assistant Governors and it can safely be assumed that at least twenty of these will be appointed from outside the Service. They will come in and be taught the job by the senior uniformed officers whose promotions they have filched". Or more recently from the issue of January 1962 we can

read an excerpt by the Assistant General Secretary of the Prison Officers Association from a talk he gave to the Social Service Organisation of Cambridge University: "If he (the prison officer) sees outsiders coming into the service to take up posts as A.G.'s with no more knowledge of prisons or prisoners than they have been able to glean from books and lectures at University—plus a few activities such as helping Outward Bound Schemes and Youth Clubs—he must be forgiven for thinking that his hopes of promotion are considerably and unjustifiably lessened. A pill which is all the more difficult to swallow because he knows that, as a senior officer, he will have to take these 'new boys' by the hand and teach them their job". It is paradoxical that despite these views, the majority of officers to whom I have spoken in prison want outsiders as Governors.

It has been my experience that officers feel strongly that ability and merit, rather than sheer seniority, should dominate the promotion system as a whole. It is difficult to reconcile this view with the expressed views of the P.O.A. executive, who still insist on promotion by seniority. Those officers who agree with the principle of seniority do so, at least partly, because they think that promotion by ability produced the "blue-eyed boy". Certainly no one seriously interested in promotion believes that it is wise to get on the wrong side of a senior officer.

There are also problems for the staff which stem from their social lives. Although time will not permit more than a brief mention of this area of difficulty, it is one which certainly deserves more consideration than it has hitherto been given. It is perhaps significant that welfare facilities for prison officers have only been in existence for three or four years and that even now the Commissioners have a staff of only two welfare officers, who normally visit each prison once a year. It seems perhaps optimistic to hope that the staff will be able to make extensive use of a man who is here today and gone tomorrow. There are about 6,000 prison officers (male and female) scattered over about 80 establishments and it would be unrealistic to suppose that two welfare officers—or even three—could deal with more than a tiny fraction of the staff problems. To be really effective, welfare officers need to be able to spend a considerable time in each prison getting to know the staff and improving relationships within the prison community generally, rather than dealing only with emergency domestic problems, though I am sure that this is an important part of their function and one welcomed by the staff.

In any discussion of quarters and accommodation it is difficult to generalise because although I am speaking now of the maximum security local prisons, as far as amenities are concerned, the

areas in which such prisons are situated vary widely. There are certain difficulties, however, which I suspect apply to almost all such establishments, the most important being the tendency for prison officers and their families who live in quarters to remain socially, as well as physically isolated from the surrounding neighbourhood. This in itself presents problems, but in addition, prison officers are by no means integrated amongst themselves.

For almost all workers in industry and commerce the physical separation of home and work enables the individual to live a private life uninfluenced by his job except in the broadest social and economic terms. For the prison officer no such separation exists, and even if he lives away from the prison, his journey to work in uniform emphasises his connection with it. Whether the prison officer likes it or not, the prison dominates his life. Work problems spill over into his leisure time and private problems may be accentuated by his work experience and spill over into working hours, thus placing a great strain on marriages. It is constantly asserted by officers with long service, that an understanding and tolerant wife is perhaps the best asset a man can have in this job. I am not suggesting that this problem is unique to the prison service, nor even that it is worse in the prison service that in other walks of life, but it may well be that conditions prevailing in the service—living in quarters, sense of isolation, long working hours, lack of welfare facilities for staff —all tend to perpetuate and intensify family difficulties of this kind.

There is too, the question of personality; the requirements of the prison in terms of containment and control make it necessary for officers to act in an authoritarian way, for theoretically it is their job to *direct* the prisoner rather than to reason with him. Some men lack the flexibility of personality required to change from an authority figure in the prison, whose orders should go unchallenged, to a figurehead in a family, the norms of which are democratic.

Even if he wants to have a social relationships with ordinary people outside, the prison officer is under a special kind of constraint. His work has a strong, macabre fascination for the ordinary citizen, yet the officer, bound by the Official Secrets Act, cannot talk as freely about his job to his friends as can the busman, foreman or office worker. One of the striking things about the staff community is that whether it is in a city prison or in an isolated country district, socially it is just as remote from the outside world. The reference groups tend to be the staff and families of other institutions, thus coachloads of officers and their wives travel between the social clubs at Pentonville, Wandsworth, Brixton and Wormwood Scrubs.

But of all the areas of conflict

and confusion the most outstanding is undoubtedly that of the dichotomy of containment—or custody—and reform. The confusion exists equally, I suspect, in the minds of the administrators who are concerned with implementing new policies, but it is emphasised for the ordinary prison officer because (a) he is the person in daily contact with the prisoner and he has little time to theorise about his words and actions, (b) the hierarchical organisation of the prison system results in very serious blockages and distortions in communication.

If we look at the words used to describe what is going on in prison I think we get a glimmering of how the confusion arises. The administrators talk of "training" and "rehabilitation", but the officer on the landing talks of "reform". By "reform", officers mean that a man ceases to come back to prison and this patently is not the experience of the majority of officers who have served fairly long periods in our large urban prisons. They see men coming back just as frequently whether they have been in "reform" wings, had the benefits of group counselling, or any other experiments. The word "reform" has tended to become a term of contempt amongst prison officers: prison has become 'soft', it has no deterrent value, it does not punish, and it undermines the authority of the staff. Above all, it doesn't work. This attitude on the part of officers arises partly, I believe, from a failure on the part of the training they receive to make explicit the theory behind modern ideas of rehabilitation. The discipline officer is aware that men are now sent to prison *as* punishment not *for* punishment, but at the same time they review the recidivist population as contemptible and unhelpable. The prize article in a recent issue of the P.O. Magazine claims that 90 per cent of crime is caused through the greed of people deliberately acquiring easy money, and speaking of modern penological theory says "Prison officers cannot fully comprehend or accept idealistic theory because they are in daily contact *not* with decent human behaviour, but mainly with those who have rejected good social conduct". In the last issue the demand is to "bring back the bedboards, dispense with bacon and trimmings, and let's have the porridge back and true discipline . . . cut classes, apart from compulsory training for the illiterate and backward. This I submit will send them out better than when they came in".

It is difficult, admittedly, for the average prison officer to see in what way prison is punitive these days. In fact the pains of imprisonment are very considerable, though the deprivations and frustrations which the prisoner suffers today are likely to be of a psychological nature, rather than a physical one. The attack on a man's self-image, or sense of personal worth may have more funda-

mental effects on his post-release attitudes than does the use of physical punishments. His rejection by society is reinforced by his prison situation; a uniform and a number—he is no longer trusted —he is asumed to be a liar. He is a man deprived of all material possession, yet he came from an environment where such possessions are the utmost importance to his sense of personal adequacy and to add to these, he is deprived of heterosexual relationships, thus reinforcing his doubts about his own maleness. He is degraded not only in the eyes of the outside world, but much worse, he is degraded in his own eyes.

The most that can be expected of the newer policies of relaxed discipline, increased opportunity for group discussion, encouraging a sense of responsibility and similar "reformative" measures, is that they should restore the balance and help to avoid destroying the man's own sense of personal worth whilst he is in prison. It is a mistake to think that in our present state of penological theory we know of any way of "reforming" prisoners, but if we are able to avoid some of the staff/inmate conflicts and make prison life more reasonable and civilised for both, then something, at least, has been achieved.

Unfortunately, however, staff, particularly those in our overcrowded urban gaols, rarely understand what lies behind new policies and it is difficult to blame them when they point out that they do not "reform" anyone.

Confusion for the prison officer exists at all stages of his career. The new recruit posted to a large recidivist establishment after eight weeks training at Wakefield is likely to be told by senior officers "forget it all". Reform, and what is commonly known as the "Wakefield Line", may be fine for 'star' and 'open' prisons, but it has no relevance to the needs of a recidivist gaol. For officers with some years of experience, refresher courses at Wakefield are often regarded cynically as a "five-day brainwash". Officers in such prisons soon become set in their ways and they fear ridicule by other officers if they express new ideas. Discussions with discipline staff revealed a great wish for further education in English, mathematics and G.C.E. subjects, but very few wanted further training in prison matters. Even more significant was the number who wanted "information about the Commissioners' policy".

Nevertheless the failure on the part of the Commissioners to succeed in training officers for their new roles is not the whole story. It is exceedingly difficult to break through the formidable barrier which exists within the service against accepting that modern ideas at least for the recidivist population—are worth considering.

For some officers the idea of helping prisoners is not only im-

practicable but illogical because, as they see it, it would mean an end to punishment. The overall atmosphere of pessimism is reflected in the widespread opinion "Reform is a good thing, but it can't work here".

The discipline officer is rarely well informed. Because the concept of rationality is inherent in the structure of bureaucracy, the "ideal" officer has no anxiety about the wisdom or practicability of decisions which are communicated to him. Still less should he question statements of policy which come from the Governor's Office, or from Horseferry House. But we have seen that this ideal is a long way from reality, and in practice, the contingent decisions which are at the heart of the day to day running of the prison, require all staff members, in varying degrees, to act flexibly. They can seldom do so if they are not in possession of *reasons* as well as instructions. In fact what happens is that instructions flow downwards in the hierarchy, but explanations tend to be filtered out at each level. In quite small matters increased information would make for greater efficiency. I remember standing on the centre of a prison one day whilst prisoners were being unlocked for a lecture. The senior officer did not know what the lecture was about, so his juniors could not answer the prisoners' questions when they asked. Delay and indecision resulted whilst men made up their minds whether to attend and hope they wouldn't be bored, or risk missing something really interesting. More importantly, such deprivation of elementary information tends to reduce the status of the officer to an automatic turnkey-cum-sheepdog.

Failure of communication and lack of information, especially about policy matters, are constant subjects of discussion in the prison service generally. Sometimes this takes the form of always wanting orders *in writing*. The desire to have things in writing is consistent with the inability to tolerate ambiguity and the general inertia which pervades establishments of the kind we are discussing. The reasons for this inertia are likely to be found in a situation where subordinate officers are most reluctant to express criticism, or indeed to question anything for fear that to do so might have repercussions upon them and their chances of promotion. Subordinate officers often see their superiors as either excessively rigid, or alternatively so frightened of their own shadows that they avoid any decision or action which might be controversial. This is, of course, how subordinate officers see the situation, and as in so many cases, it is what people *believe* to be true rather than what is actually the case, which is important. Timidity, inertia, and anxiety about promotion and official reports colours, too, another dimension of staff relations, namely those between older and younger officers—younger, that is, in terms

of recruitment rather than age.

The discussion so far has been concerned with the problems affecting the staff in a generalised way. But there are additional complications because, except in times of crisis, there is no overriding community of interest which binds all the staff together. Rather there is a range of interest groups whose relationships may as often be characterised by conflict as by co-operation. Viewed in an organisational context the problems of the maximum security prison are the problems of the staff, just as the problems of the mental hospital are not intrinsically related to the disorders of the patients, but to the tasks of the nursing staff in the provision of therapy and continuing care.

Leaving aside the clerical staff, the uniformed staff of the prison are divided three ways—discipline, works, medical. The tasks of the discipline staff are primarily containment and control, for although there are expectations that an officer should also act as a counsellor, or therapeutic agent, rather than purely as a custodian, there is no such formal element in his role, and any attempt to act in this way in overcrowded and under-staffed prisons may result in extreme frustration. The discipline officer tends to be suspicious of his superiors and because the bureaucratic machine does not always give him the security he needs, he tends to perceive himself as misunderstood, despised, and socially undervalued.

The discipline staff contrast their job with that of the Trade Assistants whom they see as a favoured group. But the works staff themselves experience some degree of role conflict. In the event of serious trouble they inevitably become at one with the discipline staff, but for the most part their working day is spent with small groups of prisoners on a foreman-workman or craftsman-labourer basis. Primarily they see themselves as craftsmen; their normal tasks are constructive and positive, in contrast to those of the discipline staff which are repetitive and often have no tangible end product, save physical cleanliness and order.

Any overt structural conflict which exists between the discipline and works staff is observable only at the lower levels of the hierarchy. This situation is much less apparent among the lower ranks of the hospital staff and the discipline staff. In the first place the hospital officer's role is formally defined as therapeutic and he is located in a part of the prison where all prisoners are regarded as *sick*. Secondly, the tasks of the hospital officer are essentially contingent and bear no relation to the long-term penal objectives of the prison. Thirdly, their custodial activities—the imposition of physical restraints and the keeping of patients locked in—are readily interpreted as quasi-therapeutic in that they are directed towards the prisoner's good. Such conflict between medical and custodial treat-

ment as exists in prisons, tends to take place at the top levels of the hierarchy and is not our concern here.

Whilst these sorts of conflicts do not by themselves constitute a grave problem, taken in conjunction with the other staff problems which I have been discussing, they tend to swell the waves of discontent and to hinder the staff co-operation which is so essential to the smooth running of any organisation, and in particular a bureaucratic organisation such as the prison.

What means then are open to the prison officer to resolve these problems and conflicts? Officially he has two channels available, the P.O.A. through his local branch, and the staff consultative committee.

So far as the P.O.A. meetings are concerned, one of the most difficult problems to overcome is that of apathy; the P.O. magazine is full of exhortations to members to support their branches. Meetings tend to be used in the same way as the magazine, in order to air endless grievances regarding conditions of pay and service generally. In this way the branch meeting acts as a safety valve for complaints and feelings of anger and frustration. But unfortunately, largely because so few members attend, it does not act as a democratic setting for constructive debate which might be subsequently channeled to reach a national level.

This in part stems from a remark I made earlier—namely that the majority of prison officers do not understand the true nature of the problems they are facing and they tend to get bogged down in discussions about day to day matters which, if resolved, may act as a palliative, but which do not in fact touch the basic problems of morale and status.

The other authorised channel for complaints is the staff consultative committee which in theory represents a considerable modification to the hierarchical authority structure of the prison, though much must depend upon the personality of the Governor who acts as Chairman. From the point of view of the day to day running of the prison these committees may bring slight improvements, but it can also work the other way if senior officers feel threatened by their subordinates who are members of the committee.

In general the committee is felt by the rank and file of the staff to be pretty remote. Delegacy is in fact an inadequate substitute for participation and the size of the committee precludes any genuine feeling that the junior staff *as a whole* is given a share in the discussion of the formulation of policy. Furthermore the senior staff tend to over-balance the committee and officers are by and large reticent to participate on a basis of equality with those who in all other structural contexts have to be treated with the deference due to superiors. It might also be added that the functions of the

committee tend to become confused for many who do not distinguish between the function of the staff consultative committee and the meetings which take place between the Governor and the representatives of the local P.O.A. branch.

Obviously I have only touched the fringe of this difficult topic. I hope that more research will be carried out in this area; it is perhaps unfortunate that so much time (relatively speaking) is spent studying the captives and virtually none is spent studying the captors. On the other hand they themselves do not make this an easy task. Most prison officers interpret research as negative criticism. I have invariably been described as carrying out an "enquiry" or an "investigation" and both words carry unpleasant connotations—enquiries or investigations take place when things have gone wrong; sanctions are seen as an inevitable result. It is difficult to carry out research in an atmosphere of suspicion and some hostility, and it is limiting to the research if people do not feel able to discuss matters freely with the research worker. Nevertheless it is my belief that unless further studies are made of penal institutions as communities, and of staff morale, few worthwhile changes will take place.

Meanwhile I will end by making four brief suggestions for improving matters, based on such limited research as it has been my good fortune to carry out.

(1) The prison administration needs to take a second look at the training programme, particularly at the relationship between the three phases of training: the initial period in prison, the Wakefield course, and the impact for the officer on returning to the prison and the first year on probation. It might at the same time review the aim and content of the five day refresher course for officers with six years or more experience.

(2) Prison staff need to be aware that the conflict between custody and treatment is not nearly as great as would at first appear. The new, more relaxed methods of treatment *can* mean that the process of custody is made simpler and the officer allowed to be more concerned with positive aspects of training. It is largely a matter of how the officer sees these problems: if he simply finds it more difficult and confusing to have custody of a group of men on association than he did in the past when he merely locked them up and unlocked them, then obviously he will not be very happy about new penal methods and will see them as a tiresome extension of his duties. But if he can be shown that his influence for good can be far greater on this group of men on association than it could be on the man locked away silently in his cell, then it should be possible to see the job as more worthwhile and with more status. Just as schoolmasters have to combine teaching with punishing, so too can prison officers: but there is a need

to readjust the balance between the exercise of authority and the exercise of influence through treatment. And treatment need not only mean the use of professional staff—for example treatment, in its widest sense, can take place through the day to day relationships of a good T/A with his small group of workmen, or by the interest an officer shows in the individual problems of a small group of men on his landing, problems outside as well as inside the prison.

(3) My third suggestion is in many ways the most far-reaching and idealistic, but at the same time I regard it as the one requiring most urgent attention. It seems of the utmost importance to restructure the prison service in such a way that the social gap between the governor grades and the uniformed grades become much less apparent. This cannot be done simply by amending the promotion structure—such action would only result in more frequent reshuffles within the hierarchy. What is essential is that the status distinctions of the hierarchy should be much less precise. This cannot happen whilst all the 'sir-ing', 'saluting', buttons and peak caps and other relics of para-militarism persist. This breaking down of status distinctions cannot be done overnight and indeed it has taken more than a decade to break down the rigid social structure of the mental hospital where the situation mirrors in many ways the world of prison. Nevertheless it is being, and in many cases has been achieved — perhaps the most outstanding example being the Henderson Hospital where doctors, nurses, and therapists really share equality in the treatment of patients, and where white coats and starched uniforms are no longer seen. Staff meetings really get to grips with the problems of individuals as well as those of the community, and staff morale is improved since all share a common purpose, and all are genuinely free to speak their minds without fear of sanction, or loss of approval or promotion. In prisons the problem is admittedly more difficult because the world at large sees prisoners as not only dangerous but wicked. The progressive mental hospital has merely to reassure the public that mental patients are rarely dangerous, it has not got to grapple with the vulgar aspects of the philosophy of crime and punishment.

(4) Finally, it must be recognised that the staff in a prison have very special problems indeed since they spend their lives dealing with exceptionally difficult people (and I would stress here the use of the word *difficult*, not necessarily dangerously aggressive as the picture is so often painted). Furthermore the home life of prison officers is inextricably bound up with everything that goes on inside the prison. There is a very great need for much improved welfare facilities for staff —and exclusively for them.

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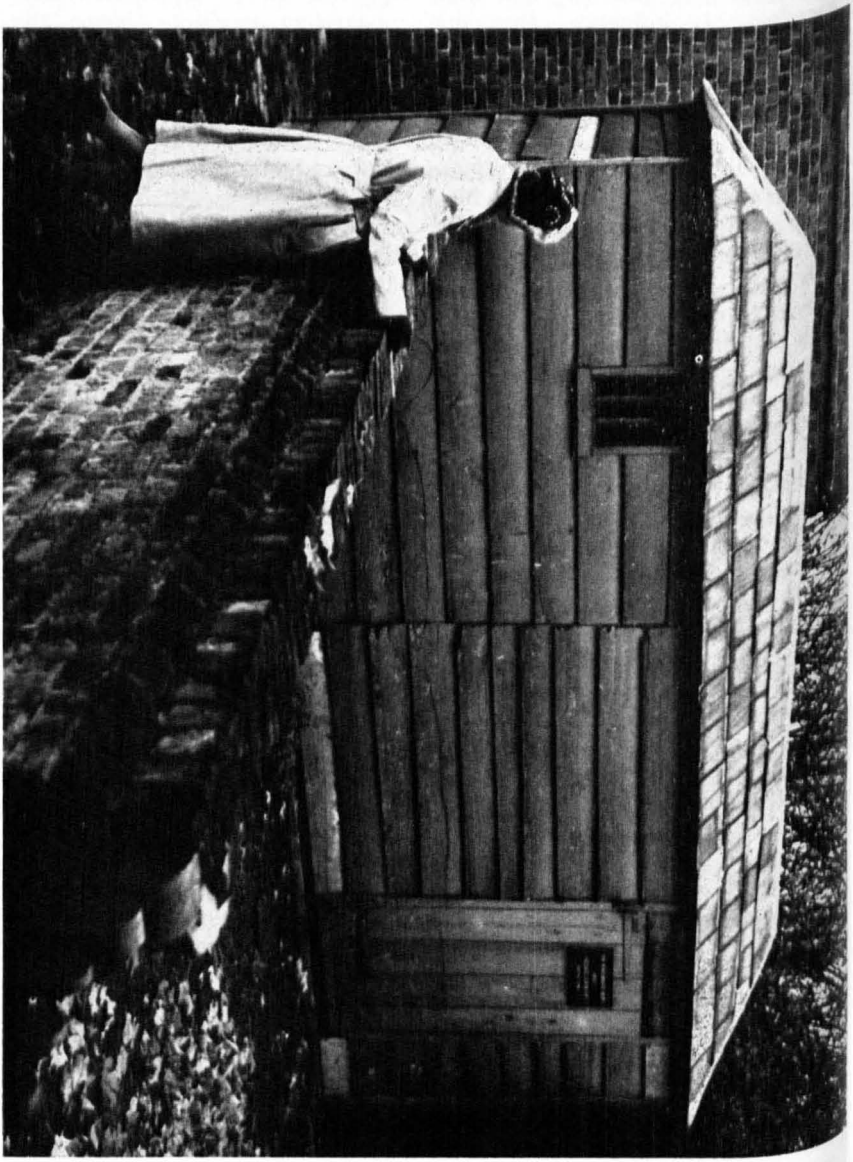
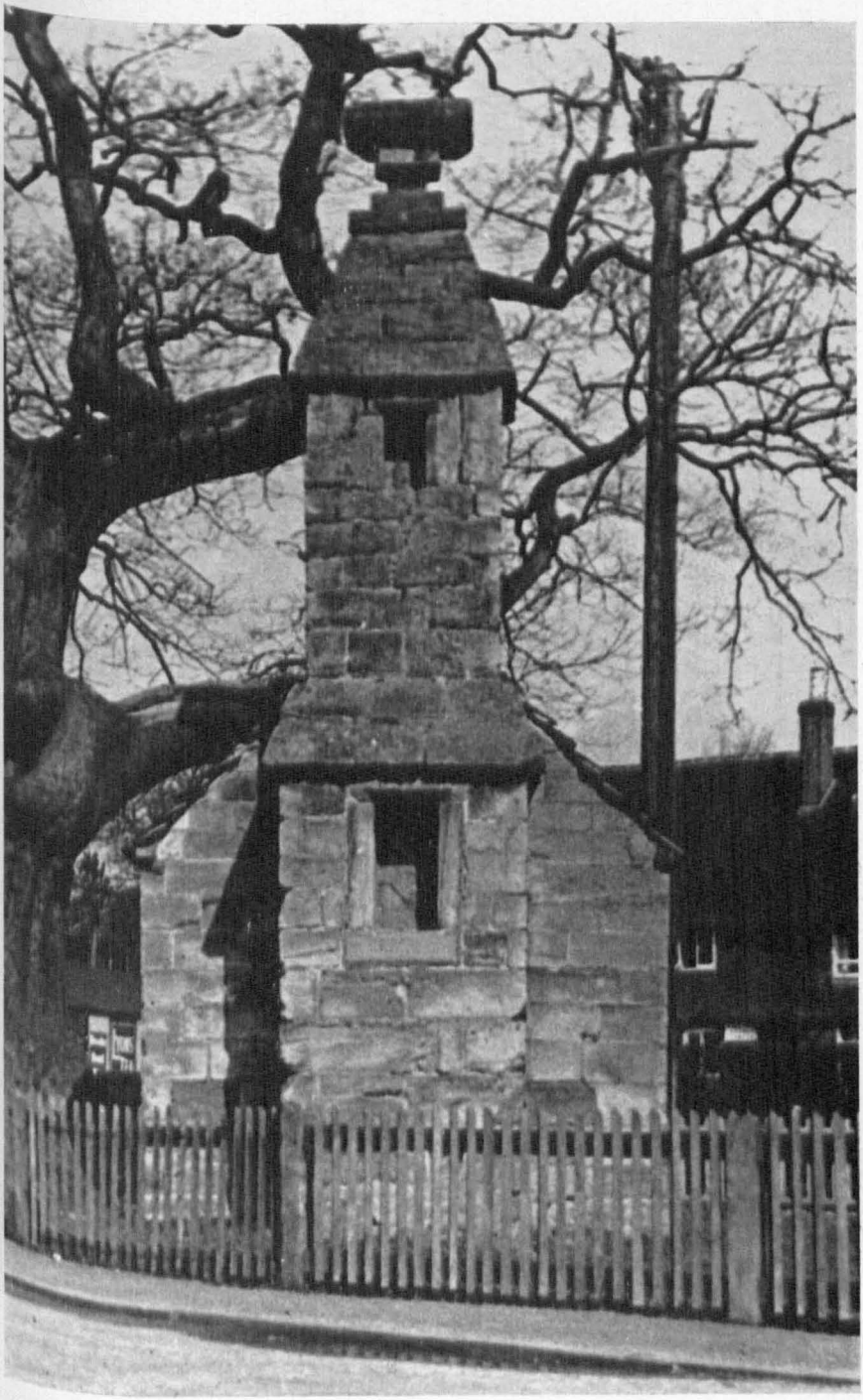
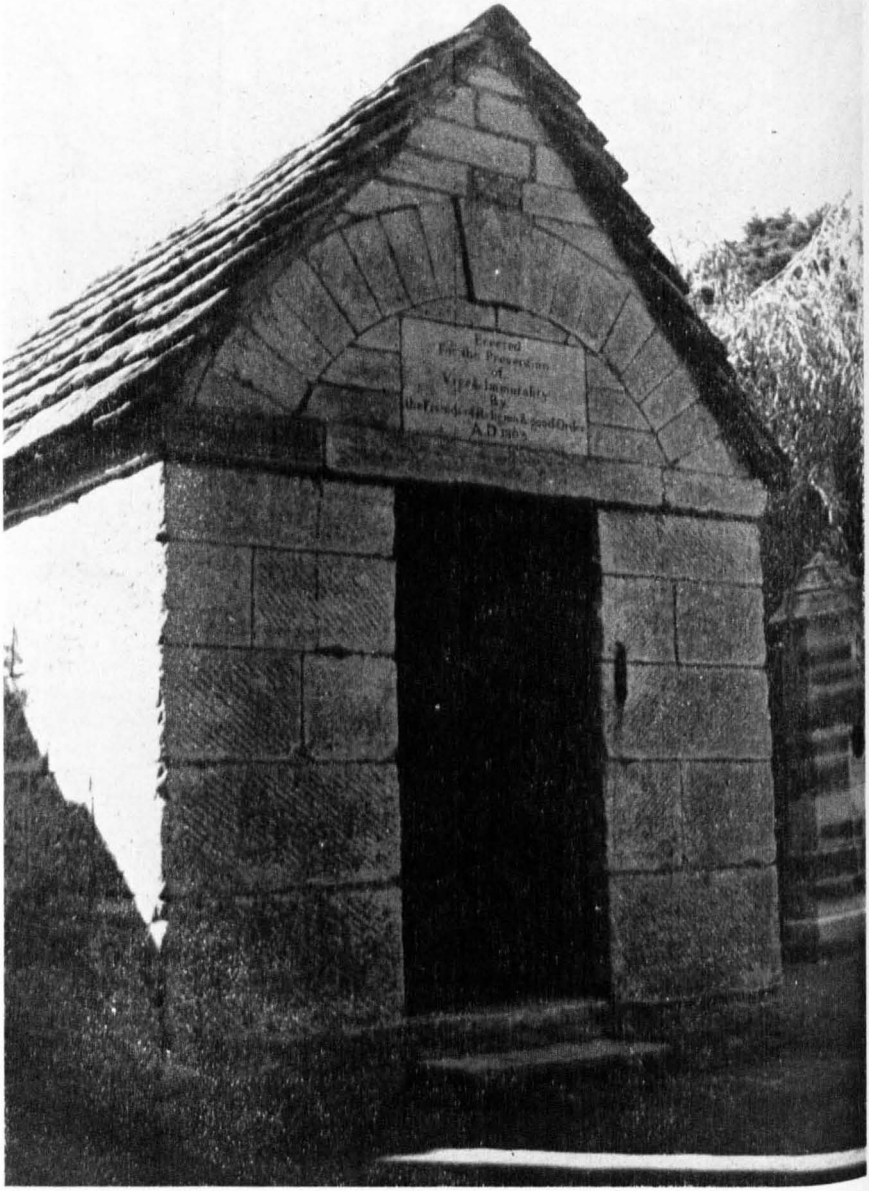


Georgian Watch-box and Lock-up — 1782 — Petersham, Surrey



Rural Prison *Lingfield, Sussex.*



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