

A STUDY OF PROBATIONERS IN THEIR SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is in 2 parts. Part 1 contains a description of the relationships which a sample of young male probationers had at home, at work, within their peer-group and with their girlfriends or wives. The material conditions in which they lived are summarised, and brief data were collected concerning their mental and physical health. Attention is drawn to the fact that difficulties in one sector tended to be statistically associated with difficulties in another; moreover the presence of environmental stresses indicated a greater likelihood of reconviction within 12 months of the probation order being made.

After the order had been in existence for 2 months, it was found that the quality of the probation officer's casework relationship was statistically associated with the client's parental relations, father-son and mother-son relationships, the probationer's contemporary associations, the level of support he enjoyed at work, and his personality characteristics. Furthermore a moderate or bad casework relationship was linked with a higher reconviction-rate. Thus the probation officers were best able to make a good relationship with those who appeared to need least help.

An attempt to devise a Stress Score was only moderately successful, and Part 2 describes a method of assessing the environment which was intended to improve on it. It isolates 3 areas of the environment - support at home, work/school and crime contamination - which, it is suggested, together make up a social system likely to partially determine the probationer's criminal behaviour.

The instrument was validated on a second sample (including juveniles); and statistical analyses were carried out to relate the environmental assessment to personality factors and to 5 different criteria of success on probation.

The thesis concludes with a brief discussion of the methodological and theoretical issues arising out of the research instrument.

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Ch 1 Probation and the Social Environment

For much of the time probation officers are working at the point where criminology meets casework; indeed the *raison d'etre* of their profession to-day might be said to be the conviction that casework has an important part to play in penal affairs.

The probation officer's responsibility to the courts not only involves him in the legal process of trial and sentence, but demands of him that he should know the results of such criminological and penal research as may be relevant in any particular case; for he is not only required to investigate on the court's behalf the social background and personality characteristics of convicted criminals, but, according to the Morison Report "if he is able to form a helpful opinion we conceive it to be his duty to express it"¹. It is true that, with reference to the Streatfeild Committee's proposal² that officers "should also offer opinions on offenders' suitability for other methods of treatment", Morison is rather more doubtful: "probation officers are not now equipped by their experience, and research cannot yet equip them, to assume a general function of expressing opinions to the courts about the likely effect of sentences"³. Nevertheless, as the boundaries of knowledge in criminology are extended there is little doubt that the probation service will be expected to avail itself of such facts as come to light and of such theories as are developed and confirmed.

However, as King has put it, "the probation officer is a social worker by tradition, by occupation, and by training"⁴. Certainly the origins of the probation service in Britain had a strongly humanitarian content, and its development in the twentieth century has been continually affected by changing ideas in social work. Although the simplest description of the probation officer's task has remained that which says⁵ that he shall "advise, assist, and befriend" those under his care, there

has also been an increasing emphasis on the casework approach. As Morison very neatly points out, the 1936 Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction "could describe the supervisory functions of the probation officer without using this term"; whereas the 1962 Committee goes to some length to describe "the essentials of modern probation casework", and even risks a definition: "the creation and utilisation, for the benefit of an individual who needs help with personal problems, of a relationship between himself and a trained social worker"⁶ .

Though the probation officer cannot deny that his work falls within the realm of criminology, both his training and his everyday experience make him primarily a social worker. This is so, even in his court work: "In pursuing social enquiries (the probation officer) is contributing to the court's work by presenting the results of his social work investigation"⁷ . In both diagnosis and treatment, casework principles - varying no doubt according to the age, training and inclination of the officer⁸ - are applied in the effort to provide effective treatment within the community for those who have broken the country's laws, and who are deemed by the court to be in need of supervision. The aim of everyone concerned in the sentencing process is that the individual placed on probation shall not offend again, and the officer carries out his work with this ultimate purpose clearly in view: a great deal of probation treatment is theoretically intended as a contribution towards a situation in which the law will not be broken. Unfortunately, although all officers (and magistrates too) have their own ideas as to the kind of treatment necessary to effect this end, we do not yet know in detail what kind of casework - or, for that matter, what kind of group work or community involvement - will positively help an offender never to break the law again, nor what kind of treatment (and there may well be some) will increase the chances of his doing so, nor even what casework approach

might be irrelevant to the long term aim in view.

Some officers may well say that they do know what particular forms of treatment to apply in specific cases; Parkinson, for example, has published a number of articles⁹ describing the application of different types of treatment in varying circumstances, and Barr has reported¹⁰ that many probation officers do not think that group work ought to be used with seriously disturbed individuals. Moreover, in their training, caseworkers are taught to discuss case-histories and to decide on the likely outcome of the application of contrasting forms of treatment. Later on, when they have taken up a post in social work, it may well be true that caseworkers learn how to deal with particular problems; it may also be true that such knowledge becomes virtually intuitive, and so can be applied with consummate skill; it may even be true that caseworkers - despite the common insistence that every case is unique - deal with so many people that they are able in their professional experience to see similarities in different cases, and so to develop something approaching a system of classification, albeit again intuitive. Nevertheless, if casework is truly developing a standardised body of knowledge about the treatment of specific cases, it is remarkable how little of this has found its way into print. Recently, in the United States, articles have begun to appear on particular aspects of treatment which suggest that we might be moving past the stage when journal articles and textbook chapters could be built around a single case-history; but, in general, the student will look in vain for concrete evidence of the relevance, irrelevance or positive harmfulness of this or that type of treatment in any given situation.

All too often, social work writers are compelled by the absence of research findings to fall back on generalisations which are of more value in theory than in practice.

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The Morison Report, while discussing the importance of the casework

relationship, says that the worker's "purpose is more profound than any environmental alteration he can achieve". This may well be so, although Wootton¹² and others would doubtless demur; but such a statement, even though it may conceivably be true, must be open to discussion, and preferably to investigation. Is it true in all cases, or in only some? Is there any danger that the assertion of such a doctrine might blinker the caseworker in his investigation of the client's social environment? Is there any possibility that the caseworker-in-the-field, once away from his text-books and tutorials, may find himself unknowingly changing the emphasis that he learnt in training?

Or again, from Monger: "While there are, undoubtedly, only too many clients whose environmental problems are overwhelming and whose need for help is unassuageable, certainly there are also others who, if they do not have a practical problem will manage to manufacture one, thus keeping the officer so fully occupied that he has always to remain at arms length, as far as the discussion of personal attitudes and problems is concerned"¹³. A fascinating distinction is thus drawn between two types of client with environmental problems; most probation officers (and other social workers, too) might well accept it as being an approximation to the truth as they have experienced it, and Monger is by no means unjustified in making his point, provided it is recognised that objective evidence on this is almost wholly lacking. The outside observer is compelled to ask, for example, whether we can be really sure that the distinction between the two groups of "environmental problem" clients is clear-cut. How do we know that those with environmental problems did not in some way 'manufacture' them before the social worker came on the scene? Is there a possibility that those who 'manufacture' problems to keep the officer 'at arms length' may also be those with the worst environmental problems in the first place? Is the 'manufacturing', in any case, deliberate at a conscious level, or is it an unconscious

defence mechanism? Is there any chance that the probation officer himself might accuse the client of 'manufacturing' problems because of limitations in his own personality or training which prevent him from coping adequately with the difficulties presented by the client?

There is no doubt that any competent caseworker could suggest answers to all of these questions, but they would be answers based on the worker's own remembered experience. The memory might be accurate or it might be inaccurate. What is so conspicuously absent from the casework scene at the present time is a body of recorded details on questions such as these. If, for example, there were available brief descriptions of a hundred cases in which a client had 'manufactured' practical problems, our knowledge of the situation - which is undeniably a tricky one for caseworkers - would immediately become more reliable than is possible at the present time. We could then begin to understand whether the phenomenon was as Monger described it, or whether it was simpler or more complex than he suggested. Above all, we might be able to see the process in relation to the client-worker relationship, and to examine ways in which it might be tackled.

What is so clearly needed is an extension of our recorded knowledge in casework, so that the hypotheses - for that surely is how we must regard them - put forward in the literature might be treated systematically, and so be rejected, amended, or confirmed. In the meantime caseworkers must continue to rely on their text-book theory, tempered by their own continuing experience, and by such findings as are relevant from the developing social sciences.

Criminology and the Social Environment

The development of modern criminology owes a good deal to the work of scholars with a sociological orientation, and different parts of the social environment have frequently been studied for their association with crime: the neighbourhood , family background , social class ,

p.19

Stuebs - - is there a real diff between
DC and DA?

ME - Don't PO's also affect selection process
as well as magistrates?

What is real difference between 'community' and
casework? [Ch. 1]

p.30

employment¹⁷, the gang and peer-group affiliations¹⁸, the overall social climate¹⁹. Most text-books devote a good deal of space to a review of the literature in this field²⁰, and in particular two recent books published in Britain have discussed comprehensively the concept of the social environment in criminology²¹.

There is, among criminologists, a general recognition that the social setting is a contributory factor in criminal behaviour, but that it is by no means the only one; there is disagreement about how much weight to attach to the respective areas of influence. Mannheim²² writes of ". . . our growing awareness of the preponderance of psychological over purely structural, i.e. external, factors", while Jones²³ can still mention critically sociologists like Sutherland "who writes as if almost all crime could be attributed to social as against personal factors". Axelrad²⁴ argues that "any complete causal explanation must contain elements from the two fields (psychology and sociology) if the occurrence of the phenomenon as well as variations in the rates of the occurrence are to be understood." Speaking more specifically, he goes on: "It may very well be that the same unconscious conflict may result in different types of deviant behaviour, or in conforming, retreatist or rebellious behaviour, depending upon the way in which the social structure permits the channelling of the conflict. But we shall not know the answers unless psychic factors are tested against social and cultural variables."²⁵

The Gluecks²⁶ argue that "it is differential contamination, rather than differential association, that is at the core of the etiologic process; and contamination depends not merely on exposure but also on susceptibility as opposed to immunity". In Family Environment and Delinquency²⁷ they look closely at the interaction of personal factors (in terms of both psychology and biology) and the social setting, and they conclude that "certain socio-cultural circumstances operate as catalytic agents in the delinquency of children possessing certain

character traits".

In the course of the report we shall certainly return to some of the ideas expressed by criminologists, but it must be emphasised that, for two reasons, the present work is not strictly comparable with the work of those students who have attempted an analysis of crime as a whole.

First, our samples are not random or representative samples of criminals, even within their restricted age-range. Apart from the usual limitation that the study is concerned only with criminals caught by the police, brought before the courts, and found guilty (most other studies have the same problem), it must be remembered that ours are even more restricted samples: they contain only probationers. Selection for probation has been made by magistrates, and while it is known ²⁸ that the process of selection varies greatly in different courts, in the same courts by different magistrates, and even perhaps by the same magistrate at different times, it is highly unlikely that selection was on a purely random basis. Among other things, it may have been influenced by the type of offence, the number of previous convictions, the demeanour of the offender, the report - if any - given by the probation officer (who may, in turn, have been influenced by a variety of factors), and above all, perhaps - because of what probation is in the eyes of the magistracy, and what its function is thought to be - by the known facts about the offender's family background and social environment. Thus it may well be that the samples we are using are totally unlike any random sample of offenders in the same age-group; and, in particular, they may well differ in the pattern of their social environment - the very subject that we are to be concerned with. Clearly, in such circumstances, it could be dangerous to make direct comparisons with other studies except those which have been undertaken on similar samples; and these are virtually non-existent, partly because of the paucity of research in this field, and partly because of the cultural differences in sentencing procedures and

penal treatment which make it difficult to be sure that samples in different countries are comparable. Of course, reference will be made to other work where it touches on the present study - in mental health, for example, as well as in criminology and penology - but the reader should bear in mind the tentative nature of such comparisons, and the limited conclusions that can be drawn from them because of the highly selected sample we are using.

Secondly, our major concern is not with the cause of crime or the aetiology of criminal behaviour, and we shall not be attempting to test out the theories of Cohen²⁹, or Cloward and Ohlin³⁰, or the Gluecks³¹, or the rest. We are presenting a detailed survey of the social environment as it affects the lives of teenage probationers and, we begin with the assumption that environmental factors are relevant, not only to the probationers, but also to the probation officers as they begin their casework treatment. Even though we are describing only the initial situation, our emphasis will be on the significance of these factors for treatment, and accordingly it may be thought that the present report falls on the casework side of the casework-criminology borderline that we have said is the domain of probation officers.

Casework and the Social Environment

If criminology has been bold and all-embracing in its analysis of environmental factors, casework has been always more hesitant and sometimes frankly ambivalent towards them. In the nineteenth century, of course, there were innumerable writers willing to blame the material conditions for all manner of personal problems; but this point of view found its chief expression at the level of political campaigning. Among those credited with the origins of casework, there were frequent doubts as to the wisdom of undue interference with the social order of things. Octavia Hill, for example, and Charles Loch both bitterly opposed Charles Booth's campaign for the introduction of old age pensions because of the harmful effect they might have on the character of the poor. In

Loch's opinion, the 'social habits' of people were the real cause of poverty, while Miss Hill wrote to a friend of hers in 1890: " I know in my heart of hearts what I think: and that is that it all depends of the spiritual and personal power"³² .

Octavia Hill's emphasis on the importance of the individual was a powerful influence on the early American caseworkers. Mary Richmond³³ , however, in her Social Diagnosis presented the case for broadly-based enquiries in social work which would take into account both the individual and his environment: "The mind of man" she said, "(and in a very real sense the mind is the man) can be described as the sum of his social relationships". Thus "in Social Diagnosis attention is focussed, not upon the individual as such, but upon the individual in relation to his social setting"³⁵ .*

For a short while, the work of Mary Richmond enjoyed great popularity, and indeed her stress on the need for accurate diagnosis before treatment was never again questioned. On the other hand, her emphasis on the importance of seeing the individual in his social setting was, if not lost, at least over-shadowed in the early 1920s by the immense influence³⁶ to be exerted by analytically orientated caseworkers. Virginia Robinson was a prime exponent of the Freudian approach, and accused Richmond of merely "describing" problems when she should have been attempting to explain their existence. Since then client-centred casework theory has developed rapidly, and few could deny the value to the social worker of many of its techniques, especially those concerned with the creation of a client-worker relationship, and with the acceptance by the worker of attitudes and behaviour which in many normal circumstances would be automatically rejected. The growth of professional casework owes a good deal

*See Todd's excellent essay (34) for a detailed analysis of the way in which the ideas of Hill and Loch were taken over by American workers, and of the perceptive arguments in Mary Richmond's work which anticipated by forty years the emphasis on sociological factors in social casework.

to the recognition of the importance of unconscious factors in human life, and to the apparent value of 'talking through' problems which might otherwise have seemed insoluble.

In spite of the apparent rejection of the Richmond approach, however, and in spite of the continuing emphasis on the individual client, caseworkers in practice have never entirely turned their backs on the client's environment; indeed it would have been impossible for them to do so, for the problems which clients bring (or for which they are brought) to their caseworkers almost always involve other people - parents or children, husbands or wives, landlords or employers. Moreover, even where the Freudian influence has been greatest, there have always been dissenting voices. As Monger³⁷ points out, "working with a view to ameliorating the environment for the benefit of the client, rather than with the client himself, is indeed an approach to social work which held sway for a number of years, and which still has its advocates in most services today".

In the last decade the concept of the social environment has re-emerged, not in conflict with analytical casework but as an essential adjunct to it. In 1961 Goldberg³⁸ suggested that "having by now securely incorporated into the theory and practice of social casework the basic tenets of dynamic psychology, we might usefully re-discover the social environment in which our clients move, not as a static framework but as a dynamic process continually interacting with inner personal forces". This development probably stems as much from the recognition by caseworkers of the need to incorporate into their theory environmental factors³⁹ as it does from the growing interests of sociologists in social work⁴⁰. Leonard⁴¹ goes so far as to suggest that "casework practice has deepened awareness of the need to consider the client not in isolation, but in the context of all his relationships with his family and with the outside world" while Monger warns against the probation officer's occupational hazard

of being tempted to deal with the offender in isolation, because of the court's concentration on the individual and because of the traditional reliance on office interviews for the casework process: "it is only when it becomes clear how distorted a view is sometimes obtained of an individual seen only in isolation and treated thus, that the complementary significance of all the areas of the life of the person concerned, in family, school, work, leisure, becomes plain"⁴² .

In Britain the recent work of Noel Timms has done as much as that of anyone to put casework into its social context. Not only does he believe that the relationship between the person and his society is perhaps the most important aspect for the social worker⁴³ but more important, he has emphasised the significance of the client's role relationships: "The problems which people bring to the caseworkers can very often be classified in terms of a breakdown in one or more significant roles and the caseworker will endeavour to find the reasons for such a failure, whether it is due to a role conflict that has been recently accentuated, to a failure in role definition between the participants, to a lack of resources necessary for playing the role, or to the fact that the person has had no opportunity to learn the role"⁴⁴ . The possible reasons that Timms mentions for the client's breakdown in his role playing are, it will be noted, not limited to a single type of factor: it could have been caused by situational stresses, by limitations in the personality or by psychiatric disorder, or even by the fact that his role-playing was effectively hampered by his cultural background.

In the United States Hollis⁴⁵ has written the most complete account of casework as a psycho-social therapy. She argues that casework has, in fact, always been this⁴⁶ , and says that "central to casework is the notion of 'the-person-in-his-situation' "⁴⁷ . Like Timms, she sees the situation largely in terms of the role network involving all the people with whom the client normally interacts. Hollis recognises that, since

Mary Richmond's time, we have tended to downgrade environmental treatment "as though it were something one learned to do with one's left hand, something unworthy of serious analysis"⁴⁸ . She points out that a great deal of environmental work involves very similar techniques to personal casework, for more often than not it requires contact with the people who make up the client's environment: teachers, landlords, nurses etc.⁴⁹

At the diagnostic level, in particular, the external situation is crucial, "because it is impossible properly to evaluate the personality except as it is seen in the context of the situation by which the person is confronted or, to put it another way, of which he is a part"⁵⁰ . In treatment, too, although "when the problem is one of interpersonal adjustment, the major undertaking is some form of change within the person seeking help environmental factors may, nevertheless, be contributing to the problem, or else may offer avenues for alleviating its severity"⁵¹ .

By concentrating on one particular aspect of casework - the social environment - there is a risk that, by implication, undue emphasis might be attached to it in relation to other aspects of the same field. This is not the intention in this report, even though it is suggested that in the past the subject has received insufficient attention from some casework theorists; it would indeed be regrettable if we were now to go to the other extreme, and to turn our back on what has been learnt about the development of the personality, and its effect on human behaviour. There is, however, little danger of caseworkers attaching too much importance to the social environment, partly because of the continuing strength of the analytically-orientated casework theorists, but also because treatment of the individual - difficult though it may be - is almost certainly more practicable in present circumstances than extensive involvement in the community.

Indeed, when one examines the concensus of opinion among those

casework writers who lay emphasis on the client-in-his-situation, it is clear that, although they insist that the environment is of equal importance with the personality so far as diagnosis is concerned, when it comes to treatment the worker "works primarily with the individual , but also enters into the environment when such intervention is in the client's best interest"⁵² . Monger echoes this appraisal in relation to probation: "the commonest approach is that of working with the individual client as the centre of casework, but at the same time regarding the environment as of great importance"⁵³ .

In diagnosis the main implication of this has been long recognised by the probation service; that a detailed social enquiry is a necessary prerequisite to the making of a probation order. The general acceptance by the courts of this procedure as a desirable step before sentence was confirmed by the Streatfeild Report⁵⁴ in 1961: the importance of taking into account the social environment is there stated unequivocally, and a detailed list of headings for coverage is given: " in most cases it (the social enquiry report) should include among other things, essential details of the offender's home surroundings and family background: his attitude to his family and their response to him; his school and work record and spare time activities; his attitude to his employment; his attitude to his present offence; his attitude and response to previous forms of treatment following any previous convictions; detailed histories about relevant physical and mental conditions; an assessment of personality and character"⁵⁵ .

Probation officers have been writing reports along these lines for many years, and although they are intended primarily for the use of magistrates, the work involved in their preparation plays a vital part in the caseworker's assessment of treatment needs. It is at this point that two difficult questions arise.

First, the probation officer, having made a broad survey of his client's social and personal situation, has to decide which problem-areas of it are relevant to the task in hand; this is not nearly so clear-cut as at first sight may appear. Is the probation officer's concern simply and solely to prevent the offender from misbehaving again, to give the offender "the best chance to reform"⁵⁶ ? In theory this is almost certainly so, but in practice probation officers cannot at present be certain that the work they do, the emphases they use, the techniques they employ are always those most guaranteed to prevent reconviction. Moreover their social work training gives them a broader outlook, and many would say that their aim was not merely to prevent the commission of further offences, but, more constructively perhaps, to enable him to function better in society. This conflict is referred to by Monger: "In much of the work of probation officers the client is referred not necessarily because he feels he has a problem but because society feels he is one; from this arises the question, how to deal with unrecognised problems? or, how far does the statutory caseworker go with problems recognised as such by the individual but not by the state?"⁵⁷ . The probationer may well be under supervision for two or three years without committing any further offence; before many months have passed, the memory of his court appearance may have receded into the background, and the casework relationship be governed not so much by his criminal conviction as by the difficulties that continue to exist or newly arise in his here-and-now situation. It is true that at times the probation officer may encourage the client to discuss incidents or feelings from the past, but the present will also give rise to personal problems, and as Monger points out it is these which emerge most clearly: "difficulties relating to feelings about people - about parents, children, husbands, wives, society, above all, self"⁵⁸ . Inevitably then it seems that the focus for the probation officer may become somewhat diffuse, with the

emphasis determined partly by his own training, experience, and preconception, partly by the life-situation of the client, and partly by the setting in which he works. It may well be that in this way, the probation officer obtains the best results; certainly at the present time no-one can offer any positive judgment that this is either so or not so. Neither criminology, nor psychiatry, nor casework itself have yet produced incontrovertible findings which enable the probation officer to know what emphasis to place on the client's personality or environment in this particular instance or that particular case. In the meantime we are left with such general statement as this: "A very large part of the time it is possible for the client to bring about environmental changes himself, and direct work with the client to this end is the preferred form of treatment" ⁵⁹ .

In brief, the probation officer is left to make his own assessment of the client's problems and to work with them in the hope and expectation that their relief will make reconviction less likely. At present he can get little help in deciding which problems deserve most priority if reconviction is to be avoided.

The second treatment question that arises out of the officer's social enquiry report is not concerned with priorities but with techniques. In so far as environmental problems are seen to exist, and given that they are deemed to be relevant to the aim of probation, how clear are we about the way in which they must be tackled? Throughout casework literature there is a broad consensus stemming from the belief in the client's 'right to self-determination'. This doctrine, which is fundamental to much modern casework theory, has something of a mixed parentage: it can certainly be traced back to the laissez-faire insistence on the right of any individual to refuse help ⁶⁰ ; it received its major impetus with the Freudian assertion of the individual's role in shaping his ⁶¹ own interaction with the environment ; and it has received continual

reinforcement from the bitter experience of social workers who have sought to intervene in a client's environment only to find their well-intentioned efforts frustrated by the opposition of those they sought to help⁶² . So far as it is possible for him to do so, it is insisted, the client must be encouraged to set about the solution of his problems on his own: "the caseworker's aim will be to encourage people to help themselves rather than be helped: to co-operate rather than obey"⁶³ . This theme recurs time and again throughout casework literature. Only when it is clearly essential to intervene in the environment will the caseworker do so, and even then, the client must remain the focus of the worker's approach, with the overall objective being "to increase the client's ability to handle his own affairs".

But what kinds of social intervention are of value? In which cases are they most likely to succeed? Given that the caseworker is severely limited in resources - time, energy, money, facilities - how can they be put to the best use in environmental treatment? Hollis mentions the basic needs for food, clothing, housing, and medical care; "intervention in the environment is also sometimes necessary to remove or lessen situational pressures that are causing strain for the client"⁶⁴ ; but detailed studies of environmental treatment, or of the part played by the environment in casework, are virtually non-existent. Hollis herself comments on the fact that articles are rarely written on the subject, but points out that "good examples of the treatment procedures involved are often embedded in discussions of the total treatment of individuals who need casework help with problems that either involve unusual environmental pressures or deprivation, or require special adaptation from the environment for their amelioration"⁶⁵ . Very little attention in probation casework has been given to this aspect of the subject, although Sinclair has prepared a report on the use made of probation hostels by officers, in which he discusses the extent to which environmental pressures lead to a boy being sent to such a hostel⁶⁶ .

With treatment techniques as with priorities, the probation officer is left to make his decision about the social environment unaided by research, and unadvised - except in the most general terms - by casework theorists.

We have seen that some writers, at least, in the field of casework see the social environment as an important factor - particularly in diagnosis, and to a lesser extent in treatment; and it has been suggested that, generally in social work and more specifically in probation, our knowledge of environmental factors is limited and impressionistic. It is true that individual social workers are well aware of the significance of situational stresses in the lives of their clients, but this makes it all the more imperative to study their incidence systematically, and to assess their relevance for treatment and outcome.

The present report is in two parts. Part 1 provides a detailed description of the social environment of a sample of male probationers aged 17-20. Part 2 describes an attempt to reduce this somewhat unwieldy mass of data in such a way that the total environment of probationers might be assessed and presented in a more succinct manner. In both parts of the report some consideration is given to the relationship between environmental factors on the one hand and reconviction-rates, personality factors and a limited number of treatment variables on the other.

One of the tasks of the probation project in the Home Office Research Unit has been to provide a systematic framework of knowledge about probationers, against which the probation service and those responsible for its administration could make detailed decisions about treatment needs; hitherto every serving officer has built up in his experience an impression of the problems confronting his clients, and - in the teaching setting, for example, or in the casework text books -

this has been passed on to others anxious to learn; but nowhere, in Britain, has there been provided accurate information about the nature, intensity and volume of the problems facing the service in its everyday work. It is hoped that this report will go some way towards satisfying that need so far as social problems are concerned.

PART 1

Probationers in their Social Environment

A study of male probationers aged 17-20
together with an analysis of those
reconvicted within twelve months

Chapter 2 The Study and the Sample

Probation and Research

Until comparatively recently, probation - and, indeed, social work as a whole¹ - has not had its own research programme. A number of statistical studies have appeared, notably, in Britain, that undertaken by the Cambridge Institute of Criminology,² while Grünhut's work on Probation and Mental Treatment³ is one of the few special analyses of probationers to appear in book form. In the United States, the last decade has, however, seen rapid developments in research projects of direct relevance to probation officers, especially in California.⁴

Research specifically directed at analysing casework techniques and the different aspects of social work treatment procedures has been rare, largely because of the absence of adequate tools for accurate measurement: "the arduous task of developing appropriate research measures for social work phenomena is one on which little progress has been made".⁵ Those writers who have contributed most to the theory and practice of casework (including probation) have had to rely on psychology and - more recently - sociology to provide such research findings as have proved relevant; in particular it is noteworthy that casework treatment has been greatly influenced by psychiatry, and although ideas have been adapted (perhaps, even, watered down) to the special needs of social work, their origins in the field of mental health provide an emphasis which may not always be applicable in all types of casework.

In 1961 the Home Office Research Unit set up its probation project, and much of its early work - including the present study - has been concerned with the provision of valid and reliable information on the problems presented by probationers and their relevance for successful outcome, and the establishment of accurate techniques for analysing treatment and for assessing its effectiveness.⁶

The aim of Part 1 of this report is to bring into focus the social factors that have relevance for the supervision of an offender in the community; its emphasis is on the ways in which the environment might be helpful or harmful to the probationer, the possible significance of the environment for treatment, and the observed relationship between the environment and reconviction rates. This aim is restricted to a particular age group of male probationers - those aged 17 and over, but not yet 21. (In recent years, this age-group has accounted for approximately 20% of all persons put on probation.⁷) By focussing attention on a group of probationers in this way, a more intensive study is made possible, and less time has to be spent in distinguishing between the wide variations in circumstances which arise simply because of age or sex differences; on the other hand, care must be taken not to generalise from the findings and draw conclusions for all probationers: without further study the results cannot be assumed to be applicable to women, older men or juveniles.

The work has been focussed throughout on the here-and-now setting, so that descriptions of family life, for example, are not necessarily an indication of the social history of the probationer, but simply reflect the situation as it confronted the probationer and the probation officer at the time the order began. This approach was followed for both practical and theoretical reasons: one was that, in any project of this kind, there is a limit to the amount of information which can be collected, and it was decided that it would be impracticable to ask for detailed case-histories in every instance; moreover current information was thought to be rather more reliable than that based on past records which might, in any case, not have been available; finally the aim of our work was not to study the aetiology or causation of delinquency, but simply to examine, describe and analyse the problems present when the order began and to relate these

problems to success or failure on probation. The facts presented in Part 1 of this report reflect that limited aim.

One very real difficulty in social work research is often found to be the lack of any satisfactory criterion of success or failure. This arises chiefly from the fact that social workers perform tasks the results of which are particularly awkward to measure objectively. In probation research - as in criminology generally - there is a potential criterion of failure which is objective: that of reconviction. Other workers in social research occasionally express envy at the good fortune of the criminologist in having his task made that much easier; but the criminologist, in turn, must be very wary of this unsought-for advantage.

Reconviction, as a criterion of failure is not without its limitations. Firstly reconviction rates may be a poor indication of the proportion of offenders who commit further offences: in any population of a hundred, in which, let us say, 25 are reconvicted within six months, there is no way in which we can be certain that the other 75 did not break the law during that time; indeed, some of them may even have been known to have broken the law, but, for one reason or another, may never have appeared before a court. Thus we have to be careful to remember that, while reconviction is something which the courts - and the general public, too - disapprove of, and often assume to be an indication of intransigence on the part of the defendant, its value may be limited as an indication of failure.

Secondly, it can sometimes be argued that reconviction is not necessarily a bad thing: Bessell⁸, for example has pointed to the fact that it is occasionally seen as a sign of increasing independence on the part of the probationer, and as such may be seen as a progressive step - but such an argument can only be regarded as an unproven hypothesis, and even if it were found to be valid, it might only be so in a limited number of cases.

p.26. Resonance rates. Are they worth
anything?

The alternatives to reconviction as a criterion of failure are numerous. Use can be made of the probation officer's assessment of the success of any particular case, but this involves all the problems of subjectivity, of definition, and of personal bias that workers in other social work research fields are burdened with; certainly there is no reason to suppose that such a system would be an improvement on reconviction. Or - as is done in the official probation statistics - 'successful completion of order' could be employed. This would produce results similar to those obtained with reconviction rates, for unsuccessful completion is always preceded by either a further offence or by a breach of probation; moreover it can be argued that minor offences will often be ignored, thus improving on the reconviction method. Unfortunately, the difficulties outweigh the advantages. Firstly, even after minor convictions, it frequently happens that the original order is terminated, and a new one made in its place; moreover different policies may be followed in different courts, by different magistrates, or in different parts of the country. Secondly, it is not uncommon for probation orders to be allowed to run their full course, even though a probationer has received a further conviction for which he may be serving a prison sentence or a period of detention. And thirdly - a major problem: successful completion of order takes no account of the different lengths of the probation period; depending on whether the order was made for one, two or three years, the probationer is going to have a greater or lesser chance of success on probation; the period at risk is not standardised.

Other possible criteria of failure might be related to the probationer's work record or to changes in his personal relationships, but there is no certainty that either of these would be in any way an improvement on the alternatives. All in all, it is argued that reconviction, for all its limitations, is the criterion most relevant for our purposes.

Throughout Part 1 the failure rate (F-R) refers to the commission of a further offence followed by reconviction during the first twelve months of the order, excluding only minor traffic offences (eg parking without lights), but including breaches of probation under section 6 of the Criminal Justice Act 1948. Offences committed before the order was made were ignored.

The Sample

Plans for studying the social environment of probationers were made in the summer of 1964. A questionnaire was devised after consultations with a number of probation officers; it was tested in a small-scale pilot study, and a number of amendments were introduced as a result. (For a copy of the questionnaire, see Appendix D).

The sample was gathered from eight probation areas which had not hitherto been extensively involved in the work of the Research Unit. The largest cities in the country were at that time already involved in the National Study of Probation, and it was necessary to exclude them; it was aimed nevertheless to secure a sample from different regions which would achieve a balance between urban and rural areas and provide contrasts between types of towns. The following probation areas were chosen: Beacontree, Bradford, Essex, Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland, Portsmouth, Southampton and the West Riding of Yorkshire (see Appendix C). While no claim can be made that the geographical distribution of the sample was accurately representative of the country as a whole, it is suggested that the areas used were sufficiently balanced in character to be seen as presenting a reasonable cross-section of the community.

In every case the probation committees and principal officers gave their willing assent to the research proposals, and throughout the project their cooperation has been of great value. During a three-month period at the beginning of the study the research worker visited almost all the probation offices concerned; thereafter, data collection depended almost

entirely on postal and telephone communication, and such value as the research report may have stems largely from the fact that officers responded so well to the extra burden put upon them. The probation research group has stated clearly⁹ that it sees its work as a cooperative venture with the probation service, and no-one could have asked for a higher degree of cooperation than was so readily given in this study of the social environment.

Officers in the eight areas concerned were asked to include in the research sample all men in the 17-20 age-range* placed on probation under their supervision on or after the 1st October 1964. In order not to ask too much of any officer, no-one was expected to report on more than four cases; but the first four after the starting date had to be included. Thus it was intended to exclude any element of selectivity for research, and a spot-check made in three offices did not reveal any cases which had been omitted.

Reconviction data were provided by supervising probation officers twelve months after each order began; a later check on the accuracy of the information provided was made by examining the probation records in each case.

Altogether 515 probationers fell into the sample, and of these only

* In the early stages of planning probation research it became clear that, because of the limited resources available, it would be neither feasible nor advantageous to attempt in the first instance a study of probationers of both sexes and all ages. It was accordingly decided to concentrate on the age-group which provided probation officers with their largest proportion of probationers outside the juvenile age range.

8 proved to be unresearchable*, leaving an effective sample of 507, collected in nine-and-a-half months.

The probationers were distributed in the eight probation areas as shown in table 2.1

Table 2.1

Geographical distribution

		%
Beacontree	58	11.4
Bradford	35	6.9
Essex	124	24.5
Leicester City	37	7.3
Leicestershire & Rutland	24	4.7
Portsmouth	23	4.5
Southampton	26	5.1
Yorkshire (WR)	180	35.5
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	
	507	99.9

Almost half of the sample were aged 17, and the proportion of probationers declined with increasing age. (Table 2.2) 488 of the probationers (96.3%) had been born in England, Scotland or Wales. Of the remainder, nine came from Ireland, three from the continent of Europe, and four from non-European countries; in three cases, the officers did not know the probationer's place of birth.

* The 8 cases were excluded for the following reasons:

2 were re-arrested immediately on leaving court, and the probation officer had no information about them;

5 cases presented difficulties of various kinds (committed to Borstal, admitted to a mental hospital, transferred to another probation area, probationer refused to cooperate, and probationer disappeared), and the officers concerned did not provide the minimum information available; efforts to obtain the information had not succeeded by the time the data-collection phase had to be terminated;

1 case was overlooked by an officer until it was too late to do anything about it.

Table 2.2

The Probationers' ages

		%
17 years	226	44.6
18 years	126	24.9
19 years	92	18.1
20 years	63	12.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	507	100.0

92.3% of the men were unmarried; of the rest most were living with their wives (or, in four cases, their common law wives). When it was realised that an appreciable minority of the sample were married, a supplementary questionnaire was devised for these cases (see Appendix D).

Table 2.3

Marital status of the probationers

		%
Single	468	92.3
Married/cohabiting	36	7.1
Divorced/separated	3	0.6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	507	100.0

The offence for which most of the men were placed on probation was one of dis-honesty (table 2.4).

Table 2.4

<u>Type of offence for which the probation order was made</u>		<u>%</u>
Breaking and entering (with or without larceny)	167	32.9
Larceny (other than breaking and entering)	198	39.1
Sex offences (other than indecent exposure)	11	2.2
Indecent exposure	8	1.6
Violence on another person	32	6.3
Malicious damage to property	4	0.8
Taking and driving away a motor vehicle	57	11.2
Fraud, false pretences	8	1.6
Motoring offences (other than TDA)	3	0.6
Miscellaneous*	19	3.7
	<u>507</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Inevitably, in a number of cases (57 in all), the probationer was simultaneously charged with other kinds of offences for which he was fined, given a conditional discharge, etc. For example, ten of those placed on probation for breaking and entering were also charged with separate offences of larceny, and eleven with offences of taking and driving away. In the present study, all references to offence behaviour in the text relate to the offence for which the offender was placed on probation - as shown in table 2.4. 73.6% were on probation for various kinds of dishonesty, with a further 11.2% having taken and driven away motor vehicles. Sex offenders made up less than 1/20th of the sample while only 6.3% had committed acts of violence on a person and 0.8% had maliciously damaged property.

* The miscellaneous offences included:

- 3 Being found in possession of house-breaking implements by night;
- 2 Aiding and abetting an escape from Borstal;
- 2 Being an accessory after the fact (both cases involving breaking and entering);
- 4 Unlawful possession of drugs;
- 2 Cases of drunkenness;
- 1 Obstruction of a police constable;
- 1 Indecent phone call;
- 3 Loitering with intent;
- 1 Breach of probation, under Section 6 of the C J Act 1948

Table 2.5

The Type of property stolen by the probationers

	<u>Breaking & Entering</u>		<u>Larceny</u>	
		%		%
Cash, cheques, etc.	46	27.5	72	36.4
Clothing, food	12	7.2	24	12.1
Vehicles, vehicle parts, petrol	2	1.2	34	17.2
Radios, jewellery, household goods	46	27.5	60	30.3
Cigarettes, alcohol, drugs	22	13.2	6	3.0
Details not known	1	0.6		
Nothing stolen (ie breaking & entering with intent, or attempted larceny)	38	22.8	2	1.0
	<u>167</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>198</u>	<u>100.0</u>

$X^2 = 36.50$, $df = 4$ (excludes those cases where nothing was stolen or where details were not known), $p < .001$.

The principal items stolen were either money, or goods which could be sold for cash. Further analysis showed that the breakers and enterers (table 2.6) were more likely to steal cash or property valued at £10 or over, even though almost a quarter of them stole nothing at all; the larceny offenders, by contrast, contained a much higher proportion who had stolen property worth less than £10.

Table 2.6

The value of the property stolen

	<u>Breaking & Entering</u>		<u>Larceny</u>	
		%		%
Under £10	33	19.8	106	53.5
£10 and over	96	57.5	90	45.5
Nothing stolen	38	22.8	2	1.0
	<u>167</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>198</u>	<u>100.0</u>

$X^2 = 25.82$, $df = 1$ (excludes those cases where nothing was stolen), $p < .001$.

Table 2.7

The source from which all the larceny offenders stole their property

		%
From work	34	17.2
From their own home	9	4.5
From a shop	32	16.2
From a gas or electricity meter	13	6.6
From a vehicle	25	12.6
From houses (including lodgings)	18	9.1
From the loser's person	2	1.0
From handbags	7	3.5
Miscellaneous	46	23.2
Information not known	10	5.1
Not applicable	2	1.0
	<u>198</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 2.7 shows the wide variety of sources from which larceny offenders took their stolen goods; the fact that the largest single group - 23.2% - is unclassifiable reveals how difficult it would be to summarise the information, or to draw conclusions about particular types of larceny offender.

Table 2.8

Places broken into by the breakers and enterers

		%
House	47	28.1
Shop, Cafe	74	44.3
Factory, warehouse	30	18.0
Social club	11	6.6
Miscellaneous	5	3.0
	<u>167</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The largest single group of breakers and enterers had committed **shopbreaking** offences (44.3%) while 28.1% were charged with housebreaking.

Of those on probation for taking and driving away motor vehicles, 32 had taken cars, 16 motor bicycles or scooters, eight lorries and one a mobile crane.

It was supposed that, in some cases, the criminal offence might be traceable to a particular factor in the offender's recent past, and officers were asked to say whether, in their view, there was evidence of any such precipitating factor. In 330 cases officers could put forward no clear-cut event or incident which seemed to have led directly to the commission of the offence; in the remaining 177 cases (34.8%) a wide variety of precipitating factors were reported (Table 2.9).

Table 2.9

The incidence of precipitating factors (as assessed by the probation officers)

		%
Unemployment, shortage of money	62	12.2
Eviction from home, digs, flat, etc	25	4.9
Argument at home	21	4.1
Argument with girl-friend, wife	19	3.7
Death of a relative or close friend	11	2.2
Argument at work	3	0.6
Miscellaneous	36	7.1
	<hr/> 177	<hr/> 34.8
No precipitating factor recorded	<hr/> 330	<hr/> 65.1
	<hr/> 507	<hr/> 99.9

A good deal of caution must be exercised in observing the data in Table 2.9; on the one hand, there may well have been factors in existence in some or all of the remaining 330 cases even though the probation officers were ignorant of them; and on the other hand, even where factors

were said to exist, no proof could be obtained that they were in any sense causative in their effects: it may simply have been fortuitous that they existed simultaneously with the incidence of an offence.

TABLE X1
TABLE X2

The fact that a particular offence was said to have been 'precipitated' by other factors in the probationer's life did not seem to have any effect on the offence behaviour itself, except that the offender was more likely to have broken the law on his own; this was especially so if the precipitating factors had included an argument at home or eviction from home*. Similarly probationers who lived at home with their parents were less likely to have been 'precipitated' into criminal activities than were those who were married or those who were still single but not living with their parents.

The type of criminal behaviour indulged in, however, showed no common pattern when it was said to have been precipitated: it was just as likely to have been any of the various offences generally reported, and, if stealing was involved, the value and type of property taken was no different from that taken in instances where there were said to be no precipitating factors.

37.7% of the probationers were first offenders, and a further 26.4% had only one previous conviction recorded against them. The rest, just over a third of the sample, had been before the court on at least three separate occasions, and some of them many more times than that.

* Tables with the prefix X are contained in Appendix A. References to them are made throughout in marginal notes.

Table 2.10

Number of previous convictions

		%
None	191	37.7
One	134	26.4
Two	74	14.6
Three	49	9.7
Four	22	4.3
Five	9	1.8
Six-plus	28	5.5
	<hr/> 507 <hr/>	<hr/> 100.0 <hr/>

No significant association was found between the number of previous convictions and the type or nature of the offence committed: for example, those without previous offences were just as likely to have stolen property worth more than £10 and those with a long string of court appearances behind them were just as likely to be on probation for petty pilfering.

407 of all the probation orders were made in magistrates courts (80.3%), 92 at Quarter Sessions (18.1%) and the remaining eight (1.6%) at Assizes.

The majority of the orders made (62.5%) were for a period of two years; (Table 2.11) and the length of the order was directly related to the number of previous convictions recorded against the offender: those with two or more court appearances to their credit were more likely to have been given three-year orders.

TABLE
X3

Table 2.11

The length of the probation orders

		%
One year	59	11.6
Two years*	317	62.5
Three years	131	25.8
	<u>507</u>	<u>99.9</u>

It has been shown¹⁰ that increasing use is being made of social enquiry reports in the courts; nevertheless, in the present sample 22.9% were placed on probation without any enquiry being made, and a further 6.1% of the orders were imposed after only a verbal report based on day-of-hearing enquiries.

Table 2.12

Enquiries undertaken by the probation officers

		%
Pre-trial enquiries made	173	34.1
Day of hearing enquiries	31	6.1
Remand on bail for enquiries	99	19.5
Remand in custody for enquiries	86	17.0
Childrens' Officer reported	2	0.4
No enquiry made	116	22.9
	<u>507</u>	<u>100.0</u>

No significant association was found between the criminal history of the probationer and the type of enquiry made about him - or whether any enquiry was made at all.

* This figure includes one order made for eighteen months, and another made for a specific period of approximately seventeen months.

As well as requiring the convicted offender to be under the supervision of a probation officer, the order "may in addition require the offender to comply... with such requirements as the court, having regard to the circumstances of the case, considers necessary for securing the good conduct of the offender....."¹¹ Generally these requirements relate to the need for good behaviour and industriousness on the part of the probationer, and insist on his maintaining contact with the supervising officer and telling him of any change in his residence or occupation. In some cases, extra conditions are imposed where the court feels them to be necessary. The most frequent additional requirement (used in 28 cases - 5.5% of the sample) related to the probationer's residence: it generally stated that the offender was required to live in a particular place - either because the probationer was without a home of his own or because the court felt that his present abode was unsatisfactory. The required place of residence might be an approved probation hostel or home, some other hostel, or the house of a relative or friend who had shown a willingness to help the probationer and who might be expected to exercise a good influence over him.

In eleven cases, the courts made conditions on the order which restricted the probationer from associating with specific people or from frequenting places such as public houses, social clubs or coffee bars. In two other cases, similar clauses required the probationer not to touch any alcoholic drink during the term of his probation order. Seventeen probationers were made subject to requirements of either in-patient or out-patient psychiatric treatment.

The Offence Data and Reconviction

Out of the 507 probationers included in the sample, 187 committed at least one further offence within twelve months of their order and were convicted as a result of it; two others were found guilty of a breach of probation under section 6 of the Criminal Justice Act 1948. These 189

probationers are the ones referred to throughout the report as having been reconvicted. They constitute 37.3% of the sample, thus giving an overall failure-rate (F-R) of .37 in the first twelve months.

The failure-rate was not found to vary significantly between the different probation areas participating in the study; nor was there any difference in outcome according to the length of the probation order given or the type of social enquiry made at the time of court appearance. The age of the offender (within the limited range 17-20) made no difference to the likelihood of further conviction.

Table 2.13

Failure rate of probationers according to previous convictions

<u>Number of previous convictions</u>	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>
None	.27	191
One	.33	134
Two	.51	74
Three	.43	49
Four or more	.58	59
		507

$$X^2 = 26.76, \text{ df} = 4, p < .001$$

The relationship between past offences and the likelihood of further convictions which has been noted in previous studies was confirmed.

(Table 2.13) The failure-rate rises sharply when two or more offences have been recorded already against the probationer, and, when we came to the 28 men with six or more previous convictions 19 had broken the law again within a year of their probation orders being made (F-R = .68).

No significant difference was found in failure rates between those who had committed different types of offences as defined by the broad categories in Table 2.4, but a stronger indication of the likelihood of failure was to be found if the probationer was said to have committed

his offence alone. Those who had been in the company of others had a failure rate of .31, compared with one of .47 for the lone offenders (Table 2.14).

Table 2.14

Failure-rate of probationers according to whether they committed their offence alone or with others

<u>Probationer committed the offence</u>	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>
Alone	.47	189
With others	.31	318
		<u>507</u>

$$X^2 = 11.74, df = 1, p < .001$$

Mental and Physical Health

The emphasis of the present study is on the social environment of a sample of probationers and, in order to be able to make the maximum use of the limited resources available, it was decided to restrict any consideration of personality factors*. In the questionnaire, officers were asked to make a broad assessment of the probationer's personal characteristics, and data were thus made available which enabled us to identify, within the limits of accuracy of probation officer's assessments, those with serious physical disabilities, those in some degree inadequate, and those suffering from any form of mental disturbance.

No attempt was made to secure medical details in the present study, as this was clearly beyond its scope; the probation officers were not competent to provide them, neither was the research worker competent to assess their significance. The question relating to health did not ask

* In the course of the study, experimental use was, however, made of the Jesness Inventory¹², and further reference to this will be found in Part 2.

for medical details, but enquired about the effect that any physical illness or disability appeared to be having on the probationer's life. In cases where ill-health was a major problem, there was evidence that officers were relying on medical advice.

Table 2.15

The extent to which physical ill-health or disability appeared to be a problem for the probationer

		%
Very much so	22	4.3
Slightly	56	11.0
Not at all	<u>429</u>	<u>84.6</u>
	<u>507</u>	<u>99.9</u>

In only 4.3% of the sample was ill-health or physical disability such a problem that the probation officer might have expected to find his casework seriously affected by it. The majority of these cases were, moreover, either disabled from birth or suffering from some form of diagnosed epileptic disorder (Table 2.16)

Table 2.16

Type of ill-health or disability reported by the officers

	<u>Very much a problem</u>	<u>A slight problem</u>		<u>Total</u>
				%
Diagnosed epileptic disorder	6	4	10	12.8
Physical disability, said to have been present since birth	9	11	20	25.6
Physical disability, other	3	15	18	23.1
Physical infection, or its after-effects	1	12	13	16.7
Other	<u>3</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>21.8</u>
	<u>22</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The question was not applicable in 429 cases.

$$\chi^2 = 12.60, df = 4 \quad p < .025$$

It was felt that, although no psychiatric report could be called upon by the research worker, it would be of value to have a thumb-nail assessment of the probationers' personality characteristics, so that comparisons would be possible within the environmental situations. It must again be emphasised that the judgments were made by the responding officers on the basis of their personal observations coupled with, in a number of cases, consultations they may have had with professional colleagues in the psychiatric or social work fields*. The emphasis was on the extent to which personality problems were seen as being likely to affect the normal life of the probationer, and the questions had been devised for use in earlier work undertaken by the probation research group.¹⁴

Problems of personal inadequacy were examined under three heads: immature personality, mental retardation, and character deficiency; a residual category was provided but was, in fact, hardly used. (For detailed definitions of these factors, together with the questionnaire, see Appendix D).

* It is customary for probation officers to have access to reports made by psychiatrists for use in the court proceedings; many of the assessments would undoubtedly be based on these. However, it is fair to point out that the ability of probation officers to make psychiatric assessments is sometimes challenged, and the data provided in the present report ought accordingly to be treated with caution. Mansbridge¹³ has recently said that "In Brockhill Remand Centre, at any rate, an appreciable number of medical and psychiatric reports to Court are instigated by probation officers working through the Clerk of the Court; of which more than half are negative from a psychiatric point of view, and sometimes a clear waste of time."

Table 2.17

Measures of inadequacy in the probationer

<u>Degree of severity</u>	<u>Immature personality</u>		<u>mental retardation</u>		<u>character deficiency</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
Very severe	12	2.4	3	0.6	8	1.6	3	0.6
Severe	72	14.2	30	5.9	38	7.5	2	0.4
Moderate	179	35.3	52	10.3	107	21.1	2	0.4
Mild	159	31.4	67	13.2	158	31.2	1	0.2
Absent	80	15.8	340	67.1	167	32.9	407	80.3
Don't know	5	1.0	15	3.0	29	5.7	92	18.1
	507	100.1	507	100.1	507	100.0	507	100.0

Immaturity was recorded as the most prevalent problem at a moderate or severe level, while character deficiency was also marked fairly high. Only 15.8% were said to be completely free from symptoms of immaturity, and Leonard's warning that "caseworkers need to be particularly careful of diagnosing individual clients as immature until they have taken into account the norms of the client's social class" might perhaps be relevant; "otherwise," he goes on, "they run the risk of applying this kind of psychological term to a whole social group, thus making it diagnostically valueless"¹⁵. The problem of mental retardation was comparatively rare, with only 16.8% said to have it to a moderate degree or more.

Mental disturbance was recorded similarly, with officers assessing the extent to which the probationer had neurotic or psychotic problems; particularly in connection with this question, officers often had the advantage of access to court psychiatric reports.

Table 2.18

Measures of disturbance in the probationers' personality

<u>Degree of severity</u>	<u>Neurotic</u>		<u>Psychotic</u>		<u>Other</u>	
		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
Very severe	1	0.2	0	0.0	3	0.6
Severe	28	5.5	2	0.4	5	1.0
Moderate	53	10.5	17	3.4	5	1.0
Mild	87	17.2	15	3.0	2	0.4
Absent	288	56.8	416	82.1	399	78.7
Don't know	50	9.9	57	11.2	93	18.3
	507	100.1	507	100.1	507	100.0

Whatever the limitations of this measuring instrument, it is clear that psychotic disorders were virtually absent from the sample, with only 3.8% suffering from such problems to even a moderate degree. Problems of neurosis were said to be present in an estimated 16.2% of cases at or above the moderate level. Other disorders were of minimal significance.

In order to make use of the data on the probationers' personality problems, and so that it could be adequately compared with the sociological information, the material was reduced to its bare essentials: the three elements of inadequacy (plus the residual category) were combined into one, and the two elements of disturbance (plus the residual category) were similarly dealt with. These two measures - of inadequacy and disturbance - were then joined together, and only those probationers who had been scored as having the problem or problems to at least a moderate extent were included. Thus we were left with a broad assessment of personality which isolated those said to be inadequate, those said to be disturbed, those with symptoms of both, and those free from either problem (remembering that those originally scored at the mild level are now grouped with those for whom the problem was absent).

Table 2.19

<u>Broad description of the probationers' personality characteristics</u>		
		%
Problems of personal inadequacy only	224	44.2
Problems of mental disturbance only	15	3.0
Problems of inadequacy <u>and</u> disturbance	90	17.8
Probationers free from either problem	175	34.5
No information	<u>3</u>	<u>0.6</u>
	<u>507</u>	<u>100.1</u>

Just over one-third were therefore seen as being free from personality problems, judged by the criteria described. 44.2% were said to be free from psychiatric disturbance, but were nevertheless inadequate - either because they were prone to immature behaviour, were mentally retarded, or revealed symptoms of character deficiency. Where mental disturbance existed, it was usually seen hand-in-hand with some kind of inadequacy; because of this, in further analyses, all those with symptoms of disturbance will be considered together - whether or not they were also seen as being inadequate. A total of 20.8% fell into the combined disturbed category.

Altogether only seven of the probationers had committed offences involving drugs: four were charged with being in unlawful possession of drugs; one with obtaining drugs by giving a false name; and two with larceny of drugs by breaking and entering a chemist's shop. Such small numbers prevent any detailed analysis, especially as only one of the men was said to be addicted. It is notable, however, that, as recently as 1964-65, the probation officer's caseload contained such a small proportion of drug offenders.

Mental and Physical Health and Reconviction

Not surprisingly, the mental condition as assessed by the probation officer was significantly associated with the failure-rate. (Table 2.20). Just over one-third of the sample were said to be free from personality

problems, and these had the low failure-rate of .26. 44.2% were seen as being inadequate, though not disturbed, and these had a failure rate close to the norm. The worst risk group were those thought to be in some way mentally disturbed: over half of them committed further offences within the first twelve months of the order.

Table 2.20

Failure-rate of probationers according to their mental condition

Probationer is said by his probation officer to be:	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>
Neither inadequate nor disturbed	.26	175
Personally inadequate, though not in any way disturbed	.39	224
Disturbed, whether or not he was also described as inadequate	.51	105
		<u>504</u>

$$\chi^2 = 18.30, \quad df = 2, \quad p < .001$$

No information was available in three cases.

By contrast, physical ill-health or disability did not appear to carry with them any greater likelihood of failure than was present in the sample at large, though they might of course have affected the type of casework required in individual cases.

CHAPTER 3 THE PROBATIONER AT HOME - LIVING CONDITIONS

Whenever the continuing existence of material hardship in the community is brought into public view, it can be relied upon to make an impressive, though short-lived, news item; accordingly, we are reminded, from time to time, of alcoholics living in squalor on bomb-sites, of old people with a lower-than-subsistence income, of overcrowding in city slums or of child poverty. Yet the subject of material stress has received but little emphasis in recent casework literature. "This topic has long puzzled and worried social workers. The granting of material aid has been seen as a relic of the paternalistic social work of the nineteenth century or as evidence of a less remote superficiality, that of treating symptoms and neglecting their cause. At the present time it is sometimes viewed as a necessary means of helping a family deal with its severe reality problems or establishing a relationship and thus paving the way for work on 'deeper problems'. It is nearly always treated as isolated from the main work with the family."¹

Timms² goes on to advise the caseworker to be prepared "to view the request (for material aid) as purposive beyond the simple acquisition of a sum of money or an article of clothing", but the uncommitted caseworker might feel readier to act on this advice if he could look to some study which showed how many requests for money, clothing, or for relief from environmental stress could not satisfactorily be dealt with at their face value. In some instances material stress is clearly related to other problems: "many studies show a high correlation between bad housing and social pathology, and there is much evidence to support the contention that poor housing conditions perceptively influence behaviour and attitudes. On the other hand, a good case can be made out for the idea that social pathology is

necessary to sustain bad housing, and further that society is bent on maintaining this pathology."³

Few social workers would doubt that the phenomenon of appalling home conditions in an otherwise affluent society is often associated with a complex range of sociological and psychological factors. In Britain the Family Service Units have concentrated on problem families and McKie has described how the difficulties faced by the children of these families become self-propagating: "They attend school irregularly, untidily clothed, perhaps dirty, even smelly; to teachers seeking to give their best to scholars, they are a source of difficulty and a drag upon the class. The children sense that they are not quite as the others, and this is reflected in their attitude and behaviour and their inability to benefit equally with their class-mates. Thus, these children, already penalised by their home conditions, are handicapped still further in their education for living, and they who need more loving, understanding and kindness, receive less."⁴ Clearly in such cases chronically bad home conditions cannot be thought of as easily soluble practical problems in isolation; if it were so, a straightforward change of environment would cure all, whereas, as several studies⁵ have shown, to move a slum family into a sparkling new house in the country may sometimes only create new and even worse problems.

On the other hand, if it is necessary to take psychosocial factors into account when studying material stresses, it is equally vital to record the details of the concrete environment if one's concern is with an individual's personal relationships or behaviour. "Casework therapy, however valuable otherwise, cannot be successfully applied in situations which fall short of what is considered essential"⁶. Although the absence of detailed research

into casework practice makes it impossible to know how much emphasis probation officers place on material surroundings, it is known that, both in diagnosis and treatment, living conditions and financial circumstances are by no means ignored. Court reports frequently contain details about the nature and cleanliness of the offender's home; and in treatment "the caseworker may spend much of his time in relieving environmental pressure"⁷. Probation officers are known to arrange for clients to receive help with clothing and occasionally furniture from the WRVS; sometimes they might provide financial aid, although this is usually done on a very small scale, and reference to the Ministry of Social Security would be the more usual procedure; Family Service Units might be alerted to the needs of a particular situation; and, of course, homeless men and women have to be found a bed for the night, or sometimes a more permanent home or hostel. It is not known exactly to what extent any of these procedures are utilised, and it is of interest that most of them are "enabling" processes not usually involving a great deal of active intervention in the client's situation. As King⁸ points out, "where the problem clearly stems from external pressure, such as overcrowding, the caseworker and client may concentrate on using community resources to bring about an improvement in environmental conditions".

The main aim of this chapter is to discover how much external pressure exists in the material circumstances in which these young men live, and what form it takes.

Of all those in the sample, 84.2% lived in a self-contained house or flat at the time they were placed on probation. (Table 3-1)

TABLE 3-1

THE PROBATIONERS' ACCOMMODATION

		%
Self-contained house	388	76.5
Self-contained flat	39	7.7
Bed-sitter	13	2.6
Lodgings	30	5.9
No fixed abode	25	4.9
Miscellaneous (eg hostels, the army, etc)	12	2.4
	507	100.0

With only 4.9% classified as being of no fixed abode (NFA), homelessness was clearly not a problem for the majority, and while there were some whose accommodation seemed rather precarious, most were able to rely on having a roof over their heads for the foreseeable future. No significant differences in personality characteristics (as assessed by the officers) were observable between probationers living in self-contained dwellings and the rest.

A more sensitive measure of contrasting home conditions is the extent to which overcrowding exists. "The assessment of overcrowding is inevitably arbitrary, and several different standards have been employed in this country at one time or another".⁹ The 1936 Housing Act laid down that the size of rooms should be taken into account when assessing the degree of overcrowding. Ideally, of course, no one could quibble with that, but in practical research terms such information is frequently unobtainable. Most studies have relied on the relationship between the number of rooms and

the number of people in the household; Rowntree¹⁰ suggested that this could under-estimate the level of crowding, and Chapman¹¹ introduced a modified scale to minimise the risk. In general, however, the simpler approach has continued to be employed, and a generally accepted definition of overcrowding is more than one person per habitable room.

In the present study the simple ratio of persons to rooms was used to assess the degree of crowdedness; all members of the household were included, and children were assessed equally with adults; all rooms were counted except the bathroom and WC. The details are shown in table 3-2.

TABLE 3-2

OVERCROWDING RATIO OF PROBATIONERS' HOUSEHOLDS

		%
2 or more persons per room	15	3.3
1.5 or more persons per room	36	7.9
1 or more persons per room	171	37.3
0.5 or more persons per room	214	46.7
Fewer than 0.5 persons per room	22	4.8
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: none; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> 458	<hr style="width: 100%; border: none; border-top: 1px solid black; margin-bottom: 5px;"/> 100.0

No information was available for 16 of the men, and the question was not applicable in 33 cases (including those where the probationer had no fixed abode).

Taking the broad view, overcrowding is not seen to have been an overwhelming problem for the majority of families in the sample. 51.5% of the probationers lived in homes where there were more rooms than people.

A further 37.3% came in the marginal category: conditions in this group might vary from the just-bearable to the severe, depending on the size of the rooms, the type of building, the age of the residents, and the amount of time that all the family were at home together. The level of "critical overcrowding"¹² is reached when there are one-and-a-half persons for every available room in the house, and in the present study 11.2% of probationers were living at or beyond that level, while 15 of these (3.3% of the whole) were in houses where there were 2 or more people to a room. The 1961 Census¹³ shows that in the population of England and Wales the proportions were as follows:

TABLE 3-3

POPULATION IN ALL HOUSEHOLDS AT DIFFERENT DENSITIES

	%
1.5 or more persons per room*	5.3
1 or more persons per room	32.1
0.5 or more persons per room	48.3
Fewer than 0.5 persons per room	<u>14.2</u>
	<u>99.9</u>

Rather more probationers in our sample (48.5%) were living one or more to a room than was the case with the general population in 1961 (37.4%); but comparisons with other studies¹⁴ suggest that the probationers were less troubled with severe overcrowding than has been found to be the case with problem families: Philp¹⁵, for example, found as many as 32% of his Family

* The criterion used by the Census was identical to that used in the present study, except that kitchens were excluded if they were not used regularly for eating in; the effect of this is to over-estimate overcrowding in the above figures, compared with those for probationers' households.

Service Unit families living 1.5 to a room or worse.

When probationers living one person or more to a room were compared with the rest of the sample, it was found that there was little apparent difference in the man's life; overcrowding did not mean greater unemployment or less job-satisfaction; and, more surprisingly, perhaps, there was no noticeable effect on internal relationships in the home, no matter whether the probationer was single or married.

Table X4 Those living in overcrowded conditions were, however, more likely than the rest to have been placed on probation for crimes of violence. McClintock¹⁶ has shown that violent crime in London in 1950-1960 was most prevalent in areas of high population density, and a number of studies¹⁷ have examined the relationship between overcrowding and violence in animals. There is no suggestion in table X4 that overcrowding in the home is the only or even the chief stimulus to violence in the individual, but there is undoubtedly a clear association between the type of offence and this aspect of the offender's environment. Moreover very few other characteristics were linked with violent offenders in this way, and overcrowding has no observable effect on any other specific type of offender.

It may be that the existence of crowded conditions at home creates a sense of pressure on the adolescent which, in turn, renders him liable to express his feelings in explosive fashion either on other people or on property (for the category of violence includes offences of malicious damage). The home, of course, is not the only place where overcrowding exists, and it is conceivable that crowded conditions elsewhere (at work, for example) might be found to be similarly associated with outbreaks of violence. No suggestion is made that overcrowding is a simple precipitating cause of

violent behaviour, but the relationship seen in the present sample is sufficient to justify further study of offenders who have committed acts of violence.

Table X5 There was an association between the crowded conditions of the home and the personality characteristics of the probationer as assessed by the officer: rather unexpectedly it was found that those who were neither inadequate nor disturbed were more likely to suffer from overcrowding. 55.9% of them lived in houses where there were more people than rooms, compared with 46.1% of those who were inadequate but not disturbed and 40.2% of those who were in some way disturbed. In this instance there is no question of the social conditions aggravating personality problems, or vice versa; instead, there appear to be 2 separate factors affecting the lives of these probationers: personality problems of one kind or another, and overcrowding in the home. Due caution is required for such an interpretation, for, in spite of the statistically significant negative association between the 2 qualities, there is still a large amount of overlap between them. Nevertheless, there does seem to be evidence of the existence of separate personality and social factors which may act independently on the probationer.

Table X6 A rather enigmatic association was found between overcrowding and the tendency of the probationer to go out with a girl. Those living with one person or more to a room included 79.4% who had a girl-friend of some kind, whereas those in less crowded conditions contained only 67.6% with a girl. It might be thought that those in a bulging household were simply more anxious to go out often, but there was no indication that they associated with peer-group members of their own sex more than the rest. It is

conceivable that these men, only too well aware of the difficulties inherent in their crowded homes, were taking steps to set up their own home rather more in advance of those living in households where there was plenty of room for them.

One of the effects of overcrowding can be seen in the degree of privacy enjoyed in sleeping arrangements (table 3-4)

TABLE 3-4

SLEEPING ARRANGEMENTS IN THE PROBATIONER'S HOME

		%
Had a bedroom to himself	264	55.5
Shared bedroom with brother	103	21.6
Shared bedroom with brothers	35	7.4
Shared bedroom with wife	33	6.9
Shared bedroom with other youth(s)	26	5.5
Slept in living-room	8	1.7
Miscellaneous	7	1.5
	<u>476</u>	<u>100.1</u>

No information was provided in 6 cases, and those of no fixed above (25) are not included.

The data confirm the general impression already obtained: that for the majority there was ample room in the home. Only 7.4% were with more than one brother and 1.7% were sleeping, not in a bedroom at all, but in the living-room on a camp-bed or couch.

The standard of furnishings in the home was generally good (table 3-5): 62.3% of the homes had furniture "sufficient for the family's needs, and showing evidence of planned selection"*; 30.5% had a "fair" arrangement

* Definitions for table 3-5 and table 3-6 were taken from the Glueck's work, as reported in "Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency"¹⁸. Grateful acknowledgment is made to them.

of furniture - "more than the bare necessities, but showing no evidence of planned acquisition or arrangement of furniture"; and only 7.2% of the probationers who had a roof over their heads at the time they began their order lived in a home where the furnishings were really poor - ie the bare necessities only, threadbare, drab and colourless.

TABLE 3-5

THE STANDARD OF FURNISHINGS IN THE HOME

		%
Good	294	62.3
Fair	144	30.5
Poor	<u>34</u>	<u>7.2</u>
	<u>472</u>	<u>100.0</u>

No information was available in 10 cases, 25 were of no fixed abode. For full definitions of the standards, see the text.

Probation officers made an assessment of the cleanliness of the homes (table 3-6), and found that 65.0% were, in their opinion, normally neat and clean; 27.4% were sporadically neat and clean, and only 7.6% of the probationers were living in a house described as being habitually disorderly and/or unclean.

TABLE 3-6

THE STANDARD OF CLEANLINESS IN THE HOME

		%
Good (normally neat and clean)	306	65.0
Fair (sporadically neat and clean)	129	27.4
Poor (habitually disorderly and/or unclean)	<u>36</u>	<u>7.6</u>
	<u>471</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Cases excluded: 11 for which no information was available, and 25 of no fixed abode.

Table X7 Not surprisingly those houses which were overcrowded were less likely to be always neat and clean, although it is interesting that, notwithstanding the inevitable difficulties, a still large proportion (51.1%) of those homes with more people than rooms managed to maintain a high level of cleanliness. Indeed it was noticeable that some of the dirtiest conditions prevailed in those houses where there was more than enough space - big old buildings in which the probationer lived alone with one parent, for example. In the sample as a whole, however, there was a significant relationship between a shortage of room and a preponderance of dirt or untidiness, suggesting that at least in some cases the latter might be avoidable if pressure on room-space were relieved.

Table X5 Whereas overcrowding was seen (page 55) to be associated with

Table X8 probationers free from personality problems, dirty and untidy homes were more common among those probationers with personal difficulties: 40.4% of those assessed as inadequate were marked 'fair' or 'poor' on cleanliness; 33.3% of the disturbed were in that group, and only 29.1% of those who were neither inadequate nor disturbed. Thus, although inadequacy and mental disturbance exist to some extent independently of overcrowding and can be seen in some cases as separate and mutually exclusive problems, the same personality factors are associated with the uncleanliness of the home, and might be a product of it, a contributory factor towards it, or be linked with other factors which in turn have produced both of them. It is of interest that overcrowding is an environmental situation over which the probationer's family might have little or no control, whereas the dirtiness of the home is largely dependent on the family situation and the quality of the personalities within it, and it is at least conceivable that the existence of personality difficulties in the probationer might in some

instances be linked with similar qualities in other members of the family, which may contribute to the quality and nature of the housekeeping.

Before leaving table X8, however, it should not be ignored that, in spite of the link between cleanliness and personality, in all groups the majority of probationers lived in clean homes; even among the inadequates 59.6% were said to be in homes normally neat and clean.

As a final measure of the kinds of living conditions enjoyed by this sample of young probationers, officers were asked to say whether the homes had the following facilities: a bath, flush toilet, electricity, hot water, television, refrigerator, washing machine. The results are shown in table 3-7.

TABLE 3-7

FACILITIES AVAILABLE IN THE PROBATIONER'S HOME

	Yes	%	No	%	Total	%	No in-formation	N/A
Bath	403	(85.2)	70	(14.8)	473	(100.0)	9	25
Flush toilet	451	(94.9)	24	(5.0)	475	(99.9)	7	25
Electricity	470	(98.9)	5	(1.0)	475	(99.9)	7	25
Hot water	409	(86.3)	65	(13.7)	474	(100.0)	8	25
Television	448	(94.5)	26	(5.5)	474	(100.0)	8	25
Refrigerator	145	(31.7)	312	(68.3)	457	(100.0)	25	25
Washing machine	308	(67.4)	149	(32.6)	457	(100.0)	25	25

Three of the facilities were present in virtually all homes: only 1% were without electricity, and only 5% without a flush toilet or television. Hot water and a bath were denied to 13.7% and 14.8% of the sample respectively, while 32.6% of the homes were without a washing machine. The refrigerator was the only facility, among those for which information was requested, which was not present in the majority of homes: 31.7% of the households

were said to have one. Even taking account of the fact that we are dealing only with offenders on probation, it would seem that we have come a long way since Bagot found in his Liverpool study (1941) that 85% of delinquents lived below standards that were considered necessary for 'the bare essentials of a civilised life'.¹⁹ There was every indication, indeed, that the probationers and their families were for the most part well in the mainstream of Britain's economic affluence, although once again it is necessary to draw attention to the existence of the minority group - however small - which is clearly shown in table 3-7. Whatever the majority might enjoy in the way of modern facilities, there is still a group of families who, for whatever reason, appear to be denied even the most elementary services in civilised living; and it might well be that the smaller the minority, the stronger the feelings of bitterness and denial - especially, perhaps, in the minds of young men growing up in conditions which they can see to be exceptional.

So far we have been able to observe the incidence of material stress in terms of overcrowding, poor furnishing, dirtiness, and the absence of facilities from the home. In order to get an overall picture of material conditions, a score was devised which drew together all the various factors, thus distinguishing those who had material stress in only one or 2 areas from those whose problems appeared to be cumulative.

Points were assigned to each probationer as follows:-

Did not have a bedroom to himself*	1
Furnishings - fair	1
- poor	or 2
Cleanliness - fair	1
- poor	or 2
No bath	1
No flush toilet	1
No electricity	1
No hot water	1
No television	1

The maximum score was 10.

Thus at one extreme of the scale, those probationers with a score of zero were in homes which were well-furnished, clean and tidy, and with all the main facilities; they had, moreover, a room which they could call their own. In other words, their homes could not conceivably be thought of as lacking comfort or material provision. Those with a score of one were almost as fortunately placed, and might only, for example, share a bedroom with a brother, or live in a house where the furnishings were "fair".

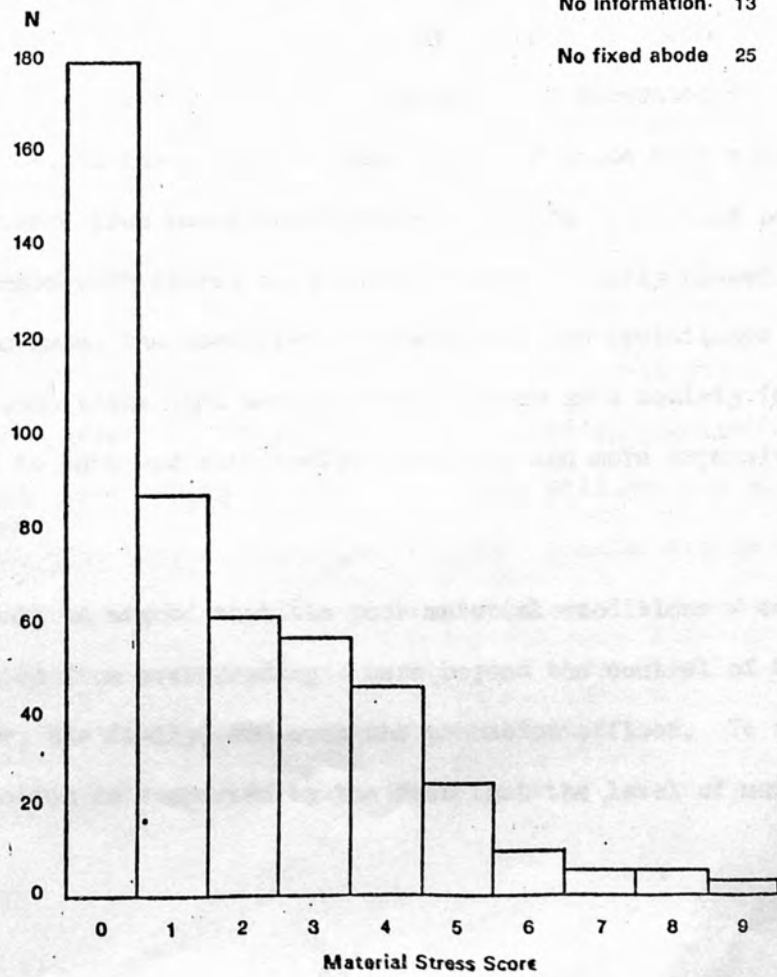
At the other extreme, probationers scoring 6 or more would be living in extreme slum conditions, while those scoring slightly lower would not be much better off. The details are shown in figure 3-8.

* In the case of married men, one point was scored if the husband and wife were having to share a room with their child.

Fig. 3.8
The distribution of material stress

	Material Stress Score									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Number	178	86	61	57	45	24	10	3	3	2
Percentage	38.0	18.3	13.0	12.2	9.6	5.1	2.1	0.6	0.6	0.4

No information 13
No fixed abode 25



38.0% of the probationers enjoyed indubitably good material conditions at home, while a further 31.3% had scores of one or 2, implying that such material shortcomings as there might have been were very slight - and, in general, would not be enough to have much effect on the life of the probationer or on the possible treatment programme of the officer. That left 30.6% (in addition to those of no fixed abode, who were not included in the analysis) who might have been identified as suffering from material stress to a greater or lesser degree. As can be seen from the histogram, there were 12.2% with a score of 3, after which the proportions fell rapidly, so that there were very few with the extreme scores, and none at all at the maximum level of 10.

In comparing the degree of overcrowding with the material stress score there is, of course, a degree of contamination because of the point scored if the probationer were sharing a bedroom; nevertheless the association between a house too small for the people in it and the material conditions in which they were living is much stronger than could be accounted for by the overlapping effect of one point. Whereas 79.9% of those with a material stress score of 0 were from homes where there were more rooms than people, only 25.7% of those with scores of 3 or more were similarly placed. The more crowded the home, the more likely it was that the probationer would be living in conditions that were materially poor in a society increasingly accustomed to more and more comfort and more and more expensive surroundings.

It might well be argued that the poor material conditions - especially if they resulted from overcrowding - were beyond the control of the probationer, his family, and even the probation officer. To some extent this suggestion is supported by the fact that the level of material

conditions varied significantly from one part of the country to another: conditions were better than average in Beacontree, Essex, and Leicestershire and Rutland; they were worse than average in Bradford, Portsmouth, and the West Riding of Yorkshire; and in Leicester City and Southampton the distribution of material stress scores conformed to the average for the 8 areas.

It was thought possible that married probationers might have worse material circumstances than those still single, but a comparison of the 2 groups showed no significant differences between them. Similarly the presence of physical ill-health in the probationer was not associated with the material conditions of his home.

Table XII Finally an examination was made to see whether the home circumstances related to the type and degree of criminality in the probationer. There was certainly a clear link between the number of previous convictions and the material conditions in the home. Of those with a material stress score of 3 or more, 49.6% had 2 or more previous convictions, and only 27.3% had a clear record; those with no material stress contained only 26.6% with 2 or more convictions and 44.6% with none. There are several possible factors which might contribute an explanation to the relationship. Most simple, of course, is the chance that of those getting into trouble for the first time, the ones with material stress are most likely to offend again, so that second, third, and fourth-time offenders, etc will contain higher proportions of men with home difficulties. Another possibility is that, as a young man gets more and more convictions, so his material surroundings deteriorate (as might happen, for example, if his parents refused to let him stay in their home, and he had to move into cheap lodgings or into a flat with friends). Or it is possible that, in the case of offenders with previous

convictions, magistrates might be unwilling to make probation orders a second or third time if the home circumstances appear to be in good order; it might be felt that such an offender is less in need of support in the community than of some form of punishment - detention, perhaps, or a fine.

Table X12 The actual type of offence varied according to the material circumstances of the probationer. It was found that those with scores of 3 or more tended to steal cash rather more often than the rest, and in particular, goods that could in turn be sold for cash - radio sets, for example, jewellery or small pieces of machinery. Those with low material stress scores were apparently more interested in taking vehicle parts, cycles, etc. The value of the goods stolen did not vary according to the probationer's home circumstances,

Table X13 but those with a lot of material stress were more likely to pilfer from their own homes, from another person's house or from gas-meters, and less likely to steal from work. Indeed, stealing from one's employer was very much the

Table X14 prerogative of those who came from comfortable homes - partly, perhaps, because they were more likely to have a job anyway.

Table X15 Young men from homes with better material conditions were more likely to have committed offences on their own, whereas those from poorer or dirtier environments tended to break the law in the company of others; on the other hand, there was no difference between the two groups so far as general relationships with their peer-group were concerned.

SUMMARY AND CASE EXAMPLES

Material problems should perhaps only be viewed in the overall context of interpersonal relations, and there are obvious dangers in attempting any classification of such stresses. Nevertheless there have emerged in our analysis clearly distinct patterns of material stress which inevitably

affect any diagnosis the case-worker may make and any treatment he may give. In this concluding section, an attempt will be made to describe some of the patterns of material background which have come out of this brief survey; no suggestion is made that it is comprehensive or final, only that it separates different groups of probationers who, in their material circumstances, appeared to demand of the caseworker a distinctive approach. Four groups of probationers are identified: those free from material stress (shown with scores 0, one or 2 in fig 3.8), those with moderate (3 or 4) or severe (5-10) material stress, and those described as having acute material problems (ie the probationers who had no fixed abode).

a. ABSENCE OF MATERIAL STRESS. In figure 3.8 we saw that 69.3% of those with a home (excluding 13 for whom there was no information) had material stress scores of 0, one or 2. These form the largest group and the one which, superficially at least, appears to have few problems in its material environment.

CASE EXAMPLES

i. Probationer comes from a good home and his parents are prepared to see that he wants for nothing. Lives in a council house, well-furnished, comfortable and clean. It seems that because of his comfortable and happy home circumstances, he feels that he has a responsibility to befriend and help his co-defendant, who is not so fortunate.

ii. Although the probationer's parents originated in the working-class, his father is now earning over £3,500 pa. The house is in excellent condition, and was recently bought for £10,000; it has a large garden, and the furnishings are well above average. The family is proud of its wealth, and anxious to maintain its level. The probationer, on holiday from boarding school, committed a series of breaking offences in the company of 3 other boys.

Within this group, however - apart from the inevitable marginal cases, which might fall into group b. - there will be a number of instances where the probation officer feels the home to be almost too neat and clean.

Unfortunately the data requested in the present study do not make possible an assessment of the extent to which this type of problem (which Monger²⁰ has discussed in some detail) existed within the sample.

CASE EXAMPLE

Probationer lives in a modern semi-detached house which the family are buying on a mortgage. The standard of furnishing is very good, and the standard of cleanliness "perhaps a little too high". Probationer's mother is very particular about the tidiness of the house; indeed she is continually apologising for its disorderly state when in reality it is in perfect order. Officer wonders whether the mother is implying that it is the home relationships which are in a mess, rather than the material condition of the home.

b. MODERATE MATERIAL STRESS. This group would contain those probationers clearly living in inferior conditions (scores 3 and 4); as shown in figure 3.8 they comprised 21.8% of those with homes, for whom information was available - a minority, but a not inconsiderable one. Material hardship as experienced within this group might have its foundation in a number of different, though possibly inter-acting, circumstances; at least 3 distinguishable groups can be identified.

i. Although conditions in the probationer's household are inferior to the national average, they may be identical with others in the same district, and there may well be no feeling of poverty or hardship at all. Such situations have become steadily rarer in Britain, and families who formerly

accepted bad conditions as an unavoidable part of their life, are less likely to do so now that their reference groups are changing, perhaps as a result of the growth of the mass-media.* Moreover it is well known that standards and norms acceptable to an older generation may be rebelled against by the young - as has been shown in the case of immigrants to the United States²¹.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer lives with his family in a 15 year old council house in a street known to contain a large number of delinquent families. His father is a coalman who is tired and lethargic when he is at home. Income is only just enough to provide for the everyday needs of the family of 9. There are curtains at the windows, but only oil-cloth on the floor - no carpets. The old-fashioned furniture reveals broken springs. Four boys sleep in one bed, 3 girls in another. The garden is strewn with rubbish, motor-bike parts, a broken-down perambulator. There are no Joneses to keep up with, even if the family felt so inclined.

ii. There appear to be some cases - probably very limited in number - where the probationer's family live in poor material circumstances as a result of misfortune; where family character and relationships are normal; and where the probationer's behaviour may stem directly from the material stresses in the home environment. This might lead to the rare occasions when material conditions are quite simply the main cause of any law-breaking.

* As social work becomes international, however, it would be foolish to forget that, although poverty as a way of life in the 1970s is increasingly unacceptable in Britain, poor material conditions are still the lot of millions of people in other parts of the world; and casework with such people has to take into account the extent to which material hardship is a part of the social pattern or is an aberration from it.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer's mother has disseminated sclerosis, his father bronchial asthma; there are 7 children.

The house is a council house, and although it is generally dowdy there are indications that the mother makes a brave effort at maintaining some minimum standards. The WRVS has supplied second-hand furniture, and there is a small rug on the linoleum. The house is not clean, however, and rent arrears are persistent.

The father works only spasmodically, and the probationer has been expected to contribute to the housekeeping expenses to such an extent that he has become resentful. He stole a saucepan from work to replace one recently burnt by his mother.

iii. The third type of situation is the one which has caused social workers to argue about the value of "working in the environment": it stems from the severe personality problems and limitations which the probationer and his family may present, and which inevitably are closely linked with any shortcomings in the material nature of the home. In such instances (the most extreme of which are the day-to-day concern of the FSU) treatment schedules must take account of the restricted potential of any of the involved family members, and of the limited value of environmental change. On the other hand, there is always the possibility that prolonged environmental stress has produced personality problems which might be relieved by an improvement in the situation; it is in such cases that there is most scope for effective intervention, provided diagnosis has been accurate.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer's father, in a steady though unspectacular white collar job, gradually became an alcoholic. Only latterly has it assumed serious proportions - he lost his job and left home for long periods at a time. Furniture was re-possessed, and the family were evicted from their 9 guinea flat. They moved into furnished accommodation, where the father's drinking grew worse, the mother deserted, and material conditions further deteriorated rapidly. The probationer committed a taking-and-driving away offence, and was made subject to a condition of residence in a probation hostel.

c. SEVERE MATERIAL STRESS. This group contains all those probationers living in conditions of severe material stress. 8.8% of those with a roof over their heads (figure 3.8) fell into this group, and it can be hypothesised that their situation would almost certainly effect, in some way, their response to probation. All 3 sets of circumstances mentioned in the last group apply again in this one, though b. and c. are likely to be the most important.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer's family are all of low intelligence (his IQ is 53). They live in a pre-war council house set aside by the Housing Committee for problem families. There are only 2 sons and there is no overcrowding; the probationer's mother, however, frequently offers a home to "lame dogs" who are usually as inadequate as the family. Furniture is provided by the WRVS; it gets rapidly worn out, and has to be replaced every six months. Nobody ever does any housework; the probation officer tries to help sweep up the living room. There is no bath, and a perpetual smell

of urine. The bedding is filthy, the garden disorderly; the family are under threat of eviction by the Council.

d. ACUTE MATERIAL STRESS. In this category can be placed those who were of no fixed abode at the time the order was made; in our discussions of material stress we have hitherto omitted this sub-sample, but it will be recalled from table 3.1 that it comprised 25 probationers - 4.9% of the whole. The main characteristic - or, at least, the immediate one - of the NFA probationer is that he presents an urgent problem for the probation officer to tackle: that of finding him accommodation. In some cases, the probationer may return home; in others he may go to a relative's or a friend's; in others to digs or a hostel; and in still others he may remain of no fixed abode.

CASE EXAMPLES

i. Probationer has been semi-vagrant for the past 2 years. Consistently on the move from place to place, he finds it extremely difficult to change his way of life. He is virtually a tramp and is dressed as one. After his court appearance, accommodation has been found for him in a Salvation Army hostel.

ii. Probationer has been in the care of the county throughout childhood, but left his foster-parents' home 10 weeks ago, and has been sleeping rough for most of the time. During the past week he has been staying with a friend, but his friend's mother will not now have him back. Youth club leader says he will give him a bed for the night, but probationer says he can stay with another friend. It later transpired that he returned to sleeping rough.

MATERIAL CONDITIONS AND RECONVICTION

Of the material factors in the home, cleanliness was most clearly related to outcome: the 306 probationers who lived in a home where the level of cleanliness was "good" had a failure-rate lower than the norm (.31), while

TABLE 3.9

FAILURE-RATE* OF PROBATIONERS ACCORDING TO THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THEIR HOMES

a. Factors significantly associated with failure-rate:

<u>Table reference</u>	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Signifi- cance level</u>	<u>df</u>
3.6 The level of cleanliness in P's home is "good"	.31	306	.001	2
3.5 The standard of furnishing in P's home is "good"	.32	294	.025	2
3.1 P lives in a flat or bed-sitter	.33	52	.025	3
3.1 P lives in a self-contained house	.35	388	.025	3
3.6 The level of cleanliness in P's home is "fair"	.42	129	.001	2
3.5 The standard of furnishing in P's home is "fair"	.42	144	.025	2
3.1 P has no fixed abode	.52	25	.025	3
3.5 The standard of furnishing in P's home is "poor"	.53	34	.025	2
3.1 P lives in lodgings, hostel, etc	.57	42	.025	3
3.6 The standard of cleanliness in P's home is "poor"	.61	36	.001	2

b. Factors not significantly associated with failure-rate:

Table reference

- 3.2 The level of overcrowding in P's home (df = 3)
- 3.7 The number of material facilities available in P's home (df = 4)
- 3.8 The degree of overall material stress (df = 5)

the small group of 36 who had to tolerate habitually dirty conditions showed a F-R of .61. The standard of furnishing, too, was associated with outcome, though not so powerfully. On the other hand, rather surprisingly, the degree of overcrowding had no material effect on reconviction; nor was

* In this table, and in all succeeding ones dealing with reconviction, a number of different tables are combined. The table reference in the left-hand column tells which was the original table in which data were provided. Significance levels and degrees of freedom relate to new tables in which the original frequency distributions have been divided into successes and failures.

any relationship found between failure and the number of material facilities available (table 3.7) or the material stress score which was devised to provide a composite measure of home conditions. Earlier in this chapter (page 58) a distinction was drawn between those material stress factors which might have been forced on the probationer and his family by outside circumstances (overcrowding, and a lack of basic facilities) and those factors which were found to be significantly associated with the personality of the offender (in particular, the cleanliness of the home). The comparative failure-rates would seem to bear out this contrast, and to further suggest the hypothesis that material stress (which was long thought to be associated with crime, but which in recent years has been somewhat discounted as a criminogenic factor) might now be seen as representing a bad prognosis for probationers only in so far as it is itself an extension of the probationer's own personal problems or those of his family. Overcrowding was unconnected with failure, but there is evidence from table 3.9 that those probationers not having the advantage of any home setting are particularly prone to failure: those living in lodgings or hostels, etc had a failure rate of .57 while those who were of no fixed abode on the day they appeared in court had a F-R of .52.

CHAPTER 4 THE PROBATIONER AT HOME: PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Just as the probation officer finds the material conditions of his clients varying from extreme comfort to slum-dwelling, so too the immediate human environment enjoyed - or suffered - by the probationer varies. The age range with which we are concerned includes at one end the "very young" 17 year old still closely bound up with his family of origin, and at the other the married 20 year old with one or even 2 children, a home of his own and the attendant responsibilities to his new family. In between are a whole range of young men, at different stages of growth and development, in adolescence or past it, at home or away from home, coping as best they can with the conflicting demands made upon them by society.

In terms of the socialization process, Davis¹ has pointed out that "there are 2 quite distinguishable categories of persons from whom the child acquires the sentiments, beliefs and knowledge of his culture. The first includes those who have authority over him, the second those who have equality with him". Of the latter, we shall say more when we come to look at the probationer's peer-group relationships and at his association with the opposite sex. Of those who have authority over him - and by authority is meant not simply the exercise of formal discipline, but also of informal influence - parents are clearly the most important in childhood, and suggests Davis², in adolescence too. There is often conflict, of course, between the adolescent and his parents, brought on perhaps by the very strength of the ties between the child-becoming-adult and the home in which all his life has been spent. "Adolescents are striving for independence" says a probation officer, "but at the same time are afraid of their responsibilities; they want to break away from home and yet they want to remain there"³.

It has frequently been emphasised in sociological studies⁴ that the family of origin remains a potent force long past childhood, and even after marriage. With the family retaining its importance for the client the caseworker is faced with a major difficulty in analysing his background for he has to be careful to avoid the danger that Goldberg has drawn attention to: that of comparing each case with some hypothetical "ideal" family⁵. "There is no sharp division between the normal and the abnormal (family), but rather a spectrum and an almost infinite variety of combinations of attitudes within it"⁶. The Family Discussion Bureau has done as much work as anyone in Britain to study the theoretical basis of marital relationships, and both volumes published by the Bureau⁷ stress the immense potential in families for coping with apparently "abnormal" or "conflicting" relationships provided the needs of the personalities involved are met by the matrimonial situation. Goldberg⁸ makes a similar point: "normality consists in a tolerable fit between what members of a family seek from each other and receive in return". The probation officer will usually be aware of the need to suspend judgment in associating any apparent conflict or failure in the family situation with the crime committed by his client; enough doubt has been cast on even such regularly enunciated "causes" of delinquency as the broken home⁹ and working mothers¹⁰ to discourage any over-hasty attempt to link specific family factors with generalised criminal tendencies.

The officer has to decide in each case which aspects of the home environment are relevant to his task and are also within his reach. Having examined the family structure, the officer might restrict himself to casework interviews with the client, whereby he can discuss matters of concern to the probationer, interpret his feelings towards his family or theirs towards him,

advise him on his association with the home environment, or allow him to ventilate his attitudes about the situation. In particular, with the age-group which is our concern, the officer might aim to help the client adjust himself to his changing role in his family and the adult world.

On the other hand, the officer might become actively involved in the client's environment by means of home visits (the positive or negative value of which have been discussed by Hollis and Goldberg¹¹) involving not only relatives of the client, but possibly landlords or even neighbours¹². The home visiting might take on an even more active form if the worker were to "communicate with certain kinds of clients by means of direct concrete service in the home"¹³.

Thirdly, the worker might decide - as a result of his contacts with the client and/or his family - that the relationships in the household were such that it would be beneficial for the probationer to be removed or to be encouraged to remove himself; such an occurrence might be related to particularly difficult parental situations, or it might arise if the probationer had already left home and were living in what the officer felt to be undesirable circumstances.

In the following section, we shall report on the relationships in the home as assessed by the probation officers; they include all those cases where the probationer was single, whether he was with his family or elsewhere; the married men's relationships will be examined later (Chapter 7).

TABLE 4.1

PERSONS WITH WHOM THE PROBATIONER WAS LIVING AT THE TIME OF THE COURT APPEARANCE

		Totals	%
a.	Parents	265	
	Father	12	
	Mother	44	
	Father and step-mother	5	
	Mother and step-father	22	
	Other	<u>2</u>	350 69.0
b.	Foster-parents	10	
	Foster-mother	1	
	Grandparents	6	
	Grandmother	<u>4</u>	21 4.1
c.	Sister	8	
	Brother	8	
	Landlord	26	
	Older friends	17	
	Contemporary friends	13	
	Alone	3	
	Other	<u>1</u>	76 15.0
d.	Sleeping rough	<u>25</u>	25 4.9
e.	Wife-cohabitee	23	
	Wife and own parents	5	
	Wife and in-laws	<u>7</u>	<u>35</u> <u>6.9</u>
		507	99.9

Had it been supposed that a considerable number of probationers in the age-range 17-20 were rootless and without home relationships of any kinds, a glance at table 4.1 would quickly correct that impression. As many as 69.0%

of the entire sample were still living at home with one or both parents at the time they were placed on probation; indeed just over half of all the men in the study (52.3%) had their original family intact with both mother and father present in the home. Where only one parent remained (whether or not that parent had married again), it was much more likely to be the mother than the father.

A further 21 (4.1%) were living with substitute parent-figures: grandparents, aunts and uncles, or non-related foster-parents. 39 (7.7%) were married, although at the time the order was made only 35 were with their wives; special consideration will be given to this group later on in the report, and they will not be further considered in this chapter. A further 101 probationers (20%) were also apparently not living with any parent-figure (although here, an older sibling or even a landlord was sometimes seen to be acting in a parental role). Of those living away from their parents or foster-parents, the majority were in regular contact with either their mother or father or both; the effective number of probationers in the entire sample who appeared to have no links at all with home was 48 (9.5%).

TABLE 4.2

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER'S PARENTS*

Good (ie compatible, with no undue quarrelling)	217	70.0
Fair (ie incompatible, but not leading to an open breach, except for sporadic separations)	75	24.2
Poor (ie the parents are living permanently apart)	18	5.8
	<hr/>	
	310	100.0

No information was available in 8 cases, and the question was not applicable in 189 (eg because the parent was widowed, the probationer was married or was living away from home).

* Many of the definitions of family relationships are taken, with grateful acknowledgement, from the Glueck's Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency¹⁴

Table 4.2 refers only to those probationers who were at home, and the findings should be interpreted with care because no detailed information was provided about the parents of those living elsewhere; it is conceivable, for example, that those probationers who had left home had parents whose marital relationships were much worse than those recorded in the table. The focus of the present study, it should be remembered, is on the here-and-now situation confronting the probationer in his environment, and we can see immediately that 70.0% of those at home were said by their probation officer to have parents who had a basically compatible relationship with each other. 24.2% were in homes where parental relations were unsatisfactory, and where father and mother were clearly incompatible although, for a multitude of reasons, they had remained together. Both of these groups included those households where a parent had remarried, so providing the probationer with a step-parent. Only a small group - 18 or 5.8% - were living with one parent in a home broken by divorce or separation, while a much larger number were in homes broken by the death of the father or mother.

Family cohesiveness, or the extent to which a family was said to call forth strong emotional ties among its members (table 4.3), was present to a marked degree in only 28.8% of all cases where the probationer was living at home, although in very few instances was it totally absent. It might be argued that the assessment of parental relationships gives a measure of the presence or absence of excess tension in the family, whereas the degree of family cohesiveness is more related to the positive strengths which the probationer is able to rely on in the home. Thus, although it is true that

most of the young men are comparatively free from the tension associated with parental incompatibility, only a minority, it seems, have the advantage of belonging to a family which provides a strong sense of belongingness.

Table X16 Not unexpectedly, there was a relationship between strength of family feeling and parental relations. Situations with a marked degree of cohesiveness were almost wholly confined to those families where the mother and father were on good terms with each other, and where there was no cohesiveness, it was more likely that the parents were either incompatible or living apart. On the other hand, whatever the parental situation, a majority of all families were given the middle classification: "some cohesiveness present".

TABLE 4.3

DEGREE OF FAMILY COHESIVENESS

		%
Marked	100	28.8
Some	214	61.7
None	<u>33</u>	<u>9.5</u>
	347	100.0

No information was available in 11 cases, and in 149 the question was not applicable.

Physical ill-health in the probationer was not, in this sample, significantly associated with his parents' compatibility level, but there was a

Table X17 link between mother-father relationships and the personality difficulties of the client as assessed by the probation officer. Those probationers who

were neither inadequate nor mentally disturbed were more likely to have parents who were fundamentally compatible: 82.5% of them had parents whose relationship was classified as good compared with 64.6% of those who were inadequate but not disturbed and 58.7% of those who were disturbed. The disturbed probationers had the highest proportion - 11.1% of parents who were living permanently apart. Thus the cases which suffer from environmental weakness or environmental stress, and which would most benefit from personality strength in the client are more likely to find him weak and inadequate or mentally disturbed. It is one of the challenges to modern casework to learn how best it can intervene in such a situation, and to discover to what extent and in what circumstances it can help the client to gain fresh strength to cope with his environmental difficulties.

Table XI8 A greater proportion of those probationers who were out of work came from homes where the parents were continually in conflict or where they had parted; but, once in work, the probationer's job satisfaction did not seem to be greatly affected by the quality of his parents' relationships.

Rather against expectations, there was not found to be any association between parental relationships and the probationer's tendency to go out with a girl. On the one hand the arguments between the mother and father did not deter their son from relations with the opposite sex; on the other hand, the unpleasantness of the home atmosphere did not seem to make such relations more likely.

By contrast, however, there was a very strong link between the quality of the parental relationships in the home and the kind of male company that the probationer kept: whereas 47.4% of those whose parents were on good terms mixed mainly with non-delinquents, only 30.4% of the sons of

Table XI9

quarrelling or separated parents did so; only 25.3% of the former mixed mainly with delinquents compared with 47.8% of those whose parents were incompatible or apart. Numbers said to be "lone wolves" were fairly similar in each group. Clearly there is here a further set of interesting circumstances. Just as personality problems were associated with parental conflict, so too, we now see, is the tendency to mix with a delinquent peer-group. Those probationers with the greatest tension in the home were those most likely to be under the influence of criminally inclined contemporaries; almost half of those who did not have the advantage of compatible parents spent their leisure time in the company of known or suspected delinquents.

TABLE 4.4

THE DEGREE OF AFFECTION SHOWN BY THE PARENTS FOR THEIR SON

	<u>By the father</u>		<u>By the mother</u>	
		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
Warm	158	52.7	158	47.3
Over-protective	30	10.0	131	39.2
Indifferent	71	23.7	27	8.1
Hostile	36	12.0	9	2.7
Ambivalent*	5	1.7	9	2.7
	<u>300</u>	<u>100.1</u>	<u>334</u>	<u>100.0</u>

$\chi^2 = 98.92, df = 4, p < .001$

No information	16	10
Not applicable	191	163
	<u>507</u>	<u>507</u>

A number of sociologists, writing of their observations of British working-class family life, have pointed to the frequently seen tension in the matrimonial tie, coupled with the warm bond between mother and child.

* The concept of ambivalence was not originally included in the questionnaire, but was written in on a number of occasions by the officer who felt that no other description was adequate; it is likely that, had it been included, it would have been more widely used.

Young and Willmott¹⁵ described the mother as the "head and centre of the extended family" in Bethnal Green; Henriques¹⁶ commented on the empty and uninspiring marriage relationship in a Yorkshire mining community, but said that the link between the miner and his mother produced the one and only trace of sentimentality in lives otherwise bereft of affection; and other writers have drawn attention to the significance of the parent-child interaction long after the 'child' has become an adult in his own right with a family of his own¹⁷. It may well be found that the nature of the family network is almost as important for the behaviour of the late adolescent as it has been shown to be for the infant. For whatever the inadequacy of the home may be, it remains the base to which the teenager returns when other environments let him down; and as such, its quality will determine the vulnerability of the individual to times of crisis.

From the data presented in table 4.4 it will be seen that the majority of the sample still at home were regarded positively by both their parents: in 86.5% of the cases, the probationer enjoyed the affection of his mother, although in slightly under half of these, that affection was described by the probation officer as "over-protective". The mothers' attitudes were overwhelmingly positive with only 13.5% being indifferent, hostile or ambivalent. 52.7% of the fathers were said to be warm towards their sons, and a further 10.0% over-protective. A larger proportion of the fathers had negative attitudes, with 23.7% indifferent, 12.0% hostile and 1.7% ambivalent.

Clearly statistical summaries of parental attitudes can only give a superficial portrait of the true position, and the reader will rightly assume that the complex nature of family relationships as they affect the late-teenager deserves further study; nevertheless, taken at their face value,

the figures shown in table 4.4 demonstrate that only in a small minority of the cases did the probation officer report that his client faced real hostility in the home - usually from the father; in a rather larger group was he treated with indifference - again usually by the father; and in most situations the probationer, whatever his own feelings, could rely on a warm or over-protective attitude from either or both his parents.

Table X20 Where both parents were at home, moreover, the majority of probationers enjoyed positive affection from both father and mother simultaneously.

TABLE 4.5

INTERACTING AFFECTION OF PARENTS FOR PROBATIONER (SUMMARY OF TABLE X20)

<u>Mother's affection</u> <u>for probationer</u>	<u>Father's affection</u> <u>for probationer</u>		Total	
	Positive %	Negative %	Positive %	Negative %
Positive	166 58.7	80 28.3	246 87.0	
Negative	10 3.5	27 9.5	37 13.0	
Total	176 62.2	107 37.8	283 100.0	

$X^2 = 22.38$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$. NB percentages are based on the overall total

The mother was more likely to be affectionate even if her husband had negative feelings towards their son; but if she were indifferent or hostile, then the chances were that the father would be the same; in only 10 instances was the probationer treated negatively by his mother and positively by his father.

The quality of the matrimonial relationship appeared to affect the way each parent felt towards the probationer. Good relations between the parents

Table X21 meant a warm attitude towards the son, while a lack of marital harmony was

Table X22 associated with negative attitudes on the part of the parent - particularly

so in the father's case, where the statistical connection was very marked. 74.0% of the fathers whose marriages were either unsatisfactory or broken were either indifferent, hostile or ambivalent towards their sons. So far as the mothers were concerned, the resilience of their parental affection overcame disharmony in marriage in most cases, but in the few cases where they showed indifference or hostility towards their offspring, it was generally claimed that their marriages were not working out. There was some evidence that, in those cases where the marriage was incompatible or broken, there was proportionately more maternal over-protection than in those marriages which were basically successful; moreover when the mother showed affection for her son in an unsatisfactory marriage (as she usually did) it was rather more likely that she would be excessive in her devotion, than just warm.

It was hypothesised that the tendency for parents to be over-protective towards their offspring might be determined by personal characteristics in the probationer; there was, however, no evidence for this. Neither the probationers' inadequacy, nor their mental condition, nor their physical ill-health seemed to affect (or be affected by) over-protective attitudes in either the father or mother. It might well be that more sensitive measures of personality would contradict this finding, but on the evidence available it seems that over-protectiveness as a factor in the parent-child relationship is more determined by the family situation than it is by the son's characteristics.

TABLE 4.6

THE EMOTIONAL TIES OF THE PROBATIONER TO HIS PARENTS

	<u>To the father</u>		<u>To the mother</u>	
		%		%
Attached	142	47.2	254	75.6
Indifferent	109	36.2	58	17.3
Hostile	41	13.6	16	4.8
Ambivalent*	9	3.0	8	2.4
	<u>301</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>336</u>	<u>100.1</u>
$X^2 = 56.52, df = 3, p < .001$				
No information	15		8	
Not applicable	<u>191</u>		<u>163</u>	
	<u>507</u>		<u>507</u>	

The emotional ties of the probationers to their parents (as shown in table 4.6) were assessed by the officers from their first-hand knowledge of the men and their family situations. The probationers had much warmer feelings towards their mothers than towards their fathers; in the latter relationship, indifference was almost as commonly found as emotional attachment. 75.6% of the probationers were said to be attached to their mothers, compared with 47.2% who were attached to their fathers; hostility and ambivalence were present in only 7.2% of the son-mother relationships, compared with 16.6% of son-father relationships.

Table X23 The emotional ties of the probationer towards his parents deteriorated
 Table X24 with the quality of the parents' marriage. The father in particular, would be likely to receive only negative emotions from his son if the marriage was failing or had failed; in the same circumstances, the

* The concept of ambivalence was not originally included in the questionnaire, but was written in on a number of occasions by the officer who felt that no other description was adequate; it is likely that, had it been included on the schedule, it would have been more widely used.

probationer would, it is true, be more likely to regard his mother with indifference or hostility than if the marriage were happy, but in a large minority of such cases the resilience of the mother-son bond would be sufficient to keep the probationer loyal to his mother even though the marriage were in difficulty.

As expected, the emotional ties of the probationer were largely reciprocal with those of each parent, although a comparison of table 4.6 with table 4.4 will show that the probationers were slightly less positive and more negative than their parents. In some cases warmth from the father or mother was repaid with hostility, or occasionally hostility from the parent by attachment from the son; but, in general, positive parental attitudes brought positive responses from the sons; indifference wrought indifference; and hostility led only to hostility repaid - especially in the father-son contact. An over-protective attitude in the mother appeared to be acceptable to most of the sons, although in some cases where the father was over-protective, there was evidence that the sons responded with hostility.

TABLE 4.7

PARENTS' CONTROL OVER THE PROBATIONER

	<u>By the father</u>		<u>By the mother</u>	
		%		%
Over-strict	24	8.0	15	4.6
Lax	83	27.8	143	43.5
Erratic	107	35.8	89	27.1
Firm but kindly	85	28.4	82	25.0
	<u>299</u>	100.0	<u>329</u>	100.2
$X^2 = 18.32, df = 3, p < .001$				
No information	17		15	
Not applicable	<u>191</u>		<u>163</u>	
	507		507	

In her study of deprived families Spinley¹⁸ has described how the adolescents were treated with almost complete indulgence, balanced only by occasional outbursts of temper when the parents made an abortive attempt at maintaining control. Other studies of urban family life have presented a similar picture, and it is, accordingly, no surprise that the modal type of discipline exercised by the fathers was reported as being erratic, and by the mothers reported as being lax. Where the probationer was living with his parents, 63.6% of the fathers and 70.6% of the mothers were either lax or erratic in their discipline. Only 28.4% of the fathers and 25.0% of the mothers were thought to be using firm but kindly discipline.

The majority of the probationers, then, were virtually free from any effective control at home; and in the event of their misbehaving in any way, they had presumably learned to expect either total indulgence or, at the most, inconsistent discipline from a parent well aware of his own inability to take a firm hand. The quality of the parents' marriage greatly

Table X27 affected the type of home discipline applied to the probationer: in
Table X28 marriages that were either incompatible or broken, erratic discipline was particularly common and firm control almost completely absent. In those marriages said to be good, on the other hand, the most common type of control exercised by the father was firm but kindly, although a majority of the young men were still treated erratically or with laxity; mother's control was still predominantly indulgent even when she was happily married, although where firm but kindly discipline was applied by her, it was much more likely to occur in compatible matrimonial circumstances.

Table X29 The kind of control applied by each parent was closely related to his or her emotional relationship with the probationer, particularly so far as the father was concerned. Fathers who were seen as over-protective or hostile were especially likely to be erratic or sometimes over-strict in their disciplinary attitude, while indifference towards the probationer meant,

perhaps inevitably, that control would be generally inadequate and ineffective; firm but kindly discipline, on the other hand, was virtually the monopoly of those said to have feelings of warmth towards their sons, although even where warmth existed, in a large number of cases (45.1%) control was still erratic or lax.

Table X30 When the emotional relationship is seen in the reverse direction, the young man said to be controlled firmly but kindly is most likely to be attached to his father, while inadequate control (lax or erratic) is likely to be coupled with indifference in the son, although a large minority were still said to be attached; where the discipline was over-strict, the probationer tended to be either hostile or ambivalent towards his father.

Table X31 With regard to the mother, the general tendency for her to be ineffective in the exercise of discipline can be seen, irrespective of her feelings for her son; even so, the over-protective mothers were more likely to be lax than any other group, while those said to be warm had a higher proportion (though still a minority) applying firm but kindly control. Erratic discipline was most likely where the mother was indifferent or actively hostile towards the probationer.

Table X32 We have seen how three-quarters of all the young men were attached to their mothers, and only in a small number of cases did the kind of maternal control used appear to affect this attitude. Over-strictness was very rare in the sample, but where it did occur it was likely that it would be associated with the sons' hostility or indifference; at the other extreme, where the mothers were firm but kindly, over 91.4% of the sons were attached to them; inadequate control was linked with some hostility and rather more indifference from the probationers towards their mothers, but on the whole

their loyalty was undiminished.

It is clear, then, that the control exercised by the fathers was closely related to their emotional attitudes towards their sons, and tended to receive an appropriate response in return. A similar pattern was present in the mother-son relationship, but to a much lesser degree, as the mutual affection appeared to produce a happy-go-lucky attitude in which discipline and control was either taken for granted, or perhaps not thought to be necessary or practicable.

The close relationship between the control exercised by the 2 parents can be seen when the patterns are compared in table 4.8.

TABLE 4.8

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE 2 PARENTS' CONTROL

	<u>Mothers control</u>		<u>Fathers control</u>					
	Over-strict	%	Lax/erratic	%	Firm but kindly	%	Total	%
Over-strict	1	0.4	10	3.6	1	0.4	12	4.4
Lax/erratic	17	6.1	141	50.7	36	12.9	194	69.7
Firm but kindly	6	2.2	22	7.9	44	15.8	72	25.9
Total	24	8.7	173	62.2	81	29.1	278	100.0

$$X^2 = 50.38, df = 4, p < .001$$

NB percentage figures relate to the overall total.

Clearly observable is the great extent to which both father and mother exert totally inadequate or erratic control; in over 50.7% of the cases where information was available and where the probationer was living with his father and mother, discipline from both parents was either lax or erratic. By contrast only 15.8% could rely on both parents for the exertion of firm

but kindly discipline, with another 23.4% receiving such control from one or other of their parents. When it is remembered that all those probationers living with only one parent or with none are excluded from the table, it can be realised how very few of the whole sample (9.4% of the single men) were in the position of having firm but kindly control applied by two parents. It may well be argued that the age-group with which we are concerned has attained a degree of independence which might in any case defy parental attempts at control; nevertheless each of these men has committed one or more offences which have led society to insist that some measure of control must be applied and if, as seems to be the case, it is unlikely that the parents will be willing or able to undertake the task, it is left in the probation officer's hands to do whatever can be done.

By combining the probation officers' assessments of parental affection and control with their analysis of the probationers' attitudes towards their parents, it was hoped to obtain an approximate measure of the quality of the relationship between each parent and the son. A simple scoring system*

* The scoring system worked as follows:

Parental affection:	warm	no points
	over-protective	1 point
	indifferent	1 point
	hostile/ambivalent	1 point
Parental control:	firm but kindly	no points
	over-strict	1 point
	lax	1 point
	erratic	1 point
Probationer's emotional ties to his parents:	attached	no points
	indifferent	1 point
	hostile/ambivalent	1 point

The maximum number of points obtainable - signifying the worst possible parent-son relationship - was 3; a probationer who scored none had parents who were warm in their affections towards him, exercised firm but kindly discipline over him, and received a degree of emotional attachment in return.

was used in which one point was awarded to each parent if the officer said that his affection for the probationer was other than 'warm'; one point was given if the control exercised was not 'firm but kindly', and one point if the probationer was not described as being 'attached' to the parent concerned. Thus the lower the score on the range 0 - 3, the more evidence there was for a better relationship between parent and son. (Table 4.9)

TABLE 4.9

THE QUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS PARENTS

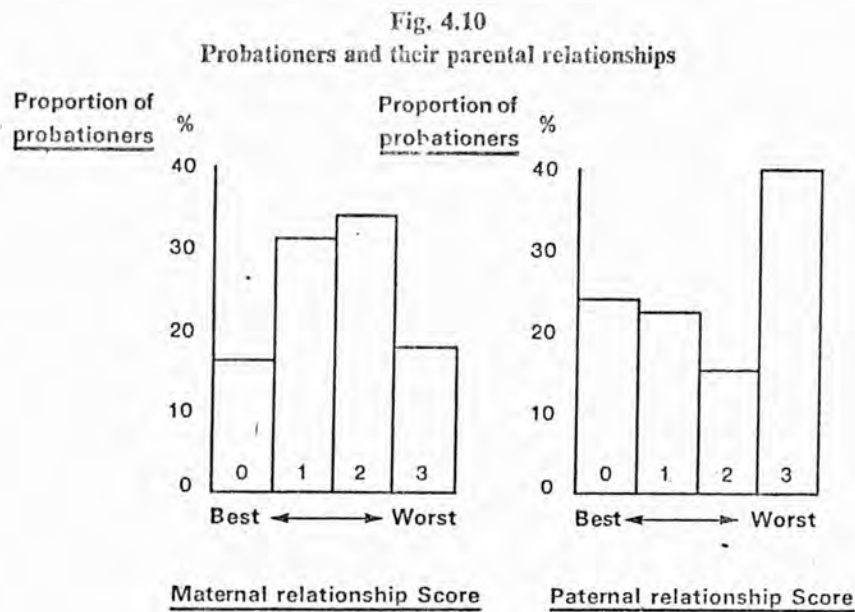
<u>Score</u>	<u>Interpretation</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>%</u>
0	the best possible	56	17.1	65	22.8
1	probably good	103	31.4	63	22.1
2	probably poor	111	33.8	44	15.4
3	the worst possible	58	17.7	113	39.6
		<u>328</u>	100.0	<u>285</u>	99.9

$\chi^2 = 54.21, df = 3, p < .001$

No information	16	28
Not applicable	<u>163</u>	<u>194</u>
	507	507

The way in which the 2 sets of scores are differently distributed along the scale is shown in table 4.9 and diagrammatically in figure 4.10. Whereas a clear majority of the women fall into the two intermediate categories - largely because of the many who were said to be over-protective and/or who exerted only lax or erratic control over their sons - a majority of the men were to be found in the 2 extreme groups.

Proportionately more of the fathers than the mothers had the "best possible" relationship with the probationers, but over twice as many fathers as mothers had the "worst possible"; indeed 39.6% of the fathers came into this group, signifying a very serious breakdown in father-son relationships, and a widespread renunciation by the fathers of their paternal role. By contrast, only 17.7% of the women had the worst score



possible, suggesting that between mother and son there would be less likelihood of a complete breakdown in communication.

Apart from that given by the parents, it was anticipated that the young men might receive a degree of support and control from other members of the household. 14.6% of those living at home received some support from a brother, 11.5% from a sister, and 5.2% from some other person - usually a grandparent. (table 4.11). The remainder appeared to be without any such ancillary support.

TABLE 4.11

SUPPORT GIVEN TO THE PROBATIONER BY ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE FAMILY*

		%
Brother	51	14.6
Sister	40	11.5
Grandparent	10	2.9
Aunt, uncle, cousin	6	1.7
Other	2	0.6
No support given	240	68.8
	<u>349</u>	<u>100.1</u>

No information was available in 6 cases. The question was not applicable in 152 cases.

In very few cases was it felt by the probation officer that a brother or sister could have much influence over the behaviour of the young man. Only 6.6% of those living at home received control from people other than parents, and in 12 of the 23 cases the control was, in any case, lax or erratic; in 3 it was over-strict, and in 8 it was described as firm but kindly. Only very rarely did an older brother, for example, take on the mantle of a father-figure and exercise effective discipline. There is no doubt that, although slightly less than one-third of the probationers enjoyed a degree of attachment to a non-parental member of the family, virtually none could expect any supplementary influence in the event of either or both of their parents failing to apply a firm hand - an event which, as we know, occurred in almost three-quarters of the home settings.

* Where more than one person was mentioned, the probation officer indicated who gave the most support, and only that one was counted.

Excluding the married probationers, 109 were away from home; some who were living with a foster-parent or a relative were classified as being 'away from home' if the arrangement was known to be a very temporary one.

TABLE 4.12

PROBATIONER'S CLOSE RELATIONSHIP IN THE PLACE WHERE HE LIVED

		%
Brother or sister	15	13.8
Other relative	11	10.1
Friend	8	7.3
Landlord	4	3.7
Other	4	3.7
No close relationship	<u>67</u>	<u>61.5</u>
	109	100.1

The question was not applicable in 398 cases.

Where the probationer had left home but was still single, the chances of his having a close relationship in his new residence were less than 50-50. (Table 4.12) 38.6% were said to have such a relationship, but in 13 of the cases it was, in any case, said to be one of indifference: hence virtually two thirds of those away from home had nobody in their place of residence to whom they could go in time of need.

Not unexpectedly, there was even less likelihood of anyone being in a position to influence the probationer in his behaviour, so far as discipline or control was concerned. (table 4.13)

TABLE 4.13

CONTROL EXERTED OVER THE PROBATIONER IN THE PLACE WHERE HE LIVED

		%
Brother or sister	6	5.5
Other relative	8	7.3
Landlord	10	9.2
Other	8	7.3
No control	77	70.6
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	
	109	99.9

The question was not applicable in 398 cases.

In 29.3% of the cases where the probationer had left home but was still single, some control was applied, but in exactly half of these it was in any case generally of a lax or erratic nature, and in 4 instances it was described as over-strict. Thus in only 12 of all the cases in this section was control firm but kindly; for the rest, discipline was either non-existent or ineffective.

SUMMARY AND CASE EXAMPLES

The principal relationships surrounding our sample of probationers in their homes can best be summarised by combining information about the probationer's link with his mother with that concerning his association with his father. These data (shown in table 4.14) refer to all the probationers in the sample, and reveal the extent to which they were able to rely on a parental relationship.

TABLE 4.14

THE COMBINED MOTHER-SON AND FATHER-SON RELATIONSHIPS

<u>The relationship between probationer and his mother</u>	<u>The relationship between probationer and his father</u>					TOTAL
	The best possible	Probably good	Probably poor	The worst possible	Father not present	
The best possible	23 (17.4%)	11	2 (11.3%)	11	7	54
Probably good	23	26	14	27	10 (9.7%)	100
Probably poor	13 (7.4%)	14	18 (20.0%)	43	15	103
The worst possible	4	4	6	28	14	56
Mother not present	1	7(3.2%)	4	3	148 (31.1%)	163
TOTAL	64	62	44	112	194	476

Insufficient information was available in 31 cases. The married men are included in the table. Percentages are based on the overall total.

$$X^2 = 327.72, df = 16, p < .001$$

- a. In 17.4% of the cases there appeared to be a situation in which the probationer enjoyed generally happy relationships with both his parents.

CASE EXAMPLE

Probationer has committed an offence of breaking and entering, along with 2 companions. His father is an ardent rose-grower, his mother a pillar of the local church; both have a gentle nature, and are seen as being essentially non-directive in their approach to their son; with the probation officer, they are always prepared to discuss their son's

attitudes, and indeed everything that affects the running of their family. Both the probationer and his sister are quiet, gentle characters. A recent jarring note has concerned the probationer's desire to wear a studded leather jacket; a compromise agreement was reached whereby the parents offered no objection to his going out in it - but only at weekends. When the probationer appeared before the court, both parents were supportive towards him, and showed real understanding of his feelings.

b. In 11.3% of the cases, the probationer's relationship with his mother was positive and that with his father negative; the scores show that the link with father was, indeed, more likely to be "the worst possible" than "probably poor".

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer, with one previous offence, stole 4 bottles of lemonade from a lorry. The father, a bricklayer, is an overbearing man, small in stature, and aggressive to all - including the probation officer. A strict disciplinarian, he has succeeded in keeping his large family out of trouble with the sole exception of the probationer. He punished him severely after the first offence, and has now rejected him completely. The mother is the complete opposite: a very friendly, acquiescent person. She is overworked in the home (her 11 children are aged between 12 months and 18 years), yet remains cheerful and understanding; she is probably the stabilising factor in the situation.

c. In 7.4% of the cases, the probationer's relationship with his mother was negative and that with his father positive; very few of these cases had "the worst possible" relationship with the mother.

CASE EXAMPLE

The mother, dressed rather awkwardly and heavily made-up, moves quickly and jerkily and is always talking in a high-pitched voice. She rules with a slap and an accompanying order. Several times in recent years she has complained of her son's behaviour - has hawked him round the agencies demanding support in her treatment of him. Now (he stole 2 pigeons) she has turned her back on him altogether. He is the only member of the family who has rebelled against her authority; he is severely enuretic. The father thinks the probationer is pig-headed, but accepts this as a phase of growing up, and is generally sympathetic towards him. Perhaps he enjoys the boy's rebellion against the mother? The probation officer fears that, as he is nagged like everyone else by the mother, he might be caught up in the same situation.

d. 20.0% of the probationers were reported as being in a home situation where relationships with both mother and father were poor.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer's mother is a small, guilt-ridden woman, always on the defensive. Although at times ambivalent in her attitude towards her son, she is in general rejecting in her behaviour. The boy's step-father did not know of the probationer's existence until he had been married to the mother for 5 years, when Grandma got tired of looking after the illegitimate child, and literally deposited him on her daughter's doorstep.

Step-father has made spasmodic attempts at discipline, but his relationship with the probationer has never been the same since, at a time when the marriage was on the verge of break-down, he tried to bribe the boy to take his side. Deception and mistrust are rife in the household, and the

probationer takes full advantage of the situation to play off one parent against the other. There is no apparent warmth in any direction.

- e. 9.7% had no father present, but lived with their mother.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer's parents separated some years ago, and for a long time he lived for periods alternately with each. Whenever he returned from one to the other, he was greeted as a long-lost son and given everything he demanded; on each occasion the parent would quickly tire of this, and the probationer would then change sides. Eventually the father grew wise to the situation and told the probationer to choose one or the other parent; he settled with his mother, but the relationship has become increasingly tense, and on 3 occasions now the probationer has committed offences after being thrown out of the house. He has a callous attitude towards society in general and to his parents in particular.

- f. 3.2% of the probationers were with their fathers but not their mothers.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer's parents have lived apart for 12 years, and apart from a period in an Approved School, he has been with his father all the time. The house has a cold air about it, and the furnishings, though adequate, are unwelcoming. The father works long hours, but nevertheless struggles hard to undertake the housewife's role as well as he can; within strict limits he has undoubtedly tried to make the most of an unpromising situation, and has been willing to offer the probationer, if not warmth, at least friendship and understanding- without success. The probationer has fantasies about his mother, and talks continually of her going to write to him, of her offering him a home, and of her eventually returning to his father and settling down. Although she is known to be in the area, she has not been seen for years. These fantasies affect the probationer's

relationship with his father; they cause him to leave jobs, and prevent him from coming to terms with reality.

g. 31.1% were not living with either parent; of these, 39 were married and this group is covered in chapter 7. As we saw in table 4.12, 42 (8.3% of the whole sample) had a close relationship with some person in the residence.

CASE EXAMPLE

This 19 year-old probationer came from a moderately good home, though the mother had an obsessional approach to cleanliness. Gradually relationships between her and her son (who had a dirty job, a mechanic) became strained. He became friendly with a mate at the garage, whose mother had 11 illegitimate children and ran a very easy-going household. Eventually the probationer moved in as a lodger, finding for the first time a home where no excessive demands were made on him. His health, which (like that of all his own family) had been poor, improved; he lost his sullen aggressive manner, and became more self-assured. Recently he has moved into the bed of the materfamilias, and has taken over the role of step-father to the family. Both parties are very much attached to each other, and, surprisingly perhaps, both have acquired stability from the situation. His probation order was made in respect of offences committed eighteen months ago.

The remaining 67 probationers (13.2% of the whole sample) were away from home, and had no close relationship with anybody in their abode: they include those recorded as being of no fixed abode.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer's mother died when he was 4; his father re-married when he was 7; since then he has lived with a number of different relatives, but now at the age of 19 he has been away from all links with his family

for 2 years. Twelve months ago he was in a serious car accident resulting in severe facial injuries which are currently being repaired with plastic surgery; in the meantime, he presents rather a grotesque appearance which has added greatly to his problems. Always with an air of rejection and misery about him, the probationer finds difficulty in getting and keeping work and lodgings. He has to return to hospital for 3-month spells twice a year, thus aggravating the problem of settling down. He frequently sleeps rough.

HOME RELATIONSHIPS AND RECONVICTION

Table 4.15 shows how criminal convictions in the family (ie offences known to have been committed by one or other parent or by a brother or sister living at home) reduced the chances of success on probation.

TABLE 4.15

FAILURE-RATE OF PROBATIONERS ACCORDING TO THE FAMILY'S CRIMINAL RECORD

	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>
No criminal convictions were known in the family	.33	332
Criminal convictions were known in the family	.45	<u>128</u>
Not applicable = 25 and No information = 22		460

$$\chi^2 = 5.39, df = 1, p < .025$$

When the quality of the home relationships is examined, there is an indication that the father's presence was of greater significance than the mother's. Whereas the existence of a mother-figure made no appreciable difference to outcome, the presence or absence of a father-figure clearly distinguished between failures and successes. (see table 4.16)

TABLE 4.16

FAILURE-RATE OF PROBATIONERS ACCORDING TO THE PRESENCE OF A FATHER-FIGURE

	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>
There is a father-figure in the household	.33	326
There is no father-figure in the household	.46	181
		<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/> 507

$$\chi^2 = 8.58, df = 1, p < .01$$

Those men (single or married) with a father-figure in the household had a failure-rate of .33 compared with one of .46 when there was no such influence present.

Factors in this section which were not significantly associated with the likelihood of failure on probation included: the social class level of the probationer's father, or whether he was unemployed, sick or retired; whether when the probationer was away from home, there was anyone in the household with whom he had a close relationship. The married probationers had an overall failure-rate slightly below the norm (.33), and it appeared to make no difference whether or not they were still living with their parents or in-laws.

Thus in the family network, likelihood of failure was greatest when the probationer lacked a father-figure, or when criminal behaviour had already occurred within the family, perhaps because it was seen by the probationer as an acceptable pattern of life. Once the family had broken up, the provision of other close relationships made little difference.

It would be rash to draw too firm a conclusion from such a finding when it is remembered that the study of the probationers' close relationships away from home was rather brief, but, superficially at least, it carries

rather depressing implications for the role of casework in providing adequate support and control for the probationer when he has left home. To what extent can a social caseworker adequately compensate for an absent family?

The complex nature of table 4.17 cannot mask one overwhelming piece of evidence: that the father-son relationship emerges time and again as being a crucial one for the eventual outcome of the order, while the link between mother and son is comparatively unrelated to failure or success.

Those probationers (22.9%) who had the best possible relationship with their fathers had a very low failure-rate indeed (.12). Taking each constituent factor separately: if the father's control was firm but kindly, a F-R of only .13 was achieved; warm affection from the father (present in 158 cases) led to a F-R of only .20 and probationers said to be attached to their fathers had a F-R of .19. At the other extreme, indifference in the emotional relationship between father and son, a lax or erratic disciplinary approach or paternal hostility towards the probationer all produced F-Rs of between .40 and .54. When the overall father-son relationship was said to be the worst possible, the failure-rate was .45. By contrast neither maternal affection nor control had any significant effect on the probationer's likelihood of reconviction; even the overall measure of the mother-son relationship was not significantly associated with outcome of the order. Only the probationer's emotional ties to his mother were found to give some indication of the chances of success; one of the highest failure-rates was found when probationers were said to be emotionally indifferent towards their mother (F-R = .50).

TABLE 4.17

Failure-rate* of probationers according to their relationships with parents
 a. Factors significantly associated with failure-rate:

TABLE REFERENCE

	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Signifi-</u> <u>cance</u> <u>level</u>	<u>df</u>
4.9 Father-son relationship is "the best possible"	.12	65	.001	3
4.7 Father's control over P is firm but kindly	.13	85	.001	3
4.6 P is attached to his father	.19	142	.001	2
4.4 Father's affection for P is warm	.20	158	.001	3
4.3 There is a marked degree of family cohesiveness	.22	100	.001	2
4.9 Father-son relationship is "probably good"	.22	63	.001	3
4.2 P's parents are basically compatible (ie the relationship is "good")	.25	217	.001	2
4.6 P is attached to his mother	.28	254	.01	2
4.4 Father's affection for P is over-protective	.30	30	.001	3
4.7 Father's control over P is over-strict	.33	24	.001	3
4.3 There is "some" degree of family cohesiveness	.35	214	.001	2
4.9 Father-son relationship is "probably poor"	.39	44	.001	3
4.6 P is emotionally indifferent towards his father	.40	109	.001	2
4.7 Father's control over P is lax	.41	83	.001	3
4.7 Father's control over P is erratic	.41	107	.001	3
4.4 Father's affection for P is indifferent	.42	71	.001	3
4.9 Father-son relationship is "the worst possible"	.45	113	.001	3
4.6 P is hostile towards his mother	.46	24	.01	2
4.2 P's parents are basically incompatible (ie the relationship is "fair")	.47	75	.001	2
4.6 P is hostile towards his father	.48	50	.001	2
4.6 P is emotionally indifferent towards his mother	.50	58	.01	2
4.4 Father is hostile towards P	.54	41	.001	3
4.3 There is no family cohesiveness	.61	33	.001	2
4.2 P's parents are living permanently apart	.72	18	.001	2

b. Factors not significantly associated with failure-rate:

TABLE REFERENCE

4.4 The type of affection (warmth, indifference, hostility, over-protection) shown by the mother for P (df = 3)
4.7 The type of control (firm but kindly, lax, erratic, over-strict) exercised by the mother over P (df = 3)
4.9 The overall measure of the relationship between P and his mother (df = 3)
4.4 The extent to which either or both parents exerted an over-protective influence over P (df = 3)

* See explanatory footnote on page 72

As in the work of the Gluecks¹⁹, family cohesiveness was closely related to success and failure:

	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>
marked family cohesiveness	.22	100
some family cohesiveness	.35	214
no family cohesiveness	.61	33

$X^2 = 16.95, df = 2, p < .001$

The relationships between the parents also affected the probationers' chances of reconviction; those whose parents were living together and were reported to be basically compatible in their mutual relationships had a F-R of .25, while those whose parents were basically incompatible were almost twice as likely to commit a further offence in their first year on probation - F-R = .47. The few probationers (18) whose parents were living permanently apart, and who had no parent-substitute to replace the missing one, had the highest failure-rate of .72.

The conclusions to be drawn from table 4.17 support those reached earlier. A cohesive family network and compatible parents were closely related to the probationer's freedom from further reconvictions; the most important single relationship, however, was that between the father and the son: the best chances of success occurred where the father exerted firm but kindly discipline, and where the mutual feelings between him and his son were warm and friendly. The likelihood of failure increased steadily as the relationship between father and son deteriorated.

We have seen earlier that the mother-son relationship was a very much more easy-going one, and we now see that, for the most part, it affected outcome very little: only in respect of probationers said to be emotionally

indifferent towards their mothers was there evidence of a particularly high failure-rate (FR = .50). Moreover the general concept of over-protectiveness by either parent was found to be unconnected to outcome.

CHAPTER 5 THE PROBATIONER AT WORK

There are few, if any, doctrines which modern society accepts as being more self-evident and less open to intellectual doubt than that which lays it down that all men, between school-age and retirement, shall have both the right and the duty to work. As Langner and Michael¹ have put it, "the centrality of work in our culture and in the Protestant ethic is widely recognised": "doing one's work well and, for that matter, just working are primary values in our culture." Social workers, then, might be forgiven for making the basic assumption that one of their primary tasks is to aid a client in coming to terms with society's demand that he shall obtain work and with such employment opportunities - however inadequate - as may be available to him. Goldberg² argues that "feeling useful and adequate at work seems linked with self-respect and self-acceptance in men and hence in tolerable functioning." Probation officers lay a good deal of emphasis in their social enquiry reports to the court on the work record of the offender, and on his present position and prospects, and in treatment "adaptation to work and to family responsibility is stressed. Emphasis is likely to be on meeting financial obligations. The part work plays in meeting the need for recognition and the need to belong is often underestimated. Probation officers spend considerable time in helping offenders obtain employment".³ Moreover one of the basic conditions of a probation order is that the probationer shall lead "an industrious life", and proceedings against him for committing a breach of probation can be taken if he fails to do so.

Many studies have produced evidence to relate difficulties in the work sphere with problems in wider areas of social functioning. For example, Langner and Michael say: "the work sphere is extremely important in judging the mental health of the individual",⁴ while Norwood East,⁵ Ferguson,⁶

Spencer,⁷ Reiss,⁸ Dunlop and McCabe⁹ and others have all found associations between either unemployment or job dissatisfaction and delinquency of one kind or another. On the other hand, many of these writers are aware of the limited use they can make of any associations discovered, for often the effect is only slight and may be far outweighed by other factors. The significance of the offender's employment record was one of the 12 'criminogenic' factors examined by Wootton¹⁰: she concluded that delinquents did tend to have much more unstable work records than non-delinquents and to be classified as "poor" workers; although the extent to which employment is a causative factor in delinquency is still far from clear.

That the relationship between work and crime is complex is not to be doubted. One reflection on this is the common complaint made by members of the general public and referred to by Mays: "How can you reconcile the existence of full employment, the Welfare State, and increased criminal activity?"¹¹ From another direction, the complexity of the problem is to be seen in the analyses which have been forthcoming from sociologists in Britain and the United States, which have attempted to study the incidence of crime - and of specific types of crime - in relation to the social structure which determines the working environments available to under-privileged members of society. Cohen¹², Cloward and Ohlin¹³, and more recently in this country, Downes¹⁴ have all argued that certain patterns of criminal behaviour appear to be inevitable, given the limitations inherent in our educational and occupational structures. The analysis even leads Downes¹⁵ into the field of prediction: "Even in the present status quo, the young male unskilled and semi-skilled worker gets a raw deal: if automation is allowed to constitute the prospect of under and unemployment in this sector, without adequate provision being made to revolutionise the school and further education systems, the raw deal will worsen into no deal at all. If the sizeable rump of non-skilled young male workers become convinced of their

own expendability, their reaction in terms of delinquency could well be explosive, and assume fully-fledged contracultural proportions."

It will be seen that the argument has moved into the realm of political philosophy, and this is not without significance. For the probation officer may be in a position to undertake no more than 'first-aid' in the field of employment; if the probationer is already in a steady position, the role of the officer may well be limited to straightforward discussion of the day-to-day problems that arise in the client's working relationships; if the probationer is in an unsatisfactory job or temporarily out of work, again the emphasis may be on casework interviews in which the client can be helped into a more stable position; but if the probationer appears to have real difficulties in coming to terms with the adult world and its demands on him in the work sphere, the officer could find himself more heavily committed. Indeed, he is almost as much at the mercy of the social structure as is the client himself, for clearly the economic circumstances of the time and place will play a major part in determining the ease with which a difficult client can be placed in a stable employment.

Monger¹⁶ quotes a typical situation which the officer may be called upon to cope with; "An inadequate probationer who finds it difficult to keep employment and whose experience has been one of successive frustration and despair as job after job has come to a premature end, may have some expectation that his officer will somehow solve this hitherto insoluble problem. If, by support and encouragement to him personally, plus a good deal of negotiation and assuagement of employers, the officer succeeds in effecting some improvement, the client may become able to use and respond to the relationship over a wider field than just that of employment." Clearly in a time of economic buoyancy such a programme of treatment is more likely to succeed than in a time of depression; and yet the probation

officer is confronted with the same problems in each situation, and has to tackle them as best he can. The data contained in this chapter were obtained when unemployment was at a low level in the country as a whole, although seasonal factors may have played a part in some areas during the winter; the inferences that may be drawn for the social worker's task must be seen in the light of the wider social situation; at times when unemployment is rife, the task facing the probation officer might be quite different.

WORK EXPERIENCE*

Out of the 507 probationers, 5 were still receiving full time education at the date of their court appearance, and 10 others were said never to have had a job of any kind - either because they had just completed their education, because they were physically handicapped, or - in 5 cases - for no apparent reason. No information was available in 20 cases, but of the rest 40.9% had recent work records which could be described as unsteady - ie the average length of their last 2 jobs had been less than 3 months (table 5.1).

*For 2 reasons it was decided to limit the extent of our enquiry into the probationer's previous work record. First, the whole emphasis of the study was on the here-and-now situation, so that any detailed examination of past history was automatically excluded. Secondly, in the Research Unit's earlier work, some difficulty had been experienced in obtaining completely reliable data about probationers' work records: often the men themselves were rather vague, especially about dates and wage-levels; and especially in the urban areas the casual work-patterns of young unskilled employees sometimes defied classification. Accordingly, it was decided in the present study to limit our enquiries to the 2 jobs prior to the one held at the time the offender was placed on probation. This would achieve 2 aims: it would provide only such data as were most relevant to the here-and-now situation - ie that which had most recently affected the man's life; and it would, it was hoped, provide an adequate measure of the work stability of the client. Moreover it was felt that the reliability of the information would be greater if only the most recent jobs were recorded.

The factual information about the probationer's past work record and the details of his present occupation or his unemployment were provided by the probation officer, if necessary in consultation with his client. The details about the probationers' attitudes to their jobs were obtained by means of a direct questionnaire administered verbally by the officer.

TABLE 5.1

The average length of the probationer's last 2 jobs (ie excluding his present one, if he is in work); if probationer had only held one previous job, the length of this one was recorded

			%
UNSTEADY	{ Less than a week	10	2.1
	{ One week - less than a month	76	16.1
	{ One month - less than 3 months	107	22.7
MODERATE	{ 3 months - less than 6 months	70	14.8
	{ 6 months - less than a year	82	17.4
STEADY	{ One year - less than 2 years	60	12.7
	{ 2 years or more	21	4.4
	{ No jobs prior to his present one	46	9.7
		472	99.9

No information was available in 20 cases; the question was not applicable in 15.

152 (32.2%) were in the middle group, having held jobs down for something between 3 months and a year, while 26.8% clearly had steady work records, having held previous jobs for over a year on average or still being in the same job that they had taken on leaving school. It must be remembered that the age-group under consideration contained a large number of youths still, perhaps, 'trying out' occupations before settling down, and in some of those cases with poor work records the problem may have stemmed as much from the type of occupation as from any instability in the individual.

TABLE 5.2

THE LENGTH OF TIME PROBATIONER HAD BEEN IN HIS PRESENT JOB		
		%
Less than one week	20	4.0
One week - less than a month	62	12.4
One month - less than 3 months	59	11.8
3 months - less than 6 months	37	7.4
6 months - less than a year	27	5.4
One year - less than 2 years	38	7.6
2 years or more	51	10.2
Unemployed	<u>204</u>	<u>41.0</u>
	498	99.8

The question was not applicable in 5 cases, and no information was available in 4 cases

At the time of their court appearance, however, 41.0% of the whole sample were unemployed; 28.2% had been in their job for less than 3 months; and only 30.6% had a place of employment which might have been considered - because of the length of time they had been there - a stabilising factor. If, as Wheeler¹⁷ put it, "one of the major adjustments of the individual to society in the period of youth is the finding and holding down of a job", then these probationers would seem to have a fair amount of adjustment still to undergo.

TABLE 5.3

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PROBATIONER TO HIS LAST 2 JOBS		
		%
He liked both of them	102	21.3
Only one previous job: he liked it	30	6.3
He liked one out of 2	156	32.5
He disliked both of them	121	25.2
Only one previous job: he disliked it	25	5.2
No jobs prior to his present one	<u>46</u>	<u>9.6</u>
	480	100.1%

No information was available in 12 cases, and the question was not applicable in 15.

When asked about their attitudes to previous jobs, 27.6% said that they had enjoyed both their most recent posts (or their only previous one); a further 32.5% had like one of their 2 most recent jobs, so that over half the sample had apparently experienced at least one job in which they had been happy.

On the other hand a measure of the uneasy relationship between many of these young men and their working life can be gained by noting that, of those who had had previous job experience, as many as 77.2% had been sacked at least once or had left a job without having any immediate prospects of improving on it.

TABLE 5.4

Number of occasions on which the probationer had been either sacked or had left a job without having another to go to. (left negatively)

		%
None	98	22.8
Once	194	45.1
Twice	138	32.1
	430	100.0

No information was available in 16 cases and the question was not applicable in 61.

32.1% had been sacked from or had 'left negatively'* both their jobs immediately prior to their probation order. There had been, to say the

* Leaving 'negatively' was used to describe those occasions when a probationer left a job without another to go to. Leaving 'positively' described the occasions when the probationer left his job but already had another to go to.

least, a degree of uneasiness existing between this one-third part of those with previous work experience and their employers; for they had either behaved in such a way as to merit dismissal (these figures do not include those made redundant), or they had simply walked out of their job with no other one to go to and the possibility of perhaps a few weeks out of work. Rather like Downes's Poplar boys, "they would 'chuck in' their jobs without any alternative to hand, 'it's like being on holiday', but soon be compelled to take one only fractionally different."¹⁸

If over two-thirds of the whole sample had had recent experience of being sacked or of 'leaving negatively', a crucial question for treatment must be the extent to which this pattern would be likely to be repeated in the near future, and the extent to which the probation officer could prevent it happening.

TABLE 5.5

REASONS WHY THE PROBATIONERS HAD LEFT THEIR 2 MOST RECENT JOBS

	FIRST JOB		SECOND JOB*	
		%		%
Left of his own accord - for 'positive' reasons	84	22.7	60	14.1
Left of his own accord - for 'negative' reasons	115	31.1	117	27.5
Sacked	87	23.5	160	37.6
Made redundant	35	9.5	44	10.3
Left for health reasons	16	4.3	21	5.0
Left for family or personal reasons	33	8.9	24	5.6
	370	100.0	426	100.1
No information	25		20	
Not applicable	112		61	
	507		507	

$\chi^2 = 11.33, df = 5, p < .05$

*In this column are contained 55 probationers who had only had one job prior to their present one.

Evidence, not only that the majority of probationers had had a poor relationship with their bosses in the past, but that in some cases at least there had been a deterioration in this relationship leading up to the commission of the offence can be gleaned from table 5.5. On both occasions, a majority were either sacked or had left 'negatively', whereas less than a quarter left for 'positive' reasons - ie for the purpose of going straight into another job which they had already arranged for themselves and which offered better prospects of pay or advancement: that kind of upward movement was rare in this sample. On both occasions, roughly the same small proportions changed jobs because of their health or because their family were moving home, etc. The most illuminating figure, however, is that concerning the number who had been sacked; in particular, it is interesting that the proportion dismissed increased in the second group. 23.5% had been sacked from the first job they mentioned - the penultimate job before the probation order - compared with 37.6% from the most recent job. By contrast the proportions who had left jobs for 'positive' reasons fell from 22.7% to 14.1% in the 2 groups. Both these figures suggest that the pattern of employment was deteriorating in the weeks or months leading up to the making of the probation order. In some cases, on the other hand, it might have been expected that the actual fact of the offence and the court appearance would have had a disruptive effect on the work situation. In 80 instances (table 5.6), the probationer lost his job as a direct result of his trouble with the law: either he had been dismissed; or he had himself left the job because of his feelings of shame; or, because of a period in custody, he had simply assumed that he would be no longer welcome there. Here is direct evidence of the way in which offence-behaviour and the resulting court appearance influence the probationer's social circumstances and, sometimes, aggravate and increase the difficulties inherent in them.

TABLE 5.6

The extent to which the commission of the offence for which the probation order was made resulted in the probationer's losing his job

		%
Probationer lost job because of offence	80	18.5
Probationer did not lose his job for that reason	<u>353</u>	<u>81.5</u>
	433	100.0

No information was available in 13 cases, and the question was not applicable in 61.

62.7% of the sample worked either in a factory or in the construction industry as an unskilled or semi-skilled worker. A further 20.8% worked similarly in a skilled capacity, and the rest were in other occupations, as shown in table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7

Type of job held by the probationer at the time of his court appearance, or, if unemployed then, immediately prior to it

		%
Unskilled or semi-skilled worker	308	62.7
Skilled worker	102	20.8
Driver/car mechanic	16	3.3
Agricultural	8	1.6
Clerical	15	3.1
Professional	1	0.2
Shopwork/commerce	31	6.3
Army/Merchant Navy	8	1.6
Miscellaneous	<u>2</u>	<u>0.4</u>
	491	100.0

No information was available in one case, and the question was not applicable in 15 cases.

Table 5.8 shows the distribution of probationers within the social class structure (according to the Registrar General's scale, 1961 Census tables¹⁹) and compares it with the proportions in the general population.

TABLE 5.8

Social Class of the probationers based on their occupations at the time of their court appearance, or, if unemployed, immediately prior to it; compared with the distribution of social class in the general male population 1961.

	PROBATIONERS		GENERAL MALE POPULATION	
		%		%
Classes I and II	5	1.0		19.1
III	160	32.6		51.0
IV	174	35.4		20.8
V	152	31.0		9.1
	<u>491</u>	<u>100.0</u>		<u>100.0</u>

The question was not applicable in 15 cases, and no information was available in one case.

The probation sample - like other delinquent samples that have been studied in this way - contains a much smaller proportion in Classes I, II and III, and more than twice the number in Classes IV and V than in the general population. On the other hand, details given about the social class of the probationers' fathers show that their distribution is much closer to that in the general population; it should be remembered, however, that the data cover only those cases where the probationer was living at home, and also exclude 33 instances where the father was unemployed, sick or retired; clearly, the sample is heavily biased for these reasons and omits many of the potentially most problematic family situations. Nevertheless, provided the limitations are borne in mind, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the adolescent probationers living at home come from a

class background only slightly different from that of the population as a whole.

TABLE 5.9

Social class of the probationers' fathers at the time the probation order was made; compared with the distribution of social class in the general male population 1961.

	PROBATIONERS' FATHERS		GENERAL MALE POPULATION
		%	%
Classes I and II	29	8.7	19.1
III	163	49.1	51.0
IV	100	30.1	20.8
V	40	12.0	9.1
	<u>332</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>100.0</u>

No information was available in 22 cases; in 33, the father was unemployed, sick or retired; and in 120 cases, the question was not applicable because the probationer was away from home, or had no father at home.

Officers were asked whether the probationers had held any apprenticeships in their recent positions. Our questionnaire covered only the 2 previous jobs, but, within these limits, the details were clear: 79.4% had not had an apprenticeship or training post of any kind and only 11.1% had one at the time they were placed on probation. (Table 5.10).

Table X33 The group who had had no training contained significantly more highly-paid probationers than did the group who had held apprenticeships.

TABLE 5.10

APPRENTICESHIPS HELD BY THE PROBATIONERS

		%
Probationer has not had one	394	79.4
Probationer now has one	55	11.1
Probationer did have one, but not now	47	9.5
	496	100.0

No information was available in 6 cases, and the question was not applicable in 5.

THE UNEMPLOYED

20

A study undertaken by the University of Durham showed that in 1962-63 the level of unemployment in the probation officer's caseload was consistently higher than that in the population as a whole as given by the Ministry of Labour: it ranged from 20.1% to 32.6% in comparison with 4.0% to 9.1%*.

Of the 502 men in the present study who had completed their full-time education, 204 (40.6%) were unemployed at the time they were placed on probation; many of them had only just lost their jobs (table 5.11), and over half had been out of work for less than a month.

*The figures are for "one Petty Sessional Division in the North East" contrasted with the unemployment-rate "in the roughly corresponding combination of Employment Exchange Areas".

TABLE 5.11

LENGTH OF TIME OUT OF WORK		%
Less than one week	33	16.7
One week - less than a month	88	44.4
One month - less than 3 months	50	25.3
3 months - less than 6 months	16	8.1
6 months and over	11	5.6
	<hr/> 198	<hr/> 100.1

No information was available in 6 cases

Among those probationers without work there were some who were making, at best, a half-hearted attempt to improve matters, and as many as 14.7% of the unemployed were not apparently making any attempt at all to find another job. The probation officers were well aware of the situation, and it can perhaps be presumed that, in such circumstances, their task would consist, not so much of providing these men with employment opportunities, but of working with them in the hope of changing their attitudes towards work.

In order to obtain a check on any possible economic factors affecting probationers in their quest for work, officers made an assessment - inevitably rather subjective - of the extent to which unemployment was a general problem in the area concerned. (table 5.12).

TABLE 5.12

The extent to which unemployment was an economic problem in the area where each probationer lived (as assessed by the officers)

		%
Very much so	14	7.0
Slightly	65	32.7
Not at all	120	60.3
	<hr/> 199	<hr/> 100.0

No information was available in 5 cases.

In only 7.0% of the cases was unemployment felt to be very much of a problem, and in many of these a note was added to the effect that the difficulty was largely seasonal: in particular this affected the unskilled workers in seaside resorts, and a rather larger number of men elsewhere who were normally employed in the building industry. There was no significant relationship between the economic problem as recorded by the probation officer and the length of time that a probationer had been out of work. The general impression left was that, for this age-group, in the areas studied and in the period 1964-65, the problem of unemployment was one which had to be seen in the context of each individual case. Occasionally, there was a hint that society did tend to penalise those who were least willing or able to fend for themselves; in many of the cases where officers reported that unemployment was a slight problem in the area, a note was added to the effect that this was so 'for this type of man' - in particular the inadequate person of low intelligence.

In general, though, the patterns of unemployment were not related to society as a whole, but to some extent stemmed from factors affecting each individual. Unemployment was not itself significantly associated with ill-health, but the length of time that a man had been out of work was Table X34 related to his physical condition. The unemployed who were in good health contained only 34.0% who had not had a job for a month or more, whereas those who were said to be slightly ill or disabled had 65.2% long-term unemployed and those who were very much troubled with a physical problem 46.2%. The disparity between the latter 2 groups could possibly be due to the small numbers involved, or it could be that in some way the slightness of the problem produced difficulties at work out of proportion to what might have been expected, or that those with greater health difficulties were less inclined to use them as an excuse or a rationalisation for not working.

The officer's assessment of the probationer's personality was found to be Table X35 associated with unemployment. Whereas the probationers who were neither inadequate nor disturbed contained only 29.3% out of work, almost half the remainder were unemployed. 48.6% of those who were in some way mentally disturbed were out of work, as were 45.5% of those who were personally inadequate but not disturbed. Some more light is here thrown on the difficulties that might confront the probation officer when tackling the problems of his unemployed clients, for 74.0% of them (151 out of 204) were described as having personality problems of one kind or another. It has already been seen that in a number of cases the probationer did not really want to get a job, and it is plausible to suppose that his personal inadequacy or mental disturbance were important factors in this.

The problem of unemployment is all too frequently associated with other complicating factors in the offender's environment; "it is the exception rather than the rule to find the pressure in one spot alone",²¹ and Table X36 accommodation problems went hand in hand with unemployment. Those living in a self-contained house or flat (ie usually with their parents) were less likely to be unemployed than those living elsewhere: in lodgings, for example, or in a hostel. 64.0% of the former group were in a job compared with 47.3% of those not living in a self-contained property; those without a home of any kind at the time they appeared in court were almost all without a job: only 2 out of 25 were in work. This extreme group typifies the way in which problems can become multiple: the difficulty for the caseworker is to know where to begin in such cases: for, without the security of a job, accommodation might be hard to find and pay for; and without the stability provided by a roof over one's head, the determination needed to obtain work may not be forthcoming; moreover, if personality difficulties enter into the situation, further problems will be encountered.

Of those with a home of their own, a distinction could be drawn, moreover, which showed that dirtiness and disorder in the house were often associated with the probationer's being unemployed. 41.7% of those living in a house which was habitually disorderly and/or unclean were out of work, as were 50% of the probationers in homes only sporadically neat and clean; in contrast, those with neat and tidy homes were unemployed in only 30.6% of the cases. It may be hypothesised that some interaction existed between the 2: perhaps the home conditions predisposed the probationer to a somewhat casual approach to his work, or were linked with his own personal appearance which in turn made it more likely that an employer would dispense with his services; alternatively the factor of the young man's unemployment might conceivably have arisen from other difficulties in the home environment, of which untidiness was but one symptom. There was, for example, some evidence that a higher proportion of those who were out of work had parents with matrimonial difficulties: 39.2% of the unemployed were said to have parents who were either continually quarrelling or who had actually separated, compared with 25.6% of those in work. Furthermore, among those who had left home, there was an even greater risk of unemployment if they were said to have no-one with whom they had a close relationship: 67.1% of them were out of work at the time the probation order was made, compared with only 34.2% of those not so deprived.

After marriage, however, (so far as conclusions could be reached from the small number of the sample who were married) there was not found to be any significant association between the quality of the matrimonial tie and the likelihood of the probationer being unemployed; nor, indeed, before marriage was the presence or absence of a girl-friend in any way connected with unemployment. An association was found, though, between the probationer's work position and his links with other delinquents. 57.3% of those who mixed mainly with delinquents were without a job, compared

with only 25.8% of those who mixed with non-delinquents; midway, proportionately, came those who were described as 'lone wolves' with 41.2% unemployed. Thus, added to the fact that stressful home environments were associated with unemployment, it is now seen that the nature of the peer-group company which the probationer kept was also clearly linked with his work situation.

In this part of the report, it was not the intention to undertake any continuing study of changes in the probationers' social environment, but because half the data had to be collected approximately 8 weeks after the beginning of the order*, it proved possible to measure the amount of unemployment still effective at that date, and so to assess something of the intensity of problems concerning work. After approximately 2 months, only 55 were unemployed (12.1% of those for whom information was available[†]); and this reduction in the proportion of unemployed in the effective sample from 40.4% reveals the extent to which the environmental stress was associated with the commission of the offence and the court appearance, and

*Parts III and IV of the questionnaire (shown in Appendix D) were completed by the officer after approximately 8 weeks of the order for 2 reasons: partly it was hoped to avoid putting undue pressure on officers, and partly because it was recognised that some information might not be immediately available (eg details of family or peer-group relationships) or might be unduly affected by the proximity of the court appearance (eg the probationer's income or leisure-time activities).

[†]No information was available in 49 cases, and in 5 the question was not applicable.

emphasises the fact that a majority of the men out of work set themselves right - to what extent they were aided by the probation officers is not, at this stage, known - within a comparatively short space of time; moreover the 55 who were without a job after 8 weeks had not all been among the unemployed at the start of the order: they included 17 who had lost their job since the order began.

Those who had obtained work after being unemployed at the start of their period under supervision did not seem to have been penalised in any way so far as their wage-levels were concerned; they had managed to get jobs which brought them in just as much money as those who had been working all the time. Those who were out of work after 8 weeks were, however, more likely to be classified as members of social classes IV or V: only 19.2% of them were at a higher social level, compared with 36.8% of those then working.

Table X40

ATTITUDES AT WORK

Vernon has said that a good industrial policy must fulfil "the fundamental human needs of both the individual and the working team. Nothing can be substituted for those deep psychological needs - the desire for good personal relationships between working groups, the desire for expression and development of personality and ability, the desire to contribute and co-operate to the fullest extent in the fulfilment of a common purpose".²² And in similar vein Wheeler has suggested that the process of adjustment in a steady job is intimately interwoven with "the other life adjustments - the finding of a mate, the acceptance of the responsibilities of citizenship

and the finding of a working philosophy of life or a religion".²³

Downes's study in London's East End²⁴ enabled him to see whether such high ideals were reflected in the reality situation of his corner-boys in Poplar, whose jobs "were of low status even by working class standards". He suggests that "the adolescent in a 'dead-end job', in a 'dead' neighbourhood, extricates himself from the belief in work as of any importance beyond the simple provision of income", and enters into a process of dissociation: he simply doesn't care. Moreover Downes sees dissociation as "the normative response of working-class male adolescents to semi- and unskilled work (and to no work at all)", and argues that "this is the primary source of much of the delinquency peculiar to male adolescents".²⁵

A series of questions were put to the probationers who were in work at the time their order began concerning their attitudes towards their job, the people they worked with, and their ambitions. Although the use of a simple questionnaire clearly limited the type of information obtainable, it was nevertheless hoped that a clear enough picture would emerge to enable us to see the extent to which these probationers were dissociated from their work setting, and the extent to which they seemed to find satisfaction there.*

One major limitation to be borne in mind throughout this section is the

*The data reported on in this section were obtained by the probation officers administering a short questionnaire to those probationers who had a job at the start of the order; the questions were given, at the discretion of the officer, during the first 3 weeks of the supervisory period. In a very small number of cases, the probationer had already left the job he had held on the day of the court hearing, and, in these, questions were answered retrospectively.

exclusion of all those probationers (204) who were out of work at the start of the order; within that group there might well have been many men whose previous working environment had been unsatisfactory.

Problems in their relationships with authority figures are frequently reported in probation cases²⁶, but most of the probationers in this sample seemed to be less troubled by the authority structure at work than might have been suspected. Very few showed any great hostility, unease or dissatisfaction with their immediate bosses, and as many as 85.8% said that they did not feel that their boss pushed them around at all. Furthermore almost all the probationers said that there was at least one person over them whom they liked, suggesting that the problem of anti-authority feelings in the job situation might well be one facing only a minority of these adolescent probationers. Only 9.4% were quite certain that there was no one with authority for whom they could express any positive feelings of warmth, and, in answer to a different question, only 11.8% expressed real dislike for any of the authority figures at their work-place.

From the time that the adult male in Britain completes his full-time education, a large part of his everyday life is spent at work, and the social network in his job environment may play a large part in his feeling of acceptance or rejection in the world at large. Virtually all the probationers liked at least some of their workmates, and a remarkably positive indication of the way in which many of the men felt that they could depend on their friends was shown by the fact that, not only did 56.9% claim to have a special friend at work, but that virtually the same proportion went on to say that they believed there was a friend at work who

²⁶Percentages throughout this section relate to those in work, for whom information was available.

would help them if they should ever need it. Friendships overflowed into leisure-time in a large minority of cases. Here was very little evidence of an impersonal work setting in which the probationer was divorced from social contacts, or denied the opportunity of building up meaningful patterns of interaction. (see tables 5.13-5.20)

TABLE 5.13

THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE BOSS TAKES AN INTEREST IN THE PROBATIONER

		%
Very much so	107	37.2
Slightly	114	39.6
Not at all	60	20.8
Self-employed	7	2.4
	288	100.0

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school(5), and those for whom no information was available (10).

TABLE 5.14

WHETHER THE BOSS KNEW ABOUT THE PROBATION ORDER

		%
Probationer thought he did	170	59.0
Probationer thought he did not	86	29.9
Probationer 'didn't know'	25	8.7
Probationer self-employed	7	2.4
	288	100.0

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school(5), and those for whom no information was available (10).

TABLE 5.15

THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PROBATIONER THOUGHT HIS BOSS "PUSHED HIM AROUND"

		%
The boss did not push him around	247	85.8
The boss did push him around	24	8.3
The probationer was non-committal	10	3.5
Probationer self-employed	7	2.4
	<hr/> 288	<hr/> 100.0

The table excludes the unemployed (204) those at school(5) and those for whom no information was available (10).

TABLE 5.16

The extent to which any of the bosses were liked or disliked by the probationer

	PROBATIONER LIKED		DISLIKED	
		%		%
Very much so	137	47.6	34	11.8
Slightly	116	40.3	45	15.6
Not at all	27	9.4	202	70.1
Probationer 'didn't know'	1	0.3	-	
Self-employed	7	2.4	7	2.4
	<hr/> 288	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> 288	<hr/> 99.9

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school(5), and those for whom no information was available (10).

TABLE 5.17

THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PROBATIONER LIKED THE PEOPLE HE WORKED WITH

		%
All of them	169	58.7
Some of them	110	38.2
None of them	1	0.3
Worked alone	8	2.8
	288	100.0

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school(5), and those for whom no information was available (10).

TABLE 5.18

NUMBER OF PROBATIONERS WHO SAID THAT THEY HAD A SPECIAL FRIEND AT WORK

		%
Probationer said <u>yes</u>	164	56.9
Probationer said <u>no</u>	104	36.1
Probationer non-committal	20	6.9
	288	99.9

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school(5), and those for whom no information was available (10).

TABLE 5.19

Number of probationers who thought that there was a friend at work who would help them in time of need

		%
Probationer said <u>yes</u>	163	56.6
Probationer said <u>no</u>	51	17.7
Probationer <u>didn't know</u>	74	25.7
	288	100.0

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school(5), and those for whom no information was available (10).

TABLE 5.20

The extent to which the probationers said that they saw their workmates out of working hours

		%
Probationer said he did see them	131	45.5
Probationer said he did not see them	157	54.5
	288	100.0

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school(5), and those for whom no information was available. (10)

In terms of the actual work they were doing, 64.6% claimed a high level of job satisfaction and only 6.6% said that they did not enjoy their occupation at all. A slight but nevertheless statistically significant association was found between the level of job satisfaction and the probationer's

TABLE 5.21

EXTENT TO WHICH THE PROBATIONER SAID THAT HE LIKED HIS JOB

		%
Very much so	186	64.6
Slightly	83	28.8
Not at all	19	6.6
	288	100.0

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school(5), and those for whom no information was available (10).

place of residence. Those living in a self-contained house or flat included a higher proportion of probationers who liked their job very much than did the groups living elsewhere; a more stable and conventional home setting appeared to go hand in hand with a higher level of occupational adjustment. Of those living in other accommodation, 50.0% either liked their job only slightly or did not like it at all; the corresponding

figure for those in a self-contained property was 33.6%.

Table X36 It will be recalled from pages 123 and 124 that those in less stable accommodation were more likely to be unemployed; we can now add to this the fact that, when in work, those in less stable accommodation were less likely to be satisfied with their job. Thus at the beginning of the probation order, 66.4% of all those living in a self-contained property liked the work they were doing very much, compared with only 50.0% of those living in lodgings, hostels, etc. Of the 25 probationers with no fixed abode, all save 2 were out of work; of those 2, one did not like his work at all, the other only slightly; not one probationer in this group had a job which gave much satisfaction.

Logan and Goldberg²⁷ had found that "the future hopes of labourers and machine-minders were centred on free-time activities, and were often elaborated into unrealistic dreams of becoming champion cyclists, football stars or danceband leaders." It might be suspected that a man's description of his ambitions in life could perhaps be related to the context in which the question was asked, for the responses made by the present sample were very much rooted in reality and were closely related to the man's own local work setting. Only in a tiny minority of cases - 8% at the most - could the job which the probationer said he would most like to have be described as in any way a glamour occupation: acting, professional football, motor racing, airline pilot... Even in some of these there was evidence that the ambition was not entirely based in fantasy, but that the young man had taken practical steps towards attaining his aim, and that in some cases he might possibly succeed.

TABLE 5.22

Types of job which the probationers who were in work said they would most like to have

		%
"The same job as I have now"	46	16.0
Motor driving/car mechanic	46	16.0
A skilled trade	35	12.2
Job involving travelling	22	7.6
Unskilled/semi-skilled	17	5.9
Farmwork/agricultural	14	4.9
Shopwork/commerce	11	3.8
Professional work	10	3.5
Miscellaneous	18	6.3
Probationer "didn't know"	69	24.0
	<u>288</u>	<u>100.2</u>

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those still at school (5), and those for whom no answers were received concerning their occupation (10).

Driving, or its attendant activities (car mechanic, van-boy, driver's mate), was easily the most popular single job which the men said they would like to do. As Logan and Goldberg have suggested, it may be that there is, in this, a desire to get "away from the stress of authority and the need to fit into a group",²⁸ although our evidence of the largely satisfactory quality of working relationships would not necessarily support the idea. The small number of men anxious to move into a skilled trade confirms the idea that most of these probationers have very limited aspirations, and it will be seen from table 5.23 that only 31.6% of those at work confessed to their probation officers that they would like a job of a higher social class than that which they already had; a small group - 3.5% - even

described a job of a lower social class as being that which they would most like to have; the remainder either 'didn't know', had no wish to change, or wanted a job at the same level of social class as the one they already had.

TABLE 5.23

MOVEMENT IN SOCIAL CLASS INVOLVED IN THE PROBATIONERS' STATED AMBITIONS

		%
Probationer would like a job at a higher level than his present class	91	31.6
Probationer would like a job at a lower level than his present class	10	3.5
Probationer would like a job at the same level as his present class	62	21.5
Probationer wants to keep the same job	46	16.0
Probationer "doesn't know"	69	24.0
Class level not assessable	10	3.5
	288	100.1

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school (5), and those for whom no information was available (10)

Apart from those who said that they "didn't know" what job they would like, there were a great variety of posts mentioned, most of them closely related to the probationer's present occupation or, sometimes, to his broader interests. Taken virtually at random, these included: barrow-boy, slaughter house trainee, joiner, car sprayer, commercial traveller, baker, cobbler, docker, supermarket attendant, ship's steward, warehouseman. A number of posts like forestry worker and gamekeeper were given by men living in rural areas. In a few instances jobs were mentioned which, while not glamorous occupations, were probably well outside the range of probabilities for the young men concerned: solicitor, policemen, prison officer, or even in one case: "I wouldn't mind doing your job (ie the probation officer's); it seems cushy enough".

Finally probationers were asked how they viewed the immediate future and how much importance they attached to their present occupations. 3 had already lost the jobs they had had at the time the order was made*, and another 3 were so self-employed that the question of their losing their jobs did not apparently arise.

TABLE 5.24

The extent to which the probationer would have been upset if he had lost his job

		%
Very much so	120	41.7
Slightly	98	34.0
Not at all	64	22.2
Probationer had already lost his job	3	1.0
Self-employed*	3	1.0
	288	99.9

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school (5), and those for whom no information was available (10).

*Of the 7 who were self-employed, 4 interpreted this question in such a way that they were able to answer it.

Although almost half of those in work would have been very upset if they had lost their job, and another third would have been slightly upset, there is nevertheless in table 5.24 the first sign we have encountered of a considerable minority (22.2% of those with a job) displaying some of the symptoms of dissociation; the response to this question made by 64 of the men - that they would not be at all upset if they lost their job -

*The questions, it will be remembered, were put to the probationers up to 3 weeks after they had been placed on probation.

possibly reflects something of the attitude of 'not caring', and certainly emphasises that this minority group of probationers saw little of inherent value in the work that they did. Furthermore as many as 29.9% were unable to commit themselves when asked how long they expected to stay in their present job.

TABLE 5.25

The length of time that the probationers said that they expected to stay in their present job

		%
Probationer "didn't know"	86	29.9
Less than a month	18	6.3
One month - less than 6 months	23	8.0
Longer than 6 months	154	53.5
Probationer self-employed	7	2.4
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 288	100.1

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school (5) and those for whom no information was available (10).

Consideration must be given to the fact that many of the less skilled occupations had a built-in impermanence anyway, and some of the probationers' responses must have been made in the knowledge that their future was not altogether in their own hands.

An undoubted factor influencing the willingness to change jobs as revealed in tables 5.24 and 5.25 stems from the general economic buoyancy which had prevailed during the working lives of all these men. 62.8% of them thought that they would be able to get another job either very easily or quite easily. Only 24.3% admitted that they doubted whether it would be all that simple to change occupations, and 11.8% said that they "didn't know";

even these doubts however, were often related to seasonal difficulties, and would, it was hoped, be resolved as the weather improved.

TABLE 5.26

The ease with which the probationer thought he would be able to get another job

		%
Very easily	68	23.6
Quite easily	113	39.2
Not very easily	70	24.3
Probationer "didn't know"	34	11.8
Probationer already had another	3	1.0
	288	99.9

The table excludes the unemployed (204), those at school (5) and those for whom no information was available (10).

We have now seen that a majority of those probationers with a job expressed attitudes towards their work setting which appeared to indicate that they regarded it favourably and as a potential source of stability in their lives. In order to clarify the extent to which a man's employment offered him support, a score was derived which was intended to distinguish those probationers finding strength (in the casework sense) in their job from the remainder.* The support at work score was affected by the probationer's relationship with his boss, by his own assessment of job satisfaction, and by the quality of the friendships he had made at work.

*For details of the support at work score, see Appendix E

TABLE 5.27

DEGREE OF SUPPORT IN THE WORK SETTING

		%
Probationer received high support at work	211	42.3
Probationer received low support at work	79	15.8
Probationer was unemployed	204	40.9
Probationer at school	5	1.0
	<u>499</u>	<u>100.0</u>

No information was available in 8 cases

Table 5.27 confirms that a large majority of those actually in work (72.8% of those for whom information was available) were receiving a high level of support from it. Those* with stable work records were more likely to find their present jobs supportive: for example, 91.3% of those who had only ever had the one job they were in when beginning their probation order were assessed as receiving high support from it. Those doing unskilled work, and those who had never undergone training were less likely to be getting high support at work than those who had been apprenticed to a trade.

Of particular interest was the way in which many of those probationers receiving little support at work had other characteristics in common. Physical ill-health made no difference, but probationers said to be either inadequate or mentally disturbed (or both) were less likely to be receiving high support than the remainder. Moreover, in the home setting, probationers with the least helpful environments - ie those living in poor material conditions, those away from their parents but still unmarried, and those with poor quality relationships with either parent - were much

*Full details will be found in tables X42-X54 in Appendix A.

less likely to find adequate support at work than were those in more positive home circumstances.

SUMMARY AND CASE EXAMPLES

Clearly the wide variety of occupational settings cannot be taken into account in a short series of case examples, but 4 instances will serve to contrast the different patterns to be seen in the sample.

a. First of all is the probationer with a high level of support in his present job: 42.3% of the sample fell into this category.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer left an approved school when he was 16 and went to work as a butcher's boy; he had wanted to be a mechanic but there were no suitable posts available, and the Youth Employment Office suggested butchery. By the time he was placed on probation (for taking and driving away) he had been in the job for 17 months, and said that he enjoyed it. 6 months previously he had had the chance of a slightly better post in a supermarket, but had turned it down at the last minute in spite of the fact that it would have meant an increase in pay. He said that he preferred the informal atmosphere of the butchers where there were only 5 working altogether; his wage was £6 10s 0d per week, and his employer said he wasn't worth more; nevertheless he got on well with his colleagues, and it seems unlikely that he will change now. His boss knew about the offence, but was willing to dismiss it as a childish prank.

b. 15.8% of the probationers had jobs at the time they were placed on probation but were receiving low support at work.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer, aged 19, has been in boot and shoe repairing, cabinet-making, machine-setting, die-casting, tent-erecting, moulding, labouring (several times), carpentry, motor-way maintenance, brick-making, radio manufacturing, and at the time of being placed on probation is self-employed selling firewood. He has a confident appearance, and obtains many jobs because he claims expert knowledge and experience in them; he is frequently sacked because the employer quickly realises that he knows nothing about the work - several times the probationer has broken machinery because of his ignorance. Recently he changed his name: "because I might get better jobs if they don't know who I am ..."

c. Of the unemployed, there were some whose position seemed almost to have a crisis content; many of them might have worked regularly in the past, but for some reason were now out of work, and the court appearance itself might be seen as an aggravating factor: 24.2% of the sample had been out of work for less than a month.

CASE EXAMPLE:

The probationer (17) worked as a salesman in a multiple store since leaving school; he earned £7 10s. 0d. per week. After pleading guilty to a meter-breaking offence, he was placed on probation; when his employers learnt of the offence they suspended him from duty. During the period of his suspension, he would not face up to the reality of his situation and refused to take steps to get another job. When he was eventually told that he had been dismissed,

he said that he wanted to appeal. Only gradually could the probation officer persuade him to take positive steps towards getting a fresh job, and even then the probationer reported that 4 separate employers turned him away because of his 'record'. Eventually he accepted with ill-grace a post arranged for him by the officer.

d. A few of the unemployed seemed to have multiple problems which were affecting their whole life; their lack of a job was merely one aspect of a much wider spectrum of difficulties which might stem from their own limitations of personality or from the home circumstances, or from both. 15.4% of the sample had been out of work for a month or more.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer is a gipsy, living with his parents and 7 brothers and sisters. He is a scrounger, and although of low intelligence, he has plenty of self-confidence and cunning. His father receives £17 per week from the NAB and family allowances; only when pressure from the Assistance men becomes acute will the probationer's father take a job for a short period. The probationer has never had a real job, although he goes round with his uncle's scrap-metal cart occasionally; he is always willing to be sent after jobs, but never gets them. If he does, by chance, get taken on, he always suffers a "severe" attack of bronchial asthma during the first morning.

He would like to drive a lorry, but he has no licence nor much likelihood of getting one.

WORK AND RECONVICTION

TABLE 5.28

Failure-rate* of probationers according to their attitudes and experience in work and out of work.

a. Factors significantly associated with failure-rate:

<u>Table reference</u>	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Level of significance</u>	<u>df</u>
5.3 P disliked the only previous job he had held	.08	25	.001	5
5.2 P has been in his present job for a year or more	.16	89	.001	3
5.1 The average length of P's last 2 jobs was one year or more	.20	81	.001	4
5.3 P had no jobs prior to his present one	.23	57	.001	5
5.5 P left his last job for positive reasons	.25	60	.05	5
5.1 The average length of P's last 2 jobs was 3-6 months	.26	70	.001	4
5.4 P left neither of his last 2 jobs as a result of being sacked, nor for negative reasons	.27	98	.01	2
5.2 P has been in his present job for 3-12 months	.27	64	.001	3
5.8 P's social class is I, II or III	.28	165	.01	2
5.5 P left his last job for health reasons	.29	21	.05	5
5.5 P left his last job as a result of being made redundant	.30	44	.05	5
p.120 P is in work	.30	298	.001	1
5.3 P liked both his last 2 jobs	.35	102	.001	5
5.3 Of his last 2 jobs, P had liked one	.35	156	.001	5
5.8 P's social class is IV	.37	174	.01	2
5.2 P has been in his present job for less than a month	.37	82	.001	3
5.1 The average length of P's last 2 jobs was 6-12 months	.38	82	.001	4
5.4 P left one of his last 2 jobs as a result of being sacked or for negative reasons	.38	194	.01	2
5.3 P liked the only previous job he had held	.40	30	.001	5
5.5 P was sacked from his last job	.41	160	.05	5
5.5 P left his last job for home or personal reasons	.42	24	.05	5
5.2 P has been in his present job for 1-3 months	.44	59	.001	3
5.1 The average length of P's last 2 jobs was 1-3 months	.44	107	.001	4
5.8 P's social class is V	.45	152	.01	2
p.120 P is out of work	.47	204	.001	1
5.4 P left both his last 2 jobs as a result of being sacked or for negative reasons	.48	138	.01	2
5.5 P left his last job of his own accord, for negative reasons	.49	117	.05	5
5.3 P liked neither of last 2 jobs	.54	121	.001	5
5.1 The average length of P's last 2 jobs was less than one month	.60	86	.001	4

*see explanatory footnote on page 72

b. Factors not significantly associated with failure-rate:

Table reference

5.10	Whether P had ever had an apprenticeship (df = 2)
p.121	Whether P, if unemployed, was making an effort to obtain work (df = 3)
5.11	The length of time that P had been out of work (df = 3)
5.13	Whether P thought that his bosses took an interest in him (df = 2)
5.16	Whether P said that he liked his bosses at work (df = 2)
5.21	Whether P said that he liked his job (df = 2)
5.15	Whether P thought that his boss pushed him around at work (df = 2)
5.25	The length of time that P expected to stay in his present job (df = 4)
5.17	Whether P said that he liked the people he worked with (df = 1)

The most striking contrast in table 5.28 is that the facts and opinions recorded by the probation officer about the probationer's job stability in both the present and the immediate past appear to be closely related to the likelihood of his success, whereas the probationer's own answers to the questionnaire about his present job showed no significant association with the failure rates discovered.

The highest failure-rates were obtained by those probationers who were known by their probation officers to have had unsatisfactory work records in their 2 most recent jobs. Of the 86 men whose last 2 jobs had lasted an average of less than one month, more than half (F-R = .60) had committed further offences in the first year. Those probationers (N = 121) who, according to their officers, liked neither of their 2 previous jobs had a F-R of .54 and those who had left both their last 2 jobs (138) as a result of being sacked or for no good reason had a F-R of .48. The biggest single group (N = 204) with a high failure rate, however, were those who were simply unemployed on the day that they appeared in court: they had a failure rate of .47, compared with the F-R of .30 of those (298) who had a job at that time.

Factors which made failure unlikely included long-term stability in the present job, long-term stability in previous jobs, never having been sacked from a post or never leaving for 'negative' reasons, and being in work on the day of the court appearance. Social class was related to reconviction, too: those in classes I, II or III were least likely to return to court (F-R = .28); those in social class IV conformed to the norm (F-R = .37), while being in social class V increased the chances of failure to .45. Whether or not the probationer had held an apprenticeship or a training post did not, however, affect likely outcome.

The probationer's attitude towards his bosses and his workmates, or his own assessment of his level of job satisfaction at the time he was placed on probation were not related to the failure-rate in any way. Those happy at work with a boss they liked were just as likely to commit a further offence as those who hated their jobs and resented their bosses. What seemed to matter was not the stated attitudes of the probationer towards his work but the fact of his being in work, and of his having proved his ability to stay put in one job for a respectable length of time without being sacked or walking out of his own accord. Similarly, of those who were unemployed, it was important that they were simply out of work; it seemed to make little or no difference to the likely occurrence of further offences whether they were making an effort to obtain work or how long they had already been unemployed.

If the probationer had proved himself capable of holding a job down for a considerable period, the chances of his keeping out of trouble were high; if on the other hand he had a poor work record the risk of failure was great.

A NOTE ON THE PROBATIONER AND HIS MONEY

In 1958, the Albemarle Report commented that "the widely-held assumption that most young people today have much more money to spend than pre-war generations is well-founded."²⁹ The work of Mark Abrams,³⁰ in particular, has done much to confirm this opinion, and using his figures the Report was able to conclude that "the real earnings of teenagers of both sexes have increased on an average by about one-half since before the war (which is double the rate for adults), and their real discretionary spending seems to be roughly twice what it was before the war." It is, of course, recognised that there are "wide individual variations between those high earnings of some young people which tend to be publicised, and the lower earnings of quite substantial numbers, particularly those who are acquiring skills, and grammar-school pupils who earn only pin-money, if they earn at all."³¹ If the distinction between high and low earning were simply related to those without skills and those acquiring them, it might be expected that a very high proportion of the present sample would be highly-paid. As Downes says of his Poplar boys in dead-end jobs, "their only recompense is being bought off for a few years by wages which are relatively high for adolescence (this advantage soon disappears in adulthood)."³²

In the present sample 46.0% of those for whom information was available said that they had received less than £8 from work during the previous 7 days*. A total of 11.6% had received no money at all, and of these, all except one who was on a monthly salary had been, or still were, unemployed.

*The factual material on which this section is based was obtained by probation officers approximately 8 weeks after each order had begun. They questioned the probationers about their actual net income during the previous 7 days; in this way, it was hoped to get a more complete and more accurate picture of the financial situation than was possible by concentrating on "earnings" from specific employments in the past or at the time that the probationer appeared in court. In fact, this latter information was made available, thus:

TABLE 5.29

WAGE EARNED BY THE PROBATIONER:

	THE MEAN OF HIS LAST 2 JOBS		IN HIS PRESENT JOB	
Under £8	226	55.5	126	43.2
£8 or over	<u>181</u>	<u>44.5</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>56.8</u>
	407	100.0	292	100.0
No information	39		6	
Not applicable	<u>61</u>		<u>209</u>	
	507		507	

Although it is possible to obtain a rough picture of the position from the data, it has a number of weaknesses; the information covering previous employments was inevitably very approximate, and was largely dependent on the probationer's memory; both sets of data were liable to confuse gross pay and net income, and were particularly vulnerable so far as overtime and bonuses were concerned; moreover the first column excludes all those who had had no previous jobs, and the second column excludes those unemployed at the time the order began.

The 2 shortcomings of the data used in the text were: firstly that the probation officer's treatment might already have influenced the earning capacity of the client, and that therefore the distribution of incomes might be more favourable than was the case at the start of the order; and that secondly the 46 cases for whom no facts were available included a large number who had already 'failed' and were inaccessible to the officer: thus the sample inevitably excluded the worst risks. Nevertheless, provided the limitations of the data are recognised and borne in mind, the information does give an accurate picture of the probationers' financial position within 2 months of the order being made.

TABLE 5.30

TOTAL MONEY RECEIVED FROM WORK DURING THE PREVIOUS 7 DAYS

		%
None	53	11.6
Under £4	25	5.5
£4 - under £8	132	28.9
£8 - under £12	149	32.7
£12 - under £16	61	13.4
£16 - under £20	14	3.1
£20 - plus	10	2.2
Money from work given straight to parents	12	2.6
Total	<u>456</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The question was not applicable in 5 cases, and no information was available in 46.

Only a small group of 5.5% were on the very small wage of under £4, while 28.9% had been paid something between £4 and £8. It cannot really be suggested that any member of this group was faring more than modestly in financial terms.

Above the £8 level, the majority (32.7% of the sample concerned) were being paid between £8 and £12 a week after deductions - certainly a not inconsiderable sum, especially as most of them were still living at home with their parents.*

*Dunlop and McCabe³³ suggest that the amount usually given by such young men as these to their mothers varies between £2 10s Od and £4 0s Od. The Albemarle Report put it rather lower - between £1 0s Od and £3 0s Od a week.

TABLE 5.31

TOTAL MONEY RECEIVED FROM ALL SOURCES DURING THE PREVIOUS 7 DAYS

		%
None	14	3.0
Under £4	57	12.4
£4 - under £8	151	32.8
£8 - under £12	149	32.3
£12 - under £16	64	13.9
£16 - under £20	15	3.3
£20 - plus	11	2.4
	<u>461</u>	<u>100.1</u>
No information	46	
	<u>507</u>	

NOTE In this table are included those who paid their work money to their parents and received pocket money in return (N = 12), and those who were 'not applicable' in table 5.30 - ie boys at school also receiving pocket money (N = 5).

Table X55 Wage levels and persistent unemployment varied in different parts of the country: Bradford and the West Riding had considerably more probationers who were still unemployed after 8 weeks, while Leicester City, Essex and Beacontree had fewer; similarly Bradford, the West Riding and Portsmouth had smaller numbers of highly-paid workers, while Essex in particular had a large proportion of these.

It will be seen from table 5.30 that a small group of probationers paid over the whole of their wage-packet to their parents, and then received pocket money in return; this was essentially a regional characteristic, being limited entirely to the Midlands and the North.* Even there it was

*We have been told of some working-class areas of the North, centred on a few long-established industries, in which the tradition that teenagers hand their wage-packet to their parents and receive pocket-money in return still largely holds."³⁴

Table X56 used in only a small minority of cases in the 17-18 year old age-range.

Table X57 It was more commonly done when the probationer was described by his

Table X58 probation officer as showing some signs of mental disturbance, and when there was evidence of job instability in the past. It might be concluded that, at least in the Northern part of the country, some parents imposed strict sanctions over their sons where there was some evidence of weakness of character and lack of stability; what effect was achieved by this practice was impossible to measure.

Of the 53 who had received nothing from work during the week, it will be seen from table 5.31 that only 14 (3.0% of the effective sample) were left entirely without means from other sources. 11 of those who had earned nothing were helped mainly by their parents, and a further 2 by other relatives; 6 received money from National Health Insurance or from a disablement pension, and 16 (ie 30.2% of those without wages) had a payment from one or other of the recognised state agencies: 7 were helped by the Ministry of Labour and 9 by the National Assistance Board*. 4 had some income from miscellaneous sources: the sale of property, a gambling win, a loan, the return of a loan.

TABLE 5.32

THE PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF INCOME WHEN NO MONEY WAS RECEIVED FROM WORK

		%
Father, mother, parents	11	20.8
Other relatives	2	3.8
National Health Insurance, disablement pension	6	11.3
Ministry of Labour, Youth Employment Bureau	7	13.2
National Assistance Board	9	17.0
Miscellaneous	4	7.5
No other source of income	14	26.4
	<hr/>	
	53	100.0

The table includes only those who received no money from work. In those cases where there was more than one source of supplementary income, only the principal one - ie the one from which most money was received - is included; however, in all cases where help was received from the Ministry of Labour or the NAB, this was the principal source of income.

* Now part of the Ministry of Social Security

If the 6 probationers receiving health insurance or a disablement pension are excluded, only 16 out of the remaining 47 (34.0%) appeared to have been willing or able to take advantage of state aid. Unfortunately nothing is known about the reasons for this, but it is noteworthy that two-thirds of those without earnings had to depend on getting what money they could from whatever sources they could - and this even with a probation officer available to give them all possible help. Those living at home were in the strongest position because although a large proportion of them were said to have particularly poor relationships with their fathers, they could rely on their parents for support financially and, more important perhaps, for the security of a roof over their head; those away from home were obviously much more vulnerable, and if, in addition to being unemployed, they presented personality problems (as was probable), their relationship with officials in the agencies might not have been as profitable as both sides would have hoped or intended. The probation officer was faced with the task of making up for the client's inadequacies (possibly, perhaps, playing the paternal role of which the father was apparently incapable) and of helping him to survive - especially if he had no home - until he could re-establish himself in a job.

CASE EXAMPLE:

At the time the probation order was made, the Probationer had been unemployed for 13 weeks; his attitude towards work was at best

lethargic, and the Ministry of Labour alleged that he had turned down 2 reasonable jobs which he had been offered. As a result he was not eligible for unemployment pay; moreover, the National Assistance Board had withdrawn his allowance because of false statements which he had made at various times. The probationer had been thrown out of his uncle's house where he had been staying because of his bad temper, and for 3 weeks had been unable to find accommodation. The probation officer had obtained 3 separate grants from the NAB to pay landlords in advance, but on each occasion the probationer left after a couple of days and turned up at the office penniless again. It appeared that there was no person to whom the probationer could turn for support, and the officer found that his time was increasingly taken up negotiating with the state agencies for help which the probationer always seemed likely to squander. There was no lack of willingness on the part of the various officials called in to help, but it was clear from the start that any help given in the short-term was virtually valueless in the absence of any improvement in the probationer's social stability; on the other hand, all attempts at stabilising the client - by finding him work, providing him with accommodation, furnishing him with money and clothing - seemed to fail almost before the probation officer had turned round! The patience of all concerned began to dissolve.

Table X57 Once the probationer was in work, the amount of money in his wage-packet did not seem to be related to his level of personal adequacy or mental

Table X60 disturbance. Those suffering badly from physical ill-health or disability were, however, restricted almost completely to earning less than £8 a week.

Table X58

Finally it can be noted that the income which the probationer was receiving from his job 8 weeks after the order had begun was quite unaffected by his previous work record or experience: the fact that he had previously shown signs of occupational instability or even that he had been sacked from his last job because of the offence did not make it any less likely (or any more likely, either) that he would be receiving a large weekly wage. On the one hand, this would seem to have been reflecting the state of the employment market in that jobs were more plentiful than men; on the other hand, from the point of view both of the probationer and the caseworker, it carried the implication that successful rehabilitation can be possible no matter what difficulties may have existed in the past: provided the current attitudes and personality of the client are acceptable in the occupational sphere, there is no other reason why he should not, in contemporary working conditions, be quickly re-settled in the main-stream of adult life.

Income levels were not related in any way to reconviction.

CHAPTER 6 THE PROBATIONER'S CONTEMPORARY WORLD

In recent years there has been a growing interest among sociologists in the process of socialization, not only in childhood, but throughout a man's life cycle. "Socialization", it has been said, refers to the processes by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society. It is apparent that the socialization experienced by a person in childhood cannot prepare him for all the roles he will be expected to fill in later years." 1 As the child moves through his teen-age years, the various processes of adult socialization come into operation, and begin to re-shape the individual's behaviour and attitudes: "When the child leaves school he moves from one social grouping which, on one level at least, is out of adjustment with the community in which he lives, and passes to another social grouping in the workplace which is, if anything, even more drastically divorced from his home community"² What has emerged in Western society, it is now widely acknowledged, is a particular phase of the life-cycle - adolescence - which has to be seen, not so much as an interval between childhood and adult life, but as a stage in life of its own. While society has been rather muddled in its approach to adolescence, it has had the initiative wrested from it by the adolescents themselves who have created a culture of their own, with its own attendant problems and so far as the probation officer is concerned, with its own specific casework needs.

Adolescence has remained, of course, a time of changing moods simply because personality development and rapid biological changes occur simultaneously with the process of re-socialization. The teenage culture is itself adapted to respond to these moods, and ,consequently

it is often enough in competition or conflict with the family. What emerges, in the place of the family-centred child, is a separate group of self-consciously isolated teenagers "with values at odds with those of the rest of society, and especially resentful of parental control and all forms of social restraint."³ But the teenagers are only superficially radical: "they rebel against the rules enjoined by their elders, but conform slavishly to the changing fashions of the teenage world itself."⁴

An increasing awareness of the influence of the teenage culture - or rather perhaps of a particular part of it - on adolescent delinquency has developed in the last decade. A number of studies have been made which have sought to place criminal behaviour in the context of teenage gang-life or group influences: it is argued that, for sociological reasons, the process of socialization in the gang has a more powerful effect than other influences in the individual's environment, as a result of which delinquent behaviour is seen and accepted as the norm.

British writers have often noted that the powerful delinquent gangs which have been observed over a number of years in the United States have no true counterpart in this country; only 10.3% of the probationers under study were thought to have problems caused by delinquent gangs to a severe or very severe degree; even these figures must be seen in the context of the British situation, for there was evidence that probation officers interpreted the 'gang' concept to include informal groups of teenagers who did not necessarily indulge in corporate behaviour of a criminal nature, but who simply associated with each other in their leisure time, and who were known or thought

to have committed offences either singly or together at some time in the past.

Table 6:1

The extent to which the probationer's association with a delinquent gang was seen as a problem

		%
Very severe	8	1.6
Severe	42	8.7
Moderate	87	17.9
Mild	95	19.6
Absent	253	52.2
	<u>485</u>	<u>100.0</u>

No information was available in 22 cases.

The fact that as many as 89.7 % presented no severe problem of delinquent gang membership emphasises that, for the majority of these probationers any kind of social work involvement in street-gangs on the American pattern might be of only marginal importance.

TABLE 6:2

THE PROBATIONER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES		
		%
He mixes mainly with delinquents	157*	32.6
He mixes mainly with non-delinquents	192	39.8
He is essentially a 'lone wolf'	133	27.6
	<u>482</u>	<u>100.0</u>

No information was available in 25 cases.

*This figure includes nine cases of whom the probation officer said they mixed equally with delinquents and non-delinquents.

One-third of those for whom information was available were described by their officers as mixing mainly with delinquents - a statement which, in the British context, is probably more meaningful than any concerning gang membership.* The largest single group - 39.8% - were accustomed to move in peer-group circles which contained a majority of non-delinquents or which in some cases were entirely non-delinquent. The probationer's peer-group relationships were much the same whether he was living in self-contained accommodation or not; overcrowding did not affect the likelihood of the probationer mixing with delinquents, but the fact that he lived in a dirty or untidy home did make it more probable that his friends showed criminal tendencies: conversely those in clean homes tended to have non-delinquent friends.

Table X61

Table X19

In the home, probationers whose parents were compatible had predominantly non-delinquent friends while those whose parents were incompatible or had separated were more likely to mix with delinquents; the statistical association between parental harmony and the kind of friends their son mixed with was very high, suggesting that the home atmosphere might well have a direct effect on the probationer's cultural contacts. On the other hand, when the young man had left home his peer-group associations were unrelated to the presence or absence of someone in the home with whom he might have had a close relationship.

Table X39

Another environmental factor which was closely linked with the probationer's mixing mainly with delinquents was unemployment at the time the order was made: whereas 57.3% of those who mixed with delinquents were unemployed, only 25.8% of those mixing with non-delinquents were out of work. For those in work job satisfaction was

*Dunlop and McCabe, in their study of detention centre boys, found under 5% who "admitted to being members of gangs in the strict sense."⁵

unrelated to the company they kept out of working hours.

We have so far ignored the 27.6% who were described by their probation officers as 'lone wolves'; the proportion falling under this heading came as something of a surprise, and emphasises the existence of a group of offenders who in adolescence are not really taking part in the teenage culture at all. Although the group contained the highest proportion of disturbed probationers (29%), this was clearly not the major factor. The simple fact was that these young men were apparently without close friends in their contemporary world, a situation which cannot have been regarded by the probation officer as a happy one. It has been shown⁶ that absence of friends carries with it a very high risk of mental sickness, and at the very time when these probationers were trying to find their way in the adult world,

Table X62 the absence of understanding contemporaries must have been something of a handicap. The 'lone wolves' carried over this characteristic into their relation with the opposite sex. Whereas in the remainder of the sample almost 80% said that they 'went out with girls', the corresponding figure for these social isolates was 60.5%

Table 6:3

The depth of feeling between the probationer and any of his male contemporaries

		%
Very much	76	16.6
Not very much	318	69.3
None at all	65	14.2
	<hr/> 459	<hr/> 100.1

No information was available in 48 cases.

No matter whether the probationer mixed with delinquents or non-delinquents, only rarely was there said to be very much feeling between him and his contemporaries; the vast majority came into the rather non-committal middle group where 69.3% had not very much feeling for their friends. A very strong bond of friendship existed in only 16.6% of the cases, and all feeling was absent in 14.2%. On the other hand a rather larger minority (27.7%) were said to be influenced a great deal in their behaviour by their friends, while 53.9% were influenced slightly and only 18.4% not affected at all.

Table 6:4

The extent to which the probationer was influenced by his friends (ie no matter whether the influence was for better or worse).

		%
A great deal	128	27.7
Slightly	249	53.9
Not at all	85	18.4
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	
	462	100.0

No information was available in 45 cases.

Table X63 Inevitably those who had strong feelings for their contemporaries were those most influenced by them, but a massive proportion (88.7%) of those who had not very much feeling for their friends, were nevertheless said to be influenced by them to a greater or lesser extent. The most striking fact, however, was that those most greatly influenced by their friends were almost always said to be affected for worse, thus echoing the plaintive voice frequently heard in court when mothers speak about their sons: "his friends are a bad influence, and he's easily led".

TABLE 6:5

THE TYPE OF INFLUENCE EXERTED BY HIS FRIENDS

INFLUENCE	A GREAT DEAL		SLIGHTLY		TOTAL	
		%		%		%
For better	7	5.5	59	23.7	66	17.5
For worse	96	75.0	98	39.4	194	51.5
For better and worse	12	9.4	5	2.0	17	4.5
Probation Officer						
"didn't know"	<u>13</u>	<u>10.2</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>34.9</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>26.5</u>
	128	100.1	249	100	377	100

The question was not applicable in 85 cases, and in 45, no information was available.

$$\chi^2 = 66.66, df = 3, p < .001$$

Table X64. The minority who were influenced for better were almost all only slightly affected. Furthermore those who mixed with delinquents were most likely to be influenced a great deal by their friends; those who mixed with non-delinquents were most likely to be influenced slightly; and those who were described as lone wolves were most likely to be influenced not at all.

SUMMARY AND CASE EXAMPLES

a In this survey of the probationer's position in his peer-group world, we have seen that 32.6% conform closely to the idea of a sub-cultural delinquent, with friends who break the law and who exert strong influence over him; the probationer in this group is likely to come from a troubled home background, and possibly to seek compensation for this in close ties of friendship with his contemporaries.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer lives in a row of council houses, all of which are occupied by problem families; his father left home several years ago and his mother has generally been over-protective towards him although there have been occasional outbursts of rejection. The probationer, rarely in work, spends most of his time in the company of his contemporaries. He presented major problems of discipline at school, and has committed several offences since then. His relations with the peer-group are cold and uninvolved, although he is recognised as a leader. He has virtually no contact with any non-delinquents. His probation order followed a series of larcenies from telephone kiosks in which he had been involved with three different groups of boys; he claimed that, in each instance, the exploit had been undertaken at his suggestion.

b The second and largest group is of those who mix mainly with non-delinquents (39.8%); their peer-group relationships tend not to be charged with strong feelings, nor are they likely, for the most part, to be influenced by their contemporaries. Moreover their home backgrounds are better than those in the first group, and such conflict as exists between the family and the peer-group may be seen more in the context of normal adolescent development, and less in relation to criminal behaviour.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer's family has recently moved into the town and is living in a privately rented house in a reasonable district. The mother, in particular, has found difficulty in settling in to the

new surroundings, and there has been some slight matrimonial disharmony as a result of the move. The probationer is of low average intelligence, and the order was made following an incident when he stole a sum of money from his father's bread van in the street (there is some doubt whether he knew it to be his father's). Although he is of low academic ability, he compensates for this in athletic prowess, and has frequent success as a runner. He mixes easily with his contemporaries (all of whom are basically non-delinquent), and is well liked by them. He is a member of a sports club which he attends regularly, and spends Saturday evenings in a local dance hall.

c The final group contains the 27.6% who were described as lone wolves. While there is some evidence of a greater degree of mental disturbance here, it is not thought probable that more than a few present major problems of inadequacy or maladjustment. On the other hand the fact that these probationers are socially isolated at a time of life when gregarious behaviour is a common pattern suggests that some help may be needed in their social relationships - especially as many of them are without girl-friends as well.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer spent most of his childhood in special schools. He now works as a farm labourer, usually living at home with his widowed mother; at frequent intervals, however, he goes off for days on end and sleeps out in the open. He has never kept any male friends for long; whenever he has succeeded in forming an initial relationship, a fight has broken out within 48 hours. In the evenings, he either sits at home doing nothing or wanders disconsolately around the town. For him the world of his contemporaries simply does not exist.

THE PEER GROUP AND RECONVICTION

The relationship between the probationer and his friends of the same sex materially affected his chances of success on probation. Of those who were said to mix mainly with delinquents, exactly half had committed further offences within twelve months (F-R = .50); by contrast those who mixed mainly with non-delinquents had a F-R of only .24.

Similarly, the probation officers' assessment of the influence exercised by friends was directly related to outcome: those who were most heavily influenced and those who were influenced for worse had a much higher failure rate than the rest. Rather oddly, those probationers (N = 100) with regard to whom the officers found it impossible to say whether they were influenced for better or worse, had one of the best success-rates (F-R = .24)

The group classified as 'lone wolves' came midway in the list, having a F-R of .38 - thus conforming to the overall norm. The emotional ties between the probationer and his friends had no effect on outcome in either direction: it did not appear to matter whether there was any depth of feeling between him and his peers.

TABLE 6.6

Failure-rate* of probationers according to peer-group relationships

(a) Factors significantly associated with failure-rate:

TABLE REFERENCE	F-R	N	SIGNIFICANCE LEVEL	df
6.5 The P is influenced by his friends but the PO 'did not know' in which direction	.24	100	.001	3
6.2 P mixes mainly with non-delinquents	.24	192	.001	2
6.5 P is influenced by his friends for better	.27	66	.001	3
6.4 P's friends are said to exercise a slight influence over him	.32	249	.01	2
6.4 P's friends are said to have no influence over him	.33	85	.01	2
6.2 P is said to be a lone wolf	.38	133	.001	2
6.5 P is influenced by his friends for both better and worse	.41	17	.001	3
6.5 P is influenced by his friends for worse	.47	194	.001	3
6.4 P's friends exercise a great deal of influence over him	.48	128	.01	2
6.2 P mixes mainly with delinquents	.50	157	.001	2

(b) Factors not significantly associated with failure-rate:

TABLE REFERENCE

6.3 The depth of feeling between P and his contemporaries (df = 2)

* see explanatory footnote on page 72

A NOTE ON THE PROBATIONER'S LEISURE-TIME

It is not within our scope to assess the extent to which the leisure time pursuits of these probationers were good or bad; nor even is it possible to say whether their behaviour appeared to differ greatly from that of non-offenders, although such evidence as there is suggests that the probationers were not very unusual in their spare time activities. The aim of this section is purely descriptive: to see the probationers in the context of their non-working lives, and to provide factual data which may help the reader to confirm or contradict his own or other people's generalisations about the behaviour of young offenders. The questionnaire on which the figures are based was administered by the probation officer to his client approximately eight weeks after the order had begun; this was intended to enable the officer to develop a working relationship before putting the questions to the probationer, and also to allow the offender's life-pattern to revert to normal after any possible changes that might have occurred at the time of the court hearing; it had the disadvantage that a small minority of probationers had already committed further offences by then (in some cases re-arrest was so speedy that it would have been impossible to obtain leisure information in any circumstances), and were accordingly excluded from the sample at this stage.

All probationers answering the questionnaire were asked to say what they had been doing during "last weekend". In this way it was intended to present a composite picture of the dominant pattern of activities during the chief leisure time period of the men's week.

(Table 6.7)

At all times except Sunday morning, a majority of the men went out: looked at from another direction, however, it may be found surprising that as many as a quarter stayed in on Saturday evening, a third on Sunday evening, and almost a half on Sunday afternoon. Mays⁷ has said that "over the age of

TABLE 6.7

ACTIVITIES UNDERTAKEN OVER THE WEEK-END

	SATURDAY		SUNDAY		SUNDAY		SUNDAY	
	EVENING		MORNING		AFTERNOON		EVENING	
		%		%		%		%
Stayed in, doing nothing	61	13.2	53	11.5	45	9.7	42	9.1
Stayed in bed	-	-	225	48.7	20	4.3	3	0.7
Pursued an indoor hobby	8	1.7	5	1.1	3	0.7	1	0.2
Housework, repairs, etc.	-	-	52	11.3	38	8.2	-	-
Friends or girlfriend cameround	-	-	1	0.2	5	1.1	1	0.2
Watched television	54	11.7	-	-	108	23.4	100	21.6
Stayed in, miscellaneous	5	1.1	3	0.7	4	0.9	19	4.1
TOTAL STAYING IN	128	27.7	339	73.4	223	48.3	166	35.9
Out, wandering around, walking	22	4.8	11	2.4	43	9.3	28	6.1
Visited friends (including parties)	24	5.2	9	1.9	19	4.1	22	4.8
Visited girl-friend's house	29	6.3	7	1.5	40	8.7	47	10.2
Visited a pub or club	78	16.9	10	2.2	10	2.2	57	12.3
Went to a dance	55	11.9	-	-	-	-	10	2.2
Went to a cinema, Bingo, etc.	61	13.2	-	-	19	4.1	56	12.1
Went to a coffee-bar, restaurant	15	3.2	4	0.9	8	1.7	19	4.1
Went to church	-	-	18	3.9	5	1.1	4	0.9
Outdoor activity (football, etc.)	23	5.0	30	6.5	40	8.7	13	2.8
Spectator at football match, etc.	-	-	-	-	6	1.3	-	-
Youth club, church club, etc	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	2.8
Visited parents or other relatives	12	2.6	6	1.3	24	5.2	15	3.2
At work	14	3.0	26	5.6	19	4.1	10	2.2
Went out, miscellaneous	1	0.2	2	0.4	6	1.3	2	0.4
TOTAL WENT OUT	334	72.3	123	26.6	239	51.7	296	64.1
No information	45		45		45		45	
TOTAL	507		507		507		507	

Percentages are of those for whom information was available: N = 462

12 boys don't spend much time in the home except when they are sick", and the Albemarle Report suggested more cautiously that "more adolescents, in the course of their natural development will be anxious to 'get out of the house' as often as they can".⁸ It would appear that these probationers were rather more home-centred than either of these generalisations might suggest.

When the information relating to the four 'occasions'^{*} was combined, some assessment of the apparent degree of home-centredness could be made. From table 6.8 it can be seen that just over a quarter of the probationers (27.3%) spent the week-end almost wholly within the home setting, mixing only with their parents or siblings, while slightly under a half (44.8%) were out of the house most of the time and in the company of people other than their immediate relations.

It should be noted that the homes, in particular, were not places to which the men invited their friends, but that they were very much more likely to spend their time in other people's homes - especially their girlfriends'.

^{*}ie Saturday evening, Sunday morning, afternoon and evening.

TABLE 6:8

Number of probationers who stayed at home and were not visited by friends on any of four "occasions" during the weekend.

		%
None	66	14.3
Once	141	30.5
Twice	129	27.9
Three times	92	19.9
Four times	34	7.4
	<hr/>	
	462	100.0
No information	45	
	<hr/>	
	507	

The passive nature of leisure pursuits is crystal-clear: a negligible number of men spent any time at all on a hobby - model making, carpentry, etc. - although housework, repairs and gardening took up the time of 11.3% on Sunday morning and 8.2% on Sunday afternoon; among these were many of the married men. For the rest "doing nothing", staying in bed, or watching television were normal; no criticism is intended in this description, for after all, most of the men were engaged in heavy physical work during the week, and many would have no other opportunity for a day of rest. The Albemarle Committee, however, were told that "young workers have considerable surplus energy which their work and most of the more easily available facilities for leisure do not always satisfy".⁹ In the present sample leisure time activities away from the home were again largely inactive. The peak of outdoor activity was reached on Sunday afternoon* with 8.7% taking part in some sport - almost always football. For the rest

*No questions were asked, however, about Saturday afternoon

of the time, it was largely social and gregarious gatherings which dominated the scene: in the evenings going to the pub or club (usually either a working men's club or Northern-style night club) or attendance at the cinema or Bingo were the most popular; on the Saturday night, dances were also well attended. Coffee-bars were not mentioned much as a main activity, although one may guess that they played some part in the weekend life of rather more men than is shown by the figures. It is worth noting that "hanging about street corners" was not reported in more than a small group of cases; the proportions said to be "out, wandering around, walking" were quite small, and included some whose walk was of the energetic variety; this section also includes those who went out for a scooter or motor-bike ride, or who went on excursions to the seaside, etc. It is striking that, at most points in the weekend, those who went out at all usually had somewhere in particular to go to, somewhere where they could meet their friends socially.

Among the smaller minority groups, it should be noted that visiting parents or relatives accounted for some (especially the married men); proportions varying from 2.2% to 5.6% were at work during the weekend; youth club activities were virtually non-existent, but it seems possible that these would play a more active role during the week (see pages 171-4) and church-going was not entirely excluded, with 3.9% in attendance on Sunday morning, and approximately 1% each in the afternoon and evening: although many people will find these proportions tiny, added together and taking the age of the sample into account, they are not so very far away from figures used to assess the church attendance of the general population. (see Carr-Saunders, Caradog Jones and Moser¹⁰).

It is very difficult making comparisons with non-probationers, because, of course, strictly comparable samples are not available. In 1953, however, Logan and Goldberg published a report on the leisure time activities of 85 randomly selected 18-year-olds from a London suburb, and the following extracts from their report will show the similarities with the present study.¹¹

"The lack of creative or constructive leisure pursuits of these lads is striking..... Their interests were in the nature of pastimes, and this applied to the very intelligent and mature youths as well as to the poorly endowed... "

"On the whole, the majority, in their leisure interests, seemed to be 'passing the time', and this is well illustrated in their stereotyped weekend programme. On Saturdays they might do shopping for themselves or their mothers, watch football and cricket, or play billiards and snooker. In the evening the majority went to the cinema, or to the local dance hall, but they seldom went more than twice a week to either. On Sundays they would laze around, often lying in bed till mid-day. In the afternoon they might visit friends or go on a bicycle excursion..."

"Although late adolescence and early adulthood are usually considered to be phases of adventure and experiment, these week-end programmes show a conspicuous absence of such characteristics."

The one group which appeared in Logan and Goldberg's study - though as a small minority - and which was virtually absent from this probation sample was that which involved its members keenly in skilled hobbies on the one hand or in a concern for physical prowess "and an intense desire to prove themselves in athletic competition with their peers."

For the most part however, the impression is gained that the probationers did not behave very differently - if at all - from those who had not been in trouble with the law.

During the past two decades there has been extensive discussion of the role which the Youth Service can play in the lives of adolescents. The Albemarle Committee¹² recommended without hesitation that it should be available for all young people aged 14-20 inclusive, and thought that it should serve to help them " at a period when difficult adjustments in relationships have to be made, a measure of independence recognised and new outside interests encouraged."¹³ Men and women concerned with young people have, however, frequently doubted whether existing youth club facilities manage to meet the needs of those on the delinquent fringe; the Albemarle Report suggested that those who "find it difficult to come to terms with society, and whose social incapacity can take many forms,"¹⁴ are found principally amongst the 'unattached'. In a more recent report¹⁵ in which the Department of Education and Science points out that spending on the youth service by local authorities more than doubled over the five-year period 1960 - 1965, enabling the service to provide wider and better opportunities for "more purposeful" young people, a less satisfactory note was added. "It may be open to question whether the needs of the less purposeful have been sufficiently explored and whether those who tend to be apathetic, antisocial or irresponsible, are finding the service any more attractive than in the past".

Some people have argued that it is the Youth Service's duty to cater for the needs of the 'less purposeful' teenager:

"If only we could develop this service (the Youth Service) more adequately and realise its enormous potentiality for good in underprivileged and difficult neighbourhoods, we would find, I am sure, a safeguard against a great deal of the juvenile and youthful misbehaviour of which we hear so much these days."¹⁶

"Even in the present context, much more provision could be made for the boys whose aversion to the present Youth Service sends them 'on the town' - which has correspondingly little to offer, but offers it without overtones of charity-authoritarianism."¹⁷

On the other hand it has been recognised that extensive provision for those with behavioural problems would be no easy matter. Albemarle suggested that the Youth Service would need to be specially equipped to reach such people: "It calls for leaders with special aptitudes ..., and is likely to be expensive. In the field it will be necessary for youth committees and leaders to work more closely with children's officers and the probation service."¹⁸ Spencer, talking about a particularly difficult group in his Bristol Social Project study, was more pessimistic: "Group work among adolescents as disturbed as the *Espressos*, and with personal histories like theirs, must always be frightening and perplexing to any neighbourhood..... It is easier to let the individuals drift and to let the social services and the police pick up the consequences in personal and family breakdown and delinquency at once or later.... To argue that a good club could have absorbed them (the *Espressos*) is sheer fantasy."¹⁹

The failure of youth clubs to make much impact on the lives of these probationers was revealed as expected. (table 6.9)

TABLE 6.9

THE PROBATIONER'S MOST RECENT VISIT TO A YOUTH CLUB

		%
Less than a week ago	67	14.5
Less than a month ago	37	8.0
Less than six months ago	68	14.7
Six months or more ago	116	25.1
Never been to one	174	37.7
	<hr/> 462	100.0

No information was available in 45 cases.

Only 14.5% of those for whom information was available had been within a week of their probation interview, and a further 8.0% said that they had last been to a youth club less than a month ago: it might be concluded from this that less than a quarter were actively involved in organised youth activities at the time they were on probation. It should be recalled that the sample fell entirely into the age range (14-20) which Albemarle put forward as that most concerning the Youth Service, and, as we have seen, in terms of their environmental circumstances, many of the probationers were by no means under-privileged; it seems clear that, for the majority, the youth clubs had no apparent attraction.

Although no question was asked about frequency of attendance, there was some indication from officers' added comments that in many cases the probationer had been only once or twice and had never returned. In the majority of cases, it was reported that the young men had gone to the Club in the company of others, as shown in table 6.10.

TABLE 6.10

WHETHER THE PROBATIONER HAD GONE ALONE ON HIS LAST VISIT TO A YOUTH CLUB

		%
Alone	52	18.1
With others	214	74.3
"Can't remember"	22	7.6
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	
	288	100.0

The question was not applicable in 174 cases, and no information was available in 45.

Youth club attenders were not noticeably less delinquent than the rest: they were likely to have as many previous convictions. Furthermore, neither their social class nor their degree of job satisfaction were any different, and most surprisingly their peer-group associations did not vary significantly from those of the non-members.

Those who persisted in their youth club attendance after they had reached the age of 17 had slightly different home backgrounds from the rest.

Table X65 They were, for example, more likely to come from materially well endowed homes, with 44.0% having a material stress score of zero, compared with the 33.7% of those who had attended youth clubs but not since they had reached 17, and the 30.6% of those who had never been to a club. The late

Table X66 youth club attenders contained only 23.6% who came from families with a criminal record, compared with 25.6% among those who had left youth clubs before the age of 17 and 40.0% among those who had never been.

If the majority find little or nothing to attract them in the Youth Service, it is natural that their leisure time activities should be centred on commercial enterprises. We have seen the role which these settings play in the young men's weekends, and in order to get a fuller picture of them, the officers asked their clients for more details.

The cinema remains the most common setting for the adolescents to spend their time in. 39.6% had been within a week of their interview, and only 12.1% said that they had either not been to the cinema for at least six months or that they had never been. The vast majority, of course, had been with friends, with only 10.6% saying that they had gone by themselves on the last occasion.

TABLE 6.11

MOST RECENT VISIT TO THE CINEMA

		%
Less than a week ago	183	39.6
At least a week but less than a month ago	118	25.5
At least a month but less than six months ago	105	22.7
Six months or more ago/never been	56	12.1
	<hr/> 462	<hr/> 99.9

No information was available in 45 cases

TABLE 6.12

WHETHER THE PROBATIONER HAD GONE ALONE ON HIS LAST VISIT TO THE CINEMA

		%
Alone	49	10.6
With friends	354	76.6
With relatives/wife	24	5.2
Can't remember/never been	35	7.6
	<hr/> 462	<hr/> 100.0

No information was available in 45 cases

Probationers were asked to say whether they spent "a lot of time" in a number of other settings which, it was thought likely, might play an important part in their leisure time lives. Each individual was left to his own interpretation of a "lot of time", but it was certainly not intended to assess those places which the men visited only occasionally. The most popular single centre was the dance hall where 30.3% of the sample spent a lot of time; next came the pub which attracted 27.9% regularly and the coffee bar to which 23.8% went.

TABLE 6.13

MEETING PLACES IN WHICH THE PROBATIONERS SAID THAT THEY SPENT A "LOT OF TIME" (MORE THAN ONE PLACE COULD BE NAMED)

		%
A local coffee bar	110	23.8
A public house	129	27.9
A dance hall	140	30.3
A billiard hall	41	8.9
A bowling alley	49	10.6
Any similar meeting place	88	19.0

The possible total in each case was 462 probationers. No information was available in 45 cases.

19.0% mentioned other settings in which they passed a large part of their leisure time; the most common were the working men's club which accounted for 38 of them and sports clubs of various kinds to which 11 went regularly; there were, in addition, a wide selection of miscellaneous activities: skin diving club, gymnasium, all-night launderette with coffee machines, CND meeting, Doncaster market place, scooter club, betting office, deaf club, folksinging club, stadium dog track, swimming baths, evening classes, and even a fish and chip shop.

Some probationers were said to spend a lot of time in a number of different settings while others did not specifically name any.

TABLE 6.14

NUMBER OF SETTINGS IN WHICH THE PROBATIONER WAS SAID TO SPEND A 'LOT OF TIME'

		%
None	150	32.5
One	142	30.7
Two	114	24.7
Three	42	9.1
Four or more	14	3.0
	<hr/> 462	100.0

No information was available in 45 cases.

Table X67 The 32.5% who had no particular settings in which they passed a lot of time included a significantly higher proportion who were classified by their probation officers as lone wolves. While such a finding is not now by any means unexpected, it serves to confirm the existence of a minority group in the sample who could be classified as extreme social isolates, and who would presumably need casework treatment to suit their social condition. Lack of a girl friend was not in any way associated with the number of different settings which the probationer was said to frequent.

LEISURE TIME AND RECONVICTION

All the various forms of leisure-time activities were compared with failure-rates, and no significant association was found in any direction; ie those who frequented pubs, billiard halls, cafés, dance halls or youth clubs were neither more nor less likely to get into further trouble.

CHAPTER 7 GIRL-FRIENDS AND WIVES

THE UNMARRIED MEN

Increasingly, as the youth becomes a young man and an adult, there are pressures upon him - both biological and social - to form a relationship with a girl. "The majority of children at urban schools have friendships with the opposite sex early in their teens. Among a group of 15-year-olds it is rare to find more than about 10% in either selective or secondary modern schools who have not had a 'steady'. The minority, whose heterosexual interest is delayed or not yet recognised, are usually anxious about their normality or their attractiveness. A few such children are partnerless because they are socially handicapped"¹

At the age of 17 or over, the place of the girl in a man's life may become increasingly important to him - and so also, it may be supposed, to the probation officer's diagnosis and treatment. The probationer, like others of his age, will be faced with the challenge of relating himself, not only to another person more closely than he has ever done before outside the orbit of his own family, but also to the role society expects of him and of his sexual behaviour. "Sexual behaviour may be determined by social custom, which is often at odds with the inclination of the individual Some complain that having a steady is too limiting. Steadies become jealous and may not permit outings even with a friend of the same sex. Others find security and deep satisfaction in the steady relationship. 'It's someone to talk over your problems with'."² In the short run, the majority of men may make only tentative links with the opposite sex, and an over-strong tie at an early stage of adolescence may even be an indication, not of maturity, but of immaturity. Speaking of their sample of 18-year-olds, Logan and Goldberg³ commented that the largest group -

about a third - 'were at the stage of breaking away from the purely male gang, and were beginning to ask girls to dance with them, or to come to the cinema - though still in a crowd of other youths.' Six 'more mature' men appeared to be going steady, but four who had become engaged were seen as satisfying "immature" needs for a mother substitute. Although these youths had superficially taken the most adult steps of becoming engaged they were less advanced, in fact, in their social relationships with their peers than those who were experimenting in the 'mixed gang' stage." Dunlop and McCabe⁴ found the same thing in their detention centre sample: "Several of the more deprived and rootless young men had become deeply attached to a fiancée or girl-friend".

The caseworker then must be able to see both the social context in which his client's personality is developing, and the personality context in which the probationer's social relationships are maturing. It may be that the attitudes and resources of the probationer will influence his sexual relationships; but it is also widely believed that a strengthening association with the opposite sex may play an important part in the process of maturation. It is commonly said by probation officers that a young man's acquisition of a steady girl-friend will do more to stabilise him than any amount of casework (although it is conceivable, though not proven, that the latter may make the former more likely); Downes⁵ has put this belief into a sociological context: "It could be argued that delinquency in the late teens will still be curbed by the further juvenilisation of marriage, in itself the main check to the spread-over of delinquency into early adulthood." If there is any likelihood that the stabilisation of a sexual relationship can have a negative effect on delinquency, then it becomes important initially to know to what

extent teen-age probationers are themselves in the process of settling down with a girl-friend.

92% of the sample were unmarried at the time the probation orders were made 340 (73.9%) of the single men were said to "go out with a girl", while, so far as the probation officers could discover, as many as 26.1% did not have any association with the opposite sex.* It was not possible to discover any link between the kind of home relationships enjoyed by the probationers and whether or not they had a girl-friend, but it was

Table X68 found that those who did not go out with a girl were more likely to live
Table X6 in a self-contained house or flat and were less likely to suffer overcrowded home conditions; it appeared that the material conditions of the home were more closely associated with the probationer's lack of a girl-friend than were his social relationships in the home.

Table X62 Lack of a girl-friend was closely associated with lone wolf tendencies in the probationer's social life: if he had no girl-friend, he was less
Table X69 likely to have strong peer-group ties, and less likely to frequent dance
Table X70 halls and public houses. There are two possible interpretations - either there existed a group for whom social relationships generally were difficult, or - and the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive - there were some whose social development was retarded, and who were simply not yet moving into the world of the adult. There is no indication that the probationers without girl-friends were any less likely, for example, to frequent more juvenile centres such as youth clubs or coffee bars.

*No information was available in eight cases, and the question was not applicable in 39 cases because the men concerned were married.

Of those with girl-friends, only a small number were engaged at the time of being placed on probation (7.6%) while over half (57.4%) had only a very casual relationship with girls. 35.0% were said by their probation officers to have 'steady girl-friends'.

TABLE 7.1

TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP WITH GIRL-FRIENDS

		%
Engaged	26	7.6
Steady girl-friend	119	35.0
Very casual	195	57.4
	<hr/>	
	340	100.0

No information was available in eight cases, and the question was not applicable in 159.

TABLE 7.2

DEPTH OF FEELING BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS GIRL-FRIEND

		%
Very much	101	32.7
Not very much	158	51.1
None at all	50	16.2
	<hr/>	
	309	100.0

No information was available in 39 cases, and the question was not applicable in 159.

Table X71 24.8% of those who were going steady or were engaged were said to have not very much feeling for their girl or fiancée, and one was described as having none at all. General emotional indifference was the normal pattern in almost all cases where the probationer had only a casual relationship with a girl.

TABLE 7.3

TYPE OF INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY THE GIRL-FRIEND

Influence	A great deal		Slightly		Total	
		%		%		%
For better	56	88.9	88	74.6	144	79.6
For worse	5	7.9	3	2.5	8	4.4
For better and worse	-		3	2.5	3	1.7
PO didn't know	2	3.2	24	20.3	26	14.4
	63	100.0	118	99.9	181	100.1

No influence at all was exercised in 107 cases; no information was available in 60 cases, and the question was not applicable in 159.

We have already seen that the probationer's male contemporaries who exerted any influence over him were thought to do so generally 'for worse'; the girl-friends were less likely to influence the probationer at all, but when they did so the probation officer thought that their effect was likely to be more beneficial in the majority of cases: where the influence was strong, the officer said that it was likely to be for 'better' in 88.9% of the cases, and, where it was slight, in 74.6% of the cases.

Thus the officer sees the presence of a girl-friend as being a mainly positive factor in the probationer's rehabilitation, although we cannot say, of course, at this stage that the officer's assessment was confirmed in practice.

SUMMARY AND CASE EXAMPLES

- a. Of the single men as many as a quarter were said not to go out with a girl, and there was a marked tendency for them to be restricted in their contact with their peer-group as well.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer (19) lives with his mother, step-father and brother: he has a warm regard for his mother who tends to be over-protective, some respect for his step-father, who is a firm disciplinarian, and nothing at all in common with his brother, who has a large number of different girl-friends. The probationer, with an average IQ, is shy and withdrawn in conversation. He has never taken a girl out in his life, although his brother arranged a blind date for him once; he vows never to do it again because the probationer hardly spoke and never left his side all evening. When attending his firm's annual dance, to which wives and girl-friends were invited, the probationer took his mother. In conversation with the probation officer, he finds it difficult to explain his shyness, but says he would rather stay at home than go out in the evenings; he shows signs of becoming very dependent on his officer.

- b. The majority of the single men had only casual girl-friends with little or no emotional involvement, and even less likelihood that their behaviour might be influenced by the relationship.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer (19) is a smooth character, living with a maiden aunt. Although there are occasional hints of a basic insecurity, in normal relationships he carefully conceals these by his general air of bonhomie. He loves to brag about his sexual exploits, and of his success in seducing all the girls he goes out with ... says he saw a lot of himself in

the film "Alfie". Wishes he could find a girl of whose virginity he could be certain: "but they all give in so easily, they can't possibly be ...". He has never known any strong feelings for a girl, and has certainly never found any who could be said to exert an influence over him: he says that he would like to find a girl with whom he could build a relationship, "but she'd have to have better moral standards than those I usually go out with".

c. About a third of the single men had a stable relationship with a girl, although very few of them were engaged; there was a greater tendency for feelings to play some part in these cases, and for the girl to exercise some influence over the probationer.

CASE EXAMPLE

The probationer, aged 17, is the adopted son of a dominating woman whose middle-class husband has given up trying to compete on equal terms; the probation officer thinks of the woman as being emasculating. The probationer has been courting a shy, quiet and pretty girl since he was fourteen. Whenever there is a major row at home - which is frequently - he runs off to his Mary who provides the necessary succour and comfort. There is a warm supportive relationship between them, which is broken only by an occasional violent outburst in which the probationer assaults Mary viciously; the probation officer has seen her when she has been covered in bruises as a result of this. In spite of this there is evidence that the probationer has settled down considerably under his girl-friend's influence. At the time of the probation order (made following a house-breaking offence) Mary is pregnant, and preparations are being made for the wedding.

GIRL-FRIENDS AND RECONVICTION

The relationship between the probationer and his girl-friend was a much less powerful factor in determining whether he was likely to be reconvicted than was his association with his male contemporaries. We saw earlier in the chapter that officers thought that the girl's influence was more likely to be for better if it was strong than if it was only slight, but this finding is hardly borne out by the follow-up study of failure-rates: those whose girl-friends exercised a lot of influence had very similar failure-rates to those who enjoyed a slight measure of feminine control or those who were not influenced at all.

Furthermore the superficiality of many of the girl-friendships is reflected in the fact that those with no girl-friend at all were neither better nor worse off than the rest with respect to reconviction rates; and neither the strength of the relationship nor the depth of feeling between man and girl-friend appeared to be associated with success or failure.

THE MARRIED MEN*

Whatever the long-term value of a marriage for providing stability in an unstable life, it is all too clear in this sample that matrimony had only added to many of the men's problems. As Langner and Michael⁶ comment: "Marriage may decrease his loneliness, satisfy his sexual and reproductive drives, and afford him the great pleasures of parenthood. It may also increase his responsibilities, threaten his sexual capacity, and burden him with parental duties" The marital role can "often make tremendous demands on the individual which he is ill-equipped to meet."⁷ And so in many cases it appeared to be.

*For convenience, the four men who were not legally married, but who were cohabiting, are included in this section, and are treated throughout as being married.

TABLE 7.4

THE MATRIMONIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS WIFE

		%
Good (ie compatible with no undue quarrelling)	22	57.9
Fair (ie incompatible, but not leading to an open breach, except for sporadic separations)	12	31.6
Poor (ie the couple were living permanently apart)	4	10.5
	38	100.0

No information was available in one case, and the question was not applicable in 468.

Almost half of the married men (42.1%) were either already separated from their wives, or had an incompatible relationship with them. 23 men were said to have deep feelings for their spouses, including three of those who were incompatible or separated. 11 had 'not very much feeling' and two none at all; almost all of this group of thirteen were in a matrimonial situation where the relationship was described by the officer as either 'fair' or 'poor'.

Table X74

TABLE 7.5

DEPTH OF FEELING BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS WIFE

		%
Very much	23	63.9
Not very much	11	30.6
None at all	2	5.6
	36	100.1

No information was available in 3 cases, and the question was not applicable in 468.

TABLE 7.6

THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE WIFE WAS SAID TO BE A SOURCE OF SUPPORT
TO HER HUSBAND

		%
A great deal	12	33.3
Slightly	15	41.7
Not at all	9	25.0
	<hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/>	
	36	100.0

No information was available in 3 cases, and the question was not applicable in 468.

Even in those marriages where there was a lot of mutual feeling between husband and wife, and where the marital relationship was described as good, the probationer could not expect very much general support from his wife in more than about half of the cases. In only a third of all the instances where the men were married was a great deal of support given, while in a quarter there was none at all. Such support as was given did generally come in the better quality relationships. In even fewer cases was the wife seen as exerting any influence over her husband to any great extent - and when she did so, it was just as likely to be for worse as for better. Only nine of the wives (25.7% of those where information was available) were said to exercise a great deal of influence; of these, three were for worse, and in three cases the probation officer was uncertain of the type of influence given. In the majority of cases, the wife was thought to exercise slight influence, and usually this was seen as being beneficial in its effects.

TABLE 7.7

INFLUENCE EXERTED BY WIFE OVER PROBATIONER

		%
A great deal	9	25.7
Slightly	23	65.7
None at all	3	8.6
	<hr/>	
	35	100.0

No information was available in 4 cases, and the question was not applicable in 468.

TABLE 7.8

TYPE OF INFLUENCE EXERTED BY THE WIFE

Influence	A great deal		slightly		total	
		%		%		%
For better	3	33.3	16	69.6	19	59.4
For worse	3	33.3	5	21.7	8	25.0
PO 'did not know'	3	33.3	2	8.7	5	15.6
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	9	99.9	23	100.0	32	100.0

The small number of cases falling into the 'married' category rendered any further detailed analysis of rather dubious value. It was not possible from the data available to isolate any statistically significant factors which differentiated between those whose marriages appeared to be reasonably satisfactory and those in the midst of marital disharmony, nor was it possible to discover any link between matrimonial circumstances and reconviction.

However, the responding officers added short case summaries in many of the married men's cases, and these give a clear and compact indication of the complex nature of the psychosocial problems facing the caseworker in the majority of these probationers' lives. A short selection follows:

a. Probationers whose marital relationships were said to be good (ie compatible, with no undue quarrelling). N=22

"Lad resides under the same roof as his parents with his wife and children. He is very insecure, and the marriage may suffer as a result of divided loyalty ..."

"His girl-friend (now his wife) was pregnant at the time the offences were committed. Both are immature, from difficult homes, and emotionally childish. Both are very dependent on each other, and the probationer is anxious for approval and status in his wife's eyes."

"The wife is not yet 17, an immature woman with little depth of character. The marriage was precipitated by the pending birth of the child".

"His cohabitee is on probation for shop-lifting, and is married to a friend of the probationer's. It may be of some significance that he was not in serious trouble until after he met her. She may not be basically honest, but she nevertheless tries to influence the probationer to keep in regular employment, and seems anxious to lead a normal married life with him."

"The probationer's problems began from the time he married. He has been very much influenced by his wife with whom he was a co-defendant. She is ex-Approved school, of superior intelligence, and by far the dominant character."

"The probationer's delinquency started shortly after he returned from Gretna Green ..."

"Early marriage (forced) and living with in-laws are definitely serious stress factors."

"Relations between the probationer and his in-laws are very strained: his offence was that he assaulted them."

- b. Probationers whose marital relationships were said to be fair (ie incompatible, but not leading to an open breach, except for sporadic separations). N=12

"The probationer is not above going out with another girl ..."

"This was a marriage of convenience when the lad was barely 17 and she was only a little older; she is under supervision by the mental health authorities. The fact that his wife had left him was the precipitating cause of the offence".

"The difficulties in the marriage stem partly from the inadequacies of their living accommodation".

"The husband is easily unsettled, and his wife, in her relationships with him, is provocative, usually succeeding in reducing him to furious impotence. The assault case arose as a direct result of this type of situation.

"A forced marriage. Although there is some evidence of the wife's good influence, this is outweighed by the stress of responsibilities. Probationer continues promiscuous relationships."

"The only source of what stability there is in this marriage is their young child of whom they are both fond."

"Marriage on the verge of break-up. The lad has recently learned of his wife's association with another probationer, and, as she is at present pregnant, he now has doubts as to whether he is the father of the child."

c. Probationers whose marital relationships were said to be poor (ie they were living permanently apart). Four probationers fell into this group, but a comment was made in only one case:

"The break up in this marriage led to rather extreme stresses and the families played an active part in recriminations; the fairly close contact that the probationer and his wife have as a result of living in a small town tends to make feelings run high."

The majority of marriages clearly added further dimensions to already existing problems. The marital relationship itself was either fragile or already broken in almost half the cases; where it was stronger, problems nevertheless existed in terms of accommodation, in-law attitudes, and the difficulties of coping with their new-found responsibilities for a child.

The problems of the young married probationer illustrate both the complexity of the situation in which casework must be carried out and the way in which the situation becomes inextricably tied up with the personality of the individual client. It would be inconceivable for the caseworker to concentrate purely on the probationer, in

ignorance of or in isolation from his environment; the main decision to be taken must surely be to determine the extent to which the probation officer can work with significant individuals in the client's environment. The answer to this question will depend partly on the amount of time available to the caseworker, but, more important in the long run, on an extension of our knowledge of the effectiveness of environmental involvement.

CHAPTER 8 THE BEGINNING OF TREATMENT

So far the emphasis of this report has been on the here-and-now situation surrounding the offender at the time that he was placed on probation; details have been given of his relationships with the people around him in his everyday life. In this short chapter, his initial reactions to probation and to the probation officer are described, and an attempt is made to relate them to his social setting. It should be emphasised that we are not here concerned with details of casework treatment, but only with the attitudes of the probationer, as seen by his supervising officer during the first 8 weeks of the order*, and with the quality of the relationship emerging between caseworker and client.

Hamilton¹, like almost all casework theorists, has emphasised that one of the distinctive characteristics of the casework method is "the conscious, controlled use of the worker-client relationship", while mention has already been made of the Morison Committee's² authoritative understanding of probation casework as "the creation and utilisation ... of a relationship". Even in his traditional advising, assisting and befriending role, the officer's work relied to a great extent on his ability to convince the client of his willingness to help and this problem of establishing a satisfactory personal relationship is, of course, common to almost all social work. In a study of hospitalised mentally ill patients³, it was found that "14 of 15 relatives showed initial resistance to a casework relationship".

* As was explained in chapter 5 (page 125), part of the questionnaire was completed approximately 8 weeks after the order began; the questions were largely retrospective, but 2 sections referred to the time when the questionnaire was completed: those dealing with leisure-time activities of the probationer (see chapter 6), and with the probation officer's description of the probationer's relationship with him in the early stages of the order.

Clearly such resistance can severely hamper the task of the caseworker, both in person-to-person interviews and by preventing any effective intervention in the client's environment; thus it is one of the major aims of casework to understand such difficulties in relationships and to discover ways in which they can be overcome. Hollis⁴, talking of the individual "who is greatly retarded in the quality of his object relationships", suggests that "he can be reached only to the extent that he feels very strongly the worker's interest in helping him for his own sake. With such a client sustaining techniques are likely to be very much needed."

In probation, it might be expected that the clientele would include a large number who felt suspicious and possibly resentful of their position, and, in order to check on this, probation officers were asked whether their probationers had shown any signs of sullenness, hostility, friendliness or willingness to discuss their problems. Table 8.1 shows the proportion of cases in which officers answered 'yes' to each of the 4 questions, and table 8.2 shows the way in which each reaction was related to the others.

TABLE 8.1

INITIAL REACTIONS OF THE PROBATIONER TO THE OFFICER.

WHETHER THE PROBATIONER HAD SHOWN SIGNS OF:	YES	%	NO	%	TOTAL	%
a. sullenness	135	27.0	365	73.0	500	100.0
b. hostility	102	20.4	398	79.6	500	100.0
c. friendliness	462	92.4	38	7.6	500	100.0
d. willingness to discuss problems	383	76.6	117	23.4	500	100.0

In respect of each question, there were 4 cases in which no information was available, and 3 where no relationship had existed.

TABLE 8.2

The relationship between the positive and negative reactions by the client to the probation officer

Negative Reactions	Positive Reactions			
	a Friendliness only	b Willingness to discuss problems only	c Both friendliness and willingness to discuss problems	d Neither friendliness nor willingness to discuss problems
<u>A</u> Hostility only	12 (2.4%)	1 (0.2%)	21 (4.2%)	2 (0.4%)
<u>B</u> Sullenness only	18 (3.6%)	2 (0.4%)	41 (8.2%)	8 (1.6%)
<u>C</u> Hostility and Sullenness	9 (1.8%)	3 (0.6%)	40 (8.0%)	14 (2.8%)
<u>D</u> Neither hostility nor sullenness	51 (10.2%)	4 (0.8%)	271 (54.2%)	3 (0.6%)

Percentages are of the total number in the relevant sample: N = 500.

No information was available in 4 cases, and in 3, the officers never had any relationship with the probationers because of their re-arrest, disappearance, etc.

Table 8.2 shows that a total of 34.2% had shown some sullenness or hostility or both in the first 2 months of the order; this gives some indication of the extent to which the caseworker has to learn to deal with these negative emotions, and, where possible, to use them to the client's advantage. In very few cases, however, was the probationer wholly negative in his reaction to the officer.

Although many social workers might argue that "friendliness" in a relationship can sometimes be used by a client to prevent an over-active exploration of his negative feelings, it is nevertheless of interest that in all but 7.6% of the cases the officer had something of an amicable relationship with the client; three-quarters of the probationers appeared willing to discuss their problems. Thus even in most of those cases where negative feelings did emerge in the early probation relationship, these were accompanied by warmer reactions too.

In a second question concerned with the way in which the probationer had responded to the order, officers were asked to say whether their relationship with him was good, moderate or bad. No definitions were provided because it was felt that there were such different emphases and approaches in probation casework that any rigid definition might incite controversy among the respondents; in exploratory work prior to the launching of the main project, discussions with probation officers led to the conclusion that they would find a simple three-tiered assessment meaningful, and, in the project itself, no difficulties arose in its application to particular cases.

TABLE 8.3

The officers' assessment of their relationship with the probationers after approximately 8 weeks of the order*.

		%
Good	228	45.6
Moderate	256	51.2
Bad	16	3.2
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/> 500 <hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/>	<hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/> 100.0 <hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/>
No relationship	3	
No information	4	
	<hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/> 507 <hr style="width: 50px; margin: 0 auto;"/>	

* If the order had ended within 8 weeks of its commencement, the officer gave his assessment of the relationship at the time of its termination.

In only a minute proportion of cases did officers describe their relationship as 'bad' and the measurement largely divided the sample into those with a 'good' relationship and those with an only 'moderate' one.

Previous criminal experience on the part of the probationer did not affect his probation relationship - either for better or worse; nor did the type of offence that he had committed. The probation relationship was however most markedly linked with the probationer's life at home, at work, and within his peer-group.

The quality of the probationer's association with his supervising officer was not affected by the fact that he might come from a dirty home, nor by the extent to which his family were known to have broken the law. The home factors which linked up with the probation relationship were concerned with personal interaction - firstly, between the parents, and secondly, between the probationer and his parents. There was a direct association between the quality of the matrimonial relationship of the man's parents and his own relationship with the officer: 51.2% of the probationers whose parents were fundamentally compatible had good probation relationships, compared with 40.0% of those whose parents were said to quarrel with each other, and only 16.7% of those whose parents were separated or divorced. Moderate probation relationships were increasingly common as the parental situation deteriorated.

A strong link was found to exist between the casework relationship reported by the probation officer and the relationship between the probationer and his parents. The better the probationer seemed to get on with his father or mother, the more likely was he to have a good relationship with his supervising officer: for example, of those with the best possible father-son relationship, 66.7% had good probation relationships; the comparable figure for those with the worst possible father-son links was 34.5%. Moreover the few cases in which the officer described his relationship with the probationer as either bad or non-existent all fell into the groups where paternal relationships were poor: one was assessed with a "probably poor" paternal relationship, and the remaining 7 for whom this question was applicable had the worst possible links with their fathers.

Table X79 The association between probation relationships and the mother-son link was not so strong, although it did exist - especially in the two extreme groups. Those probationers with the best possible and worst possible maternal relationships had predominantly good and bad casework relationships respectively; but the large number of cases which fell into the 2 middle groups were not so clearly distinguishable.

Probationers who had left home were, as a group, not likely to have any worse relationships with their officers than those still at home. Neither single nor married men were likely to behave towards their probation officer any differently according to whether they had good or bad relationships in their place of abode. Similarly girl-friend relationships were immaterial in this respect, but the link that the probationer had with

Table X80 his peer group was closely related to the officer-client relationship. The small number of cases where the probation relationship was either bad or non-existent were divided equally between those probationers who were described as lone wolves and those who mixed with delinquents. Of those who mixed mainly with non-delinquents 60.4% had a good probation relationship, compared with 42.9% of the lone wolves and only 31.2% of those who mixed with delinquents. Moderate relationships were most common in the group of probationers who tended to move in delinquent circles.

Table X81 The work setting was powerfully related to probation relationships, with 54.8% of the probationers receiving high support at work being said to have a good relationship with their probation officers; the corresponding figure for those receiving low support in the work setting was 39.0%. All those with bad relationships or none at all with their probation officers either received low support at work or were unemployed*.

* In 2 cases, the probationers were still at school.

Table X82 Finally, the probation casework relationship was associated with the officer's assessment of the probationers' personalities. Those said to be in some way mentally disturbed were likely to have either moderate or bad relationships with their officers. Of those who were described as being personally inadequate (though not in any way disturbed), rather more than half (55.2%) had only moderate probation relationships compared with 41.1% of those who were neither inadequate nor disturbed; of the latter group 57.1% had good relationships with their supervising officers, compared with 34.0% of the disturbed probationers.

The evidence presented here which links the quality of the casework relationship with the probationer's social environment carries potential implications for the practice of social work. Earlier chapters have shown the association between an inferior social environment and the likelihood of reconviction; and insofar as probation is concerned (among other things) with reducing the likelihood of reconviction and helping the probationer to come to terms with reality, it would seem desirable that in some way environmental difficulties should be combatted. There is little doubt that at present, the principal means of trying to help the probationer in his personal and social life is through a casework relationship. If, however, the casework relationship is itself associated, not only with personality factors in the client, but also with the client's environment, then the possible limitations of the tool become apparent. Where the circumstances are good and the problems few a good probation relationship is highly probable; where difficulties are severe and where the probationer is alienated from his environment the quality of the probation relationship is all too likely to be poor.

Social work has traditionally emphasised the concept of client self-determination: through a casework relationship, the probationer is helped

and encouraged to solve his own problems and to counter the negative aspects in his environment. If, however, the casework relationship varies proportionately with the quality of the probationer's environment and with the limitations in the probationer's personality, then a tricky problem is posed for social work theory and practice: the main instrument for diagnosis and treatment in casework - the interpersonal relationship between worker and client - is rendered relatively ineffective when the need for it is most pressing. Those probationers with the greatest problems are least likely to achieve the best relationship with their supervising officers; and conversely the clients with whom officers have a good relationship are the ones with the fewest personality problems and the most effective support in their environment.

The present study can do no more than describe the situation as it sees it, and it is certainly not the intention of the research worker to underrate the work of the probation officer: given the tools that are available to the probation service and the problems presented by the clients (which, as this report has shown, are often of great complexity), officers probably achieve as much as can be achieved in the present situation. But the value of a descriptive survey is to be seen in the questions it provokes among practitioners and research workers, and the foremost question in the writer's mind is how far traditional methods of probation supervision are appropriate in cases where there are severe environmental problems and/or serious limitations of personality. The present data can offer no answer to this question, but, unless it is felt that such men can only be effectively dealt with by borstal or detention centre sentences, it would seem to be essential to explore ways in which probation supervision could be employed so as to provide

a more intensive, more flexible and more varied form of treatment in those cases requiring it. It may be that the successful establishment of a 'good' relationship - apparently so elusive in difficult cases - could ultimately depend on the ability of social work to move into a position where the treatment offered, though starting with casework, does not end there: merely to consider the variety of problems presented by the worst-risk cases on probation leads one inevitably to question whether social work yet has a sufficiently varied number of treatment approaches in its armoury.

THE BEGINNING OF TREATMENT AND RECONVICTION

TABLE 8.4

Failure-rate* of probationers according to their initial response to probation treatment.

a. Factors significantly associated with failure-rate:

<u>Table reference</u>	<u>F-R</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Level of signifi- cance</u>	<u>df</u>
8.3 P had a good relationship with his PO	.29	228	.001	2
8.1 a P showed no signs of sullenness	.32	365	.001	1
8.1 b P showed no signs of hostility	.32	398	.001	1
8.1 c P showed signs of friendliness	.34	462	.001	1
8.3 P had a moderate relationship with his PO	.41	256	.001	2
8.1 a P showed signs of sullenness	.50	135	.001	1
8.1 b P showed signs of hostility	.54	102	.001	1
8.1 c P showed no signs of friendliness	.68	38	.001	1
8.3 P had a bad or non-existent relationship with his probation officer	.74	19	.001	2

b. Factors not significantly associated with failure-rate:

Table reference

8.1 d Whether or not the probationer had shown any signs of a willingness to discuss his problems with the probation officer (df 1)

* See explanatory footnote on page 72

The factors in the officer-client relationship which were associated with low failure-rates - an absence of sullenness, an absence of hostility, and the presence of friendliness on the part of the probationer - were those which, from a common-sense point of view, would be most welcome in any personal encounter. Moreover the group described as having a good relationship with the caseworker had the low failure-rate of .29; the highest failure-rates were in the small groups which had a bad or non-existent relationship with their officers, which showed no signs of friendliness, and in the larger groups which displayed symptoms of hostility or sullenness. Although it must be emphasised that no necessary causal association can be assumed between a good casework relationship and success on probation, the indications are that the best chance of avoiding reconviction belongs to those clients who are most quickly able to make a mature and responsive relationship with their supervisors; the greatest likelihood of committing a further offence and thereby in some cases losing the chance of probation, arises when the client behaves in such a way as would normally result in his being rejected - whether or not this actually happens in the casework context.

The only factor which appears to have no relevance for the outcome of the order in the first twelve months is the client's willingness to discuss his problems. The evidence shows that the man who was prepared to open up in the first few weeks of the order and tell the officer his difficulties was neither more nor less likely to avoid further trouble in the courts; conversely the probationer who kept his thoughts to himself and showed no willingness to discuss his problems was just as likely to succeed as the man who talked.

CHAPTER 9 THE STRESS SCORE

No matter how important any single factor may be for our analysis, neither the probation officer nor the research worker can ignore the fact that each probationer is a total personality in a complex environment. To dissect the social situation and to scatter its parts, as we have done so far in this report, is but a first step in the process of understanding the totality. By examining the nature of the component parts of the environment, by seeing how they interact, and by learning which elements appear to affect outcome most powerfully, we shall, in the end, be better able to assess the social context of each probationer, and to speculate on the role of the environment in probation treatment.

This chapter will describe an attempt to develop a Stress Score, based on predetermined aspects of the probationer's environment. It will be suggested that this approach to the assessment of environmental stress, while not without interest, is inadequate for research purposes. The researcher's recognition of the limitations inherent in the Stress Score led to the search for a more useful means of assessing environment, and this will be described in Part 2 of this report.

THE STRESS SCORE

In their book 'Life Stress and Mental Health', Langner and Michael come to the conclusion that "the sheer number of stress factors reported is the most efficient method of predicting mental health risk. The group reporting none of the 10 factors had an average risk of .24, while those who had a Stress Score of 13 had an average risk of .91 which is almost 4 times as great. The higher the Stress Score, the greater was the mental health risk."¹

It was hypothesised in the present study that delinquent behaviour might in some cases be seen as a response to stress, and the Stress Score was devised primarily with the intention of measuring it against reconviction rates. The factors contributing to the Score were determined at the very beginning of the project, before any questionnaires had been completed.* The emphasis on the here-and-now which has been an integral part of the entire research scheme was carried through into the Stress Score which aimed at providing an overall measure of those difficulties which were thought likely to hamper the individual in his everyday life. The Score was computed by the research worker from the relevant parts of the questionnaire completed by probation officers. The factors included are shown in table 9.1.

* The items selected for the Stress Score were chosen purely on an a priori basis; weighting was determined in such a way that home circumstances should be emphasised, and so as to ensure that all probationers could attain the same maximum score.

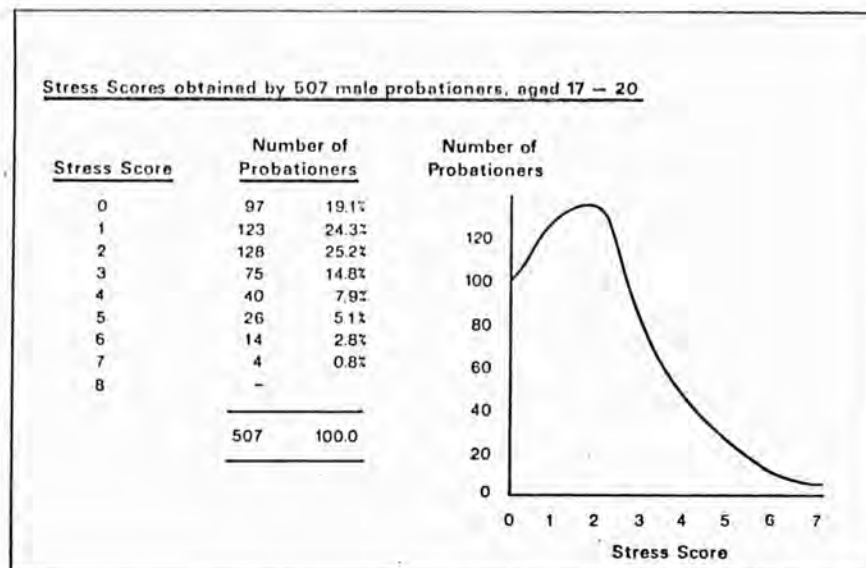
Table 9.1

FACTORS MAKING UP THE STRESS SCORE

	<u>Alternative Scores</u>	<u>Maximum Score</u>	
Living in overcrowded conditions, ie 1.5 persons or more per room	1	}	
Living in a home which was habitually disorderly and/or unclean	1		
<u>If single:</u> Living with parents, whose relationship was <u>fair</u> (see page 78)	2		
Living with one parent, the marriage having broken down, and there being no parent-substitute	2		
Living with a widowed parent, who was:- - indifferent, or - hostile/rejective towards probationer	1 2		}
Living other than with parents (but not of no fixed abode) and having no-one in the home to whom the probationer feels <u>attached</u>	2		
Never going out with a girl-friend	1		
<u>If married:</u> Separated from wife (but not of no fixed abode)	3		
Living in a state of incompatibility with wife	2		
<u>If single or married:</u> Being of no fixed abode	4		
Being unemployed	1	}	
Being employed, but not liking his job at all	1		
Being a lone wolf in his peer group relationships		1	
Physical ill-health or disability very much a problem for the probationer		<u>1</u>	
	<u>Total score possible</u>	<u>8</u>	

The Score provides for every probationer a maximum possible of 8; of these 4 relate to home circumstances (including, where relevant, 2 to material conditions), one to the presence or absence of a girl-friend, one to employment, one to social isolation in the contemporary world, and one to physical ill-health. Again, it must be recalled that these factors were

Table 9.2



determined before the specific strength of any one of them in terms of reconviction was known; the Score was devised simply to test the hypothesis that delinquency is related to social stress, and was not intended in itself to have any practical value.

Table 9.2 shows the distribution of scores in the total sample of 507.

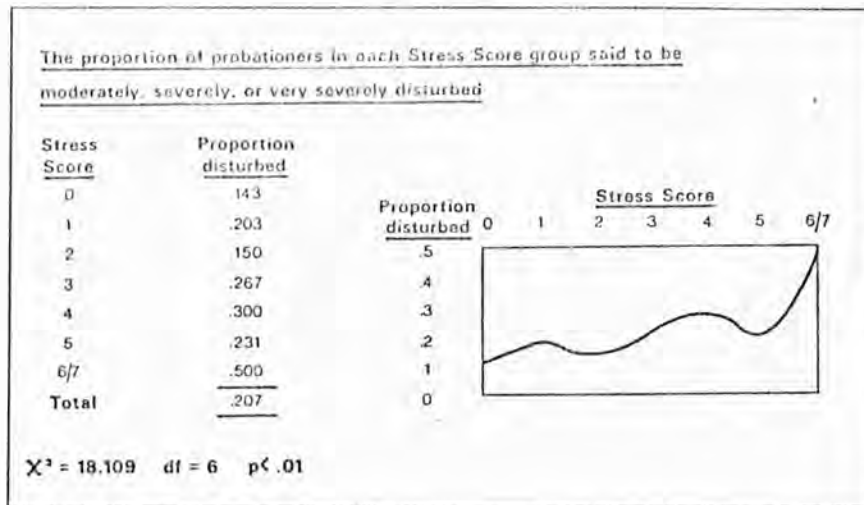
The immediate impression is of the large number in the sample who suffered from little or no stress at all. Almost one-fifth had a Score of zero, and altogether 68.6% had a Score of 2 or less. The remainder - slightly less than one-third - had a Score of 3 or more, with the numbers tailing down to

the extreme level of 7; no men at all had the maximum Score.

The Stress Score did not vary with the age of the probationer, but was significantly associated with the assessments of personality made by the probation officers: those men said to be inadequate or mentally disturbed

Table X83 tended to have higher Stress Scores than those described as being free from

Table 9.3



symptoms of inadequacy or disturbance. Probationers without personality problems made up 48.9% of those with Stress Scores of zero compared with only 19.0% of those with Scores of 3 or more. The appearance of inadequacy or the presence of mental disturbance may themselves be responses to stressful circumstances; or they may have led the probationer (and possibly his family) into the situations which produced the Stress.

The particular relationship between mental disturbance and Stress is shown in figure 9.3.

These findings correspond closely to Langner and Michael's discovery of a direct relationship between Stress and Mental Health ratings.² It will be seen that the proportion of cases said to be mentally disturbed rises - though not steadily - to a point where, with a Stress Score of 6 or 7, psychiatric conditions are present in one out of every 2 cases.

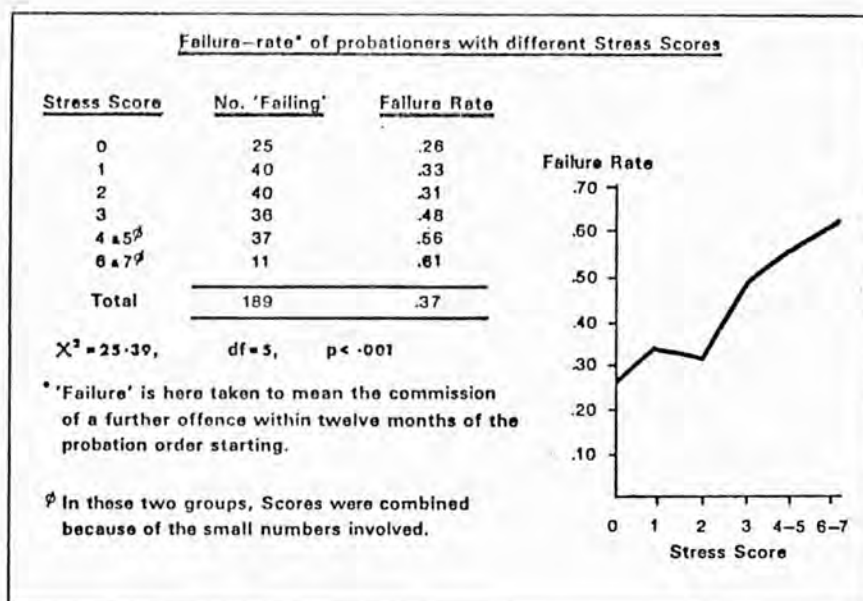
Stress factors were not associated with the kind of property stolen, its value, or the type of premises broken into; those offenders with high Stress were neither more nor less likely to have committed their offence alone.

Table X85 There was, however, a clear suggestion that men with a high Stress Score were more likely than the rest to have stolen from their own homes, from gas or electricity meters or from other peoples' houses (without breaking and entering them); larceny from vehicles was more customary among probationers with very low Stress Scores, and there was a tendency for larceny from the place of employment to occur more often in cases where Stress was absent or only slight.

Table X86 Stress was more likely to occur in families where criminal behaviour had already been reported, but no direct association was found between the probationer's own criminal history and the Stress Score.

By contrast, a very strong association was revealed between the Stress Score and the future misbehaviour of the probationer: reconviction was increasingly likely to occur the greater the degree of Stress recorded. At the extreme points, nearly two-thirds of those with Scores of 6 or 7 were reconvicted within twelve months, compared with only 26% of those having a Score of zero. (Table 9.4)

Table 9.4



The Stress Score has been used to confirm the hypothesis that environmental conditions were significantly related to reconviction. But the Score itself has a number of shortcomings, 3 of which are of particular importance:

- i. The distribution of cases within the Score is uneven: over two-thirds had scores of zero, one or 2. The Score is statistically successful at selecting out the worst risks at the higher levels, but is unsatisfactory in so far as it fails to discriminate greatly between the majority of probationers; there is little difference, for example, between the failure-rates of those scoring zero and those scoring 2. Part of the task of the

research worker is to prepare tools which can be used in further study, and one of the needs in probation research is for the development of a method for categorising probationers into groups which take account of risk-rates and likely treatment needs. The Stress Score produces differential risk-rates, but they are insufficiently sensitive in the majority of cases; moreover it is too blunt an instrument to contribute anything to the long term task of analysing treatment needs.

ii. Some of the factors included in the Stress Score can be criticised - largely, with hindsight, on the grounds that they were irrelevant for determining outcome. Physical ill-health or disability, although undoubtedly a source of stress when present in extreme form, should perhaps not have been included because it is not an environmental factor, as are the others; moreover it was not significantly associated with failure. Other factors which were included in the Score but which contributed nothing in their association with reconviction were:

overcrowding;

being single and away from parents but not having a close relationship with anyone in the home;

poor marital relations:

not liking his job;

being a lone wolf;

not going out with a girl.

iii. The main aim of the Stress Score was to relate environmental circumstances to reconviction, and it became clear in the course of our analysis that, while home and work were the 2 constituent factors which were most closely related to outcome, a third important variable in the environment had not been included in the Score: this was the extent to which the

probationer had become contaminated with criminal contact - either because of his own previous court appearances, because of belonging to a criminal family, or because of the delinquent friends whose company he kept.

The need is apparent, then, for the development of a more sensitive tool which might use those parts of the Stress Score which have emerged as the most relevant, together with some measure of crime contamination. Such an instrument should avoid the top-heavy quality of the Stress Score and should aim at allocating probationers over a wider range of risk; it should have potential value, not only for predicting outcome, but for the determination of treatment needs. The remainder of this report will describe the research workers' attempt to satisfy these requirements.

PART 2

The Assessment of Environment

An instrument for social work research

Chapter 10 A Method for Assessing the Environment

Introduction

Personality assessment is a relatively sophisticated and skilled technique when viewed in the context of social science methodology as a whole. The impartial observer cannot but be impressed by the increasingly rigorous approach that has characterised developments in psychometrics during recent decades. For all that, there is still much disagreement about the validity of personality testing.¹

The social work researcher, aware of the progress that has been made in, and the difficulties that still confound the field of personality assessment, faces an even more intractable problem; for although the assessment of a client's personality may require the services of a clinical psychologist and although the results obtained may be open to question by academic sceptics, the measuring tools are nevertheless available and appear to be relevant for some purposes. No such tools are to hand for the assessment of social environment, although the enthusiasm of some workers for Heimler's Social Functioning Scale² (which begins to explore the relationship between an individual and his environment) is a sign of the felt need for such an instrument. Moreover researchers are increasingly giving their attention to the part played by situational factors in determining behaviour, and to the means by which environmental variables can be isolated from interacting personality variables. In the Home Office Research Unit, Sinclair³ and Martin and Clarke⁴ have examined the behaviour of boys in probation hostels and approved schools respectively; both studies found that patterns of absconding cannot be explained by personality variables alone, and Sinclair in particular has been able to suggest that reasons for the variation in absconsion rates must be sought in the immediate environment (i.e. in the hostel regime).

It cannot be said, of course, that researchers hitherto have ignored the environment. Indeed, as was shown in Part 1 of this report, there has been no

lack of studies describing the relationship between environmental factors and criminal behaviour, and these have generally either implicitly or explicitly postulated a causal link between the two sets of variables. It can however be argued that this approach has made little impact on practising social workers, although some of the research findings may have served a useful purpose in correcting false impressions held either by people in authority or by members of the general public. One major shortcoming of much social work research has resulted from the limitation of time generally imposed on the researcher: most studies have been restricted to a more or less straightforward survey of the problem area. As a result, each researcher has tended to start from scratch, and, because of the lack of proven instruments, has inevitably had to spend much of his available time designing, piloting and administering a relatively untried questionnaire. The rest of this report presupposes the need to go beyond this, and implies that each research worker should seek to make some contribution towards the development and improvement of research instruments for use in a broader context.

Environmental assessment is a complex operation because of the large number of variables that are theoretically open to inclusion, and because of the traditional social work insistence on a holistic approach to the relationship between the individual and his environment; it may be necessary to run the risk of over-simplifying the relationship in order to begin to see and to record something of the interaction between the one and the other.

The assessment of environment described here is based on information provided by the supervising probation officer during the first few weeks of a new probation order. It is not designed to be answered by the client himself although some of the answers may depend partly on information given by the client to the social worker; the accuracy of the assessment must rest ultimately with the social worker and it is for him to temper the information

provided by the client with his own observations of the environmental situation. Thus the instrument depends largely on the skills of a professional social worker; it does not add to, nor does it go beyond, the diagnostic abilities of the probation officer. It does however codify the supervisor's reading of his client's situation, and enables a comparison to be made between different cases in the same caseload or in different caseloads. Moreover, the environmental assessment claims to identify three areas of particular interest in the supervision of offenders, and to summarise information about these three areas so that the interaction between them can be analysed.

Reference has already been made to the difficult, though not impossible, task of distinguishing between the influence of environment and the influence of personality on behaviour. It must be emphasised at this stage that the instrument described in this thesis does not make the attempt to achieve this separation. Indeed its *raison d'être* is quite different. It begins from the assumption, not that the environment is an independent variable impinging on the individual's life situation, but rather that the individual and his environment are a total system. Just as it is widely recognised that personality traits are partly determined by the environment, so it has also to be recognised that an individual's environment is to some extent a reflection of his own personality. Thus the attitude of a father (which is one environmental variable affecting the level of support at home) may itself be influenced by the behaviour of his son. Similarly, unemployment, especially at a time of economic buoyancy, may well be something which the client has chosen of his own accord. So far as the method of assessing environment described in this thesis is concerned, what matters is simply the presence or absence of specified circumstances in different parts of the individual's life situation. If we were to concern ourselves with environmental factors over which the individual had no control, the study would not only have been quite different; it would have been much more limited. Indeed it is arguable that, insofar as

we are concerned with the immediate social environment, no part of it is totally independent of the individual.

Before describing the instrument in greater detail, the researcher's professional conviction of the need for caution in such new fields as this asserts itself. The instrument is both tentative and crude. It is tentative because although it has been tested for statistical replicability, it has not yet been possible to test its reliability. Moreover it is still essentially a research tool, and although some interested social workers may find it of interest, it is not intended to replace the detailed diagnostic assessments traditionally required of the probation service and all practising social workers. The instrument is crude because the three subject areas cover only a part of the environment (although it is argued that they cover the major part, and that additional factors may not be generally applicable to all cases) and because the simple method of dichotomising each of the three factors may be an over simplification.

To sum up, the instrument has been developed principally for research purposes and now needs to be applied in a wider social work setting to see whether the assessments obtainable from it have relevance and value in other contexts. The remainder of Chapter 10 contains a brief reference to the three areas covered by the instrument. Chapter 11 contains the instrument itself. Chapter 12 contains more technical material in which the background to the instrument is described and statistical data are presented showing results obtained from the use of the instrument with different samples.

Finally, in Chapter 13, there is a brief discussion of issues posed by the technical data and reference is made to possible future developments.

Three areas in the social environment

The instrument identifies three parts of the social environment which, it is suggested, in juxtaposition form a basic social system of which the client is a part. The three areas of the environment were chosen partly because they

were applicable to all cases, partly because taken jointly they cover most of the waking hours of any individual and partly because in the original study they were found to be associated with reconviction rates during the first twelve months of the probation order. This latter factor was used, not because it was intended to devise a predictive tool (the whole subject of which has been covered by Simon (to be published)⁵), but because prima facie evidence was needed that each factor was sufficiently significant in an individual's life to be associated with a specified act of delinquent behaviour.

The three areas of the environment named are overlapping and inter-related, although there is some evidence to show that, so far as their association with reconviction rates is concerned, they are statistically independent of each other. The areas covered are the home, work/ school and crime contamination.

(a) Support at home. Provision is allowed on the instrument for three separate circumstances: for the client to be living at home with his parents or parent-substitutes, for the client to be married and living with or without his wife or for the client to be living as a single man in any other circumstances. The measure that is thus obtained under the "support at home" heading refers to quite different situations but is nevertheless legitimately given the same label. The client may be a 12-year old child with his mother and father or he may be a middle-aged married man; he may be a 19-year old vagrant of no fixed abode or a 19-year old student in lodgings.

Because many of the data in Chapter 12 emphasise the association between, for example, high support at home and a low reconviction rate, it might be assumed that an absence of support at home is being put forward as in all circumstances "a bad thing". This is not so; and the point emphasises the need for the environmental assessment instrument to be used with care. In individual cases an absence of support in the home may well be felt by a social worker to put the client at risk. In other cases there may be adequate

compensatory factors which make up for the unsupportive home environment. The assessment of support at home, as with the other two assessments, must not be seen in isolation but only as one significant area of the client's social system.

(b) Work/School. In defining the employment factor for use in the environmental assessment, attempts were made to use either the detailed data about the client's work situation provided by his supervising officer, or the attitudes which the client himself had expressed in answer to a series of questions put to him by the probation officer. None of these factors however were as powerfully related to reconviction-rates as the simple dichotomy obtained from the information about whether the probationer was in work or out of work on the day that he first came under the supervision of the probation officer (see Chapter 5, page 143f). Accordingly this simple objective fact remained the chief determinant of one of the main areas of the environment, although in the revised version of the instrument, the officer's assessment of the client's recent work record is used as a secondary variable.

In Chapter 12 reference will be made to the fact that the instrument is intended to be applicable on a dynamic basis (although it has not yet been tested for this). Thus in relation to employment, the question would be posed: is the difference between an individual who is in work and the same individual who is out of work reflected in his behaviour, and especially in his tendency to behave criminally? Such questions require closer analysis of the ongoing situation than has been possible in the present study.

At the same time as the instrument was being validated on a second sample, advantage was taken to include a sample of juveniles in order to extend the range of the instrument. In order to make this possible, a new set of questions concerned with the child's relationship with his school environment had to be devised. These are now included in the amended instrument.

(c) Crime contamination. This factor is something of a hybrid category and, while influenced by the concept of differential association⁶, it attempts to allow for three ways in which criminal behaviour may have become part of a client's experience; either through committing a crime himself, or by coming into contact with others, amongst friends or members of his own family, who have committed offences. The score is cumulative but any individual who has two or more previous convictions in the last two years, or who is said to mix mainly with delinquents and criminals or who lives in a family where any individual is said to have strong criminal tendencies will automatically go into the group said to suffer from crime contamination. The major amendment introduced prior to validation was designed to allow an individual to move out of a position of crime contamination. In the original questionnaire, the fact that the client had two or more criminal convictions at any time in his past history would go permanently against him; in the revised form of the questionnaire, the client is able to "move out of crime contamination" if he avoids conviction for two years (provided that during that time he is "at risk" in the community). Of course, if at the end of that time he is still mixing mainly with criminals or is still living in a markedly criminal family, his position would be determined by that.

The first two factors, relating to the amount of support at home and work/school, represent potential strengths/weaknesses in the environment, which, it is implied, may encourage an individual to behave in a law-abiding way; they may also indicate the relative need for social work in these two areas. The third factor, crime contamination, represents a potential influence which may or may not "allow" the individual to behave in a law-breaking way because of his own previous experience and sophistication in the penal setting and/or because of the encouragement or lack of disapproval he may receive from others in his immediate environment.

The three areas taken together - home, work/school and crime contamination - make up a social system in which the individual lives and which, it is suggested, may partially determine his attitudes and his behaviour. The instrument thus enables the social worker to identify significant environmental variables and to view them together. The way in which the client reacts to his environment, the additional influences which may have to be taken into account, and the role of the social worker in the face of them are all separate questions which will be referred to later but which require more detailed investigation at another time.

Chapter 11 The Instrument

On pages 223-9 the instrument is set down in its developed form. Minor modifications were introduced after it had been constructed and used on the first sample (described in chapter 2) but these have not altered it materially. Details of the original schedule and of the changes since introduced are contained in Appendix F.

The author wishes to acknowledge that a number of the questions are derived from the work of Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck¹. When it was realised (Chapter 9) that the Stress Score would prove an inadequate indicator of environmental stress it became necessary to extract items from the questionnaire in order to devise an improved environmental assessment. The use of these questions in their current context is entirely the author's responsibility, and it is not intended that the instrument should replace or improve upon the specialised prediction methods developed by the Gluecks.

In the questionnaire that follows, the scores allocated for each answer are indicated in the right-hand margin; these would not normally appear on the schedule. At the end of each section an indication is given of the point at which the dichotomised break is made. The code letters used for the three factors in the instrument are:

I = high support at home

II = low support at home

A = in work or good school relationship

B = out of work or poor school relationship

α (alpha) = low level of crime contamination

β (beta) = high level of crime contamination

ASSESSMENT OF ENVIRONMENT

Martin Davies
Home Office Research Unit

Subject's name:

address:

date of birth:

marital status:

Further details:

Note:

The author wishes to acknowledge that the form of question used in the Support at Home section is based largely on the work of the Gluecks²

SUPPORT AT HOME

THIS PAGE TO BE
COMPLETED IF THE
SUBJECT IS SINGLE/
WIDOWED, AND LIVING
AT HOME

THE TERMS 'MOTHER' AND 'FATHER' REFER TO PARENTS
OR PARENT-SUBSTITUTES WITH WHOM THE SUBJECT WAS
LIVING AT THE TIME OF ASSESSMENT

- | | | <u>score</u> |
|--|--------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Are relationships between the subject's mother and father: | | |
| - compatible, with no undue quarrelling | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| - incompatible, but not leading to an open breach, except for sporadic separations | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 |
| - the parents are living permanently apart, and there is no parent-substitute in the home | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 |
| - not applicable - widowed | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0 |
| - don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0 |
| 2. What is the degree of family cohesiveness?
(ie. what is the extent to which the family calls forth strong emotional ties among its members, joint interests, pride in the home?) | | |
| marked | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| some | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0 |
| none | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 |
| don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0 |
| 3. Would you describe the affection of the father for the subject as: | | |
| over-protective | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| warm | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| indifferent | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 |
| hostile/rejective | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 |
| don't know/not applicable | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0 |
| 4. Would you describe the affection of the mother for the subject as: | | |
| over-protective | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| warm | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| indifferent | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 |
| hostile/rejective | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 |
| don't know/not applicable | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0 |

Support at home (continued)

THIS PAGE TO BE
COMPLETED IF THE
SUBJECT IS SINGLE/
WIDOWED AND LIVING
AT HOME

5. In describing the emotional ties of the subject to his father, would you say that he is:

		<u>score</u>
attached	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
hostile	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
don't know/not applicable	<input type="checkbox"/>	0

6. In describing the emotional ties of the subject to his mother, would you say that he is:

attached	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
hostile	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
don't know/not applicable	<input type="checkbox"/>	0

7. Is there any other member of the family who has a close relationship with the subject?

yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	0

If yes, who?

If yes, would you describe the emotional ties of the subject to the person as being

attached	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
indifferent	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
hostile	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
non-committal	<input type="checkbox"/>	0

Note: if ambivalent is written into the answer for any question, score -1

A score of:
3 or more = I
under 3 = II

Support at home (continued)

THIS PAGE TO BE
COMPLETED IF THE
SUBJECT IS SINGLE/
WIDOWED, AND LIVING
AWAY FROM HOME AT THE
TIME OF ASSESSMENT

		<u>score</u>
8.	Is there any person in the place where the subject lives who has a particularly close relationship with him?	
	yes	1
	no	0
9.	Would you describe the affection of this person for the subject as:	
	over-protective	1
	warm	1
	indifferent	-1
	hostile/rejective	-1
	don't know/not applicable	0
10.	Would you describe the emotional ties of the subject to that person as being:	
	attached	1
	indifferent	-1
	hostile	-1
	non-committal	0

Note: if ambivalent is written into the answer for any question, score -1

A score of:
3 or more = I
under 3 = II

Support at home (continued)

THIS PAGE TO BE
COMPLETED IF THE
SUBJECT IS
MARRIED/COHABITING/
SEPARATED OR DIVORCED

		<u>score</u>
11. Would you say that there is any depth of feeling between the subject and his wife?		
very much	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
not very much	<input type="checkbox"/>	0
none at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	0
12. Are relations between the subject and his wife:		
compatible, with no undue quarrelling	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
incompatible, but not leading to an open breach, except for sporadic separations	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
they are living permanently apart	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	0
13. To what extent is the subject's wife a source of support to him?		
a great deal	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
slightly	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	-1
don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	0

Note: if ambivalent is written into the answer for any question, score -1

A score of:
3 or more = I
under 3 = II

THIS PAGE SHOULD BE
COMPLETED IN ALL CASES

Complete this section if the subject is still at school

14. Is the subject happy at school?

score

yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
no	<input type="checkbox"/>	0

15. Is continual absence from school a problem in this case? (Specify whether truanting, ill-health, or at mother's instigation, etc).

very much so	<input type="checkbox"/>	0 (-1 if truanting)
slightly	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

16. Is the subject's behaviour at school said to be:

good	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
moderate	<input type="checkbox"/>	0
bad	<input type="checkbox"/>	0

Complete this section if the subject has left school

or:

17. On the day of assessment, was the subject:

employed	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/>	0

18. Has an unsteady employment record recently been a problem for the subject?

very much so	<input type="checkbox"/>	0
slightly	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>	3

A score of:
4 or more = A
under 4 = B

CRIME CONTAMINATION

THIS PAGE SHOULD BE
COMPLETED IN ALL CASES

19. Number of previous convictions recorded during the last two years at risk* (not including convictions for minor traffic offences):

none	<input type="checkbox"/>
one	<input type="checkbox"/>
two-plus	<input type="checkbox"/>

score

0
1
2

* exclude periods spent in an institution (e.g. prison, hospital, etc.)

20. Are any of the people that the subject is living with known to have criminal tendencies:

very much so	<input type="checkbox"/>
slightly	<input type="checkbox"/>
not at all	<input type="checkbox"/>
don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

2
1
0

21. In thinking of the subject's relationships with his contemporaries, would you say that he:

is a lone wolf	<input type="checkbox"/>
mixes mainly with delinquents	<input type="checkbox"/>
mixes mainly with non-delinquents	<input type="checkbox"/>
don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>

0
2
0

A score of:

0 or 1 = α

2 or more = β

Chapter 12 The Development, Validation and Exploration of the Instrument

The instrument was conceived and developed in response to the probation research project's need to identify and measure those areas of stress in a client's environment which appeared to be important for the supervising social worker. Part 1 of this report described in detail the multifarious environmental variables that impinge on the probationer at the time his order begins. Initially it was thought that the Stress Score outlined in Chapter 9 would provide an adequate measure of environmental pressure. This tool had however to be discarded, partly because it did not distinguish adequately between the reconviction-rates of different groups of probationers, partly because it contained some factors which on further examination appeared to be largely irrelevant, and partly because it ignored one particularly important environmental factor, namely that concerned with the subject's criminal contacts. (see pages 210ff). Accordingly the research worker set about the task of devising an instrument which would (a) identify those separate environmental areas which appeared to be of most relevance for treatment; (b) provide measures within these environmental areas that were predictive of reconviction (although prediction was never the primary purpose of this instrument); (c) be applicable to all male probationers; (d) be comprised of factors, each of which divided the sample into roughly equal parts; (e) not result in the creation of so many small groups that statistical analysis was rendered impossible; and (f) allocate clients into environmental groups that would have potential diagnostic value for the supervising caseworker.

The three subject areas used in the instrument were selected partly in the light of a literature survey in casework and criminology and partly as a result of the detailed statistical analysis of the 1964-65 sample of probationers. Because the factors were derived partly from theory and partly from previous research, there was a need for the instrument to be validated on a second

sample. A few minor changes were introduced (see Appendix F), and it was decided to extend the age range to cover the years 10-20 (male). The remainder of Chapter 12 describes the statistical analyses performed on the instrument, provides details of the validation studies carried out, and discusses some of the further questions that are raised and their implications for casework theory, practice and research.

The development of the instrument

As a result of the selection criteria used, a number of otherwise important environmental factors were considered but not included in the assessment. For example "cleanliness in the home" was a factor which was strongly related to reconviction (page 72) but which was not considered for inclusion because only a very small proportion of the cases came from homes which were extremely unclean. The condition of the home might well need to be given detailed consideration by a social worker or by a research worker in another context, but it was not a factor which fitted the requirements of this instrument.

Similarly the measure of material stress described in Chapter 3 (pages 60ff) was not found to be related to reconviction; accordingly it was not included although this does not imply that it may not have environmental significance in specific instances. Again the relationship between a probationer and his girl friend would not have been universally applicable especially when the sample was extended to include 10, 11 and 12 year olds. In the end three subject areas emerged as being most relevant to treatment needs as well as being significantly associated with reconviction rates: the client's relationships at home, his work situation, and his level of "crime contamination".

In the study of home relationships, two specific factors were identified that were found to be of particular importance: the probationer's overall relationship with his father, and more particularly the level of control exercised by the father. (pages 105ff). However, neither of these items,

important though they undoubtedly are, fulfilled our requirements because they were not universally applicable. In their stead a support at home score was devised which incorporated the paternal relationship where it applied. (The control factor could not be utilised because of its apparent inapplicability to the matrimonial situation. Of course here, as in other areas where important factors had to be discarded or ignored, there is no suggestion that they could not be utilised either by the caseworker preparing an individual diagnosis or by any research worker undertaking a different analysis; all that is argued is that they were not suitable for our highly specific needs.) The support at home score is equally applicable to men or boys living at home with parents or parent-substitutes, to men who have left home and to men who have married; because of the scoring system devised the sample was easily divisible into two halves. Details of the scoring system are given in the questionnaire in Chapter 11 and further information relating to Sample 1 is provided in Appendix F. Table 12.1 shows the reconviction rates obtained by the two parts of the sample divided according to the level of support at home.

<u>Table 12.1 Support at home in relation to reconviction rates: sample 1 (age 17-20)*</u>				
<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Reconvicted</u>	<u>Not reconvicted</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>R-R</u>
I - high support	46	155	201	.23
II - low support	137	160	297	.46
	183	315	498	.37

$\chi^2 = 27.86, df = 1, p < .001$

Nine cases were excluded because insufficient information was available about their home circumstances to establish an adequate support measure.

* Sample 1 is the sample described in Chapter 2. Sample 2 will be described on pages 237-8.

The two levels of support are identified by the use of symbols I and II, as shown in table 12.1. The group of probationers said to have low support at home had a reconviction rate twice the size of those with high support at home. The nine cases who are omitted from Table 12.1 because inadequate information was available about their home circumstances are also omitted from all further calculations in respect of sample 1; the effective sample is therefore 498.

When consideration was being given to the problem of employment, an attempt was made to devise a support at work score similar to that used for the home situation. (See pages 138ff and Appendix E) This did not prove to be related to reconviction however, and the single work factor which ultimately appeared to be most suitable for our purposes was that which divided the sample according to those who were employed or unemployed on the day when the probation officer began his supervisory task.

One advantage of the use of this 1-variable factor is the fact that it is easily assessable and quite objective. The A group had a success rate significantly lower than the B group.

Table 12.2 Employment in relation to reconviction rates: sample 1 (age 17-20)

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Reconvicted</u>	<u>not reconvicted</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>R-R</u>
<u>A</u> - in work	86	201	287	.30
<u>B</u> - out of work*	97	114	211	.46
	183	315	498	.37

$$X^2 = 13.40, \text{ df} = 1, \text{ p} < .001$$

* The out of work group includes five at school and two for whom no details were available.

The third factor was obtained by assigning a score to probationers according to their level of crime contamination under three heads.

- (i) Their number of previous convictions;
- (ii) their membership of a delinquent family;
- (iii) whether they mixed mainly with delinquents in their peer-group relationships.

The questionnaire set out in Chapter 11 provides details of the way in which the crime contamination score is now computed, although the method used for Sample 1 was slightly different and is described in Appendix F. Those probationers with a low level of crime contamination have the symbol alpha (α), those with a high level the symbol beta (β). There was a statistically significant difference between the reconviction rates of the two groups, as shown in Table 12.3.

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Reconvicted</u>	<u>Not reconvicted</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>R-R</u>
α - low level of crime contamination	60	174	234	.26
β - high level of crime contamination	123	141	264	.47
Total	183	315	498	.37

$\chi^2 = 23.40, df = 1, p < .001$

The assessment of environment, forming eight environmental groups was obtained by combining these three factors as shown in table 12.4.

Table 12.4 Reconviction rates for eight environmental groups:
sample 1 (age 17-20)

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Number of probationers</u>		<u>Reconvictions</u>	<u>R-R</u>
		%		
IA α	85	17.1	12	.14
IA β	53	10.6	15	.28
IB α	33	6.6	3	.09
IB β	30	6.0	16	.53
IIA α	68	13.7	23	.34
IIA β	81	16.3	36	.44
IIB α	48	9.6	22	.46
IIB β	100	20.1	56	.56
Total	498	100.0	183	.37

$$\chi^2 = 54.76, df = 7, p < .001$$

Three points can be made about the data. Firstly, with one exception, the reconviction rate rises whenever a negative environmental factor is introduced. Thus the "transition" from IA α to IIA α or from IIA β to IIB β for example, leads to an increased reconviction rate. Table 12.1 showed that probationers who enjoyed high support at home had a reconviction rate of .23, but it is clear from Table 12.4 that their chances of reconviction are very much greater if to the I- factor are added the B/beta factors. (The exception is the IB α group which has a better success rate than IA α ; but it is one of the smallest groups and this discrepancy could have occurred by chance.)

Secondly the distribution of cases throughout the environmental groups is reasonably well-balanced. Although the size of the groups varies, it is particularly valuable that the extreme groups, IA α and IIB β , are also the largest.

Thirdly the range of reconviction rates is greater than that obtained by the analysis of any one single factor. This suggests that each of the environmental factors is at least partly independent of the others and that the

relationship of any one of them to reconviction cannot be explained away by reference to a known third variable. This suggestion gains further credence by the application of a special significance test for independence¹.

Separate calculations can be carried out on each of the three factors to test the extent to which they are making independent contributions to the reconviction rate differences in table 12.4. The results are expressed as probabilities, with a non-significant result meaning that the apparent relationship between the respective factor and reconviction is probably explained away by its own association with the other two factors.

The test applied to the data in table 12.4 showed statistically significant relationships between all three factors and reconviction, as follows:-

I-II: Support at home	p < .001
A-B: Work	p < .02
α - β : Crime contamination	p < .001

Each factor, then, was making a significant contribution to the total picture.

However because the final selection of factors was determined by the empirical investigation of available data in the 1964-5 sample and not according to a priori hypotheses the need for validation was evident. This will now be described.

Validation

After the initial analysis had been carried out on the 1964-65 sample of probationers and after the notion of environmental groups had been conceived, it was necessary to validate the findings before proceeding further. Simon has provided detailed evidence of the limitations of many prediction studies and of the specific difficulties faced by the probation research project in the development of prediction techniques suitable for use with probationers.²

Although it was not the intention to develop the present instrument into a prediction tool, the identification of its three relevant areas had been made partly on the basis of reconviction data, and it was essential to test the statistical power of these relationships on a second sample. A number of secondary advantages accrued from the decision to apply this technique to a further sample. Firstly in addition to the validation exercise, it was possible to apply the instrument to juveniles. Secondly it was possible to introduce a number of minor amendments the need for which had become apparent in the course of analysis. Thirdly the application of the Jesness Inventory (which had been used³ in sample 1) to an additional sample was advantageous both for its own sake and because of the research project's interest in the relationship between personality inventory scores and the assessment of environment.

A sample was gathered in the course of 1967 from five probation areas: Cheshire, Lancashire North, Lancashire South East, Lancashire South West and Stoke-on-Trent. In each of these areas after a specified date probation officers provided the Research Unit with their first five new probation cases in the male age range 10-20. In addition, a number of volunteer officers from the eight probation areas originally used for the purposes of collecting sample 1 also agreed to co-operate and they too provided their first five cases in the relevant age range. Although this latter part of the sample would undoubtedly produce some officer-bias, it is not thought likely that it introduced any significant sample bias because throughout the probation service (with only very few minor exceptions) cases are allocated to officers on a geographical basis. If we had been concerned with studying the effects of treatment, such a sample would not have been acceptable; but because our concern was to gather a broadly based sample of probationers, to obtain a diagnostic assessment at the start of the order and to relate this to reconviction, this method of sample collection is adequate. The ultimate sample contained 798 probationers, but insufficient information was received in

respect of 15 cases. The questionnaire used in the validation study is at Appendix G.

The research worker wishes to place on record his gratitude to all the probation officers, their principal officers and probation committees for the willingness and enthusiasm with which they co-operated in this, perhaps at first sight, rather esoteric study.

Table 12.5 provides a breakdown of the age range in the validation sample.

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
10	22	2.8
11	53	6.8
12	72	9.2
13	69	8.8
14	139	17.8
15	87	11.1
16	95	12.1
17	81	10.3
18	76	9.7
19	50	6.4
20	39	5.0
Total	783	100.0

Inadequate information was available in respect of 15 cases. These are excluded from all further analyses.

Reference has already been made to the fact that a number of minor changes were introduced into the assessment before its application on sample 2. Full details of the changes are provided in Appendix F, but the questionnaire included in chapter 11 is the one from which all tables from sample 2 are derived. Table 12.6 shows the relationship between support at home and reconviction rates for the whole age range 10 - 20 and Table 12.6a shows the same data for the restricted age range 17 - 20. In both cases there is a reduction in the statistical power of the relationship compared with sample 1 but it is still significant and confirms the earlier conclusion that there is an association between the level of support in the home and the likelihood of a further offence during the first twelve months of a probation order.

Table 12.6 Support at home in relation to reconviction rates:
(sample 2 age 10 - 20)

	<u>Reconvicted</u>	<u>Not reconvicted</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>R-R</u>
I - high support	132	275	407	.32
II - low support	164	212	376	.44
Total	296	487	783	.38

$$X^2 = 10.4, df = 1, p < .01$$

Table 12.6a Support at home in relation to reconviction rates:
sample 2 (age 17 - 20)

	<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>
I	107	.34
II	139	.46
Total	246	.41

$$X^2 = 3.852, df = 1, p < .05$$

Note: Slight changes were made in the assessment of support at home between sample 1 and sample 2: see Appendix F.

Table 12.7 School/work in relation to reconviction rates: sample 2 (age 10-20)

	<u>Reconvicted</u>	<u>Not reconvicted</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>R-R</u>
A - good relationship with school/ in work	144	295	439	.33
B - bad relationship with school/out of work	152	192	344	.44
Total	296	487	783	.38

$\chi^2 = 10.64$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$

Table 12.7a School/work in relation to reconviction rates: sample 2 (Age 17-20)

	<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>
A	135	.34
B	111	.49
Total	246	.41

$\chi^2 = 5.363$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$

Table 12.7b School relationship reconviction rates: sample 2

	<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>
A (school only)	205	.28
B (school only)	189	.38
Total	394	.32

$\chi^2 = 4.27$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$

Note: Slight changes were made in the work assessment between sample 1 and sample 2: see Appendix F.

Tables 12.7 and 12.7a show the school/work data for sample 2. Here there is very little difference between the results obtained in the validation study and those obtained in the original sample: in particular, allowing for the increased reconviction rate overall, the statistical difference between reconviction rates for the 17 - 20 age groups is virtually the same. In both tables the association between the A-B variable and reconviction rate is statistically significant and confirms the conclusion that a probationer's position at school or work is related to his likelihood of reconviction on probation*. In order to further check the finding, those probationers in the sample who were still at school were isolated from the rest and their reconviction data related to the A-B variable. The results are shown in table 12.7b. It is recognised that the school data used in this study are greatly over simplified, particularly when compared with the work of Stott⁴ in his detailed and sophisticated analysis of behaviour at school. The aim of the present paper is, however, to provide the simplest assessment possible in different areas of a probationer's life. Nevertheless the rather crude measure derived from the probation officer's description of his client's behaviour at school, his pattern of truanting and his attitude towards school could be greatly improved at a later stage: in the meantime it serves a limited but useful purpose by providing a dichotomised measure of the relationship between the probationer and his school environment.

The crime contamination factor retained its strength between the two samples as shown in tables 12.8 and 12.8a; indeed so far as the older age group was concerned, the range in the reconviction rates between α - β actually increased slightly. The level of crime contamination, determined

*It was thought possible that the relationship between unemployment and reconviction might be explained by the fact that many of those out of work were so because they had been remanded in custody. This possibility was explored in relation to sample 1, and is discussed in Appendix H.

by the client's own previous criminal behaviour and his contact with other offenders, remained a strong indication of the likelihood of reconviction. Of course, if the main determinant of α - β were the number of previous convictions, this finding would merely confirm a well known criminological fact and one which has been the mainstay of most predictors in the field: that there is a strong relationship between previous criminal behaviour and future criminal behaviour. Table 12.9 explores the question of the extent to which the number of previous convictions is the true determinant in the

Table 12.8 Crime contamination in relation to reconviction rates:
(sample 2, age 10-20)

	<u>Reconvicted</u>	<u>Not reconvicted</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>R-R</u>
alpha - low level of crime contamination	109	284	393	.28
beta - high level of crime contamination	187	203	390	.48
Total	296	487	783	.38

$$\chi^2 = 34.02, df = 1, p < .001$$

Table 12.8a Crime contamination in relation to reconviction rates:
sample 2 (age 17-20)

	<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>
alpha	113	.27
beta	133	.52
Total	246	.41

$$\chi^2 = 15.133, df = 1, p < .001$$

crime contamination factor. Of course, one would expect previous

Table 12.9 Crime contamination in relation to reconviction rates:
by the number of previous convictions: sample 2 (age 10-20)

<u>Number of previous convictions</u>				<u>Crime Contamination</u>	
				<u>alpha</u>	<u>beta</u>
0	R-R	=	.22	.44	$X^2 = 17.14, df=1, p < .001$
1	R-R	=	.38	.35	n.s.
2+	R-R	=	.36	.57	$X^2 = 6.68, df=1, p < .01$

offences to have some influence on the factor because it was designed that way; thus 73% of those in court for the first time were assessed 'alpha' and 80% of those with 2 or more previous convictions were assessed 'beta'. But table 12.9 shows that so far as the first offenders and the multiple offenders were concerned, the alpha-beta assessment did further distinguish between the reconviction rates. This indicates that the other elements of the crime contamination factor were contributing additional strength to the assessment. For those with one previous conviction (47% of whom were in the 'alpha' group), however, there were no significant differences in the alpha-beta reconviction-rates.

The final validation table concerns the reconviction rates for the eight environmental groups as shown at table 12.10.

Table 12.10 Reconviction rates for the eight environmental groups:
(sample 2, age 10-20)

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Number of probationers</u>		<u>Reconvictions</u>	<u>R-R</u>
		<u>%</u>		
IA α	157	20.1	35	.22
IA β	99	12.6	39	.39
IB α	61	7.8	17	.28
IB β	89	11.4	41	.46
IIA α	97	12.4	28	.29
IIA β	86	11.0	42	.49
IIB α	78	10.0	29	.37
IIB β	116	14.8	65	.56
<hr/>				
Total	783	100.1	296	.38

a) $\chi^2 = 45.48$, $df = 7$, $p < .001$

b) A test for independence gives the following probabilities: I-II = $p < .02$
 A-B = $p < .002$
 α - β = $p < .001$

Table 12.10a Reconviction rates for the eight environmental groups:
(sample 2, age 17-20)

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>R-R</u>
IA α	36	14.6	.19
IA β	33	13.4	.39
IB α	16	6.5	.25
IB β	22	8.9	.55
IIA α	28	11.4	.29
IIA β	38	15.4	.47
IIB α	33	13.4	.36
IIB β	40	16.3	.65
<hr/>			
Total	246	99.9	.41

$\chi^2 = 22.57$, $df = 7$, $p < .01$

Precisely the same conclusions that were drawn from Table 12.4 can be applied to table 12.10, and the environmental assessment hypothesis is thus confirmed. The assessment provides an adequate spread of cases over the whole range, the reconviction rates vary significantly, and they vary in the expected direction: ie the addition of any one negative factor increases the likelihood of a further offence being committed. Moreover, as in sample 1, each of the three factors makes a significant and independent contribution to the predictive power of the assessment. Thus, table 12.10 shows that for the age range 10 - 20, so far as male offenders are concerned, a useful means of defining and coding the environment is provided by this assessment. For further validation, Table 12.10a shows that for the more limited 17 - 20 age range the conclusions are similarly confirmed; there is some loss of power but this is only small. Thus the basic purpose of the validation study is fulfilled: the statistical findings from the 1964-65 sample recurred when the instrument was applied to a fresh sample; and, in addition, similar results were obtained when the analysis was extended to include a younger age-range.

Environmental groups and the client's personality

It was hypothesised from the beginning that within the environmental groups personality differences between individuals would be associated with variations in reconviction rates. Earlier attempts at identifying these differences had relied upon broad assessments made by the supervising probation officer about their clients' personal inadequacy or mental disturbance (chapter 2, pages 43ff). Although these attempts were not entirely fruitless (see, for example, chapter 9, page 208), there were nevertheless two shortcomings to be overcome: firstly the assessments were rather general and ill-defined, and secondly, because they were made by the probation officer, there was a particularly strong risk that the

assessments might be contaminated by the officer's awareness of the social situation which his client lived in. Neither of these shortcomings can altogether be overcome in this chapter; the task of defining more clearly personality factors impinging on the probationer is outside the scope of the present project, and even the use of personality inventories completed by the client does not preclude the possibility that his responses may reflect environmental pressures.

Nevertheless the probation project has had a continuing interest in investigating the link between personality inventory scores and the environmental assessments made by a social worker, and the difficulties in establishing such links are illustrated by the present study. Davies has described the Jesness Inventory and its application to a sample of British probationers.⁶ The results obtained from that sample showed associations between personality and environmental variables⁷ but these were regarded as tentative until it was possible to test them out again on the second sample. This has proved to be a wise precaution because two of the more interesting findings in sample 1 failed to be validated on sample 2. Both of them related to the concept of interpersonal maturity and to the means whereby this could be measured by the Jesness Inventory.⁸ It had been hoped to be able to distinguish different risk rates within the two extreme environmental groups (IA α and IIB β) according to maturity characteristics, but the initially encouraging results were not confirmed in the validation study. If nothing else, this confirms the need to validate findings on a second and independent sample.

Nevertheless positive results were obtained in sample 2 within four of the environmental groups so far as a number of other Jesness scales were concerned. Table 12.11 shows the Jesness scales and environmental groups which, when linked together, produced significant differences between the reconviction rates obtained by probationers.

Table 12.11 Jesness Inventory scales which further differentiated between successes and failures within environmental groups sample 2: (age 10-20)

Environmental assessment	SM	VO	Aut	MA	AI
IA α	p < .05		p < .01		p < .05
IA β					
IB α					
IB β					p < .01
IIA α			p < .025	p < .01	
IIA β					
IIB α					
IIB β	p < .05	p < .01		p < .01	p < .01

Key to the Jesness scales:

- SM: social maladjustment
- VO: value orientation
- Aut: autism
- MA: manifest aggression
- AI: a social index

In all cases where statistically significant differences were observed, a higher score on each specified Jesness scale was associated with a greater likelihood of reconviction (for further details, see table 12.12).

Table 12.12 extracts those relationships which were significant and presents the data in basic form.

Table 12.12 Environmental groups and Jesness Inventory scores: comparative reconviction rates (sample 2: age 10-20)

IA α

		<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>			<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>			<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>
<u>/SM</u>	high (24+)	67	.31	<u>/Aut</u>	high (8+)	67	.34	<u>/AI</u>	high (20+)	63	.32
	low (0-23)	84	.17		low (0-7)	84	.14		low (0-19)	88	.17
		<u>151</u>				<u>151</u>				<u>151</u>	

No Jesness Inventory was completed in six cases

IB β

		<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>
<u>/AI</u>	high (20+)	51	.57
	low (0-19)	36	.28
		<u>87</u>	

No Jesness Inventory was completed in two cases

IIA α

		<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>			<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>
<u>/Aut</u>	high (8+)	41	.41	<u>/MA</u>	high (13+)	55	.40
	low (0-7)	51	.20		low (0-12)	37	.14
		<u>92</u>				<u>92</u>	

No Jesness Inventory was completed in five cases

IIB β

		<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>			<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>			<u>N</u>	<u>R-R</u>
<u>/SM</u>	high (24+)	75	.64	<u>/VO</u>	high (15+)	83	.64	<u>/MA</u>	high (13+)	88	.64
	low (0-23)	36	.42		low (0-14)	28	.36		low (0-12)	23	.30
		<u>111</u>				<u>111</u>				<u>111</u>	
<u>/AI</u>	high (20+)	69	.67								
	low (0-19)	42	.40								
		<u>111</u>									

No Jesness Inventory was completed in five cases

For key to the Inventory scales, see table 12.11

From tables 12.11 and 12.12 it will be seen that the particular importance of the Jesness Inventory scales was in its further discrimination within the two extreme risk groups in the environmental assessment. The scales SM, MA, VO, and the Asocial Index all differentiated significantly within the IIB β group; and the SM, Aut and AI scales distinguished between the better and worse risks within the IA α group. Put another way, it can be seen that, by the use of the environmental assessment technique, the predictive strength of the Jesness Inventory is increased: within the SM scale for example, the reconviction rate among those with high scores in the IIB β group is double that of those with similar scores in the IA α group; similarly those with low SM scores in the IIB β group have a reconviction rate more than twice the size of that attained by those with low SM scores in IA α group. Both these differences are statistically significant. It is unfortunately not yet clear, at any rate in Britain, how far the Jesness Inventory scales provide information that is meaningful and of diagnostic relevance for the supervising social worker; and the present study has not been able, nor was it intended, to throw light on this problem.

A further attempt to identify personality differences within the environmental groups was made in a third sample, details of which are contained in Appendix I. This was concerned to observe the differences in reconviction rates for those with high and low deviance scores.⁹ The deviance score has been devised in the probation research project with a view to obtaining a score from information provided by the probation officer, which would assess the client in regard to deviant behaviour. Table 12.13 shows that the mean deviance score tends to rise as the number of negative factors in the environment increases; and in each environmental group is higher for those who were reconvicted in 12 months than for those who were

not. Thus the greater the level of environmental stress, the higher the level of deviance; and, while holding the level of environmental stress constant, the higher the level of deviance the greater the likelihood of reconviction.

Table 12.13 Environmental assessments and the mean deviance scores for probationers x reconviction (sample 3: age 10-20)

<u>Environmental assessment</u>	<u>mean deviance scores</u>	
	<u>reconvicted</u>	<u>not reconvicted</u>
IA α	9.23	8.03
IA β	11.18	9.53
IB α	12.90	8.43
IB β	14.00	10.90
IIA α	13.23	8.66
IIA β	14.89	13.00
IIB α	12.71	12.55
IIB β	16.50	13.53

N = 527

It was hypothesised that, within each environmental risk-group, those probationers who were reconvicted would have a higher mean deviance score than those who were not. The hypothesis was confirmed; the sign test gives a probability of $<.005$ (one-tailed test).¹⁰

Personality variables, as measured by the Jesness Inventory and by the deviance score, are seen to be statistically associated with environmental assessment, and the combination of each set of scores with the environmental assessment produces a closer association with reconviction rates than either does separately. It is this latter three-way relationship (personality x

environment x outcome) which deserves further study because of its importance for the problem of devising methods of social work treatment which may succeed in changing patterns of behaviour. The evidence in this paper does not preclude the possibility that different types of individual may respond in different ways to different kinds of environmental pressure, or may cling more tenaciously than others to a potentially delinquent sub-culture. What may now be needed is a more intensive study of clearly specified offender types so that detailed observations can be made of the ways in which personality factors respond to an environmental system and of the ways in which the supervising social worker succeeds or fails in his attempt to make an impact on the individual in that system.

The assessment of environment and the probation order

So far we have considered the relationship between the assessment of environment and the simple index of failure indicated by the occurrence of a further court appearance and conviction in the course of the 12 months following the making of the probation order. In this section, without exploring any of the issues deeply, reference will be made to the relationship between environmental assessment and a number of other variables associated with the probation order.

Because the environmental assessment does not provide a linear measurement, it cannot legitimately be presented on a graph. In order to illustrate some of the facts outlined in this section, a supplementary measure will be used which derives from the environmental assessment but reduces the number of groups from eight to four. It does this by identifying the number of "negative factors" present. The $IA\alpha$ group is deemed to have no negative factors present; $IB\alpha$, $IA\beta$ and $IIA\alpha$ have one negative factor present; $IB\beta$, $IIB\alpha$ and $IIA\beta$ have two negative factors present; and the $IIB\beta$ group has all three negative factors present. This is not a diagnostic

classification, as it is based on the number of problems rather than types of problem, but it provides another aspect of the material which can be related to reconviction and illustrated graphically.

Table 12.14 shows not merely the reconvictions in the first 12 months but the same reconvictions broken down into 3-monthly periods during the first year on probation. The implications of table 12.14 are not too clear, partly because of its size and partly because of the variation in the number of men at risk. Hence table 12.15, by showing the number of "negative factors" reduces the amount of data to be comprehended. Now it can be seen that, in every quarter, the greater the number of negative factors that existed at the start of the probation order, the greater the proportion of those still at risk who are likely to be reconvicted. The major question that is unanswered by this, and that cannot be answered in the present study, is whether the number of negative factors remains more or less stable in the course of the probation order or whether there are environmental changes and what effect these have on outcome. [Eg what is the significance of a probationer losing his job (A→B)? What is the effect of an individual moving from an insupportive to a supportive home environment (II→I)? Is it important for a client to significantly decrease the level of crime contamination in his environment ($\beta \rightarrow \alpha$)?]]

Table 12.14 Environmental groups and twelve month reconviction by quarters (sample 2: age 10-20)

	<u>Quarters of a twelve-month period</u>								<u>Not reconvicted</u>
	<u>First</u>		<u>Second</u>		<u>Third</u>		<u>Fourth</u>		
		%		%		%		%	
IA α	9	6	9	6	9	6	8	6	122
IA β	12	12	8	9	12	15	7	10	60
IB α	3	5	7	12	3	6	4	8	44
IB β	6	7	16	19	10	15	9	16	48
IIA α	4	4	8	9	8	9	8	10	69
IIA β	14	16	11	15	11	18	6	12	44
IIB α	9	12	8	12	7	11	5	9	49
IIB β	23	20	17	18	13	17	12	19	51
	80	10	84	12	73	12	59	11	487

Percentages are expressed as the percentage of those at risk at the beginning of each quarter

Table 12.15 Negative factors and 12-month reconviction by quarters:
percentage of those at risk (sample 2: age 10-20)

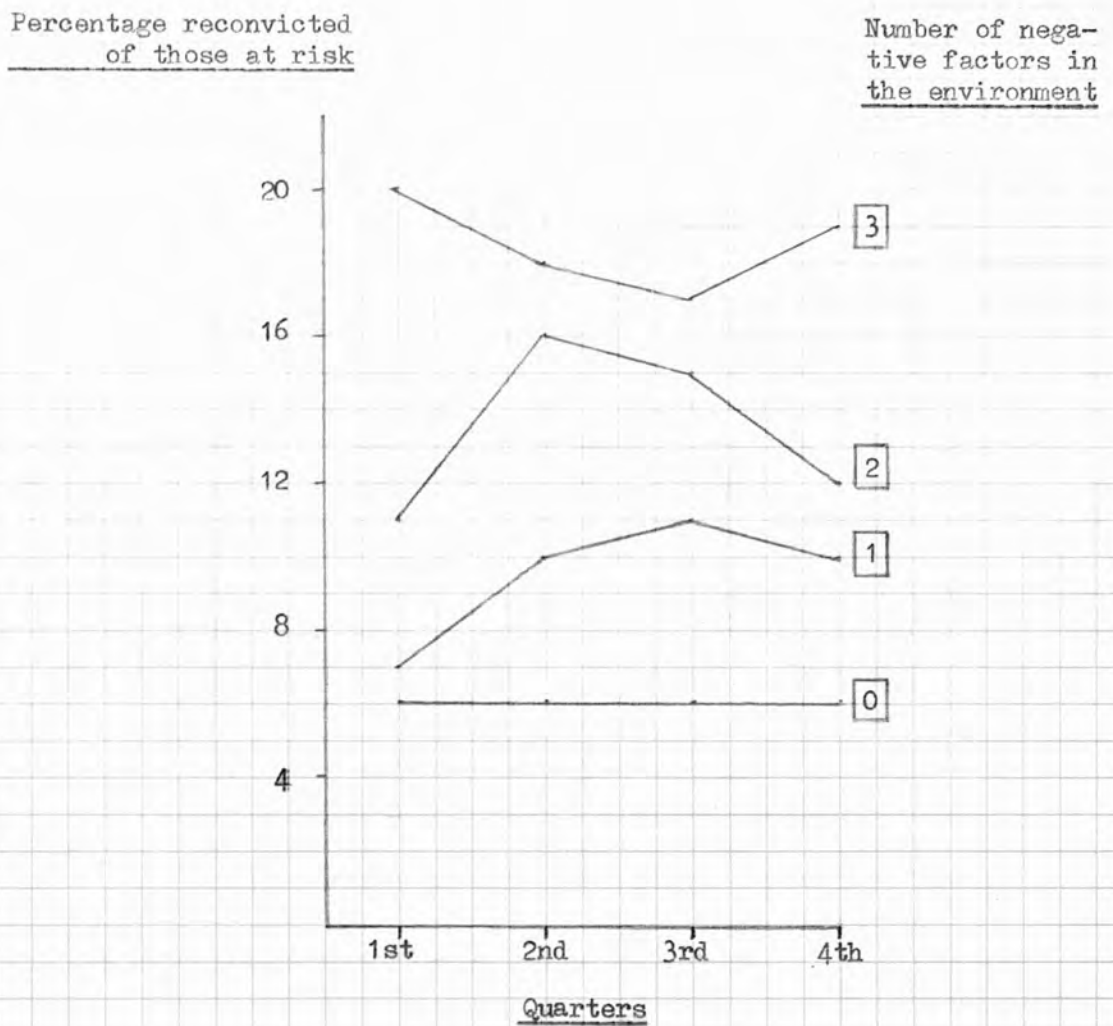
<u>Negative factors</u>	<u>Quarters of a twelve month period</u>			
	<u>First</u>	<u>Second</u>	<u>Third</u>	<u>Fourth</u>
	%	%	%	%
0	6	6	6	6
1	7	10	11	10
2	11	16	15	12
3	20	18	17	19

$$\chi^2 = 45.39, df = 12, p < .001$$

Percentages are expressed as the percentage of those at risk at the beginning of each quarter

Figure 12.16 repeats the information provided in table 12.15 but shows some of the facts more vividly. The proportion of re-offenders in the IA α group (ie the group with no negative factors) is precisely the same when stated as a proportion of those at risk in each quarter. It could be that the likelihood of reconviction in this group is determined by a series of relatively chance factors that may continue to occur over an indefinite period of time and that may have little or nothing to do either with the original circumstances confronting the client or with the treatment given by the probation officer. The differences within the other risk-groups, although potentially of interest, are insufficiently large to be worthy of comment; the variations between quarters could be due to chance factors.

Figure 12.16 Negative factors in the environment and twelve-month reconviction by quarters: percentage of those at risk at the start of each quarter. (Sample 2: age 10-20)



This figure reproduces in graphical form the data presented in table 12.15.

Table 12.17 again supplements the reconviction data by including within it all the further offences committed in the course of the order. The length of order varied and therefore probationers were at risk for unequal periods, but, if interpreted in the correct way, the table is of value: it tells us how many probationers in each environmental group completed their order without committing any further offence, no matter how long their order lasted.

Table 12.17 Environmental groups and further offences in the course of the order (sample 1: age 17-20)

	<u>An offence occurred</u>		<u>No offence occurred</u>		<u>Total</u>
		%		%	
IA α	22	26	64	74	86
IA β	20	38	33	62	53
IB α	9	26	25	74	34
IB β	22	73	8	27	30
IIA α	29	44	37	56	66
IIA β	44	54	37	46	81
IIB α	28	57	21	43	49
IIB β	79	81	19	19	98
Total	253	51	244	49	497

No information about reconviction in 1 case.

$$\chi^2 = 76.96, df = 7, p < .001$$

At the two extremes, of the IIB β s only 19% ended their probation order without having reappeared in court for a further offence or for a breach of probation while, of the IA α s, 74% completed their orders without

further mishap. The IB β s were also bad risks and the IB α s good risks, while the remaining groups came in between.

Table 12.18 shows the relationship between environmental groups and the type of termination of the probation order. The use of further offence as a sole criterion of success has serious limitations; this has already been discussed in chapter 2, pages 26f, where it was concluded that, for practical purposes in research reconviction is almost always the most convenient and relevant way of assessing outcome in the short run. However, one of the most widely used criteria of success in probation is that which records how the order came to an end: ie whether it ran its full course, or was terminated for good progress (both of which count as success) or whether it ended early with a further court appearance for a reconviction or a breach of probation. Table 12.18 makes use of this criterion to record the outcome of the order for the probationers in different environmental risk groups.

Table 12.18 Environmental groups and the termination of the probation order (sample 1: age 17-20)

	<u>Successful completion</u>		<u>Unsuccessful completion</u>		<u>Total</u>
		%		%	
IA α	76	88	10	12	86
IA β	40	75	13	25	53
IB α	33	97	1	3	34
IB β	15	52	14	48	29
IIA α	49	77	15	23	64
IIA β	51	65	27	35	78
IIB α	28	58	20	42	48
IIB β	29	30	68	70	97
Total	321	66	168	34	489

No information about completion in 1 case; the order ended for "other" reasons (eg death) in 8 cases. The total number of unsuccessful cases (168) includes seven who were out of touch and "in breach" at the end of the order; no court action was recorded against them.

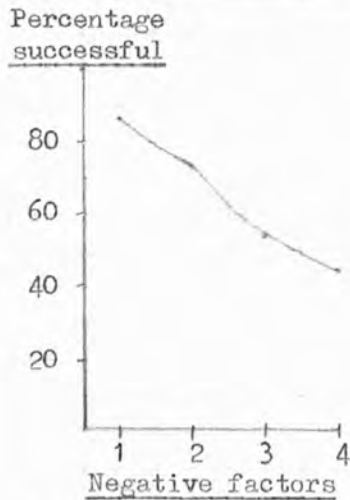
$$\chi^2 = 98.81, df = 1, p < .001$$

Clearly the argument of the probation service for the use of the termination of the order as a criterion of success is understandable when it is seen that this provides a somewhat more optimistic measure of probation as a form of treatment. The overall "failure rate" in table 12.17 was .51 whereas in table 12.18 it is only .34, although both tables refer to the same sample. Nevertheless the reconviction rates are similarly distributed and the contrast between the two extreme groups is still marked with only 12% of the IAs and 3% of the IBs in unsuccessful completion of their order compared with 70% of the IIBs.

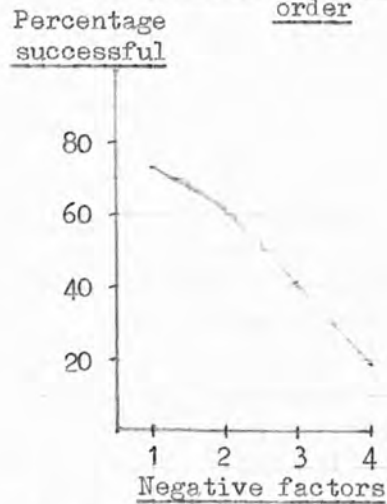
Figure 12.19 uses "negative factors" in graphical form. In addition to showing that, as negative factors increase, so too does the likelihood of further offences and of an unsatisfactory completion of the order, the figure also shows parallel data indicating the proportion in each group who had (i) a good relationship with their probation officer at the end of the order and (ii) had been in a job of work for at least as long as they had been in the job that they held when the order began; these are two additional measures of success, relating to the casework relationship and to the probationer's employment stability. It can be seen that on all five criteria the pattern is basically similar and indicates that the greater the number of difficulties in the environment at the start of the order the less likely will the officer be to bring about a successful outcome to the order by whatever criterion his treatment is judged. It must again be reiterated that our concern is not with prediction per se but with demonstrating that those probationers who may be called the probation service's failures are those who at the beginning of their contact with the supervising officer appeared to be in greatest need of social work help. Conversely those whose environments were relatively trouble-free and who had the least number of problems confronting them were those who "responded" most successfully to the requirements of the probation order.

Figure 12.19 Proportion of probationers who 'succeeded' by different criteria. (Sample 1: age 17-20)

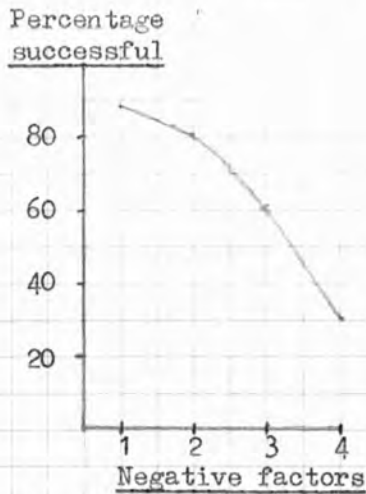
a) No further offence in 12 months



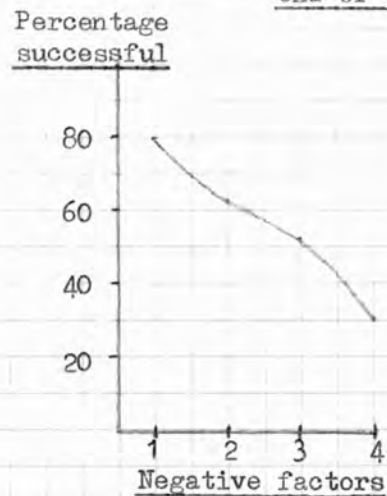
b) No further offence during the order



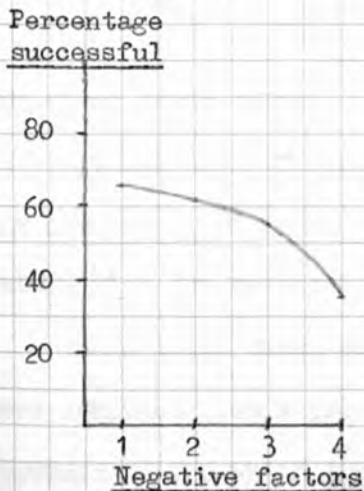
c) Satisfactory completion of the order



d) Good relationship with PO at the end of the order



e) Job stability at the end of the order*



* i.e. probationers who, at the end of the order, had been in their job for at least as long as they had been in the job that they had last held when the order began.

Before leaving the discussion of success and failure in its various guises, one further table may be presented. Table 12.20 shows the action that the court took in respect of all those cases where the order ended unsatisfactorily and relates this to environmental groups and also (because numbers are very small) to the incidence of negative factors present. It is no surprise that the worst-risk groups had higher numbers represented in this table, but it was thought that there might well be differences in the way in which courts acted in terms of the sentence that they imposed. In fact, as table 12.20 shows, no such conclusions could be drawn so far as the 1-, 2- and 3- negative factor groups are concerned and, bearing in mind the smallness of numbers, there are no significant differences in the proportion of offenders who were given institutional sentences at the termination of their order.

At first sight it might be thought that the IAd's and IIAd's were dealt with more leniently, but numbers are far too small to draw such a conclusion. Naturally the court would be taking many factors into account including the nature of the new offence, and the reported response of the probationer to his probation order; it does not seem from table 12.20 as though the original presence or absence of environmental stress factors greatly influenced the sentencers in the decision that they came to when the order broke down.

Finally in this section we can make use of an index of change in the course of the order for which each supervising officer provided information for research purposes at the order's termination.

Table 12.22 shows changes that were said to have occurred (they were computed from a group of items, details of which are contained in Appendix J) for which the probation officer felt that either the probation order or the probation service had had some responsibility. Clearly such

a subjective assessment is open to all manner of criticisms and it must not be taken as anything more than the probation officer's expressed opinion. It is not necessarily an index of actual change but only an index of change felt by the supervising officer to have taken place; moreover it is certainly not an objective index of the effect of probation or of the effect of the social worker, but only an index of what the social worker himself thought had been his effect.

Table 12.20 Environmental groups and court action on unsuccessful completion (sample 1: age 17-20)

<u>Environmental Groups</u>	<u>Court Action</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Non-institutional sentence</u>		<u>Institutional sentence*</u>		
		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>	
IA α	6	60	4	40	10
IA β	1	8	11	92	12
IB α	-	-	1	100	1
IB β	1	8	12	92	13
IIA α	9	60	6	40	15
IIA β	6	22	21	78	27
IIB α	8	40	12	60	20
IIB β	23	37	40	63	63
<u>Total</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>161</u>

<u>Negative factors</u>	<u>Court Action</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>Non-institutional sentence</u>		<u>Institutional sentence*</u>		
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	
0	6	60	4	40	10
1	10	36	18	64	28
2	15	25	45	75	60
3	23	37	40	63	63

*includes three hospital orders. $\chi^2 = 6.48, df = 3, \text{non-significant}$

Table 12.21 Environmental groups and the degree of change observed by the probation officer at the end of the order (sample 1: age 17-20)

<u>Environmental Group</u>	<u>Deterioration</u>		<u>No change</u>		<u>Improvement</u>						<u>Total</u>	
		%		%	<u>Slight</u>		<u>Moderate</u>		<u>Great</u>			%
IA α	10	12	10	12	20	23	29	34	17	20	86	101
IA β	7	13	8	15	8	15	16	30	14	26	53	99
IB α	2	6	5	15	6	18	9	26	12	35	34	100
IB β	7	23	5	17	9	30	5	17	4	13	30	100
IIA α	11	17	9	14	16	24	18	27	12	18	66	100
IIA β	13	16	13	16	16	20	21	26	18	22	81	100
IIB α	12	24	7	14	11	22	13	27	6	12	49	99
IIB β	36	36	23	23	18	18	8	8	14	14	99	99
												498

For details of the measure of change, see Appendix J.

If the environmental groups are converted into "negative factors": $X^2 = 41.53$, $df = 12$, $p < .001$

Table 12.22 Environmental groups and the degree of change for which the probation officer felt probation had been responsible at the end of the order (sample 1: age 17-20)

<u>Environmental Group</u>	<u>No improvement</u>		<u>Improvement</u>						<u>Total</u>		
		%	<u>Slight</u>		<u>Moderate</u>		<u>Great</u>			%	
IA α	20	23	31	36	24	28	11	13	86	100	
IA β	16	30	12	23	16	30	9	17	53	100	
IB α	4	12	13	38	8	24	9	26	34	100	
IB β	13	43	8	27	6	20	3	10	30	100	
IIA α	19	29	25	38	11	17	11	17	66	101	
IIA β	26	32	24	30	16	20	15	18	81	100	
IIB α	23	47	12	24	12	24	2	5	49	100	
IIB β	64	65	18	18	7	7	10	10	99	100	
											498

For details of the measure of change, see Appendix J.

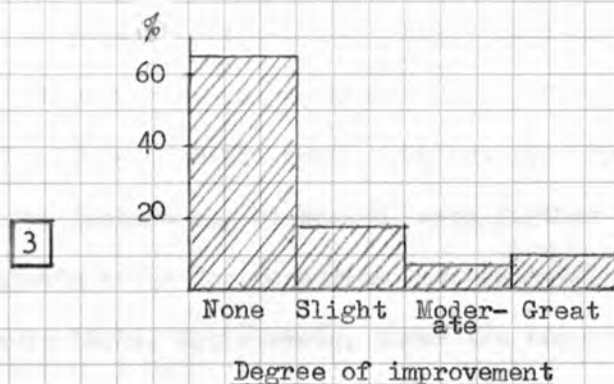
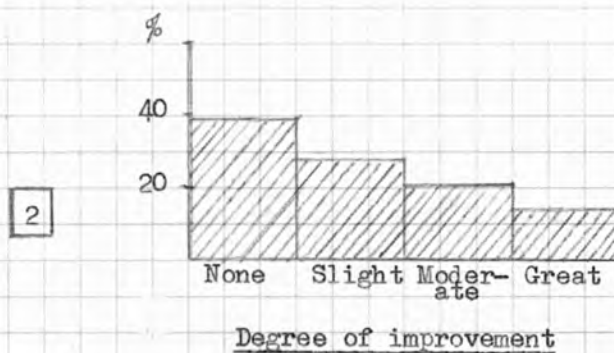
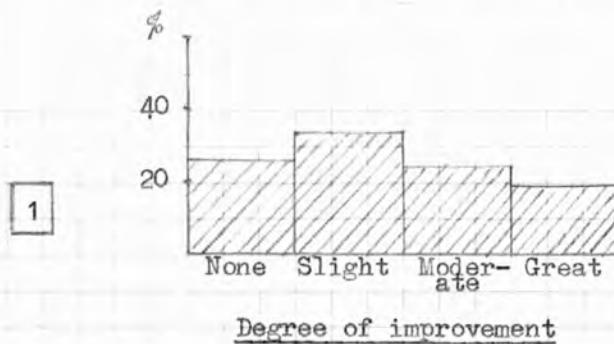
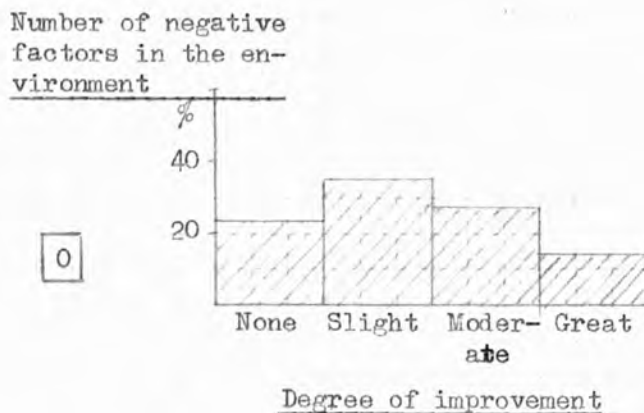
If the environmental groups are converted into "negative factors": $X^2 = 52.44$, $df = 9$, $p < .001$

The data in table 12.22 are further supplemented by figure 12.23 which shows in histograms the proportion in each "negative factor" group who, in the probation officer's opinion "improved" as a result of the probation order. The strongest feature is undoubtedly, as has recurred time and again in this analysis the large body of probationers in the 3-negative factor group (IIB/β) who were thought to have gained no benefit at all from their probation order; 65% in all. The same could be said of nearly 40% of the 2-negative factor group and of roughly a quarter of all the rest. Thus well over a third of all probationers were not thought to have benefited in any measurable sense from the probation order.

There had been some expectation that the middle-risk groups might be said to show the greatest positive improvement. After all, it is perhaps not unreasonable to fear the worst for the IIB/βs, while it might have been thought that the IAd's were pretty well off anyway and would not show any marked signs of improvement. There are, however, not really any indications of this expectation being fulfilled. It can be seen in figure 12.23 that so far as the slight and moderate improvements are concerned, the order in which these were gained follows strictly the order of negative factors: those with fewest negative factors had the highest proportion with slight or moderate improvement and those with most negative factors had the lowest proportion. So far as great improvement is concerned, little comparative information can be gained from the figures; it cannot be concluded that any one of these negative-factor-groups had a higher proportion showing great improvement than any other. Indeed one striking fact is that each group, no matter how good or bad its original circumstances, did show a small proportion - varying from 10 to 19 per cent - who appeared to have been amenable to social work help to a reasonably encouraging extent.

We have seen in this chapter that the environmental assessment, applied to two samples of probationers, was statistically associated with response to

Figure 12.23 Proportion of probationers with different degrees of environmental stress whose circumstances 'improved' as a result of probation (in the opinion of their supervising officer). (Sample 1: age 17-20)



$\chi^2 = 52.44$, $df = 9$, $p < .001$. For details of the measure of change, see Appendix J.

probation and with the ultimate outcome of the order as measured by different criteria. The question that is raised by this finding is whether the environmental assessment identifies a set of social circumstances which can be reached and treated by the normal process of supervising an offender in the community. We saw from table 12.20 that when the probation order finally breaks down, in the majority of cases the court removes the offender from the community, places him in institutional care and so puts him into a totally new environment; what effect this has on a probationer's environmental circumstances after his release from custody is of course a question beyond the scope of this report, but it is not wholly irrelevant to the issue of what role the probation officer is playing and can play in fulfilling his professional obligations to the client.

If he fails to effect any significant changes in his client's environment and if in turn this has implications for the client's future patterns of behaviour, it may be that a steady process of deterioration will set in, aggravated in turn by persistent criminal activities and by the penal system's reaction to those activities,

Scaling the scores

The original decision to dichotomise each of the three factors was taken in order to obtain a relatively simple instrument both for the purposes of research analysis and to use it as an experimental tool for classification purposes. Nevertheless each of the elements incorporated into the environmental assessment is derived from a scale; even the work factor, which was originally a simple distinction between those in work and out of work, is, in its amended form, based on additional information related to the probationers' recent work record. By exploring the way in which the three factors can be scaled, some further light might be thrown on their ultimate value for measuring environmental stress in greater detail. Figure 12.24, for example, shows the support at home score for all

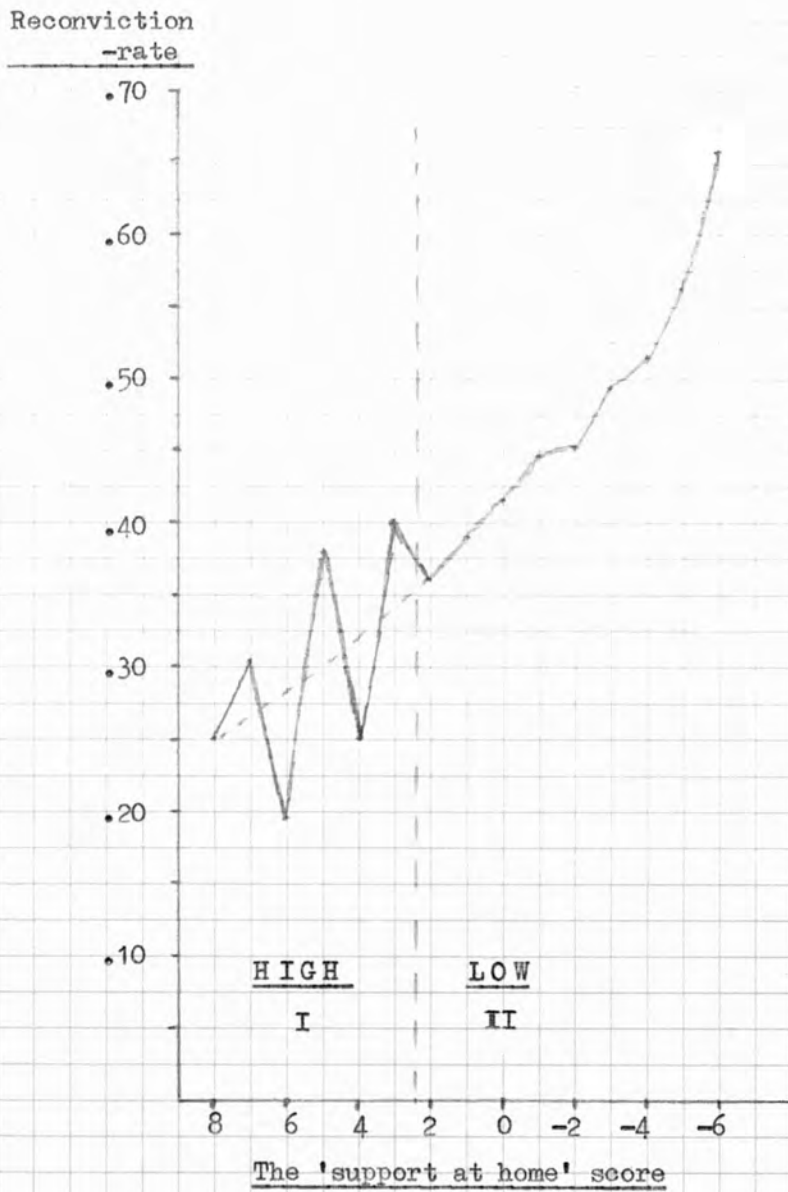
probationers in sample 2 who were living at home with their parents. The link with reconviction is clear enough, but the curve within the "high support" group is somewhat irregular. This may be partly caused by the smallness of the sample, but it also seems likely to derive from the questions which go to make up the support at home score. It is probable that the whole issue of a measurement applicable to the home situation needs further thought and consideration is now being given to this problem.

The data presented in figure 12.24 only refer to probationers who were actually living at home, because the scales for those either married or single and living away from home are quite different (although the cut-off points for dichotomising the scales are the same) and in the validation sample there were insufficient cases for these to be presented in graphical form.

Figure 12.25 shows the pattern of the graph for the work and school variables. Figure 12.25c shows the smoothness of the graph for the work variable when the "unsteady work record" factor is added to the unemployment factor. Figures 12.25a and b relate to the schoolboys in the sample. So far as both school groups are concerned, the scaling suggests that the scoring system has serious limitations when related to reconviction, and the curve for the 14-16 groups is particularly unexpected. One possible reason for it may be that among those with scores around the middle of the scale (2-5) were a number of potential school-leavers and that their lower-than-expected reconviction rate may be related to the changeover from school to work. This is no more than speculation and without further research it must remain such.

Figure 12.26 shows the crime contamination factors for three age groups, and these three graphs suggest that this factor lends itself to scaling better than the other two. In particular, it is further demonstrated that the addition of data about the probationers' criminal contacts improves the predictive value of the information about previous offences.

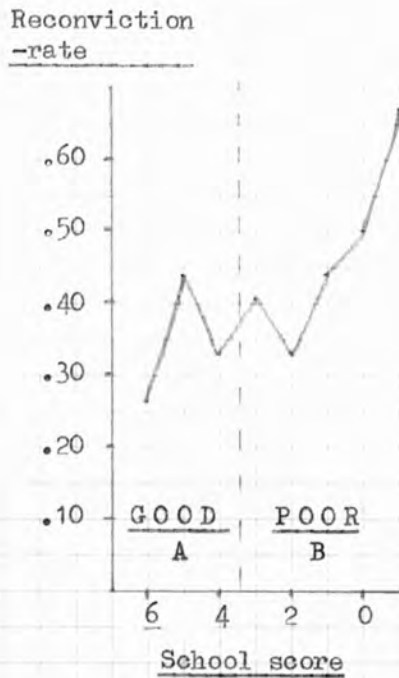
Figure 12.24 The 'support at home' score obtained by probationers living at home with their parents. (Sample 2: age 10-20)



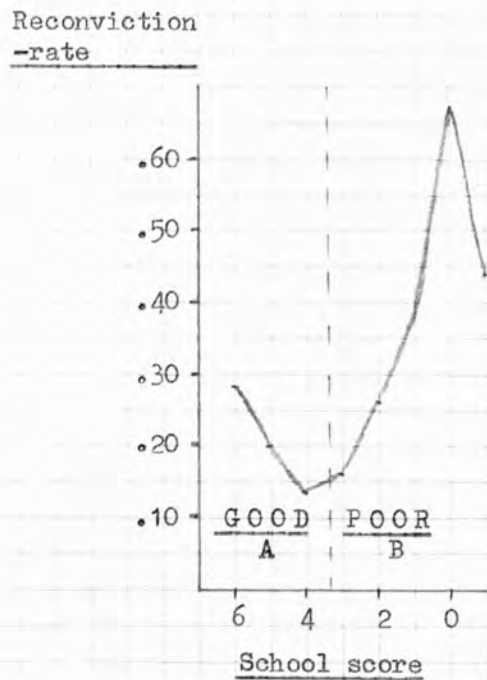
N = 709

Figure 12.25 Work/school scores and reconviction-rates. (Sample 2: age 10-20)

a) School (age 10-13).



b) School (age 14-16).



c) Work (all ages).

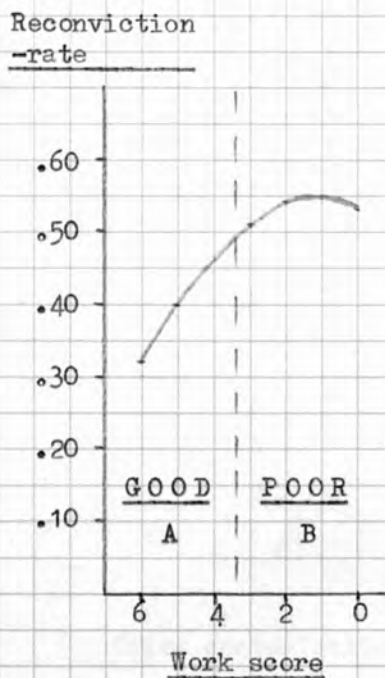
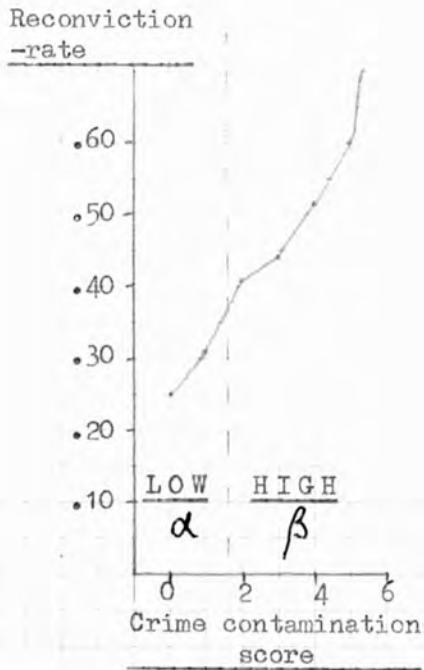
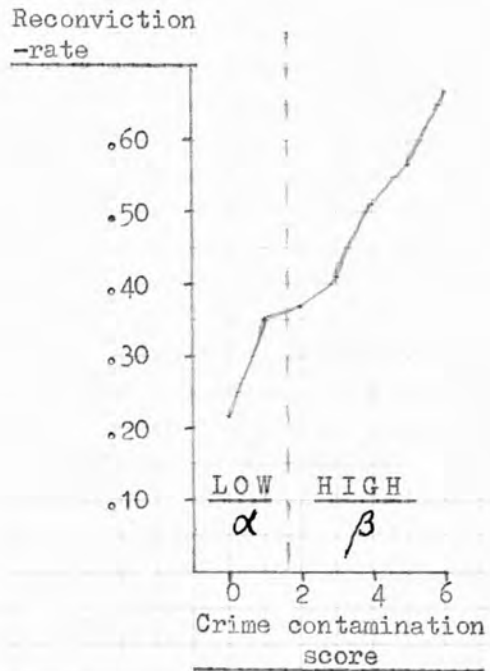


Figure 12.26 Crime contamination scores and reconviction-rates.
 (Sample 2: age 10-20)

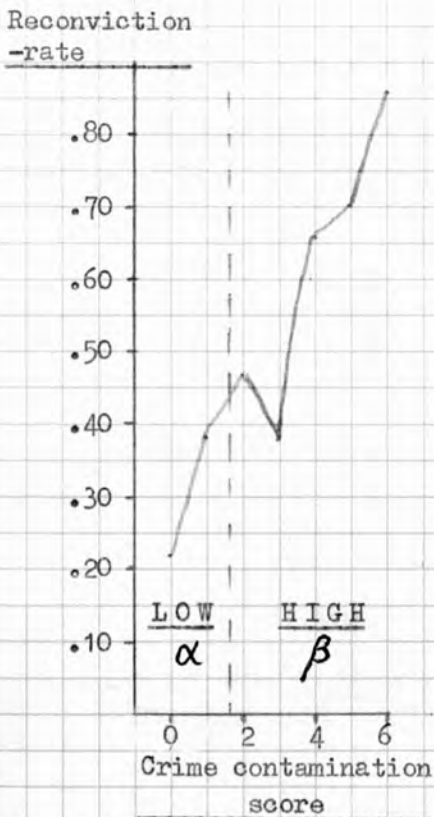
a) Age 10-13



b) Age 14-16



c) Age 17-20



For example, among all the juveniles (figures 12.26a and 12.26b) there is a clear and direct relationship between the size of the crime contamination score and reconviction. And the same is true of the older age group (figure 12.26c) with the exception of those with a crime contamination score of 3.

Chapter 13 Discussion

Methodology

In summary, there has been presented in part 2 a proposed research tool for the assessment of a probationer's environment. It has already been emphasised that this tool is tentative and somewhat crude; nevertheless it is argued that firstly, such a tool is necessary for the furtherance of social work research and secondly that the instrument described in this paper represents a relevant and useful beginning. It centres on three areas of the environment which are widely held to be of theoretical importance in social work and criminology and each of which are further shown to have a statistically significant and independent association with reconviction among the probationers studied in two samples. The instrument reduces to manageable proportions a mass of environmental data, and concentrates on those factors which appear to be of most immediate importance for the social work situation and which are applicable to all kinds of client. Subject to confirmation by reliability tests, the instrument enables comparisons to be made within a single caseload, between the caseloads of different officers or different areas, and between different samples studied by research workers. The instrument is based on data easily obtained by a skilled social worker, and does not require the application of any pencil and paper test to the client; the assessment can almost certainly be made in the course of a probation officer's normal enquiries.

Chapters 10-12 were concerned principally with the presentation of the instrument, but brief discussion has shown that the environmental groups can be linked to personality data or to various criteria of outcome or change whilst under supervision. Moreover it has been suggested that potentially the instrument might be employed not merely for dichotomising a sample on each of the three factors but for placing individuals on three separate scales. This might increase the accuracy of a codified diagnosis

at the expense of losing the relative simplicity of the instrument as it now stands.

A large number of questions are left unanswered by this paper and many of them might justify further exploration.

1. If it is confirmed that the three constituent parts of the environmental assessment - home, work and crime contamination - are indeed the most relevant factors, it will nevertheless be asked whether the addition of other factors would add further strength to the instrument. In sample 1 extensive analyses were undertaken to explore this question and no single factor was found which, applied on a universal basis, added to the predictive power of the instrument in any way. This is not to say that information about, for example, material stress or age, is irrelevant for casework purposes; clearly it is not so. But some writers have already suggested that social work may suffer from an embarrassment of riches in its diagnostic work and that it would benefit from a more rigorous reduction of the data to enable it to concentrate on that which is most immediately relevant to decision-making and treatment. Certainly the caseworker will require rather more flesh and blood in his diagnosis than the skeleton which the environmental assessment is able to provide, and current work in the probation project provides some evidence of the further information that might be obtained. For example, so far as middle teenagers are concerned, additional information about the kind of control exerted by the boy's father, might be necessary on the supposition that a supportive home environment at that age is not by itself sufficient¹. In addition, it is hard to believe that the A-B factor related to school or work, could not be improved upon with additional or alternative information; the fact that the present study has been unable to do so certainly does not lead to the conclusion that no such improvement could be found. The whole question of a man's relationship with his job is complex, and a new project in the Home Office

Research Unit will attempt to throw further light on this; in addition it may be able to suggest more detailed and relevant measures for assessing the significance of a man's occupation for his behaviour.

2. As well as improving on the three main factors and as well as exploring the possibility of supplementary information for all clients, it seems probable that further attention will need to be given to the particular problems presented by the relationship with his environment of a client who has committed an offence of a highly specific kind. The concept of environmental groups, and the theoretical relevance of home support, a job and crime contamination are derived from studies of probationers mostly in the "mainstream" offence categories: larceny, breaking and entering, taking and driving away and some violent offences. Experience of researchers in the Research Unit when attempting to classify offenders according to their offence behaviour has not been encouraging but there is sufficient evidence to show that sex offenders and men committing offences associated with drug-taking may have rather special characteristics. This does not mean that the application of an environmental assessment to such groups is irrelevant: indeed the relationship between a sex offender and his environment may be a vital factor in determining the incidence of his criminal behaviour. What it does mean however, is that the relationship between a sex offender and his environment and between the environment and his behaviour may follow a quite different pattern from that observed in the "mainstream" categories. It may also mean that there are specific elements in the environment which need to be observed and further codified in order to obtain maximum advantage from an environmental assessment in such cases. For example, the crime contamination category for drug offenders may need to take account of other drug-takers rather than of other criminals in a more general sense. These are only suppositions at this stage, but, if the environment is

thought to have significance in such categories, then the suppositions will be worth pursuing in further research studies.

3. The use of the Jesness Inventory in association with the environmental assessment produced a number of interesting findings, particularly as it seemed possible to identify (a) probationers in supportive environments who showed signs of personality weaknesses (autism, social maladjustment) and who accordingly had a higher-than-expected reconviction-rate, and (b) probationers in stressful environments who had low scores on the personality scales (socialmaladjustment, value orientation and manifest aggression) and who "failed" less than was anticipated. The task of relating personality to environment is an intricate one and requires effective tools. The Jesness Inventory is one possible instrument, but there is a need to explore the possible value of others. Unfortunately, so far as social work is concerned, the territory is still largely unexplored, and many of the techniques developed specifically for psychiatric purposes are not necessarily equally applicable in other fields. There is a need to obtain a valid and relatively objective assessment of ego-strength because this may be the important personality variable in relation to circumstances at home and at work; there is the possibility that the Eysenck Personality Inventory's Neurotic dimension² may be equated with this and further work will explore this possibility. Similarly, in relation to crime contamination, the complementary personality variable might be related to the level of internalised social control, and although the Jesness 'Value Orientation' scale may be close to this by implication, there is a need for further exploration.

4. One of the limitations of the environmental assessment and of the study of its association with the incidence of reconviction, as with most predictive instruments, is that it fails to take account of any change in the assessment over time or of the introduction of additional variables which may be likely to affect outcome. It is often said by probation officers, although there

is no firm evidence to support the view, that the probationer who develops strong ties with a steady girl-friend in the course of the order will have a much greater chance of success than if he had not done so; similarly a probationer with low job satisfaction may nevertheless have an active interest in a time-consuming hobby which adequately compensates for the frustrations of his employment; it may be suggested by some that the probation officer himself is an additional factor which, in some cases, may confound earlier pessimistic predictions; or the existence of external stresses, in addition to those originally diagnosed, may have a particularly damaging effect. The instrument for assessing the environment is at present "static" in that it is applied only to the situation existing at the beginning of each probation order. Nevertheless in its revised form as used in sample 2, it is capable of being applied over a continuing period of time to take account of the fact that any client can in practice find his environmental circumstances changing in one or more of the three areas. Perhaps a necessary future research exercise will be for a group of interested probation officers to try out the instrument on an on-going basis, maintaining it in a continually updated form. This would enable the research worker to study the question of whether changes in the environmental assessment do actually affect the level of risk of reconviction in specific cases; ie. if an individual ceases to be classified under, for example IIB/ β and becomes IA/ α has his likelihood of success really increased? Or are the risk-rates purely artefacts?

5. The question of whether offenders in the middle-risk categories are more amenable to treatment and more likely to benefit from the social worker's help, is being explored in a current study of social work treatment. Reference was made in chapter 12 to the notion that middle-risk probationers might be most likely to benefit from probation supervision, but there was no evidence there to suggest that these groups showed the greatest improvement.

6. Casework literature has traditionally relied upon the single case study to stimulate theoretical discussion and to provide illustrative material. One shortcoming of this technique has been that because each case is unique, none are truly comparable in the absence of any framework within which they can be observed. While it may be premature to suggest that the instrument for assessing environment is sufficiently well developed to make a contribution in this sphere there is no doubt that such a tool as that described in part 2 of this report could provide the basis for such a framework and thus greatly increase the point and value of the single case study.

7. Similarly, a technique for assessing his clients may make clear to the social worker some of the long-term advantages that can accrue from research when it is combined with the caseworker's powers of observation and skills of interpretation. For example, further light may well be thrown both on the problems confronting the social worker and on his powers to overcome them, by examining in detail cases allocated to a good risk category who failed, or cases allocated to a bad risk category who succeeded. By making a detailed analysis of such extreme examples, additional knowledge might well be gained which could prove of more general value. (An example of this approach is contained in Appendix K where four IA α s who failed and four IIB β s who succeeded are described briefly).

Theory

Although the instrument described in this paper has been devised in the course of a research project concerned with social work in probation, and is intended to contribute to our understanding of criminal behaviour, the technique for assessing environment might nevertheless prove useful in other quite different settings. Insofar as it claims to identify three crucial areas of an individual's life-situation, and claims

that these three areas are of universal importance, and insofar as it is suggested that these three areas are related to the behaviour of the subject (client), it can be hypothesised that these or similar areas are related not only to criminal behaviour but to other forms of behaviour too (such as alcoholism or drug-taking).

It is clear from the present study that the behaviour of an individual is partially related to (i) his position at home (I-II) and (ii) his position at school or work (A-B). If the environment in either or both these settings is wholly stressful, it would seem that the individual will behave differently than if it were wholly non-stressful. The response may of course, also be influenced by individual personality factors. But given that a response will be made to a stressful environment, it may be that the mode of that response could itself be influenced by environmental factors and more particularly, so far as this study is concerned, by criminally contaminating factors ($\alpha - \beta$)

Thus the I-II and A-B areas of the environment may be hypothesised as provoking a response of some kind from an individual, depending on that individual's relationship with the environment. But what that response might be could be determined, again partly by personality factors, and partly by contaminating factors in the environment.

For example, the following responses might be anticipated:

- a. attempts might be made to change the stressful environment by a process of reform;
- b. attempts might be made to escape it, either by withdrawing from it or exchanging it for another;
- c. attempts might be made to compensate for it, by acting out either actively or passively.

It will be recognised that difficulties at home and/or at work are far from infrequent, and it is unlikely that the majority of people respond with criminal behaviour. Perhaps many people respond with attempts to

exchange their environment for another: to move jobs or houses, to emigrate, etc. Others may have recourse to drugs or alcohol. Others might become absorbed in a spare-time activity that enables them to ignore the stresses of an unhappy marriage or an unsatisfying job. Others may seek to reform this environment by political means or by seeking the help of an intermediary to improve the relationship between the individual and his environment (eg a marriage guidance counsellor). Others, it is thought, act out by committing offences.

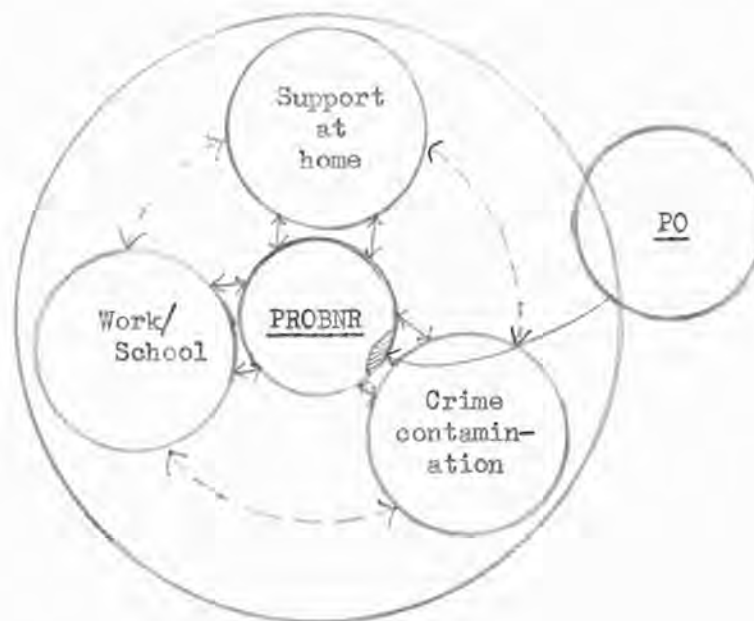
It has been claimed, then, that perhaps the main reason why many of the men in this sample break the law rather than respond to stress in any other way, is because of crime contamination ($\alpha - \beta$). And it is now further speculated that studies might show that other people respond to stresses, I-II and A-B, in different ways because of their exposure to (contamination by) other factors. For example, if consideration is given to emigration patterns, it may be that those who migrate do so (a) in response to the existence of stresses at home or at work, and (b) because they are open to contamination either by other people they know to have emigrated, or - a form of contrived exposure - as a result of deliberate advertising on the part of the migration agency.

It is therefore suggested that even though the three environmental variables may operate differently, they nevertheless provide a useful method of studying an individual's life-setting, and of examining his behaviour in relation to environmental stresses (or strengths).

The environmental groups were themselves initially based on the relationship between three discrete, though interacting, factors and reconviction. But the creation of an environmental group in the way described here (and there is of course no absolute boundary between each group) can be seen as a symbolic representation of the small social system

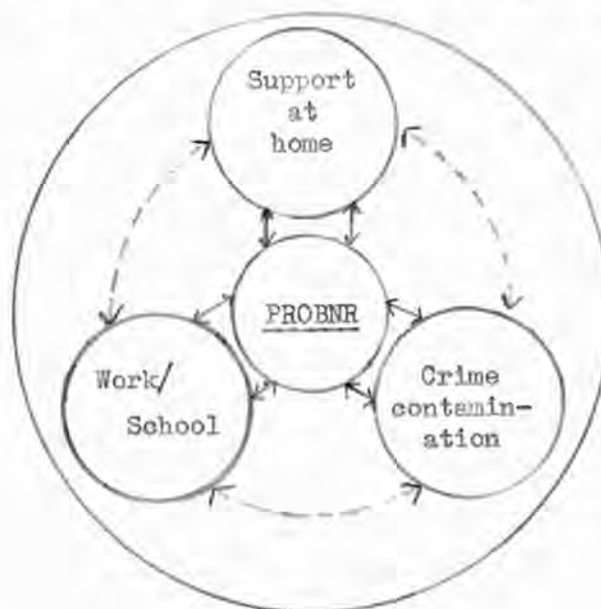
Once we begin to observe the sum of an individual's environmental relationships, we are beginning to introduce ideas from systems theory to the field of social work diagnosis and treatment. And somewhat paradoxically, this technique goes a long way towards meeting the oft-stated objection of traditional caseworkers to research: that it destroys the caseworker's view of the individual as a whole and artificially distorts the casework situation by concentrating on isolated parts of it.

We find ourselves with a model of the probationer's position in his environment, and a schematic presentation of the most important elements in that environment. In the light of the data presented in this paper, the model seems to be a useful starting point for further study, and may perhaps be helpful in trying to understand what the social worker is attempting to do:



within which each individual probationer has his existence. The environment of any one individual is made up of an extraordinarily complex set of relationships and may refer not only to the immediate present or the here-and-now (on which this study has been focused) but also the past or the 'there-and-then'. If one takes the immediate past for example, it is clear that a new inmate of a prison will be heavily affected by the environment into which he has been placed, but he will also be influenced by his former environment (eg the attitude of his wife and her relationship with their neighbours) and by his own recent experience in the environment, (eg the way in which the court dealt with his case and the treatment given him by the police). As has already been discussed in the previous section other subsidiary factors may have to be taken into account in any detailed environmental assessment, and in addition the personality of the individual may partially determine the type of social system which surrounds him and his own continuing response to it. Thus the need for detailed observation of interacting relationships between two or more variables will remain a focus for continuing probation research in the Home Office Research Unit.

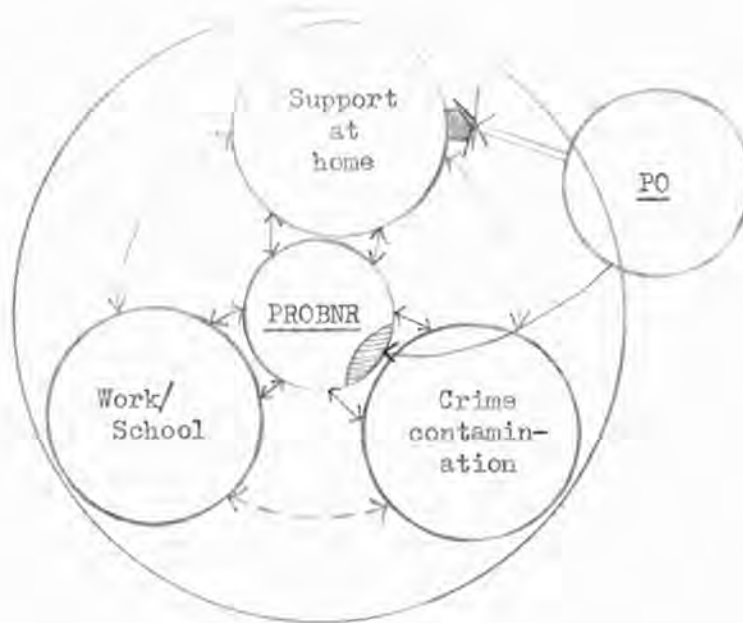
Both the concept of environmental groups and the instrument for assessing the environment enable us to take a rather more Gestalten view of the probationer and his environment which can be portrayed as in the diagram:



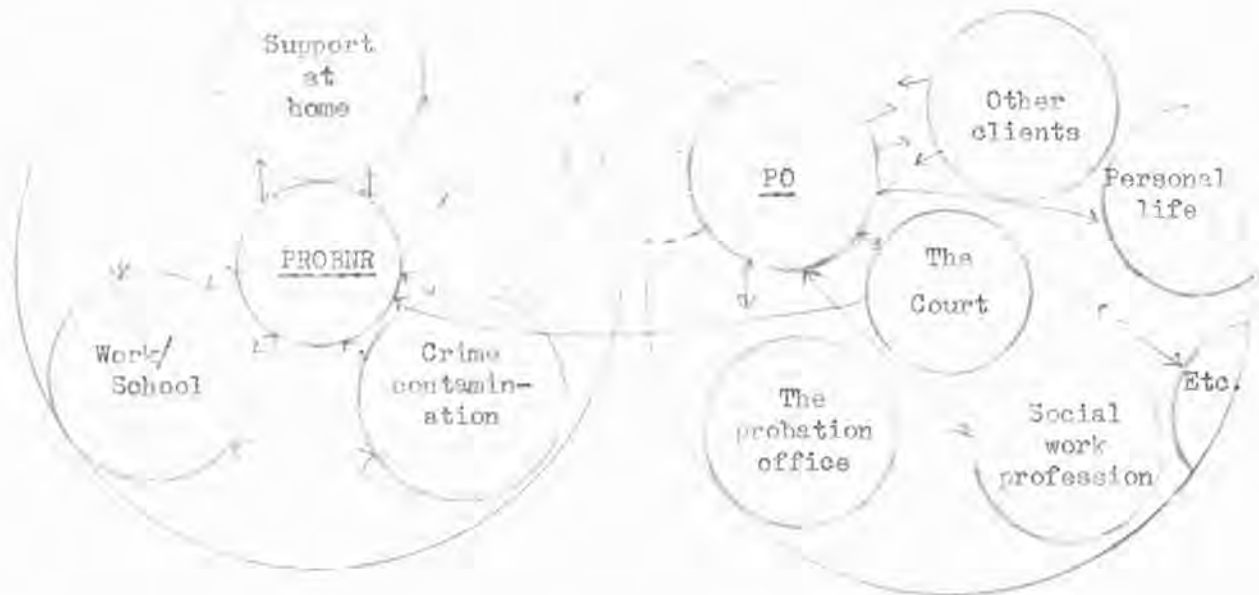
On the one hand we see at once the enormity of the task confronting the probation officer if it is accepted that the environmental influences impinging on the client are as strong as is suggested by many of the findings in this project. The probation officer is a new arrival on the fringe of the probationer's environment and as such may well have to fight to obtain a significant place within it. Moreover it may be, no matter how much he tries to avoid it, that the probation officer merely becomes an additional part of the "crime contamination" sector: the fact that the client has to attend the probation office mixing with other delinquents there, the fact that there is inevitably a degree of stigma attached to the making of a probation order, the additional chance of a return to court for a breach of probation under Section 6 (a form of criminal offence which can only occur to an individual on probation), the possible awareness of the local police about his continuing probation order - all these and other factors may contribute not to the improved behaviour that the probation officer is trying to bring about but conceivably to further deterioration.

Secondly, from the above figure, we realise (as might not be immediately apparent if we concentrated only on the probation officer-probationer relationship) how many and how powerful are the conflicting elements in the probationer's environment at the time the probation officer begins his work. Because of the complexity of this environment there is perhaps little wonder that most of the evidence in probation treatment research suggests that the probation officer tends to confine his work to the client alone, and hopes thereby to influence both the client and his environment. On the other hand, the influence of a harmful environmental factor (eg lack of accommodation) may well far outweigh in quantitative terms any influence that the probation officer may provide in the normal course of events, and, as will appear in a parallel treatment study being undertaken

in the Research Unit, the probation officer is sometimes compelled, possibly against his better judgement, to intervene in a difficult environmental situation. Thus, for example, there may be an instance where the probationer suffers from a non-supportive home situation and the probation officer feels it incumbent upon him to attempt to provide additional support in this area. Inevitably however, the home environment itself may resist any attempt that the officer might make, so that his efforts to move into the home become increasingly time-consuming without being any more effective:



The model can be expanded even further if account is taken of the social system within which the probation officer himself is working.



In this model greater clarity is given to the limitations of the probation officer's role in supervising his client. For not only is he a newcomer in the probationer's environment but his work of supervision and treatment has to take its place within the social system of which he himself is a part. Not only are there other clients to be attended to, but various elements of his own job situation may affect him in his efforts to enter into the probationer's own social system. For example, the demands of the court may be a particularly strong determinant of the probation officer's patterns of working and this may affect him and his client in many ways; to take only one example, there is a certain amount of evidence to suggest that any increase in the demand for social enquiry reports by a probation officer's court may lead to a reduction in his available time for environmental involvement - particularly for home visits. The probation officer's personal attitudes and life-setting cannot be ignored nor can his mental or physical health; in addition his involvement with extra-mural activities may limit the amount of time

and energy he has available to give to his clients. His professional connections in social work, either as a result of formal training or because of group pressures within the Service, may determine some of the ways in which he works.

Finally the penal setting of which the probation officer is a part may have its own direct communication with the officer's client; both the court (perhaps through the magistrates' clerk's office in connection with the collection of fines) or the police for various reasons, may continue to maintain a close relationship with the probation officer's client with or without consulting him. Inevitably, even though some probation officers may choose to ignore it, this continuing link between the penal system and the client cannot fail to have an effect on the officer's relationship.

By this time the theoretical model has lost the simplicity which is claimed to be the most important characteristic of the notion of environmental assessment. But at least it is clear that such a model may have value in future sociological studies of the penal system, and in particular may offer a jumping-off ground for detailed analyses of the problems involved in the supervision of an offender in the community.

IN CONCLUSION

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The aims of this report have been firstly to provide a straightforward description of probationers in their social environment, and secondly to suggest a way in which future research might be enabled to summarise the stresses and strengths that probationers (or others) face in their environment.

In pursuit of the first aim, we have demonstrated the complex way in which, for example, difficulties in the home are associated with unemployment or with the tendency for the probationer to have delinquent friends. It has been suggested that because such problems show a statistical association with the likelihood of reconviction, it would be unwise for the probation officer to ignore them in determining his treatment aims.

Difficulties arise, however, from the fact that the casework relationship - which represents the probation officer's main tool - is itself found to have a statistical association with environmental stress. Thus the vicious circle, in which the client finds himself trapped, embraces not only his own environment and personality, but also appears to involve the caseworker: the social worker is best able to make a good relationship with those who appear to need least help.

In order to facilitate further examination of the tangled relationship between environmental stress, personality and treatment, an attempt has been made to devise and to test out an instrument for assessing environmental factors impinging on the life of the probation officer's client. This was described in part 2.

Ultimately the most important task confronting the research worker is to contribute to new thinking about social work treatment. The

practitioner and the researcher must join forces to develop and to experiment with novel methods of working to meet specific needs and to overcome specific problems. From the caseworker this will require flexibility in his approach to treatment and additional resources of knowledge, of time and of material facilities; the researcher, in turn, will need more accurate tools than have hitherto been available, together with the freedom to undertake evaluative studies and so go beyond description to the point where firm conclusions can be drawn about the effectiveness of treatment in meeting social and personal needs.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES

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APPENDIX A

Supplementary tables

Table XI Precipitating factors x lone offenders

PROBATIONER COMMITTED THE OFFENCE	FACTORS SAID TO HAVE PRECIPITATED THE OFFENCE						Total %			
	Finance Row At Work %	Row Other, Eviction, Homeless %	Other %	No Precipitating Factors %	Total %					
Alone	24	36.9	32	49.2	24	51.1	109	33.0	189	37.3
With Others	41	63.1	33	50.6	23	48.9	221	67.0	318	62.7
Total	65	100.0	65	100.0	47	100.0	330	100.0	507	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 10.34; \text{ df} = 3; \text{ P} < .025$$

Table X2 Precipitating factors x single or married

FACTORS SAID TO HAVE PRECIPITATED THE OFFENCE

PROBATIONER WAS:	Finance	Row Other	Other	No Precipitating	Total
	Row At Work %	Eviction, Homeless %	Other %	Factors %	Total %
Single with Parents/ Parent Figures	41 63.1	37 56.9	27 57.4	266 80.6	371 73.2
Single Other	17 26.1	21 32.3	17 36.2	42 12.7	97 19.1
Married	7 10.8	7 10.8	3 6.4	22 6.7	39 7.7
Total	65 100.0	65 100.0	47 100.0	330 100.0	507 100.0

$\chi^2 = 31.27$; $df = 6$; $P < .001$

Table X3 Previous convictions x length of order

LENGTH OF ORDER:	NUMBER OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS					
	0	1	2 +	Total	%	%
1 Year	31	17	11	59	11.6	6.1
2 Years *	117	88	112	317	62.5	61.5
3 Years	43	29	59	131	25.9	32.4
Total	191	134	182	507	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 13.55; \text{ df} = 4; P < .01$

* see footnote on page 38

Table X4 Overcrowding x Violent Offenders

Degree of overcrowding	Type of Offense			Total %
	Violence %	Other %		
One or more persons per room	21 65.6	201 47.2	222	48.5
Less than one person per room	11 34.4	225 52.8	236	51.5
Total	32 100.0	426 100.0	458	100.0

No information was available in 16 cases, and the question was not applicable in 33 instances

$$\chi^2 = 4.05; \quad df = 1; \quad P < .05$$

Table X5 Overcrowding x personality

OVERCROWDING RATIO IN THE HOME	PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS				Total %
	Inadequate Only %	Disturbed Only Inadequate and Disturbed %	Neither %	Total %	
1 Person Per Room and More	94 46.1	37 40.2	90 55.9	221 48.4	
Less than 1 Person Per Room	110 53.9	55 59.8	71 44.1	236 51.6	
Total	204 100.0	92 100.0	161 100.0	457 100.0	

$\chi^2 = 6.53; df = 2; P < .05$

Table X6 Overcrowding x Girlfriend

DOES THE PROBATIONER GO OUT WITH A GIRL?	OVERCROWDING RATIO IN THE HOME			Total %
	1 Person Per Room and More %	Less than One Person Per Room %		
Yes	158 79.4	148 67.6	306	73.2
No	41 20.6	71 32.4	112	26.8
Total	199 100.0	219 100.0	418	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 7.42; \quad df = 1; \quad P < .01$$

Table X7 Overcrowding x cleanliness of the home

CLEANLINESS OF THE HOME	OVERCROWDING RATIO IN THE HOME			Total %
	1 Person Per Room and More %	Less than One Person Per Room %		
Poor	26 11.8	10 4.3	36 7.9	
Fair	82 37.1	43 18.3	125 27.4	
Good	113 51.1	182 77.4	295 64.7	
Total	221 100.0	235 100.0	456 100.0	

$\chi^2 = 35.02; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X8 Cleanliness of the home x Personality

CLEANLINESS OF THE HOME	PERSONALITY FACTORS			
	Inadequate Only %	Disturbed Only; Inadequate and Disturbed %	Neither %	Total
Poor	20 9.6	11 11.4	5 3.0	36 7.7
Fair	64 30.8	21 21.9	43 26.1	128 27.3
Good	124 59.6	64 66.7	117 70.9	305 65.0
Total	208 100.0	96 100.0	165 100.0	469 100.0

$\chi^2 = 11.35; df = 4; P < .025$

Table X9 Overcrowding x material conditions in the home

OVERCROWDING RATIO IN THE HOME	MATERIAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME			
	Good %	Moderate %	Poor %	Total %
1 Person Per Room or More	35 20.1	82 57.7	104 74.3	221 48.5
Less than One Person Per Room	139 79.9	60 42.3	36 25.7	235 51.5
Total	174 100.0	142 100.0	140 100.0	456 100.0

$\chi^2 = 98.26; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X10 Geographical distribution x material conditions

PROBATION AREAS	MATERIAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME				Total	%
	Good	Moderate	Poor	Total		
	%	%	%	%		
Beacontree	27	7	12	46	9.9	
Bradford	9	11	12	32	6.9	
Essex	52	39	23	114	24.5	
Leicester City	12	10	9	31	6.6	
Leicestershire and Rutland	12	5	7	24	5.1	
Portsmouth	6	12	5	23	4.9	
Southampton	10	5	10	25	5.4	
West Riding of Yorkshire	48	58	65	171	36.7	
Total	176	147	143	466	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 32.88; df = 14; P < .01$

Table XII Material conditions x Previous convictions

PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS	MATERIAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME			Total %
	0 Good %	1-2 Moderate %	3+ Poor %	
0	79 44.6	59 40.1	39 27.3	177 37.9
1	51 28.8	37 25.2	33 23.1	121 25.9
2+	47 26.6	51 34.7	71 49.6	169 36.2
Total	177 100.0	147 100.0	143 100.0	467 100.0

$\chi^2 = 19.41$; $df = 4$; $P < .001$

Table XL2 Material Conditions x Type of property stolen

Type of property stolen	Material Conditions in the Home				Total %
	Good %	Moderate %	Poor %	Total %	
Cash	38 31.9	36 36.4	36 38.7	110 35.4	
Clothing, food Vehicles	15 12.6	15 15.1	5 5.4	35 11.2	
Radio, jewellery, etc	21 17.7	13 13.1	3 3.2	37 11.9	
Cigarettes, alcohol, etc	33 27.7	25 25.3	43 46.2	101 32.5	
	12 10.1	10 10.1	6 6.5	28 9.0	
Total	119 100.0	99 100.0	93 100.0	311 100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 23.21; \quad df = 8; \quad P < .01$$

Table XI.3 Material Conditions x Place property stolen from

Place property stolen from	Material conditions in the home				Total
	Good	Moderate	Poor	Total	
	%	%	%	%	%
Work	21	9	6	36	19.4
Home, meter, house	10	10	16	36	19.4
Other	44	36	34	114	61.3
Total	75	55	56	186	100.1

$$\chi^2 = 9.660; \text{ df} = 4; P < .05$$

Table XI4. Material Conditions x Unemployment

State of Employment	Material Conditions in The Home				Total
	Good	Moderate	Poor	Total	
	%	%	%	%	%
In Work	119	97	73	289	63.2
Out of Work	54	47	67	168	36.8
Total	173	144	140	457	100.0
	68.8	67.4	52.1		
	31.2	32.6	47.9		
	100.0	100.0	100.0		

$\chi^2 = 10.690$; $df = 2$; $P < .01$

Table XI5 Material conditions x Lone offenders

MATERIAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME	PROBATIONER COMMITTED THE OFFENCE		
	Alone %	With Others %	Total %
Good	79 45.1	99 33.7	178 38.0
Moderate	56 32.0	91 30.9	147 31.3
Poor	40 22.9	104 35.4	144 30.7
Total	175 100.0	294 100.0	469 100.0

$\chi^2 = 9.44$; $df = 2$; $P < .01$

Table XI.6 Parental relations x family cohesiveness

DEGREE OF FAMILY COHESIVENESS	RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARENTS			Total %
	Good %	Fair/Poor %		
Marked	79 36.7	8 8.7		87 28.3
Some	124 57.7	66 71.7		190 61.9
None	12 5.6	18 19.6		30 9.8
Total	215 100.0	92 100.0		307 100.0

$\chi^2 = 32.84$; $df = 2$; $P < .001$

Table XI7 Parental relations x probationers personality

PROBATIONER'S PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS	Disturbed Only;			Total
	Inadequate Only %	Inadequate and Disturbed %	Neither %	
Good	86	37	94	217
Fair	40	19	16	75
Poor	7	7	4	18
	64.6	58.7	82.5	70.0
	30.1	30.2	14.0	24.2
	5.3	11.1	3.5	5.8
Total	133	63	114	310
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 16.06$; $df = 4$; $P < .01$

Table XI8 Parental relations x probationer's state of employment

RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS	PROBATIONER'S STATE OF EMPLOYMENT			Total %
	Employed %	Unemployed %	Total %	
Good	148 74.4	65 60.8	213 69.6	
Fair	43 21.6	32 29.9	75 24.5	
Poor	8 4.0	10 9.3	18 5.9	
Total	199 100.0	107 100.0	306 100.0	

$\chi^2 = 7.17; df = 2; P < .05$

Table XI9 Parental relations x probationer's contemporary relations

PROBATIONER'S RELATIONS WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES	RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS			Total %
	Good %	Fair/Poor %		
A Lone Wolf	57	20	21.8	77 25.6
Mixes Mainly with Delinquents, - With Both Delinquents/Non- Delinquents	53	44	47.8	97 32.2
Mixes Mainly with Non- Delinquents	99	28	30.4	127 42.2
Total	209	92	100.0	301 100.0

$\chi^2 = 15.11; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X20 Mother's affection x father's affection

AFFECTION OF MOTHER FOR THE PROBATIONER	AFFECTION OF FATHER FOR THE PROBATIONER					Total	Total %
	Over-Protective %	Warm %	Indifferent %	Hostile, Ambivalent %	Total		
Over-Protective	12	55	23	15	105	37.5	37.1
Warm	11	88	27	15	141	37.5	49.8
Indifferent	2	4	14	3	23	7.5	8.1
Hostile, Ambivalent	2	2	3	7	14	17.5	5.0
Total	27	149	67	40	283	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 41.90$; $df = 9$; $P < .001$

Table X21 Parental relations x father's affection

AFFECTION OF FATHER FOR THE PROBATIONER	RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS			Total %
	Good %	Fair/Poor %		
Over-Protective	23 10.9	6 7.8		29 10.1
Warm	136 64.5	14 18.2		150 52.1
Indifferent	42 19.9	27 35.1		69 23.9
Hostile, Ambivalent	10 4.7	30 38.9		40 13.9
Total	211 100.0	77 100.0		288 100.0

$\chi^2 = 76.71; df = 3; P < .001$

Table X22 Parental affection x mother's affection

AFFECTION OF MOTHER FOR THE PROBATIONER	RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS			Total %
	Good %	Fair/Poor %	Total %	
Over-Protective	79 36.6	36 41.8	115 38.1	
Warm	118 54.6	27 31.4	145 48.0	
Indifferent	12 5.6	14 16.3	26 8.6	
Hostile, Ambivalent	7 3.2	9 10.5	16 5.3	
Total	216 100.0	86 100.0	302 100.0	

$\chi^2 = 21.64$; $df = 3$; $P < .001$

Table X23 Parental relations x emotional ties to the father

EMOTIONAL TIES OF THE PROBATIONER TO HIS FATHER	RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS			Total %
	Good %	Fair/Poor %		
Attached	118 56.2	17 21.2		135 46.6
Indifferent	74 35.2	32 40.0		106 36.5
Hostile, Ambivalent	18 8.6	31 38.8		49 16.9
Total	210 100.0	80 100.0		290 100.0

$\chi^2 = 46.78; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X24 Parental relations x emotional ties to the mother

EMOTIONAL TIES OF THE PROBATIONER TO HIS MOTHER	RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS			Total %
	Good %	Fair/Poor %	Total %	
Attached	178 82.4	51 58.0	229 75.3	
Indifferent	27 12.5	26 29.5	53 17.4	
Hostile, Ambivalent	11 5.1	11 12.5	22 7.3	
Total	216 100.0	88 100.0	304 100.0	

$\chi^2 = 20.12; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X25 Father's affection x Emotional ties to father

EMOTIONAL TIES OF PROBATIONER TO FATHER	AFFECTION OF FATHER FOR THE PROBATIONER					Total %
	Over-Protective %	Warm %	Indifferent %	Hostile, Ambivalent %		
Attached	14	116	9	1	140	47.8
Indifferent	7	34	49	14	104	35.5
Hostile, Ambivalent	8	2	13	26	49	16.7
Total	29	152	71	41	293	100.0

$\chi^2 = 169.96$; $df = 6$; $P < .001$

Table X26 Mother's affection x emotional ties to mother

EMOTIONAL TIES OF THE PROBATIONER TO MOTHER	AFFECTION OF MOTHER FOR THE PROBATIONER					Total %
	Over-Protective %	Warm %	Indifferent %	Hostile, Ambivalent %		
Attached	105	137	6	5	253	76.0
Indifferent	18	19	14	5	56	16.8
Hostile, Ambivalent	8	1	7	8	24	7.2
Total	131	157	27	18	333	100.0

$\chi^2 = 99.89$; $df = 6$; $P < .001$

Table X27 Parental relations x father's control

FATHER'S CONTROL OVER THE PROBATIONER	RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS		
	Good %	Fair/Poor %	Total %
Overstrict	15 7.2	9 11.4	24 8.4
Lex	59 28.2	20 25.3	79 27.4
Erratic	56 26.8	46 58.2	102 35.4
Firm But Kindly	79 37.8	4 5.1	83 28.8
Total	209 100.0	79 100.0	288 100.0

$\chi^2 = 38.71$; $df = 3$; $P < .001$

Table X28 Parental relations x mother's control

MOTHER'S CONTROL OVER THE PROBATIONER	RELATIONS BETWEEN PARENTS			Total %
	Good %	Fair/Poor %		
Overstrict	11 5.2	1 1.2		12 4.0
Lax	92 43.4	41 48.2		133 44.8
Erratic	45 21.2	32 37.7		77 25.9
Firm But Kindly	64 30.2	11 12.9		75 25.3
Total	212 100.0	85 100.0		297 100.0

$\chi^2 = 16.19; df = 3; P < .01$

Table X29 Father's affection x father's control

FATHER'S CONTROL OVER THE PROBATIONER	AFFECTION OF FATHER FOR THE PROBATIONER					Total %
	Over-Protective %	Warm %	Indifferent %	Hostile, Ambivalent %		
Overstrict	6	5	3	9	23	7.9
Lax	6	38	31	5	80	27.5
Erratic	14	30	34	25	103	35.4
Firm But Kindly	4	78	2	1	85	29.2
Total	30	151	70	40	291	100.0

$\chi^2 = 111.03; df = 9; P < .001$

Table X30 Emotional ties to father x father's control

FATHER'S CONTROL OVER THE PROBATIONER

EMOTIONAL TIES OF PROBATIONER TO FATHER	Overstrict %	Lax %	Erratic %	Firm But Kindly %	Total %
Attached	3 12.5	30 36.6	34 33.0	69 83.1	136 46.6
Indifferent	9 37.5	40 48.8	45 43.7	13 15.7	107 36.6
Hostile, Ambivalent	12 50.0	12 14.6	24 23.3	1 1.2	49 16.8
Total	24 100.0	82 100.0	103 100.0	83 100.0	292 100.0

$\chi^2 = 80.91$; $df = 6$; $P < .001$

Table X31. Mother's affection x mother's control

MOTHER'S CONTROL OVER THE PROBATIONER	AFFECTION OF MOTHER FOR THE PROBATIONER					Total %
	Over-Protective %	Warm %	Indifferent %	Hostile Ambivalent %		
Overstrict	7	3	2	3	15	4.6
Lax	66	61	11	3	141	43.1
Erratic	38	29	11	11	89	27.2
Firm But Kindly	19	61	1	1	82	25.1
Total	130	154	25	18	327	100.0

$\chi^2 = 54.18; df = 9; P < .001$

Table X32 Emotional ties to mother x mother's control

EMOTIONAL TIES OF PROBATIONER TO MOTHER	MOTHER'S CONTROL OVER THE PROBATIONER						Total %
	Overstrict %	Lex %	Erratic %	Firm But Kindly %	Total %		
Attached	6	113	56	74	249	75.9	
Indifferent	4	26	20	6	56	17.1	
Hostile, Ambivalent	5	4	13	1	23	7.0	
Total	15	143	89	81	328	100.0	

$\chi^2 = 43.74; df = 6; P < .001$

Table X33 Probationer held an apprenticeship x Income

PROBATIONER'S INCOME AT THE TIME OF APPEARING IN COURT

WHETHER THE PROBATIONER HAS EVER HELD AN APPRENTICESHIP?	- £8		£8 +		Total	%
	Count	%	Count	%		
Yes	50	39.7	36	21.7	86	29.5
No	76	60.3	130	78.3	206	70.5
Total	126	100.0	166	100.0	292	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 11.16; \quad df = 1; \quad P < .001$$

Table X34 Length of unemployment x Physical health

THE PERIOD OF TIME THAT THE PROBATIONER HAD BEEN UNEMPLOYED WHEN THE PROBATION ORDER BEGAN		WHETHER PHYSICAL ILL-HEALTH WAS A PROBLEM FOR THE PROBATIONER			
		Very Much So %	Slightly %	Not At All %	Total %
Under A Month		7 53.8	8 34.8	105 66.0	120 61.5
One Month +		6 46.2	15 65.2	54 34.0	75 38.5
Total		13 100.0	23 100.0	159 100.0	195 100.0

$\chi^2 = 8.64$; $df = 2$; $P < .025$

Table X35 Probationer's personality x state of employment

PROBATIONER'S PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

PROBATIONER'S STATE OF EMPLOYMENT	PROBATIONER'S PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS				Total %
	Inadequate Only %	Disturbed Only Inadequate And Disturbed %	Neither %		
Employed	120 54.5	54 51.4	123 70.7	297 59.5	
Unemployed	100 45.5	51 48.6	51 29.3	202 40.5	
Total	220 100.0	105 100.0	174 100.0	499 100.0	

$\chi^2 = 14.12; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X36 Probationer's Residence x state of employment

PROBATIONER'S STATE OF EMPLOYMENT	WHERE THE PROBATIONER LIVED				Total %
	Self-Contained House Or Flat %	Other Type Of Residence %	No Fixed Abode %		
Employed	270 64.0	26 47.3	2 8.0		298 59.4
Unemployed	152 36.0	29 52.7	23 92.0		204 40.6
Total	422 100.0	55 100.0	25 100.0		502 100.0

$\chi^2 = 34.40; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X37 Probationer's state of employment x cleanliness of the home

CLEANLINESS OF THE PROBATIONER'S HOME

PROBATIONER'S STATE OF EMPLOYMENT	CLEANLINESS OF THE PROBATIONER'S HOME			Total N
	Poor %	Fair %	Good %	
Employed	21 58.3	64 50.0	209 69.4	294 63.2
Unemployed	15 41.7	64 50.0	92 30.6	171 36.8
Total	36 100.0	128 100.0	301 100.0	465 100.0

$\chi^2 = 14.99; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X38 Probationer's state of employment x Existence of a close relationship at home

STATE OF EMPLOYMENT	WHETHER THERE WAS ANY PERSON IN THE HOME WITH A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PROBATIONER		Total	%
	Yes	No		
Employed	48	24	72	49.3
Unemployed	25	49	74	50.7
Total	73	73	146	100.0

$\chi^2 = 15.78; df = 1; P < .001$

Table X39 Probationer's state of employment x contemporary relationships

STATE OF EMPLOYMENT	PROBATIONER'S CONTEMPORARY RELATIONSHIPS				Total
	A Lone Wolf	Mixes Mainly With Delinquents, Or With Both Delinquents And Non-Delinquents	Mixes Mainly With Non-Delinquents	Total	
		%	%	%	%
Employed	77	58.8	42.7	141	285
Unemployed	54	41.2	57.3	49	193
Total	131	100.0	100.0	190	478
					100.0

$\chi^2 = 35.57; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X40 Money received from work x Social class of the probationer

PROBATIONER'S SOCIAL CLASS	MONEY RECEIVED FROM WORK			Money paid to parents %	Total %
	None %	Under £8 %	£8-plus %		
Classes I, II, III	10 19.2	63 40.9	80 34.3	4 33.3	157 34.8
Classes IV, V	42 80.8	91 59.1	153 65.7	8 66.7	294 65.2
Total	52 100.0	154 100.0	233 100.0	12 100.0	451 100.0

$$\chi^2 = 8.12; \text{ df} = 3; P < .05$$

Table X41 Job satisfaction x Probationer's residence

WHETHER THE PROBATIONER SAID THAT HE LIKED HIS JOB	WHERE PROBATIONER LIVED			Total
	Self-Contained House or Flat	Other Type of Residence	No Fixed Abode	
		%	%	%
Very Much So	174	66.4	-	186
Slightly	73	27.9	1	83
Not At All	15	5.7	1	19
Total	262	100.0	2	288
				100.0
				64.6
				28.8
				6.6

$\chi^2 = 10.52; df = 4; P < .05$

Table X42 Support at Work x Length of Last Two Jobs

Support at Work	AVERAGE LENGTH OF PROBATIONERS LAST TWO JOBS				Total			
	Less than 1 Month %	1 Month- Less than 6 Months %	6 Months or More %	Total %				
High Support	19	22.4	61	35.1	83	51.9	163	38.9
Low Support- Or Unemployed	66	77.6	113	64.9	77	48.1	256	61.1
Total	85	100.0	174	100.0	160	100.0	419	100.0

$\chi^2 = 22.21$; $df = 2$; $P < .001$

Table X43 Support at Work x Length of Present Job

Support at Work	LENGTH OF TIME OF PROBATIONERS PRESENT JOB				Total
	Less than 1 Month %	1 Month- Less than 6 Months %	6 Months or More %	Total %	
High Support	51 62.2	68 75.6	92 80.7	211 73.8	
Low Support	31 37.8	22 24.4	22 19.3	75 26.2	
Total	82 100.0	90 100.0	114 100.0	286 100.0	

$\chi^2 = 8.66; df = 2; P < .025$

Table X44 Support at Work x Changing Work Stability

WHETHER THE PROBATIONER HAS HAD HIS PRESENT JOB LONGER THAN THE AVERAGE FOR HIS PREVIOUS TWO

SUPPORT AT WORK	Yes		No		The Same Length %	Only had One Job %	Total %
	No	%	No	%			
High Support	61	82.4	98	67.6	4	42	205
Low Support	13	17.6	47	32.4	5	4	69
Total	74	100.0	145	100.0	9	46	274

$$\chi^2 = 17.35; \text{ df} = 3; P < .001$$

Table X45 Support at Work x Satisfaction with Previous Jobs

WHETHER PROBATIONER LIKED HIS PREVIOUS JOBS

Support at Work	Liked Both of Them %	Liked One of Them %	Liked Neither of Them %	No Previous Jobs	Total
High Support	61 46.9	53 34.0	50 35.5	43	207 42.9
Low Support or Unemployed	69 53.1	103 66.0	91 64.5	13	276 57.1
Total	130 100.0	156 100.0	141 100.0	56	483 100.0

$\chi^2 = 35.38; df = 3; P < .001$

Table X46 Support at Work x Reasons for Leaving Last Job

Support at Work	PROBATIONERS REASON FOR LEAVING LAST JOB				Total
	Left for a Positive Reason %	Left for a Negative Reason or was Sacked %	Other %	Total %	
High Support	41	92	31	34.8	164 39.0
Low Support or Unemployed	17	181	58	65.2	256 61.0
Total	58	273	89	100.0	420 100.0

$\chi^2 = 28.34; df = 2; P < .001$

Table X47 Support at work x Type of job

SUPPORT AT WORK	TYPE OF PRESENT, OR MOST RECENT JOB				Total %
	Unskilled %	Driving/ Mechanic %	Clerk/ Commercial %	Skilled/ Miscellaneous %	
High Support	111 36.9	8 50.0	19 41.3	73 61.9	211 43.9
Low Support or Unemployment	190 63.1	8 50.0	27 58.7	45 38.1	270 56.1
Total	301 100.0	16 100.0	46 100.0	118 100.0	481 100.0

$\chi^2 = 21.86; df = 3; P < .001$

Table K48 Support at work x Social class

SUPPORT AT WORK	SOCIAL CLASS OF THE PROBATIONER				Total %
	I, II, III %	IV, V %	Total %	Total %	
High Support	97	114	211	43.9	43.9
Low Support or Unemployed	67	203	270	56.1	56.1
Total	164	317	481	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 23.59; df = 1; P < .001$

Table X49 Support at work x Apprenticeship

SUPPORT AT WORK	WHETHER THE PROBATIONER HAS EVER HAD AN APPRENTICESHIP			
	Yes	No	Total	%
High Support	72	138	210	42.9
Low Support or Unemployed	31	248	279	57.1
Total	103	386	489	100.0

$\chi^2 = 38.70; df = 1; P < .001$

Table X50 Support at work x Probationer's personality

SUPPORT AT WORK	PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS				Total
	Inadequate Only	Disturbed only; Inadequate and Disturbed	Neither	Total	
	%	%	%	%	
High Support	82	37	92	211	42.8
Low Support or Unemployed	138	67	77	282	57.2
Total	220	104	169	493	100.0

$\chi^2 = 14.31$; $df = 2$; $P < .001$

Table X51 Support at work x Marital status

SUPPORT AT WORK	MARITAL STATUS				Total
	Single, with parents	Single, Other	Married	Total	
		%	%	%	%
High Support	169	46.7	23.7	20	211
Low Support or Unemployed	193	53.3	76.3	19	283
Total	362	100.0	100.0	39	494

$\chi^2 = 17.31$; $df = 2$; $P < .001$

Table X52 Support at work x Material conditions

SUPPORT AT WORK	MATERIAL CONDITIONS IN THE HOME				Total	Total %
	Good %	Moderate %	Poor %	Total %		
High Support	92	71	44	207	45.3	53.2
Low Support or Unemployed	81	73	96	250	54.7	46.8
Total	173	144	140	457	100.0	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 16.14; \quad df = 2; \quad P < .001$$

Table X53 Support at work x probationer's relationship with father

PROBATIONER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS FATHER	SUPPORT AT WORK		Total			
	High Support	Low support or unemployed				
	%	%	%			
The best possible	45	22.7	21	7.7	66	14.1
Probably good	35	17.7	27	10.0	62	13.2
Probably poor	17	8.6	24	8.9	41	8.7
The worst possible	40	20.2	71	26.2	111	23.7
Not applicable	61	30.8	128	47.2	189	40.3
Total	198	100.0	271	100.0	469	100.0

$\chi^2 = 32.80; df = 4; p < .001$

Table X54 Support at work x probationer's relationship with his mother

Probationer's relationship with his mother	Support at work		Total
	High support %	Low support or unemployed %	
The best possible	38 18.4	18 6.6	56 11.7
Probably good	52 25.2	48 17.5	100 20.8
Probably poor	41 20.0	67 24.5	108 22.5
The worst possible	21 10.2	36 13.1	57 11.9
Not applicable	54 26.2	105 38.3	159 33.1
Total	206 100.0	274 100.0	480 100.0

$\chi^2 = 24.73; df = 4, p < .001$

Table X55 Geographical distribution x weekly income

PROBATION AREA	None		Under £8		£8 or More		All Money Paid to Parents		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%
Beacontree	5	8.9	17	10.8	30	12.8	-	-	52	11.3
Bradford	8	14.3	12	7.6	11	4.7	1	8.3	32	7.0
Essex	9	16.1	27	17.2	81	34.6	-	-	117	25.5
Leicester City	1	1.8	7	4.5	21	9.0	4	33.4	33	7.2
Leicestershire and Rutland	2	3.6	8	5.1	10	4.3	1	8.3	21	4.6
Portsmouth	3	5.3	15	9.5	5	2.1	-	-	23	5.0
Southampton	3	5.3	7	4.5	9	3.9	-	-	19	4.1
West Riding of Yorkshire	25	44.7	64	40.8	67	28.6	6	50.0	162	35.3
Total	56	100.0	157	100.0	234	100.0	12	100.0	459	100.0

$\chi^2 = 60.29$; $df = 21$; $p < .001$

Table X56 Probationer's age x weekly income

TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY RECEIVED FROM WORK DURING A SEVEN-DAY PERIOD
APPROXIMATELY TWO MONTHS AFTER THE START OF THE ORDER

AGE OF PROBATIONER
WHEN ORDER WAS MADE

	None		Under £8		£8 or more		All Money Paid to Parents %	Total		
		%		%		%				
17	26	46.4	99	63.1	73	31.2	8	66.7	206	44.9
18	17	30.4	36	22.9	57	24.4	4	33.3	114	21.9
19 - 20	13	23.2	22	14.0	104	44.4	-	-	139	30.3
Total	56	100.0	157	100.0	234	100.0	12	100.0	459	100.0

$\chi^2 = 57.69$; $df = 6$; $P < .001$

Table X57 Probationer's personality x weekly income

TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY RECEIVED FROM WORK DURING A SEVEN-DAY PERIOD
APPROXIMATELY TWO MONTHS AFTER THE START OF THE ORDER

PROBATIONER'S PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS	None %	Under £8 %	£8 Or More %	All Money Paid to Parents		Total %
					%	
Inadequate only	28 50.0	73 46.5	101 43.2	4 33.3	206 44.9	
Disturbed Only, Inadequate And Disturbed	14 25.0	24 15.3	42 17.9	6 50.0	86 18.7	
Neither	14 25.0	60 38.2	91 38.9	2 16.7	167 36.4	
Total	56 100.0	157 100.0	234 100.0	12 100.0	459 100.0	

$$\chi^2 = 13.26; \text{ df} = 6; P < .05$$

Table X58 Work stability x weekly income

TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY RECEIVED FROM WORK DURING A SEVEN-DAY PERIOD
APPROXIMATELY TWO MONTHS AFTER THE START OF THE ORDER

AVERAGE LENGTH OF TIME OF THE PROBATIONERS LAST TWO JOBS	None		Under £8		£8 Or More		All Money Paid to Parents		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%
Under A Month	16	31.4	27	21.6	34	16.7	1	11.1	78	20.0
One Month, but Under Six Months	17	33.3	50	40.0	83	40.7	7	77.8	157	40.4
Six Months and Over	18	35.3	48	38.4	87	42.6	1	11.1	154	39.6
Total	51	100.0	125	100.0	204	100.0	9	100.0	389	100.0

$\chi^2 = 11.30$; $df = 6$; not significant

Table X59 Weekly income x Probationer's relationship with his father

TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY RECEIVED FROM WORK DURING A SEVEN-DAY PERIOD
APPROXIMATELY TWO MONTHS AFTER THE START OF THE ORDER.

PROBATIONER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH HIS FATHER	None		Under £8		£8 plus		Money paid to Parents		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%
The best possible	5	9.1	34	22.5	27	11.5	2	18.2	68	15.0
Probably good	4	7.3	30	19.9	28	11.9	2	18.2	64	14.2
Probably poor	5	9.1	13	8.6	20	8.5	1	9.1	39	8.6
The worst possible	18	32.7	25	16.6	55	23.4	3	27.3	101	22.3
Not applicable	23	41.8	49	32.5	105	44.7	3	27.3	180	39.9
Total	55	100.0	151	100.1	235	100.0	11	100.1	452	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 23.66; \text{ df} = 9; p < .01$$

Those cases which were not applicable were excluded from the chi-square calculation.

Table X60 Physical health x Weekly income

TOTAL AMOUNT OF MONEY RECEIVED FROM WORK DURING A SEVEN-DAY PERIOD
APPROXIMATELY TWO MONTHS AFTER THE START OF THE ORDER

WETHER PHYSICAL ILL-HEALTH
WAS A PROBLEM FOR THE
PROBATIONER

	None		Under £8		£8 or More		All Money Paid to Parents		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%
Very Much So	7	12.5	8	5.1	3	1.3	-	-	18	3.9
Slightly	5	8.9	16	10.3	29	12.5	1	8.3	51	11.2
Not at all	44	78.6	132	84.6	200	86.2	11	91.7	387	84.9
Total	56	100.0	156	100.0	232	100.0	12	100.0	456	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 16.74; \text{ df} = 6; P < .025$$

Table X61 Probationer's contemporary relationships x Cleanliness at home

PROBATIONER'S RELATIONS WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES	CLEANLINESS OF THE HOME				Total	%
	Poor	Fair	Good	Total		
He is a Lone Wolf	10	39	72	121	121	27.1
Mixes Mainly With Delinquents/ Or Equally With Delinquents And Non-Delinquents	17	45	84	146	146	32.8
Mixes Mainly With Non-Delinquents	8	33	138	179	179	40.1
Total	35	117	294	446	446	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 18.00; \text{ df} = 4; P < .01$$

Table X68 Probationer's contemporary relationships x Probationer's girl friend.

THE PROBATIONER'S RELATIONS WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES		A Lone Wolf		Mixes Mainly with Delinquents, Both Delinquents and non-Delinquents		Mixes Mainly With Non-Delinquents		Total
			%		%		%	
Yes		75	60.5	113	79.0	138	77.5	326
No		49	39.5	30	21.0	40	22.5	119
Total		124	100.0	143	100.0	178	100.0	445

$$\chi^2 = 14.41; \text{ df} = 2; P < .001$$

Table X63 Contemporary feeling x contemporary influence

THE DEGREE OF FEELING BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES	THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PROBATIONER IS INFLUENCED BY HIS FRIENDS				Total
	A Great Deal %	Slightly %	Not at All %	Total %	
Very much	37	32	6	75	16.3
Not Very Much	77	188	38	303	65.7
Not at all	4	19	34	57	12.4
Information Not Known	10	9	7	26	5.6
Total	128	248	85	461	100.0

$\chi^2 = 98.52; df = 6; P < .001$

Table X64 Probationer's contemporary relationships x contemporary influence.

THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PROBATIONER IS INFLUENCED BY HIS FRIENDS

PROBATIONER'S RELATIONS WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES	A Great Deal		Slightly		Not At All		Total	
		%		%		%		%
A lone Wolf	20	15.8	48	19.8	52	61.9	120	26.5
Mixes Mainly With Delinquents; Both Delinquents and Non- Delinquents	84	66.1	64	26.5	4	4.8	152	33.5
Mixes Mainly with Non-Delinquents	23	18.1	130	53.7	28	33.3	181	40.0
Total	127	100.0	242	100.0	84	100.0	453	100.0

$\chi^2 = 141.50; df = 4; P < .001$

Table X65 Youth club attendance x material stress score.

MATERIAL STRESS SCORE	THE AGE OF THE PROBATIONER WHEN HE LAST ATTENDED A YOUTH CLUB				Total
	Under 17	17 - 20	Never Been	Total	
	%	%	%	%	%
0	28	81	49	158	37.0
1,2	26	62	52	140	32.8
3 - 9	29	41	59	129	30.2
Total	83	184	160	427	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 11.35; df = 4; P < .025$$

Table X66 Youth club attendance x delinquent family

		THE AGE OF THE PROBATIONER WHEN HE LAST ATTENDED A YOUTH CLUB				Total	%
		Under 17	17 - 20	Never Been	Total		
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	22	25.6	46	23.6	68	40.0	30.2
No	64	74.4	149	76.4	102	60.0	69.8
Total	86	100.0	195	100.0	170	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 12.67; df = 2; P < .01$

Table X67 Probationer's contemporary relationships x his social life.

WHETHER THE PROBATIONER SPENT "A LOT OF TIME" IN A COFFEE BAR, PUB
OR OTHER SIMILAR MEETING PLACE.

PROBATIONER'S RELATIONS WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES	No		Yes		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
A Lone Wolf	51	35.6	70	23.1	121	27.1
Mixes Mainly with Delinquents; Both Delinquents/Non Delinquents	43	30.1	94	31.0	137	30.7
Mixes Mainly With Non-Delinquents	49	34.3	139	45.9	188	42.2
Total	143	100.0	303	100.0	446	100.0

$\chi^2 = 8.79$; $df = 2$; $P < .025$

Table X68 Probationer's girlfriend x his residence

WHERE THE PROBATIONER GOES OUT WITH A GIRL	WHERE THE PROBATIONER LIVES				Total
	Self-Contained House or Flat	Other Type of Residence	No Fixed Abode	Total	
	Count	Count	Count	Count	%
Yes	275	46	19	340	73.9
No	110	6	4	120	26.1
Total	385	52	23	460	100.0

$\chi^2 = 7.84; df = 2; P < .025$

Table X69 Whether the probationer has a girl-friend x Spending a lot of time in a dance hall

	PROBATIONER HAS A GIRL FRIEND			
	Yes		No	
		%		%
Yes	111	35.1	26	24.1
No	205	64.9	82	75.9
Total	316	100.0	108	100.0
			137	32.3
			287	67.7
			424	100.0

$\chi^2 = 4.50; df = 1; P < .05$

Table X70 Whether the probationer has a girl-friend x Spending a lot of time in a pub,

	PROBATIONER SPENDS A LOT OF TIME IN A PUBLIC HOUSE		PROBATIONER HAS A GIRL-FRIEND?		Total
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
Yes	98	18	31.0	16.7	116
No	218	90	69.0	83.3	308
Total	316	108	100.0	100.0	424
					27.4
					72.6
					100.0

$\chi^2 = 8.34; df = 1; P < .01$

Table X71 Probationer's girl-friend relationship x their depth of mutual feeling

THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS GIRL-FRIEND	Very Casual		Steady/Engaged		Total	
		%		%		%
Very Much	5	2.6	96	66.2	101	29.7
Not Very Much	122	62.6	36	24.8	158	46.5
None At All	49	25.1	1	0.7	50	14.7
No Information	19	9.7	12	8.3	31	9.1
Total	195	100.0	145	100.0	340	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 172.85; \text{ df} = 3; P < .001$$

Table X72 Probationer's girl-friend relationship x Girl-friend's influence

THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE PROBATIONER WAS INFLUENCED BY HIS GIRL-FRIEND	THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS GIRL-FRIEND			Total
	Very Casual	Steady/Engaged	Total	
	Count	Count	Count	%
A Great Deal-For Better	4	52	56	16.5
A Great Deal-For Worse	2	3	5	1.4
A Great Deal-Quality Not Known	-	2	2	0.6
Slightly-For Better	36	52	88	25.9
Slightly-For Worse	1	2	3	0.9
Slightly-For Better and Worse	3	-	3	0.9
Slightly-Quality Not Known	14	10	24	7.0
Not at All	95	12	107	31.5
No Information	40	12	52	15.3
Total	195	145	340	100.0

$\chi^2 = 125.06; df = 8; P < .001$

Table X73 Depth of feeling x influence exerted by girl-friend

THE TYPE OF INFLUENCE EXERTED
OVER THE PROBATIONER BY
HIS GIRL-FRIEND

	WHETHER THERE WAS ANY DEPTH OF FEELING BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS GIRL-FRIEND						Total
	Very Much	Not Very Much	None at All	No Information		%	
For Better	81	54	3	6	144	13.1	
For Worse	3	4	1	-	8	2.3	
For Better and Worse	-	2	1	-	3	0.9	
Type of Influence Not Known	7	13	1	5	26	7.6	
No Influence Exerted	5	62	34	6	107	31.3	
No Information	5	23	10	16	54	15.8	
Total	101	158	50	33	342	100.0	

$\chi^2 = 144.48; df = 15; P < .001$

Table X74 Mental relationship x depth of feeling

THE DEPTH OF FEELING BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS WIFE	THE QUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS WIFE		
	Good %	Fair/Poor %	Total %
Very Much	20 90.9	3 21.4	23 63.9
Not Very Much/ None At All	2 9.1	11 78.6	13 36.1
Total	22 100.0	14 100.0	36 100.0

$\chi^2 = 17.90; df = 1; P < .001$

Table X75 Marital feeling x wife's support for the probationer.

WHETHER THE WIFE WAS A SOURCE OF SUPPORT TO THE PROBATIONER	THE DEPTH OF FEELING BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER AND HIS WIFE			Total %
	Very Much %	Not Very Much/ None At All %	Total	
A Great Deal	11 50.0	-	11	32.4
Slightly/Not At All	11 50.0	12 100.0	23	67.6
Total	22 100.0	12 100.0	34	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 8.87; \text{ df} = 1; P < .01$$

Table X76 Marital relationship x wife's support for the probationer.

THE QUALITY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROBATIONER
AND HIS WIFE

WHETHER THE WIFE WAS A SOURCE OF SUPPORT TO THE PROBATIONER	Good		Fair/Poor		Total	
		%		%		%
A Great Deal	11	52.4	1	6.7	12	33.3
Slightly/Not at All	10	47.6	14	93.3	24	66.7
Total	21	100.0	15	100.0	36	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 8.23; \text{ df} = 1; P < .01$$

Table X77 Casework relationship x Parental relationships

Officer's Relationship with the probationer	Relations between the probationer's parents			
	Good %	Fair %	Poor %	Total %
Good	111 51.2	30 40.0	3 16.7	144 46.5
Moderate	100 46.1	42 56.0	14 77.8	156 50.3
Bad or non-existent	6 2.8	3 4.0	1 5.6	10 3.2
Total	217 100.1	75 100.0	18 100.1	310 100.0

$\chi^2 = 9.68; df = 4; P < .05$

Table X78 Casework Relationship x Father/Son Relationship

OFFICER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH PROBATIONER	Father/Son Relationship					
	The Best Possible %	Probably Good %	Probably Poor %	The Worst Possible %	Total	%
Good	44 66.7	35 55.6	19 43.2	39 34.5	137	47.9
Moderate/Bad/ Non existent	22 33.3	28 44.4	25 56.8	74 65.5	149	52.1
Total	66 100.0	63 100.0	44 100.0	113 100.0	286	100.0

$\chi^2 = 19.24; df = 3; P < .001$

Table X79 Casework relationship x mother-son relationship

OFFICER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH PROBATIONER	MOTHER - SON RELATIONSHIP						total %
	The best possible %	probably good %	probably poor %	the worst possible. %			
Good	34 59.6	49 47.6	51 45.9	18 31.0	152 46.2		
Moderate/bad/non-existent	23 40.4	54 52.4	60 54.1	40 69.0	177 53.8		
Total	57 100.0	103 100.0	111 100.0	58 100.0	329 100.0		

$\chi^2 = 9.65$; $df = 3$; $P < .025$

Table X80 Casework relationship x Probationer's relations with his contemporaries

PROBATIONER'S RELATIONS WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES

OFFICER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH PROBATIONER

	A Lone Wolf	Mixes Mainly with Delinquents, or With Both Delinquents and Non-Delinquents	Mixes Mainly With Non-Delinquents	Total
	%	%	%	%
Good	57 42.9	49 31.2	116 60.4	222 46.1
Moderate	69 51.9	101 64.3	76 39.6	246 51.0
Bad or Non-existent	7 5.2	7 4.5	0 0	14 2.9
Total	133 100.0	157 100.0	192 100.0	482 100.0

$\chi^2 = 36.23$; $df = 4$; $P < .001$

Table X81 Casework relationship x Support at work

OFFICER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PROBATIONER	SUPPORT AT WORK			Total %
	High Support %	Low Support or Unemployed %		
Good	115 54.8	110 39.0		225 45.7
Moderate	95 45.2	155 55.0		250 50.8
Bad or Non-Existent	0 0	17 6.0		17 3.5
Total	210 100.0	282 100.0		492 100.0

$$\chi^2 = 21.43; \text{ df} = 2; P < .001$$

Table X82 Casework relationship x Probationer's personality

OFFICER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PROBATIONER	PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROBATIONER				Total
	Inadequate only	Disturbed Only Inadequate and Disturbed	Neither	Total	
	%	%	%	%	%
Good	93	35	100	228	45.5
Moderate	123	61	72	256	51.1
Bad or Non- Existent	7	7	3	17	3.4
Total	223	103	175	501	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 19.38; \text{ df} = 4; P < .001$$

No information was available in respect of 6 probationers.

Table X83 Overall Stress Score x Probationers Personality

Personality Characteristic	Overall Stress Score				Total
	0	1-2	3-7	%	
Inadequate Only	35	108	81	51.3	224
Disturbed Only					
Inadequate and Disturbed	14	44	47	29.7	105
Neither	47	98	30	19.0	175
Total	96	250	158	100.0	504

$\chi^2 = 30.51; df = 4; P < .001$

Table X84 Overall Stress Score x Degree of Mental Disturbance

Overall Stress Score	Degree of Mental Disturbance			Total %
	Not at all, or only mildly disturbed %	Moderately disturbed, or worse %	Total %	
0	84 20.9	14 13.3	98 19.3	
1	98 24.4	25 23.6	123 24.3	
2	108 26.9	19 18.1	127 25.0	
3	55 13.7	20 19.1	75 14.8	
4	28 7.0	12 11.4	40 7.9	
5	20 5.0	6 5.7	26 5.1	
6/7	9 2.2	9 8.6	18 3.6	
Total	402 100.1	105 100.0	507 100.0	

$\chi^2 = 18.109$; $df = 6$; $P < .01$

Table X85 Overall Stress Score x Where the property was stolen from

Property taken from:	Overall Stress Score					Total	Total %
	0	1-2	3-7	8-10	11-15		
Work	7	23	7	37	37	18.1	18.1
Home. Meter, Houses	4	17	21	42	42	20.6	20.6
Machine. Shop	5	17	11	33	33	16.2	16.2
Vehicles	11	15	5	31	31	15.2	15.2
Other	7	32	22	61	61	29.9	29.9
Total	34	104	66	204	204	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 19.80$; $df = 8$; $P < .025$

Table X86 Overall Stress Score x Contact with Crime through Family

	Overall stress score			Total	%			
	0	1-2	3-7					
		%			%			
Yes	11	11.7	80	32.4	58	38.7	149	30.3
No	83	88.3	167	67.6	92	61.3	342	69.7
Total	94	100.0	247	100.0	150	100.0	491	100.0

$\chi^2 = 20.86$; $df = 2$; $P < .001$

Appendix B

A note on the concept of significance and the meaning of X^2

It is anticipated that a number of people who read this report will not be familiar with ordinary statistical methods, and accordingly a brief note may be useful.

Two forms of statistical presentation have been used in the study. On the one hand, there have been ordinary frequency distributions - eg table 3-4 - which present factual data in the simplest possible form. On the other hand, there have been a large number of contingency tables - eg table X10 in Appendix A - in which two factors are brought together and compared. One of the research worker's most frequent requirements is to know whether there is any link between two specified factors; for example, between cigarette smoking and lung cancer, or between advertising on television and increased sales of chocolates. Similarly throughout the present report, we have been seeking to establish associations between different environmental factors, and between each one of them and reconviction. It is true that by looking at the tables, and the different percentages contained therein, the observer might get a rough idea of whether two factors are associated; but statistical theory says that this is not enough - largely because it is quite possible that chance may have been at work. If you toss a coin twelve times, you would not expect it to come up heads every single time - but on exceedingly rare occasions, it might just do that; and much more frequently, heads might well come up eight or nine times. The X^2 test (it is the Greek letter Chi, and is pronounced Ki to rhyme with 'eye') can be applied to any contingency table, and the result will tell the research worker (or the reader) what are the chances that such a distribution of figures could have occurred by chance. The actual X^2 value needs to be interpreted according to the size of the table, and when this is done, it is usual (and the practice has been followed in this report) to make

one of five statements:

- (a) Not significant (NS). This means that the distribution of the data was such that it would be dangerous and probably wrong to conclude that there was any association between the two factors under consideration; in other words, it seems likely that chance factors could explain the results obtained.
- (b) $p < .05$. This means that there is a good chance that an association exists between the two factors; in fact, it means that there is a probability of less than 5 in a 100 that the distribution has occurred by chance. Another way of saying this is that the finding is significant at the 5% level.
- (c) $p < .025$. Here there is a better chance that the association is a meaningful one, for there is a probability of less than 2.5 in a 100 that the distribution had occurred by chance.
- (d) $p < .01$. At this level (sometimes described as the 1% level) there is only one occasion in every hundred where the distribution could have occurred by chance.
- (e) $p < .001$. When we reach this point, the likelihood of the observed association between two factors being due to chance is less than 1 in a 1000.

For anyone interested in reading more about X^2 , many books on statistics will provide an introduction. Chapters 13-15 in MJ Moroney Facts from Figures (Pelican) cover the subject; so too does A E Maxwell in Analysing Qualitative Data (Methuen). A book which was specially written for statistical laymen and which is surprisingly relevant for the social scientist is A Bradford Hill's Principles of Medical Statistics (The Lancet Press).

Appendix C

Probation areas chosen for inclusion in the study described in Part 1

In making the selection of probation areas in which the first sample was to be gathered, reference was made to Moser and Scott's British Towns¹ so that the sample might be as representative as possible. Moser and Scott's analysis divides urban areas into fourteen groups each with their separate characteristics; it is a measure of the wide spread obtained in the sample that all but one of these groups are represented in the probation areas concerned. The areas were as follows:

(i) Beacontree was in 1964 a petty sessional division which included the boroughs of Barking, Dagenham, Ilford, Leyton, Walthamstow, Wanstead and Woodford. The division was made up of heavily built-up areas, all of which have since been included in Greater London. Moser and Scott classified the district into older working class and industrial suburbs (Leyton and Walthamstow), newer industrial suburbs (Barking and Dagenham), older mixed residential suburbs (Ilford), and 'exclusive' residential suburbs (Wanstead and Woodford). Their classification was intended as illustrative, rather than final, but it nevertheless clearly reveals Beacontree as a very mixed metropolitan area.

In the course of the first part of the study, the Greater London reorganisation took place; this did not affect the research project in any way.

(ii) Bradford is a major textile centre, comprising industrial areas and older and newer residential suburbs.

(iii) Essex, as one of the home counties, is largely urban in population in the West, but has rural expanses in the East. Moser and Scott classified its larger towns as follows:

Hornchurch and Chigwell: newer mixed residential suburbs;

Romford: a light industry suburb, within the sphere of influence of a large conurbation;

Southend-on-Sea and Colchester: mainly spas, professional and administrative centres;

Thurrock: a newly developed area of heavy industry.

Among the areas not classified by Moser and Scott are the county town, Chelmsford, the seaside resort of Clacton-on-Sea, and Harlow and Basildon new towns; the area around Braintree and Witham is also a rapidly developing residential district.

(iv) Leicester is an industrial centre with older and newer residential suburbs.

(v) Leicestershire and Rutland are largely rural counties with industrial towns at Loughborough, Coalville and Hinckley.

(vi) and (vii) Portsmouth and Southampton are both commercial centres with some industry, and both of course have close associations with the sea.

(viii) The West Riding of Yorkshire, although heavily built-up over much of its southern half, and known mainly for its textile industry, mining and ironworks, also contains large rural areas, together with a number of varied suburban districts. Moser and Scott define the main towns (excluding Bradford, Leeds and Sheffield, which are not included in the West Riding Probation Area):

Dewsbury, Keighley, Halifax and Huddersfield are textile centres with old established industry and residential development;

Wakefield and Doncaster are classified as traditional railway centres, although the former, as the county town, is an increasingly important administrative centre;

Barnsley is essentially a mining town;

Rotherham is a metal manufacturing town;

Harrogate, quite distinct from the rest, is a spa and Moser and Scott group it with such places as Eastbourne, Bournemouth, Hove etc.

A number of smaller boroughs and urban districts not classified in British Towns - for example, Castleford, Morley, Pontefract and Pudsey - are either mining or textile towns, while others - Bingley, Ilkley, etc are mainly residential. Large parts of the dales are purely rural in character.

Reference

1. Moser, C A and Scott, W: "British Towns". Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh, 1961. pp 80 ff.

Appendix D

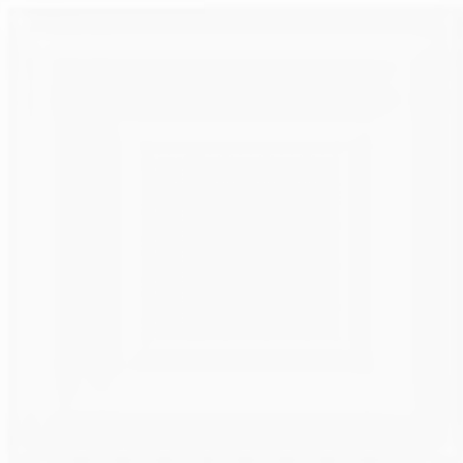
The questionnaire used on the first sample

In order to spread the amount of work required from probation officers, parts I and II of the questionnaire were asked for during the first fortnight of the order, and parts III and IV after the order had been in force for approximately eight weeks. All questions were to be answered as they applied to the day when the order was made; only in part IV where the probationer was asked for information about his recent leisure-time activities, and at the end of part III, where the officer was asked to describe his client's initial reactions to probation, was this rule waived.

In designing a questionnaire, any research worker is inevitably dependent to some extent on what has previously been done. One particular debt in the present case must be stated clearly: some of the questions relating to material conditions in the home and to personal relationships are based on those used by the Gluecks in Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency. Acknowledgements are made in the appropriate parts of the text.

A copy of the questionnaire is enclosed in the next page.

The pocket on this page contains a copy of the questionnaire used on sample 1.



APPENDIX E

The Support at Work Score

The measure of support at work was assessed by assigning scores to various answers in the section of the questionnaire dealing with the probationer's employment:

1. If the probationer's employer attended court (unless it was as a prosecution witness) 1 point
2. "Do any of your bosses take an interest in you?"
 - Very much so 1 point
 - Slightly 0 points
 - Not at all deduct 1 point
3. "Do you like any of your bosses?"
 - Very much so 1 point
 - Slightly 0 points
 - Not at all deduct 1 point
4. "Do you dislike any of your bosses?"
 - Very much so deduct 1 point
 - Slightly 0 points
 - Not at all 0 points
5. "Do you like your job?"
 - Very much so 1 point
 - Slightly 0 points
 - Not at all deduct 1 point
6. "Do you like the people you work with now?"
 - All of them 1 point
 - Some of them 0 points
 - None of them deduct 1 point
7. "Have you any special friend at work?"
 - Yes 1 point
 - No deduct 1 point
 - Non-committal 0 points
8. "Is there any friend at work who would help you if you were in trouble?"
 - Yes 1 point
 - No deduct 1 point
 - Non-committal/DK 0 points

The possible range of scores was -7 to +8, and for the purposes of the analysis the material was dichotomised (as reported in chapter 5), as follows:

- High support at work - a score of 1 or more.
- Low support at work - a score of zero or less.

Appendix F Changes introduced in the environmental assessment when applied to the second sample

Mainly for practical reasons, a number of changes had to be introduced in the questions administered to the second sample. These involved the omission of some questions which had turned out to be largely irrelevant or superfluous, and the adjustment of the scoring system in the Support at Home Section, so that all probationers could be allocated into the I-group if they had a score of 3 or more.

The Support at Home score used in sample 1 was obtained from the questionnaire (reprinted in Appendix D) as follows:

a. Where the probationer was with parents or parent-substitutes

1. Did the father or mother attend court (unless it was as a prosecution witness)?
Yes + 1 point
2. Are relations between the probationer's father and mother:
Good + 1 point
Fair - 1 point
Poor - 1 point
3. What is the degree of family cohesiveness?
Marked + 1 point
Some no points
None - 1 point
4. Affection of the father for the probationer:
Over-protective + 1 point
Warm + 1 point
Indifferent - 1 point
Hostile/rejective - 1 point
5. Affection of the mother for the probationer: points allocated as in 4.
6. Emotional ties of the probationer for father:
Attached + 1 point
Indifferent - 1 point
Hostile - 1 point
7. Emotional ties of the probationer for mother: points allocated as in 6.
8. Is there any other member of the family who has a particularly close relationship with the probationer?
Yes + 1 point
9. If so, would you describe the emotional ties of the probationer to that person as:
Attached + 1 point
Indifferent - 1 point
Hostile - 1 point
Non-committal no points

b. Where the probationer was single and living away from home

10. Did any person that the probationer is living with attend court (unless it was as a prosecution witness)? Yes + 1 point

11. Is there any person in the probationer's residence with whom he has a particularly close relationship? Yes + 1 point

12. If so, would you describe the emotional ties of the probationer to that person as being:

Attached	+	1 point
Indifferent	-	2 points
Hostile	-	2 points
Non-committal		no points

c. Where the probationer was married

13. Did the wife attend court (unless it was as a prosecution witness)? Yes + 1 point

14. Would you describe the emotional ties of the probationer to his wife as:-

Attached	+	1 point
Indifferent	-	2 points
Hostile	-	2 points
Non-committal		no points

15. Is there any depth of feeling between the probationer and his wife?

Very much	+	1 point
Not very much		no points
None at all	-	1 point

16. Are relations between the probationer and his wife:-

Good	+	1 point
Fair	-	1 point
Poor	-	1 point

17. To what extent is the probationer's wife a source of support to him?

A great deal	+	1 point
Slightly		no points
Not at all	-	1 point

In all questions, if the answer was not known or the question was not applicable, a score of no points was given for that item. The range of total scores varied in each of the three groups, and the following key was used to determine which cases were allocated into each group:

	<u>II: Low Support</u>	<u>I: High Support</u>
	<u>points</u>	<u>points</u>
group a.	- 6 to 3	4 and over
group b.	- 1 to 2	3
group c.	- 5 to 1	2 and over

In the Work/School section, only two changes were made between the first and second samples: firstly, as has been described in the body of the report, three entirely new questions were introduced to take account of the presence of schoolboys in the second sample; and secondly, a question relating to the recent employment record of the client was introduced (although in practice this would only marginally alter the allocation of cases into A or B groups).

In the crime contamination section, two changes were made. For sample 1 the question that was equivalent to the revised question 20 (see page 229 of this report) was as follows:

Is one of the probationer's problems at the present time the fact that he lives in a delinquent family?

Very severe	(2 points)
Severe	(2 points)
Moderate	(2 points)
Mild	(1 point)
Absent	(no points)

The question relating to previous convictions recorded against the probationer was changed so that only convictions occurring in the two years at risk prior to the commission of the offence would be taken into account. This change in effect means that any probationer is able to move out of a position of crime contamination, whereas formerly, once he had two convictions recorded against him, he would be allocated a β grading for the rest of his life. Which of these two inferences is the more valid can only be determined after much more detailed analysis, but for practical purposes, it seemed preferable to make the initial assumption that the level of crime contamination can vary during the life span of an individual.

All changes in questionnaire design and in the scoring system were introduced prior to data collection beginning in sample 2. Moreover none of them made any difference to the effectiveness of the instrument in sample 1; their introduction was simply to render it more meaningful in practice.

Appendix G

The questionnaire used on the second sample

The pocket on this page contains a copy of the questionnaire used on sample 2.

Appendix H Remands in Custody and the Unemployed: (Sample 1 age 17-20)

1. Although remands in custody were relatively few (17% of the sample), where they occurred the probationer was more frequently out of work than where they did not: 31% of those unemployed had been remanded in custody compared with only 7% of those with a job. Hence it is fair to ask whether this difference could explain the known difference in reconviction-rates between those who were in work and those who were out of work.
2. This question is based on the possibility that those remanded in custody would be more likely to commit further offences than those allowed bail. Some initial doubt is cast on this suggestion by the fact that, when the sample is "held steady" by the employment variable, no difference is found in the proportion remanded in custody when this is compared with the other two main environmental factors.

Proportions remanded in custody of those:

(1)	<u>A-Employed</u>		(2)	<u>B-Unemployed</u>	
	I	II		I	II
α	.07	.04	α	.27	.39
β	.06	.08	β	.30	.28

There is no confirmation here of the hypothesis that those remanded in custody represented particularly bad-risk groups of offenders (as measured by their levels of support at home or crime contamination).

3. A simpler analysis provides further confirmation of this. Of those remanded in custody, 40% were reconvicted in the first twelve months of the probation order; of those allowed bail, 38% were reconvicted: there is no significant difference in these figures.
4. Finally the reconviction-rates can be studied in relation to both employment and remand in custody. If the initial question were to be confirmed, one would have expected the difference in reconviction rates between the employed and unemployed to have been wholly "explained away" by the

introduction of the third variable: "remanded in custody".

	<u>Reconviction-rates (twelve-month)*</u>		
	<u>In work</u>	<u>Out of work</u>	
Not remanded in custody	.31	.50	p < .001
Remanded in custody	.32	.42	ns
	ns	ns	

Two points emerge from this table. Firstly, it can be seen that there is no statistical difference between the reconviction rates (in the vertical columns) of the employed or unemployed depending on whether or not they were remanded in custody. Thus, in neither group can it be said a. that those who were remanded in custody were worse-risks than those who were on bail, or b. that remanding a man in custody appeared to increase or decrease his chances of reconviction (although this conclusion could not be confirmed without conducting a controlled experiment).

Secondly, the differences between the reconviction rates of the unemployed and employed (horizontal rows in the table) are not "explained away" by the introduction of the third variable, "remanded in custody". Among those in custody, it loses its significance, although the picture is by no means reversed; although, on paper, the observed difference is in the predicted direction, the lack of numbers in this part of the sample precludes a firm conclusion.

The conclusion must be that the difference between the reconviction-rates of those probationers in work and out of work cannot be ascribed to the fact that the worse-risk men were out of work simply because they had been kept in prison.

*Any apparent discrepancy between the reconviction-rates in this table and those in table 12.2 in the text is explained by the fact that two probationers are excluded from the analysis because no information was available about their remand period.

Appendix IThe Deviance Score

A third sample of probationers aged 10-20 was gathered during 1967-68 from probation officers in Devon and Exeter, County Durham, Hampshire, the West Midlands, Salford and Staffordshire. A total sample of 539 was obtained, but inadequate information was provided in respect of 12 cases:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
10	20	3.8
11	21	4.0
12	35	6.6
13	55	10.4
14	74	14.0
15	67	12.7
16	64	12.1
17	76	14.4
18	43	8.2
19	33	6.3
20	39	7.4
	<u>527</u>	<u>99.9</u>
Total		

As well as providing information for the environmental assessment, the probation officers allocated each probationer a Deviance Score by using the ten items presented in tabular form as follows:

Assessment of Deviance

For each of the problems listed please tick the column which best describes its severity or absence:

	Very severe	Severe	Moderate	Mild	Absent	Don't know
Little conscience*						
Drunkenness						
Anti-authority attitudes						
Dishonesty						
Irresponsibility						
Callousness						
Delinquent tendencies						
Untruthfulness						
No loyalties						
Anti-social attitudes						

*eg. If the probationer has no conscience about his criminal behaviour, the problem of Little Conscience would be assessed as "very severe".

The Deviance Score was developed by Dr Steven Folkard for use in the probation project in the Home Office Research Unit, and is described in Research Bulletin number 11, published by the Research Unit in 1967. In computing the Deviance Score, the following simple scale is applied:

	<u>Score</u>
Very severe	4
Severe	3
Moderate	2
Mild	1
Absent	0

This gives a maximum score of 40.

Appendix J

The Change Score

The Change Score was available only in respect of sample 1, because information about the full period of three-year probation orders was only provided in respect of that sample. For every case the supervising probation officer was asked to complete the form shown on page 393 .

Where a probation officer ticked a column indicating the amount of change that had occurred a score was allocated as follows:

Very much worse	- 2
Slightly worse	- 1
No change	0
Slightly better	+ 1
Very much better	+ 2

These scores were added up by the research worker and the total used to give the following overall descriptions of change as shown in table 12.21:

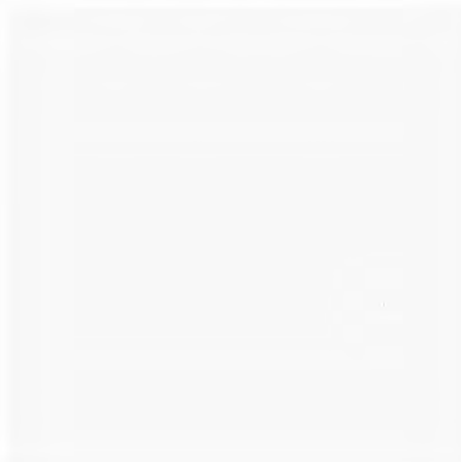
- 2 or less	=	deterioration
- 1 to + 1	=	little or no change
+ 2 to + 6	=	slight improvement
+ 7 to + 11	=	moderate improvement
+12 and over	=	great improvement

Table 12.22 was computed similarly except that only changes of which the officer said that the "probation order in any way had been a factor in bringing about these changes" were included. In other words indications of change given were ignored unless the officer also ticked the "very much so" or "slightly" columns at the right hand side of the coding sheet. The scores used in table 12.22 were based on the following allocations:

+ 1 and under	=	no improvement
+ 2 to + 6	=	slight improvement
+ 7 to + 11	=	moderate improvement
+12 and over	=	great improvement

The scales reflect the fact that most probationers were said to have shown some improvement over the period (see tables 12.21 and 12.22).

The pocket on this page contains a copy of the questionnaire page on which probation officers were asked to provide information about changes which had occurred in the probationer's circumstances during the course of the order.



CHANGES

We are trying to obtain some measure of any changes that may have taken place in the probationer during the order. There should be two ticks placed against each subject (except in the last case) - one to assess the amount of change, and one to indicate whether probation played any part in the change.

	Comparing the situation on the first day of the order with that on the last, what changes have occurred in the probationer's life?					In your view, has the probation order in any way been a factor in bringing about these changes?				
	Very much worse	Slightly worse	No change	Slightly better	Very much better	Not applicable	Very much so	Slightly	Not at all	Not applicable
His physical health										
His mental health										
The material conditions at home										
The attitude of mother to him										
The attitude of father to him										
His parents' relationships with each other										
Job stability										
His feeling of satisfaction at work										
Delinquent influence on him by his peer-group										
His relationships with his girl-friend/wife										
Financial stability										
Leisure-time activities										
Relationship with probation officer										

Have you placed a tick against every subject?

Have you placed a tick against every subject?

In this Appendix material is presented in contrast to the statistical analyses that have been used throughout this paper. Hitherto probationers have been allocated into somewhat impersonal groups, and this appendix sets out to show the potential value of this method of classification for the greater understanding of probationers and their problems.

Two contrasting groups of cases are presented: four IA α probationers who "failed" and four IIB β probationers who "succeeded". All names are fictional.

Four IA α cases who "failed".

1. Brian Robson

is a probationer whose home the officer thought to be one virtually free from problems. He found both parents affectionate and could not really understand his client's misbehaviour although a psychiatrist had commented prior to the court appearance that he felt all was not as it should be in the home. Material conditions were good; there weren't any employment problems and the probationer seemed to want to become involved in active leisure-time interests. In the course of the order the probation officer discovered that there were psychiatric problems in the family particularly concerning the mother's neurosis. After 10 months the probationer appeared in court and was found guilty of being drunk and disorderly along with a number of other young men. Again, 3 months later the probationer committed a similar offence, and the probation officer then said that he felt that his relationship with his client was developing in such a way that the client "could now lean on the officer for support and for encouragement which he probably does not receive at home". Moreover the apparently problem-free area of work began to present greater difficulties and the officer became concerned at the probationer's unsettled position in any one job.

2. Christopher Black

is a probationer with parents who are affectionate and supportive so far as is possible but who have a great many problems of their own. The father suffers from an incurable bone disease and is classified as a disabled man; the mother is a harassed-looking woman who works full time but finds her son increasingly difficult to control. The probationer himself has no record of criminality but has been under medical supervision since being involved in a road accident which resulted in severe headaches and depression. He refused to go to work for some time and committed his offences in his own home (mainly stealing from electricity and gas meters). Both in the interview with the probation officer and in his responses to the Jesness Inventory, he showed strongly paranoid tendencies and the probation officer was generally concerned about his personality problems. He seemed however to respond well to the probation order and the officer was particularly impressed by the close relationship between the probationer and his mother, although this tended to lead to her covering up for her son insofar as she did not tell

the probation officer of his misbehaviour until long after it had happened. Then 10 months after the order had begun the probationer committed further offences of breaking and entering with 3 to be taken into consideration; a psychiatric report described him as schizophrenic.

3. John Briggs
is a probationer with a good work record and a reasonably good relationship with his parents with whom he lives. Nevertheless over the last year or so there has been some deterioration in feeling between him and his father and there is evidence of sibling rivalry. The court appearance however seemed to bring the family together and the father-son relationship improved greatly after that. The young man is courting strongly and his girl-friend is liked by his parents. The probation officer felt that it was a very straightforward case and did not impose any strict discipline. Indeed between the 24 June and the 16 September, the officer did not see his client although there were telephone conversations and letters between them. During that period the probationer pleaded guilty to a charge of aiding and abetting when riding on a motorbike whilst unqualified to drive. There was again a 2-month gap in the contact and the probationer only came when he had to tell his supervising officer that he had been involved in a public disturbance at a swimming bath and was going to be charged with breach of the peace and being a public nuisance. He told the officer it was only horse-play and the policeman who had been called had said nothing would be heard of it. Another probationer was similarly involved and the probation officer "could not help reflecting how these lads are both competent footballers and in fact the team which they represent is top of their particular league. This nevertheless does not have any therapeutic effect in controlling their actions in a public setting". The probationer was fined £5 and six days later his father appeared in court charged with receiving goods that he knew to be stolen. Because of this "criminal activity" the probation officer became rather more actively involved with the family and discovered that perhaps everything wasn't quite as straightforward as he had hitherto thought.
4. Paul Roberts
lives with his mother and father and has a good relationship with them although his father is seriously ill with disseminated sclerosis. The officer felt that the probationer had been tending to come under criminal influence among his age group and was becoming depressed by the home situation which led sometimes to frayed tempers. Initially his response to supervision was promising; however he was quickly in breach of probation as a result of committing a further offence within three weeks of the order beginning; he committed a breach of the peace in Manchester while he was away from home with friends.

Four IIB β cases who "succeeded"

5. Jim Oakson
is a probationer who found himself extremely antagonistic towards his father and at times towards his brother. As a result of this he left home and lived and worked on a fairground. He is a very unsettled young man and the officer listed his order of priorities as: work first, the pub second, and home third. After the court appearance the probationer returned to live with his father and the officer felt it was something of an "armed truce". "I am always aware of the possibility of a breakdown with him but he seems to improve with each passing week". The officer continued to feel that progress was most marked in this case

and whenever he lost a job he quickly obtained another. The probationer also started courting seriously with a sensible girl and the officer was pleased to say that he had a good relationship with his client. When the order ended after two years, the improvement had continued unabated. "He has never been particularly short of self-confidence although this quality is now tempered with a large degree of understanding and self-criticism. I feel sure that it is this confidence and independence that has helped him through a particularly difficult period of his life and now that he is a more balanced person may well be a strength that will contribute to a trouble-free future". The probationer remained at home with his father throughout the period but their relationship did not improve and the officer fully expected him to leave before long. He was in any case planning to marry in the fairly near future.

6. Philip Smith

comes from a large family in which he has not been getting on at all well. Both parents are in indifferent health and neither they nor the probationer are particularly patient people. "This seems like a home in which quarrels will flare up quickly but equally quickly be forgotten". In the course of the year under supervision the probationer went to work on a fairground with the probation officer's approval but got his old job back when the autumn came. The main change while under supervision was the remarkable improvement in his work record and his home relationships seemed to get better as well.

7. David Johnson

lives with his widowed mother who is "a kindly soul who has the lad's interest at heart and is obviously unable to provide adequate control without the support of her late husband". The probationer is thought to be of average intelligence and shows a reasonable response to supervision. "He tends to mix with the wrong types and likes to think he is one of the boys. He is said to be weak in character, quiet and probably deep". Despite making a great effort the probation officer found it difficult to get to know his client and his job stability did not really improve. He moved into lodgings and found himself a steady girl-friend who seemed to be very helpful to him. Eventually he got a job much more to his liking in the electrical trade and although the officer never felt that he really got through to him, he was "content to face the fact that he is keeping out of trouble".

8. Bill Wilde

Although he lives in a superficially favourable home, he is really in a very ambivalent situation. His parents have high standards but their pressures on their son are such that they have led him to lie to save his face whenever necessary. He rows frequently with his parents and had an unsteady work record. At one point he asked to stay in a hostel and the officer made arrangements for this. From the hostel he then moved out to a bedsitting room of his own in the same area. Eventually however he returned home where his improved behaviour did not continue. Ultimately, the order ended because of a further offence although he survived the first year without further mishap.

Any comments on these eight cases must be somewhat tentative. They do however lend some support to the suggestion that "unexpected" results

might be explained in one of three ways:

- a. It may be that with improved methods of assessment, personality factors could be identified which would help to explain the misbehaviour of IA α clients (eg Chris Black) or the good behaviour of IIB β clients (eg Jim Oakson). It might be found that among the IA α failures, there are some who present severe personality problems; and similarly, that among the IIB β successes, there are some who might be said to have personality strengths sufficient to overcome specified environmental stresses.
- b. There is the problem of erroneous diagnosis by the probation officer, illustrated vividly in the case of Brian Robson. This may well not be the probation officer's fault, for an accurate diagnosis can require a considerable period of time for it to be made. On the other hand some problems may arise from the inadequacy of the environmental assessment instrument, and its crude allocation of cases in one of two directions may well need amendment in the light of further information obtained by the social worker concerned. (eg Paul Roberts may have been subject to family stress of a kind not allowed for in the Assessment.)
- c. Circumstances may change in the course of an order: in the case of Bill Wilde the probationer's behaviour seemed to improve when he removed himself from his own home environment, and it again deteriorated when he returned to live with his parents. Similarly David Johnson's circumstances improved

considerably in the course of the order as he became more independent, and found himself a steady girlfriend and a better job.

Each of these three "explanations" provide possible clues to the kind of additional material that might be gathered when using the Assessment in a clinical context. The probation officer may be able to allow for personality factors or additional environmental variables that need to be taken into account at the start of the order, and he can observe significant changes that occur during the order.

Nevertheless there will always be cases for which it is difficult even to suggest a possible explanation for an unexpected outcome. Both John Briggs and Philip Smith seemed to behave in a way that the officer did not anticipate, and such cases may never be easy to explain. It is nevertheless the task of research to make the attempt.

Appendix L The environmental assessment applied to different samples

The following frequency distributions show how the environmental assessment differentiates between different samples.

1. A sample of male probationers, aged 17-20, drawn from eight different probation areas during 1964-65.
2. A sample of male probationers, aged 10-16, drawn from thirteen different probation areas during 1967.
3. A sample of male first offenders, aged 10-14, from Tower Hamlets, London, appearing in juvenile court during 1968-69. (Sample provided by Mr Michael Power and Mrs Patricia Ash).
4. All male parolees released in Britain between April and September 1968.
5. A sample of male homeless ex-prisoners interviewed by the Liverpool Probation Service during 1969. (Sample collected in association with Mr W McWilliams.)

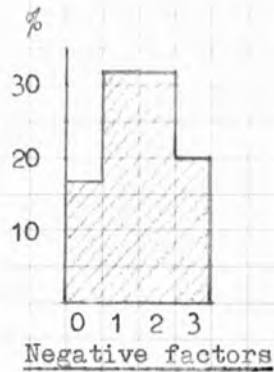
Sample number:	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Environmental Assessment</u> %	%	%	%	%	%
IA α	17	23	46	11	-
IA β	11	12	14	5	-
IB α	7	8	13	32	-
IB β	6	12	14	20	7
IIA α	14	13	3	4	1
IIA β	16	9	3	3	7
IIB α	10	8	1	10	5
IIB β	20	14	7	14	80
Total	101	99	101	99	100
N	498	537	118	671	76

The accompanying histograms (which use the data in the form of "negative factors") show some of the differences more clearly. The two probation samples differ only slightly from each other, but the environmental circumstances of the older group are marginally worse, with considerably fewer receiving high support in the home. The sample of juvenile first offenders collected by Power and Ash is much more skewed with nearly half the group in IA α .

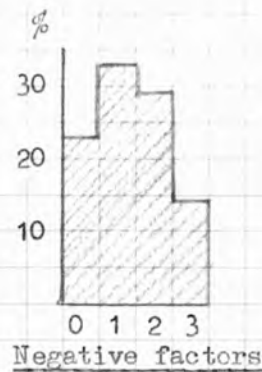
Among the parolees, lack of a job (on the day after their release from prison) accounted for one negative factor among 76% of the sample, but otherwise they were less troubled by environmental problems than the sample of adult probationers: 68% had high support at home and only 42% were said to have crime contamination. By contrast the homeless ex-prisoners being dealt with in the Liverpool After-Care Unit were almost uniformly in difficulties. 80% of them were assessed IIB β and 19% had two negative factors.

The distribution of cases in five samples by the number of negative factors present in the environment.

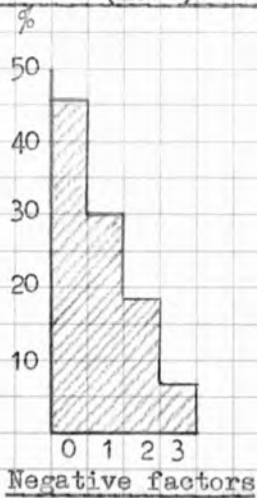
Sample 1: male probationers aged 17-20.



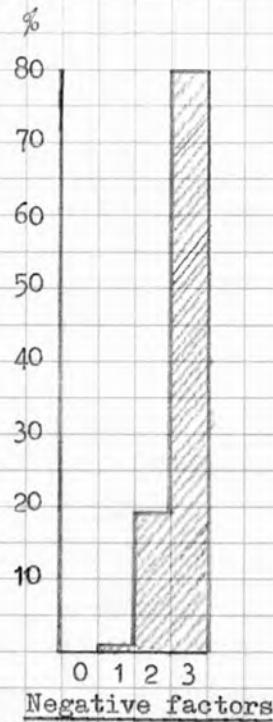
Sample 2: male probationers aged 10-16



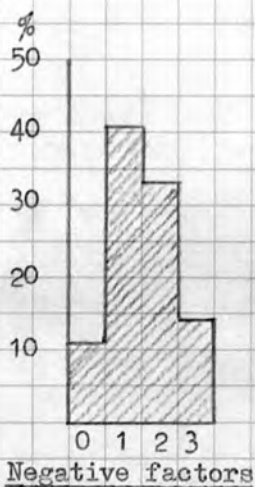
Sample 3: juvenile first offenders (male).

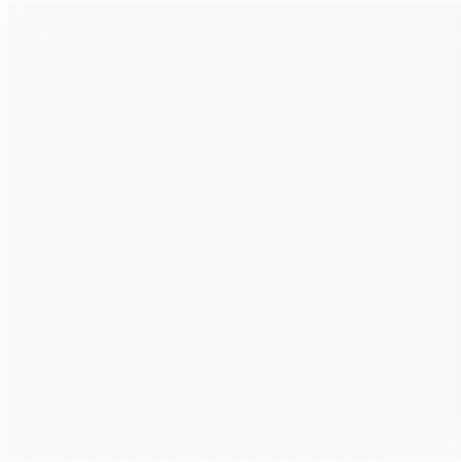


Sample 5: homeless ex-prisoners (male).



Sample 4: male parolees.





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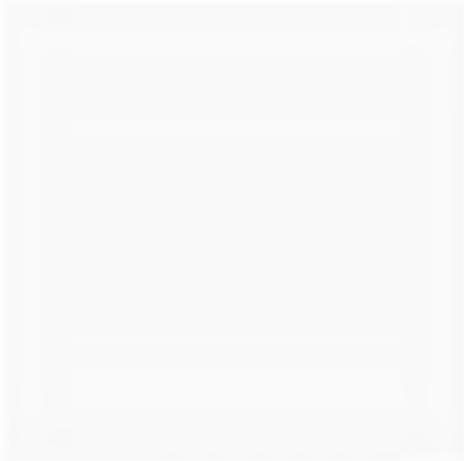
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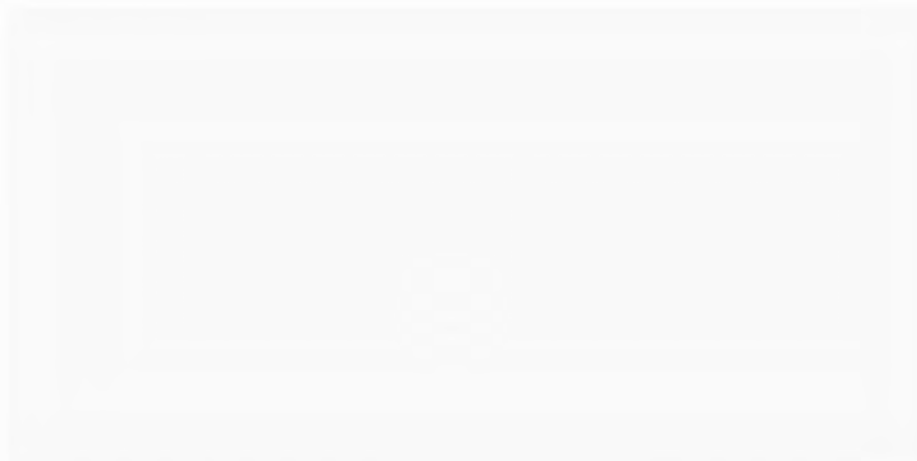
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The Relationship between Change of Supervising Officer and the Commission of a Further Offence by Probationers*

MARTIN DAVIES and BRENDA CHAPMAN

THE FIRST REPORT of the probation research project contained an account of a pilot study in the Middlesex probation area (Folkard, 1966).¹ In that report the following finding is reported: out of 213 probationers who experienced a change of supervising officer 33 (or 15%) were reconvicted in the course of the order, while of 389 who did not experience a change of officer 107 (or 27.5%) were reconvicted. ($X^2 = 11.12$ $p < .001$). Superficially this seemed to suggest that, contrary to expectations, a change of caseworker was associated with a lower reconviction rate.

In commenting on this finding the researchers said that it was possible that it might "conflict with the views of many officers. If this finding is subsequently confirmed, it may be that probationers who have to make some kind of adjustment to more than one 'authority-figure' find it easier to come to terms with other forms of authority in the community. On the other hand, the failures have not completed their full period of probation, so compared with the successes, they have not experienced the same length of time in which changes of officer could take place".

Despite the proviso contained in the last sentence (which, to the Research Unit, appeared to be the most likely explanation of this rather unexpected phenomenon) frequent reference has been made to this finding by probation officers. Moreover, even allowing for the fact that it

might turn out to be spurious, sufficient interest remains in the possible effects that a change of supervising officer may have on probationers for the subject to be worth pursuing. It is, for example, still commonly claimed by probation officers that a change of officer has a potentially disruptive effect on the stability of at least some probationers in the average caseload. Accordingly, using data available on a sample of male probationers aged 17-20 inclusive, gathered in eight probation areas during 1964/65, an attempt has been made to resolve the problem and to test the apparent effect of a change of officer on reconviction rates.[†]

The main problem to be overcome was the same as that referred to in the Research Unit's report on the Middlesex study: in any simple analysis of reconviction rates, those who do not reappear in the courts will have had more changes of officer because they have been "at risk" to such changes for a longer period; conversely those who are reconvicted will have been under supervision for shorter periods than those who complete their order successfully and so will be more likely to have had only one officer.

From the sample of 507 probationers, two items of information were extracted from the records:

- (a) the month in which the probationer was first reconvicted during the twelve-month period after his order was made, and

*The authors wish to acknowledge the statistical advice given to them by their colleagues Ian Sinclair and Lawrence Davidoff. They are also grateful to their former colleague David Snaith who made a major contribution to the work of analysis.

†The Middlesex sample included men and women of all ages, so the present study is only partially comparable with the earlier one.

(b) the months in which any changes of supervising officer occurred during the same period of twelve months. (For the purpose of this study changes of officer which were brought about because the probationer moved his place of residence were not included; it is possible that such probationers have characteristics in common, and so might bias the results.)

Many probationers, of course, were neither reconvicted nor experienced a change of officer.

The information was inserted on to cards for a hand-sort; the data were examined and offences which were committed before probationers experienced a change of officer were ignored. This left us with the following number of probationers in each category.

- 1. Change of officer, followed by reconviction within 12 months of the start of the order 26
- 2. Change of officer, not followed by reconviction within 12 months of the start of the order 85
- 3. No change of officer, but probationer reconvicted within 12 months of the start of the order 154
- 4. No change of officer, and probationer not reconvicted within 12 months of the start of the order ... 209

The first two categories combined together were sorted out into 12 "change of officer" groups according to the month in which the change of officer occurred.

In order to compare reconviction rates, all the probationers in categories 3 and 4 (i.e., those who had not experienced a change of officer) became eligible for inclusion in 12 control groups. Each control group was given a different baseline date which corresponded to the month of officer change in the paired "change of officer" group. Probationers were then randomly allocated to 12 control groups so that each was twice the size of its "change of officer" group. In order to standardise the period at risk, probationers who had committed further offences before the baseline date of their particular control group were excluded, but these were replaced with eligible cases by the random sampling procedure.

The analysis is thus based on 12 pairs of probationer-groups, each with a baseline date determined by the month in which a change of officer occurred in the "change of officer" group. By standardising the period at risk, it becomes possible to compare the reconviction rates of probationers who had a change of officer and those who did not in such a way that the answers are valid.

Three alternative conclusions from the analysis were possible:

- (a) if a change of officer had neither a damaging effect nor a beneficial effect on the client, there would be no significant difference in the failure rates between the paired groups;
- (b) if a change of officer exercised a damaging effect on the casework relationship to such an extent that the probationer was more likely to commit further offences, there would be consistently higher failure rates in the "change of officer" groups than in the control groups;
- (c) if the original Middlesex finding was not spurious, and a change of officer really did improve the chance of success on probation, the "change of officer" groups would have consistently lower failure rates than the control groups.

Table I shows the failure rates in each of the paired groups.

TABLE I
Failure Rates for "Change of Officer" and Control Groups

Month of Officer Change (from date of order)	"Change of Officer" Groups		Control Groups	
	*Failure Rate	Total	*Failure Rate	Total
1	.00	11	.27	22
2	.46	13	.31	26
3	.29	17	.35	34
4	.31	16	.34	32
5	.00	3	.17	6
6	.10	10	.25	20
7	.17	12	.17	24
8	.18	11	.09	22
9	.00	6	.25	12
10	.13	8	.00	16
11	.00	9	.11	18
12	.00	1	.00	2

*Failure Rate shown is the failure rate during the period from the "month of officer change" baseline to the end of the first year of the order.

Cochran's Test, which is a method of combining results from several 2 x 2 tables,[†] was applied to the 2 x 2 tables associated with the data in Table I.

The test gave a critical ratio of 0.95 ($p = 0.34$, not significant), showing that there is no significant difference between the failure rates of the "change of officer" groups and the control groups. This finding supports the null hypothesis (a).

Even though a change of officer might not influence the failure rate overall, it is possible that it could render those most at risk liable to fail earlier than they otherwise would have done; i.e., in cases where a reconviction would occur in any case at some point in time, a change of officer might be a precipitating factor in the commission of a further offence. Therefore a second analysis was carried out in which those probationers who were reconvicted in the "change of officer" groups were compared with those probationers who were reconvicted in the control groups and the distance in months between the change baseline and reconviction was compared for the two groups.[‡]

TABLE II

Frequency Distribution of Time to Reconviction for "Change of Officer" and Control Groups

<i>Time to reconviction from "month of Officer change" baseline months</i>	<i>"Change of Officer" Groups Number reconvicted</i>	<i>Control Groups Number reconvicted</i>
0	3	9
1	3	11
2	1	5
3	3	7
4	4	4
5	2	6
6	2	4
7	1	4
8	1	1
9	2	1
Total reconvicted	22	52
Mean time to reconviction	3.86 months	3.02 months

The median test was applied to the data in

Table II, and this gave a non-significant result ($X^2 = 1.67$). The data thus support the evidence of Table I and the null hypothesis; a change of supervising officer neither increases the likelihood of reconviction nor precipitates it where it is likely to occur in any event.

Discussion

In failing to confirm hypothesis (c) this study shows that the apparent relationship between officer change and failure rate, as reported in the Middlesex study, disappears when the period at risk is held steady. Of more importance to casework however, is the failure to confirm hypothesis (b). Caseworkers may still say that the casework relationship is disturbed by the change of officer, but so far as this sample of young male probationers is concerned, this disturbance (if it existed) did not bring about any breakdown of the probation order.

This finding is contrary to one of the basic ideas of casework and many may say that, in spite of it, they "know" that a change of supervising officer has a damaging effect. One reason for this may be that the caseworker, taking on a new caseload, may tend to project his own feelings of uncertainty and insecurity on to the client. This, in turn, may lead to a tendency on the part of the worker to link any breakdown which occurs in his caseload to the administrative changes which are uppermost in his mind. Secondly, even though in general a change of officer may not produce or precipitate a further offence, there may be rare and isolated instances when it does so. These may be the exceptions but officers could be acutely aware of them, exaggerate their frequency, and assume them to reflect a general pattern. The findings in this paper, however, show that such reconvictions as occur would probably have occurred whether or not a change of officer had taken place. Thirdly, because of the traditional emphasis on the importance of the casework relationship in

[†]For a full explanation of Cochran's Test see Maxwell, 1961, p. 77.²

[‡]It should be emphasised that, because of the arbitrary cut-off point imposed after one year from the date of the order, probationers in the 12 pairs of groups were "at risk" for reconviction for decreasing periods of time; thus the mean figures contained in Table 2 have no significance beyond their present context; the technique, however, is adequate for comparative purposes because the "change of officer" and control groups were similarly dealt with.

probation, caseworkers might have something of a vested interest in believing that a disruption of that relationship could have harmful effects on the client or on his behaviour.

Even though the results of this study refer only to a restricted part of the probation officer's caseload (and it cannot be assumed that the same conclusions would apply to other age groups or to women), they nevertheless raise questions

about the emphasis given by social workers to the relationship with the client. For if a break in that relationship does not precipitate any further misbehaviour, it may mean either that each new officer is supremely skilful at guiding the probationer through a difficult period, or that the relationship itself does not have such significance for the client that it affects his criminal behaviour.

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2. Maxwell, A. E. (1961), *Analysing Qualitative Data*. Methuen, London.

THIS MONTH'S CONTRIBUTORS

MARTIN DAVIES, a Berkshire probation officer, is working in the Home Office Research Unit. His report on "Probationers in their Social Environment" has recently been published and he is currently studying the extent to which probation officers become involved in their clients' environment.

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The contributors to the article "Medicine and Social Work" are described at the end of their article.

OFFENCE BEHAVIOUR AND THE
CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENDERS

By
MARTIN DAVIES

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OFFENCE BEHAVIOUR AND THE CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENDERS

MARTIN DAVIES (*London*) *

Using a 1964-65 sample of male probationers aged 17-20, this paper examines the broad outlines of their offence behaviour in relation to a variety of other factors (mainly concerned with the social environment); it looks at a number of other attempts to classify offences, and discusses the relevance of this approach in the study of probation treatment.

THE search for valid and reliable research instruments has occupied a good deal of the probation project's attention since its inception. The national study, in particular, has been concerned with the task of identifying types of offender and types of treatment, and a number of supporting projects have sought to clarify the issues involved (Folkard, 1966). In the study concerned with the social environment of probationers, an initial examination was made of the data to see whether offence behaviour could be regarded as a major factor in the development of a probation-typology.

A number of criminologists have given their attention to the type of illegal act committed and have examined it in relation to the offender's social and personal characteristics. Grant (1961, pp. 5-14) has, for example, specified offence-type as one of five approaches to a typology, while Roebuck and Johnson (1962) have argued that "a typology based on arrest patterns is a feasible and fruitful approach to the study of crime." Other studies have concentrated on the characteristics of specific offender-types—shop-lifters, murderers or white collar criminals (*e.g.*, Gibbons and Prince, 1962; Ordway, 1962; West, 1965 and Sutherland, 1949), but it is the work of Gibbons (1965) which has most clearly focused attention on the possibility that the type of criminal activity is itself a reflection of problems presented and a key to treatment needs. Gibbons has admitted that "much of the existing research is not directly related" to his typology of delinquency, and he is careful not to cite investigations in great number as this "would imply a greater degree of empirical support for the types than is warranted." Nevertheless, he argues, his offender-types are "portraits rather than

* Probation Officer, Berkshire, on secondment to the Home Office Research Unit, London.

caricatures of real-life persons," although "they may be slightly distorted due to the paucity of research findings about them."

With Gibbons' claim in mind, an attempt was made to relate the offence behaviour of probationers to the social and personal data obtained.¹

A sample of 507 male probationers, aged 17-20, was collected in eight probation areas² between October 1, 1964 and July 15, 1965. Every new probationer was included until each officer had a maximum of four research cases. Seven probationers were excluded because no information was available on them.

Of the 507 probationers, most had been convicted for offences of dishonesty: 198 for larceny or receiving, 167 for breaking and entering. A further 57 were placed on probation for taking and driving away. There were 19 sex offenders and 36 who had committed acts of violence. Thirty men were on probation for committing miscellaneous offences such as drunkenness, obstruction, aiding an escape from borstal, etc.

Offences of Dishonesty

Previous writers have had little success in discriminating clearly between the personal characteristics of larceny offenders and those convicted of breaking and entering. In some studies the two groups have been bunched together (*e.g.*, McCord, 1959), while others have cut across the legal classification and have sought new definitions of criminal behaviour in terms of the type of property stolen, the relationship of the offender to the property taken, and whether he was alone or with others when he committed the offence. Rich (1956) has divided offences of dishonesty into those which were marauding, proving, comforting, secondary, and other; he argued that "whether or not a boy steals may be determined by training, opportunity and so on; but if he does steal, then the way in which he steals will reflect his unconscious drives." Having allocated offenders into each group, it was somewhat disappointing for Rich to discover only a limited number of links between the offender-types and other variables, although one interesting relationship was that found between maternal rejection and the comforting type of offence, especially stealing from home.

¹ A total of 198 variables were studied, including basic personal data, offence details and outcome, physical and mental health, criminal culture, material living standards, employment, relationships at home, at work and with contemporaries, financial circumstances and leisure-time activities.

² Beacontree, Bradford, Essex, Leicester City, Leicestershire and Rutland, Portsmouth, Southampton, and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

OFFENCE BEHAVIOUR AND THE CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENDERS

For two reasons it was decided in the present study to restrict the initial analysis to the broad offence categories of (a) larceny and (b) breaking and entering: first, the records available presented only the charge as stated in court; and secondly, there is conflict between criminologists as to the type of additional data relevant to an offence behaviour typology. It was decided that only if the initial analysis were sufficiently encouraging would a more extensive breakdown of offence-types be attempted.

The value of property stolen was greater when the offence was breaking and entering than when it was simple larceny: 57.5 per cent. of the breakers and enterers stole goods worth £10 or more compared with only 45.5 per cent. of the larceny offenders. Very few of the men who had committed breaking offences had done so on their own (18.6 per cent.) whereas 46.5 per cent. of the larceny offenders had been by themselves.

When comparisons between the two groups were made in respect of the personal and social data collected, remarkably few factors discriminated between them.³ For example, although rather more larceny offenders appeared to be troubled by problems of neurosis (21.1 per cent. compared with 11.3 per cent. breakers and enterers), in general there were no major personality differences reported between the two large groups of offenders against property.

In the home situation, only one factor distinguished the one group from the other; maternal over-protection was linked with breaking and entering. 47.4 per cent. of the breakers and enterers were over-protected by their mothers alone, compared with 28.7 per cent. of the larceny offenders. Table 1 shows that the proportion is to a small degree balanced by the numbers over-protected by the father; but the general conclusion stands.

TABLE I
The incidence of over-protection in the home

	Breaking and entering		Larceny	
		%		%
Over-protection by mother alone	54	47.4	39	28.7
Over-protection by father alone	4	3.5	10	7.4
Over-protection by both parents	2	1.8	6	4.4
No over-protection by either parent	54	47.4	81	59.6
	114	100.1	136	100.1

No information was available in 6 cases, and the question was not applicable in 109.
 $\chi^2 = 10.54$, $df = 3$, $p. < .02$, $n = 365$.

³ All findings referred to in this paper were significant at at least the 5 per cent. level.

Although there was a slight tendency for those larceny offenders who were in work at the start of their probation order to be more satisfied with their job (69.1 per cent.) than the breakers and enterers (55.2 per cent.), in all other respects work record and work attitudes were similar in the two groups; there was no difference, for example, in the number unemployed.

Taking and driving away

Even allowing for the fact that the larceny and breaking and entering groups comprised many different kinds of offender, it seems surprising that so few differences emerged from an analysis involving almost 200 separate variables. Even more surprising were the results obtained from a comparative study of those guilty of taking and driving away motor vehicles without their owners' consent (TDA); for, although TDA can involve different types of vehicles, there is clearly less scope for variation than in the large amorphous larceny and breaking and entering categories. If offence behaviour reflected offender-types, then, it was hypothesised, TDA would present more homogeneous factors than either of the two big groups of dishonesty.

Moreover the offence (also known as joy-riding) has attracted a great deal of attention from criminologists—partly because it is such a clearly identifiable delinquent act, and partly because its incidence has steadily increased in recent years. Gibbons (1965) is quite specific in his description of joy-riders: they live in middle-income areas; their parents are usually white-collar or other types of middle-class workers. In the family there is relatively close supervision and consistent discipline by the parents; "however joy-riders frequently indicate a lack of intense interaction with their fathers." They exhibit relatively adequate peer-group adjustments but "to some extent the joy-rider appears to be a marginal member of conventional juvenile peer-groups."

In Britain, Gibbons (1958) has said that TDA offenders show "interesting differences both in personality and in social background" compared with other borstal boys; he could not find any confirmation of the alleged middle-class affiliation in his British sample, but they did tend to have "intact and affectionate homes"; moreover Gibbons found that the TDA offender had more neurotic symptoms than the others. The actual offence has "a symbolic significance, and is unconsciously motivated from several sources, especially sexual ones. . . . In the simplest cases, the joy-riding is of the common 'proving' type,

in which an over-protected lad from a 'good' home commits an offence to prove his masculinity. The close relationship with the mother induces a sense of guilt when sexual feelings emerge in adolescence" (p. 262). Guttmacher (1951), too, has spoken of the sex-substitute quality of youthful joy-riding, and Rich (1956, p. 496) talks of it as one of the proving offences.

Wattenberg (1952) sees joy-riders as members of gangs, less often lone wolves than other offenders, and, echoing this, Gibbens concludes: "the differences do not suggest the solitary middle-class boy, but rather the subcultural delinquent from a delinquent area."

In contrast with these enthusiastic descriptions of the social and personality traits of takers and drivers away, we have to report that, in this sample of probationers, little was found to distinguish the joy-riders from the rest. There was no evidence of any difference in the social class of either the probationers or their fathers; in the home, neither affection nor discipline were any different from those found in the homes of other offenders, nor was there any sign of greater over-protection among the TDAs; personality assessments were not significantly different from those in other groups. The only suggestion that received confirmation was Wattenberg's: there was a greater tendency for joy-riders to be members of a delinquent gang: 65.4 per cent. of the TDA offenders were said by their probation officers to be in a gang, compared with 45.7 per cent. of the remainder (Table 2).

TABLE 2

Probationer's membership of a delinquent gang

	<i>TDA offenders</i>		<i>All others</i>	
		%		%
Probationer said to be in a delinquent gang	34	65.4	198	45.7
Probationer said to be not in a delinquent gang	18	34.6	235	54.3
	52	100.0	433	100.0

No information was available in 22 cases.

$$\chi^2 = 6.42, df = 1, p. < .02, n = 507.$$

The evidence suggests that, so far as 17-20-year-old male probationers are concerned, TDA offenders cover the same range of personal and social characteristics as do the remainder. If joy-riding is seen, as many writers have seen it, as a specific offence-type, then the conclusion from this analysis must be that the behaviour involved in the commission of the offence has little bearing on probable casework needs.

Crimes of violence

Of the probationers in this group, four had committed acts of malicious damage and the remaining thirty-two were on probation for various types of actual or threatened assault. The cases range from one boy's knife attack on his father to a small number involving behaviour "likely to cause a breach of the peace."

Nineteen of the violent offenders (52.8 per cent.) had been on their own when they had broken the law—a rather higher proportion than was found in respect of other offences (36.1 per cent.). However, no personality factors, as assessed by probation officers, distinguished them from the non-violent offenders. Woddis (1964, p. 445) has found signs of morbid depression often present in those before the court for crimes of violence, and Merrill (1947, p. 174) reported a relationship between violent offences and low intelligence. In our sample neither emotional disturbance, immaturity nor mental retardation were more or less prevalent among the violent probationers.⁴

Virtually no indication was found of any distinctive pattern in the home circumstances reported in respect of the violent offenders, although if they were with their parents, there was a slight tendency for them to be less attached than other probationers to their fathers.

Dealing with older men, McClintock (1963, p. 136) found that "the proportion of violent offenders who were divorced or separated is much higher than that found among the general population"; although numbers in our sample are far too small to reach any firm conclusion, it is worthy of note that two of the three divorcees in the present study were on probation for acts of violence. However, there is no parallel in our data for McClintock's finding that almost half of his single offenders were living "away from home, mainly in furnished rooms, hostels, or common lodging houses." Among these young male probationers, over 80 per cent. of violent offenders lived with their parents, parent-substitutes or wives.

Recent studies in biology and sociology (Russell, 1966 and Barnett, 1964) have compared incidents of violence with the presence of overcrowding, and Lorenz (1966) in particular has pointed to the lessons to be learnt from observations of aggression in societies of higher animals, especially monkeys and apes. Violent crime in London in

⁴ In general, other studies of violent offenders have referred only to those committing acts of violence against the person. Nevertheless the small number of *malicious damage* probationers in the present sample is not enough to make comparisons with other studies inappropriate.

1950-60 was most prevalent in areas of high population density (McClintock, 1963, pp. 197-206) and it was hypothesised in the present study that violent offenders would be more likely to live in crowded conditions. Although no differences were found in the cleanliness of the home, the quality of furnishings or the overall material standard, it was confirmed that in respect of overcrowding, violent offenders were significantly worse off than the remainder; 65.6 per cent. of those probationers who had committed violent offences were living in homes where there were one or more persons per room, compared with 47.2 per cent. in other offence-groups (Table 3).

TABLE 3

The presence of overcrowding in the probationer's home

	<i>Violent offenders</i>		<i>All others</i>	
		%		%
Overcrowded: one or more persons per room	21	65.6	201	47.2
Not overcrowded: less than one person per room	11	34.4	225	52.8
	32	100.0	426	100.0

No information was available in 16 cases, and the question was not applicable (*i.e.*, the probationer was of no fixed abode, was in the army, etc.) in 33 cases.

$$\chi^2 = 4.05, df = 1, p. < .05, n = 507.$$

Sex offences

Many studies have been directed at the characteristics of the sex offender (*e.g.*, especially Gebhard, 1966), and there is evidence to show that although he is only in a tiny minority among criminals, he is nevertheless quite distinctive. The information we received about the nineteen sex offenders (3.7 per cent. of the sample) tends to confirm this: they formed easily the most clearly defined group.

Probation officers found them to be more troubled with mental retardation, immaturity and emotional disturbance than the ordinary probationer (*cf.* Woodward, 1955, pp. 298-299). Personality problems were more intense but, to balance this, environmental difficulties were very much rarer. Most of the sex offenders were free from the delinquent influence of friends or neighbourhood; they had better work records and tended to have held more satisfying jobs than other probationers; financial problems were rare and more sex-offenders were highly paid compared with the other men. In the home overcrowding was less prevalent although no other differences were found in material standards. Family relationships were much less troublesome for sex offenders, and family cohesiveness was marked, as Table 4 demonstrates.

TABLE 4

The degree of family cohesiveness in the home

	Sex offences		Others	
		%		%
Family cohesiveness marked	12	75.0	88	26.6
Family cohesiveness: "some" or "none"	4	25.0	243	73.4
	16	100.0	331	100.0

No information was available in 12 cases, and the question was not applicable in 148.

$$\chi^2 = 17.44, df = 1, p. < .001, n = 507.$$

The sex offender is shown to be almost always an integral member of a home environment that might make demands on him, but that in turn could be expected to give an ample amount of warmth and support. The sex offender was more likely to feel attached to his father than was generally the case, and to receive a measure of *firm but kindly* control from his mother; caution must be exercised in any interpretation of these figures beyond saying that they may simply reflect the obviously happier home life that sex offenders generally enjoyed. No evidence was found to confirm the idea that sex offenders might be more likely to receive over-protective affection from either or both parents.

In relation to his contemporaries, the sex offender was very much a lone wolf; he had few friends of either sex, although those who did have companions were more likely to find them among non-delinquents than was generally the case. Not surprisingly perhaps, sex offenders were much less likely to have any relationship, even a casual one, with a girl-friend.

The Miscellaneous Offences

Thirty of the sample of 507 fell outside the main offence categories. As in any study of this nature, the residual group presents problems of interpretation simply because it brings together a wide variety of offenders whose criminal behaviour appears to have little in common. Nevertheless the group cannot be ignored, and it is interesting to note that, save in one or two respects, the miscellaneous offenders differ little from the rest of the sample.

There were some indications that the residual group of offenders had less stable work records than the other probationers, although they were accustomed to earning higher wages when at work. No personality differences were high-lighted, although it appeared that more spent their leisure-time alone. The two main differences were

that a significantly larger number (though still amounting to only 20.0 per cent.) were said to be of no fixed abode at the time the probation order was made, and that rather more were said to face problems of physical ill-health. In all other respects, the miscellaneous offenders were identical with the sample as a whole.

Reconviction

A check was made on those probationers who were found guilty of a further offence or a breach of probation (under section 6 of the Criminal Justice Act 1948) within twelve months of being placed under the supervision of a probation officer. The details are provided in Table 5, from which it can be seen that the differences between the failure-rates for each offence category were not statistically significant.

TABLE 5

Offenders reconvicted within twelve months of being placed on probation

<i>Offence group</i>	<i>number of probationers</i>	<i>number reconvicted</i>	<i>reconviction rate</i>
larceny	198	73	.37
breaking and entering	167	59	.35
taking and driving away	57	24	.42
violent offences	36	14	.39
sex offences	19	3	.16
miscellaneous offences	30	16	.53
all offences	507	189	.37

The differences in reconviction rates were not statistically significant.

Discussion

The initial purpose of this analysis was to examine offence behaviour with a view to incorporating it into any method of classification that might be developed for the use of the probation project in the Home Office. The conclusion must be that, so far as a probation population is concerned, there is little indication that offence categories are of value for the research worker seeking methods of classifying offenders with a view to studying treatment.

Three possible comments on the foregoing analysis must, however, be discussed before confirming this conclusion. First, it may well be argued that the categories are too broad, too all-embracing to enable a fair judgment to be reached. To some extent this view is well-founded; indeed the work of Rich (1956) and Gibbons (1965) has been

specifically directed at the task of breaking down the large dishonesty categories with a view to forming more homogeneous and meaningful groups. If such an aim could be achieved successfully, and if the achievement could be supported by empirical evidence, the use of offence behaviour for the development of a system of classification of offenders would be more than justified. However, if the criticism were entirely valid, the author would have expected the TDA offenders (and probably the violent offenders as well) to reveal far more exceptional characteristics than was the case. Indeed the failure to establish taking and driving away as an activity practised by a clearly identifiable group of probationers is the most unexpected and perhaps the most important finding of the analysis. With the sole exception of the sex offenders—an exception already widely recognised—it is remarkably difficult to distinguish between the personal and social characteristics presented within the different offence groups.

The second comment would refer to the fact that the sample deals only with probationers. It is possible, so it might be argued, that greater discrimination between offence-groups could be achieved by including a wider range of criminals: prisoners, borstal boys, youths in a detention centre. This might well be true but the particular focus of the research project of which this study is a part is *the probationer*, and the search for valid methods of classification has to be undertaken within this framework.

A further comment, from a rather different angle, might suggest that, despite the enthusiasm of such writers as Gibbons, the emphasis on offence behaviour as an important factor in diagnosis is generally misguided. Thus:

“ It is somehow hard to believe that the kind of offence a criminal usually commits can be so indicative of his make-up and of the socio-cultural environment . . . ” (Glueck, 1965, p. 394).

“ . . . almost any clinical type of mental disorder may be associated with any type of crime ” (Woddis, 1964, p. 445).

And Barbara Wootton comments on a number of studies of different offences: “ each of these inquiries . . . illustrates the multiplicity of circumstances which give rise to outwardly similar forms of behaviour ” (1963, pp. 20–21).

The present study tends to confirm the validity of these views, but there is evidence to suggest that some probation officers nevertheless lay heavy emphasis on offence behaviour when making their initial assessments. In a study of Middlesex probation officers (Folkard, 1966,

p. 48) wide disagreement was revealed in the extent to which the offence was taken into account when making a diagnosis: 60.7 per cent. of the officers rated offence behaviour *high* when asked to say what importance they attached to it as an assessment factor, while 39.3 per cent. rated it *low*. When asked to rate seriousness of the offence in the same way, the proportion rating it *high* dropped to 38.1 per cent. Rather different results have been obtained in the San Francisco study (Lohman, 1966) from an application of the *decision game* method suggested by Wilkins (1964, Appendix IV). There it was found that probation officers were able to make recommendations for the disposal of offenders before the court with a mean number of 4.7 pieces of information. The only item that was selected in every single instance was that detailing *current offence*; the only other items selected before a recommendation was made in more than half the cases were *prior criminal record* and *psychological data*.

These two studies suggest that the probation officer may be placing more importance on offence behaviour than would appear to be justified from the evidence available. The present study has produced nothing which could support the emphasis placed on the current offence by the Federal officers in San Francisco⁵ or by a majority of the officers in Middlesex. Further examination of the data will be made in the course of an analysis of treatment currently being undertaken; but for the purpose of developing methods of classification, the probation research project has concentrated, not on offence behaviour, but on the personal characteristics of the probationer (partly as assessed by the probation officer, and partly derived from the Jesness Inventory (Davies, 1967)) and on the quality of the social environment in which he lives. It appears likely that such an approach will be more fruitful than the attempt to discover a typology based on the behaviour of the offender in one criminal incident.

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⁵ In so far as the San Francisco officers were chiefly concerned with sentencing decisions their concern with the offence is understandable; the implication may be that their recommendations were more determined by traditional court policy (making the punishment fit the crime) than with treatment needs.

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HOME OFFICE

STUDIES IN THE CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY
AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

12

The use of the
Jesness Inventory
on a sample of
British
probationers

LONDON

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HOME OFFICE
STUDIES IN THE CAUSES OF DELINQUENCY
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The use of the
Jesness Inventory
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British
probationers

By
Martin Davies

LONDON
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
1967

FOREWORD

An important aspect of research on the treatment of offenders consists of efforts to describe and classify them in ways relevant to their reactions to treatment. One method of describing and measuring the personalities of delinquents is the Jesness Inventory, developed by Dr Carl F. Jesness when working with the Department of the Youth Authority in California.

It was desirable to investigate whether the Inventory was applicable to British probationers. This report sets out the results of administering it to a sample of nearly 500 young men on probation, and makes comparisons with the findings obtained from other samples of delinquents. The report is of primarily technical interest, but provides a basis for future papers which will give an account of the use of the Jesness Inventory for studying personality problems in relation to social environment and to the nature and outcome of probation treatment.

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July 1967

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Introduction

The probation group in the Home Office Research Unit are investigating the problems presented by male probationers, aged 17-20 inclusive, and the treatment they receive from their probation officers. One part of the project has been aimed at isolating the stresses in the offenders' social environment, and it was felt to be necessary to obtain personality assessments which could be related to the environmental factors.

It was decided to make use of the Jesness Inventory (1) which claimed to measure, in its Asocial Index, 'a generalised tendency to behave in ways which transgress established rules', and also to provide scales reflecting ten other personality characteristics. The particular attraction of the Inventory, compared with similar instruments, was that it had been 'designed for use in the treatment, classification and prediction of delinquency', the three areas of study forming the core of the probation research group's work. It was recognised that such a tool, if found to be of value on a British population, might be of use both in delinquency research and potentially, perhaps, in the field of probation practice.*

The present paper sets down the results obtained from the Inventory as applied to a sample of British probationers, and relates them to Jesness's results on Californian samples of delinquents and non-delinquents; comparisons are also made with a set of results obtained by Fisher (2) using a sample of Borstal boys in Britain.

* The Inventory, devised by Dr Carl F. Jesness, was developed as part of a five year study of delinquency sponsored by the Rosenberg Foundation through a grant to the California Youth Authority. It consists of 155 true-false items, designed to measure the reactions of young people to a wide range of content. It is intended not only to be able to distinguish delinquents from non-delinquents, but also to be able to describe the ways in which one delinquent differs from another.

A standard Anglicized version of the Inventory was used; R. M. Fisher and Joy Mott made a number of minor modifications to the original schedule in order to make some of the statements more meaningful to English subjects, and these changes were approved by Dr Jesness.

The Sample

The population to be studied was collected over a period of 9½ months beginning on the 1st October 1964. From that date, all officers in eight probation areas* completed research schedules on all male probationers, aged 17-20 inclusive, placed under their supervision.† The sample eventually totalled 507.

The research worker visited almost all the officers concerned, thus making it possible to discuss fully the purpose of the Inventory, and to consider the difficulties that might arise in its administration. Hitherto the instrument appeared to have been used only in a residential or school setting, and some apprehension was felt about its use in the probation setting.

Probationers were to be asked to complete the Inventory as soon after the order began as was practicable; it was however agreed that officers should be allowed to use their discretion in deciding when exactly to apply the Inventory. In almost all cases less than two months had elapsed after the order was made before it was completed and returned to the research worker.

The major problem, which was by no means entirely overcome, stemmed from the fact that probationers, by definition, are not a captive population and the Inventory had to be administered individually. Officers went to great lengths to obtain the co-operation of the young men concerned, and generally had to make special appointments to provide sufficient time for the Inventory to be completed properly. Several men were illiterate, and in such cases the only way to get the Inventory completed was for the officer to read aloud each statement. Others could only be seen in their own home or in a hostel, and often the officer had to make lengthy visits in order to administer the Inventory. In the majority of cases, officers invited the probationers to the office, provided them with a quiet corner and left them to get on with it.

In the circumstances, it seems satisfactory to have received 454 fully completed Inventories from a possible 507 cases, a total of 89·5%. 53 probationers could not be assessed on the Inventory; the details are as follows:

20 committed further offences so soon after being placed on probation that they had been re-arrested before the Inventory could be administered.

5 were not in contact with their officer after their court appearance, and could not be traced.

* Those of Bradford, Beacontree, Essex, the City of Leicester, Leicestershire and Rutland, Portsmouth, Southampton and the West Riding of Yorkshire. A pilot study in the use of the Jesness Inventory in the probation setting was undertaken in Coventry.

† In order not to put too great a burden on any one officer, four cases were recommended as a maximum—these four to be the first that came under the officer's supervision on and after the 1st October 1964.

2 were said by their officers to be 'difficult cases', and they were not willing to submit them to the ordeal of the Inventory.

7 probationers refused to co-operate.

1 was away in a psychiatric hospital, and was unable to co-operate.

1 was killed in a motor accident before the Inventory could be completed.

4 moved out of the district.

2 cases were overlooked by their officers until after the analysis began; they were thus excluded.

11 probationers did in fact complete Inventories, but failed to follow the instructions (either by circling both 'true' and 'false', or by omitting items) and their sheets had to be discarded.

Inevitably this 10.5% wastage rate must be taken into account when any conclusions are drawn from the findings of this study. Table 1, however, suggests that those who failed to complete the Inventory may be less different from the rest—in their degree of criminality, at any rate—than might at first have been thought likely.

TABLE 1

Number of previous convictions: comparison between those who completed the Inventory and those who did not.

Number of previous convictions	Inventory completed		Inventory not completed		Total	
		%		%		%
0	173	38.1	18	34.0	191	37.7
1	121	26.7	13	24.5	134	26.4
2	66	14.5	8	15.1	74	14.6
3	46	10.1	3	5.7	49	9.7
4-plus	48	10.6	11	20.8	59	11.6
Total	454	100.0	53	100.1	507	100.0

$\chi^2=5.518$; d.f.=4; Not significant.

The administration of the Inventory

In spite of some initial apprehension, the practical difficulties of administering the Inventory were fewer than had been anticipated. Apart from those probationers difficult to contact and those who were illiterate, officers reported* that the men seemed much happier to comply with the request than some had expected; indeed, in many cases, specific mention was made of the fact that, far from interfering with the treatment relationship—as some had feared it might—, the use of the Inventory had done a good deal to establish rapport more quickly than might otherwise have been possible; furthermore the topics raised by the Inventory—the man’s attitudes towards his parents or towards authority, for example, or his personal feelings of inadequacy—were brought out into the open without delay. It is impossible to say whether this had any long-lasting effect—for better or worse—on the treatment relationship, but it is important to note that, in most of the cases that were reported to us, the immediate results of applying the Jesness Inventory seemed to the probation officers concerned to be beneficial rather than damaging.

* See Appendix for extracts from officers’ comments on their probationers’ response.

The results

Table 2 shows the mean raw scores obtained by the British probationers and compares those of the 17 and 18 year olds with the parallel mean scores of Jesness's delinquent and non-delinquent populations. Jesness had no 19 or 20 year-olds in either of his samples, and no published reports have been seen reporting on the use of the Inventory for these age groups; accordingly the comments that follow are made on the basis of comparing results from 17 and 18 year olds. It will be seen from Table 2, however, that the mean scores obtained from the older probationers are very similar to those in the 18 year old group: there is certainly no evidence that the scoring pattern changes in any significant way with increasing age between eighteen and twenty.

It can be seen from Table 2 that the sample of British probationers has responded differently from the delinquent sample on which the Inventory was originally validated in California; more important still, the differences do not follow a similar pattern on each scale, but move in apparently contradictory directions. Let us examine each scale in turn.

The *Social Maladjustment* scale was based on items originally selected as differentiating between the delinquent and non-delinquent groups; it is defined 'by the extent to which the individual shares attitudes expressed by persons who show an inability to meet, in socially approved ways, the demands of living'. In the Californian study delinquents had higher scores than non-delinquents, and scores decreased with age. The scores of the British probationer were significantly lower than those given by the delinquents in Jesness's sample, although they were well above those of his non-delinquents.

This was one of two scales (the other was *Withdrawal*) in which the probation sample made a less delinquent response than Jesness's delinquents.

The *Value Orientation* scale, based on item analysis*, 'attempts to measure the extent to which an individual holds values characteristic of lower-class culture'. Jesness found his non-delinquents giving lower scores, while his mean scores decreased with age in both groups. Intended to measure cultural tendencies in an American setting, and indeed 'showing a conspicuous association with social class status', the Value Orientation scale might well have proved difficult to transplant to another culture. In Britain, however, no such difficulty appears to have arisen: the mean scores at 17 and 18 are not significantly different from Jesness's delinquent sample, while they are clearly distinguishable from his non-delinquents.

* The Value Orientation scale uses items, the responses to which were found to be significantly related to social class, when class was estimated by a rating of the fathers' occupation.

TABLE 2

Summary of results.

*Inventory Scales	Age	British probationers		Jesness delinquents		Comparison of means	Jesness non-delinquents		Comparison of means
		mean	SD	mean	SD		mean	SD	
Social Maladjustment	17	23.28	6.83	25.19	6.03	t=2.875 p<.01	18.02	5.93	t=8.046 p<.001
	18	22.76	5.78	25.43	6.32	t=3.18 p<.01	17.46	5.53	t=6.897 p<.001
	19	24.66	6.04						
	20	24.51	8.36						
Value Orientation	17	15.32	6.74	14.58	6.76	t=1.063 NS	12.23	6.74	t=4.460 p<.001
	18	14.76	6.88	14.43	6.69	t=0.352 NS	10.40	6.08	t=4.852 p<.001
	19	15.43	6.39						
	20	14.80	7.87						
Immaturity	17	15.13	4.23	12.25	4.10	t=6.714 p<.001	11.02	3.41	t=10.497 p<.001
	18	14.21	4.29	12.46	3.73	t=3.162 p<.01	10.77	3.76	t=6.163 p<.001
	19	14.13	4.48						
	20	15.56	5.40						
Autism	17	7.02	3.69	6.61	3.38	t=1.128 NS	6.10	3.38	t=2.54 p<.02
	18	7.07	3.39	7.04	3.66	t=0.06 NS	5.75	2.93	t=3.035 p<.01
	19	8.26	3.87						
	20	7.35	4.42						
Alienation	17	9.56	4.59	7.53	4.74	t=4.213 p<.001	6.51	4.05	t=6.890 p<.001
	18	9.19	4.31	7.58	4.73	t=2.567 p<.02	5.75	3.41	t=6.419 p<.001
	19	9.73	4.67						
	20	9.46	4.97						
Manifest Aggression	17	13.11	5.36	13.60	6.00	t=0.888 NS	12.92	5.22	t=0.350 NS
	18	12.74	5.58	13.72	5.70	t=1.256 NS	11.88	4.81	t=1.194 NS
	19	13.22	5.32						
	20	12.86	6.17						
Withdrawal	17	11.05	3.48	11.99	3.15	t=2.758 p<.01	10.67	2.98	t=1.148 NS
	18	10.69	3.39	12.35	3.62	t=3.418 p<.001	10.43	3.55	t=0.538 NS
	19	11.49	3.06						
	20	11.15	3.67						
Social Anxiety	17	12.89	3.86	12.96	3.89	t=0.175 NS	13.52	3.80	t=1.601 NS
	18	12.74	4.15	13.78	3.94	t=1.862 NS	13.38	3.53	t=1.202 NS
	19	12.71	3.96						
	20	13.66	3.86						
Repression	17	5.01	2.69	3.82	2.37	t=4.287 p<.001	3.18	2.21	t=7.290 p<.001
	18	4.65	2.94	4.19	2.54	t=1.216 NS	3.44	2.42	t=3.254 p<.01
	19	4.64	2.91						
	20	5.44	2.99						
Denial	17	11.72	3.67	12.83	3.35	t=3.076 p<.01	12.62	3.53	t=2.435 p<.02
	18	11.63	3.65	12.89	3.50	t=2.552 p<.02	13.95	3.36	t=4.75 p<.001
	19	11.45	3.57						
	20	11.71	3.88						

The numbers included in each sample were:

British probationers: 17 years, N=206; 18 years, N=111; 19 years, N=82; 20 years, N=55.

Jesness delinquents: 17 years, N=173; 18 years, N=99.

Jesness non-delinquents: 17 years, N=175; 18 years, N=97.

* Descriptions and definitions of each scale are provided in the text.

The *Immaturity* scale—the last of the three based on item analysis*—‘attempts to measure the extent to which the individual fails to display those responses, attitudes, points of view and perceptions which are usual and expected for his age-level’. In California, delinquents scored higher than non-delinquents, and both sets of mean scores declined with age. The British probationers consistently made higher—i.e. more delinquent—scores than their Californian counterparts, and the mean scores of the British 17 and 18 year olds were more akin to the mean scores of the Californian 13 and 14 year olds respectively. The 20 year olds had even higher scores—closer to the Californian 12 year olds than any other age group.

The other seven scales of the Inventory were developed by means of a cluster analysis† carried out on the responses made by samples of male delinquents aged 13–17.

The *Autism* scale was made up of statements which presented a picture of ‘a most inappropriate facade of self-adequacy covering a very insecure person’; the quality was defined as ‘the tendency for the individual’s thinking to be regulated unduly by personal needs’. The scores declined steadily with age, apart from a slight increase for the 17 and 18 year old delinquents; the non-delinquents had consistently lower scores. In Britain the probationers’ mean scores at 17 and 18 showed no significant differences from those of the American delinquents.

On the *Alienation* scale, which referred to ‘the presence of distrust and estrangement in relationships with others, especially with authority figures’, the British sample again differed significantly from Jesness’s delinquents. In the original American study, mean scores had fallen steadily with age, and delinquents had higher scores than non-delinquents; the British probationers had even higher scores than the Californian delinquents. All four age groups in the present sample had mean scores which approximated to those obtained by the 13 and 14 year old American delinquents.

The concept of *Manifest Aggression* as used by Jesness, involved the ‘perception of unpleasant feelings, especially feelings of anger, and discomfort concerning their presence and control’; it was not necessarily thought to be related to overtly hostile behaviour, but might also include ‘unusually conforming, over-controlled behaviour’.‡ The scale showed a non-linear relationship with age, with the mean scores rising from age 8 to age 10, then levelling off and slowly

* The Immaturity scale items were selected from those which discriminated most strongly between age-groups in the non-delinquent sample.

† The cluster analysis procedure is a purely mathematical one requiring no subjective judgment (although in this instance some clinical decisions were taken by Jesness in selecting items for final inclusion in the scales). The method is simply to seek clusters of key items which are highly inter-correlated but independent from one cluster to another.

‡ The term *Manifest Aggression* was used because ‘the individual who scores high is aware of, and made uncomfortable by, his feelings of anger and hostility’; i.e. the aggression was not latent in the sense of being hidden from the subject’s conscious feelings. Nevertheless the term does seem something of a misnomer when one has to go out of one’s way to emphasise that the aggression felt by the individual need not necessarily be expressed overtly; i.e. it need not be made manifest. Jesness himself was clearly concerned with this problem, as he says that he rejected as appropriate labels ‘affectivity’, ‘feelings of anger’, ‘hostility’, and others. He eventually settled for *Manifest Aggression* because of the similarity in item content to other scales so labelled; it seems to the present writer that the simpler *Aggression* would prove more satisfactory in the long run.

decreasing with maturity; delinquents tended to score more highly than non-delinquents, although the distinction became somewhat blurred after the age of 15. This latter point is of interest in that the British scores showed no significant differences from either Jesness's delinquents or his non-delinquents; they conformed to the age levels expected of them.

Withdrawal refers to a tendency to 'resolve a lack of satisfaction with self and others by passive escape or isolation from others', and Jesness found that delinquents scored more highly than non-delinquents, and that the mean scores declined with age although there was a levelling-off after age 15. Both 17 and 18 year olds in Britain scored significantly lower than the Californian delinquents, and indeed conformed to the expected scores for non-delinquents of the same age.

The *Social Anxiety* scale includes items which point to 'emotional discomfort associated with interpersonal relations'. The scores on this scale seemed to bear only a slight relationship with age, especially after age 15; moreover Jesness found no significant differences between his delinquents and non-delinquents, the biggest contrast being between his male and female samples. The British figures fit in with this pattern: no significant differences were found between the probationers and either the delinquent or non-delinquent Californians.

The term *Repression*, as used in the Inventory, refers 'to the exclusion from conscious awareness of, or a failure to label, feelings ordinarily expressed'. Apart from high scores in the pre-adolescent group, Jesness found that they remained fairly constant for all groups beyond age 12: the non-delinquents scored slightly but consistently lower than the delinquents. The British sample of 17 year olds had a mean score higher than that attained by any American delinquent or non-delinquent age group over 11. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions from this, however, for the British 18 year olds—although still with a higher mean score than any of the American adolescents—did not get a sufficiently high score to prove significantly different from Jesness's 18 year old delinquents.

The *Denial* scale is concerned with the suppression of critical judgment and the avoidance of unpleasant thoughts about interpersonal relationships. It is the only scale in which the U.S. non-delinquents tended to score higher than the delinquents, and in which the older boys got higher scores than the younger. The British probationers had significantly different scores from the American sample, and tended towards the more delinquent direction—i.e. they had lower scores than either American group; in fact they had mean scores which corresponded more to the 13–14 year old range of delinquents than to the range in which they belonged.

By means of a discriminant function analysis, Jesness derived his *Asocial Index* with the aim of finding a 'single best general solution for the total group, to be used as a score in any setting where evaluation of change, or comparison of groups, was the prime consideration'. The Index is dependent on the relative distance between the Social Maladjustment score and the scores on seven of the other scales; in other words, it was based on the extent to which Social Maladjustment was controlled by inhibitory tendencies in the individual's personality. Its discriminating power was found to be superior to that achieved through any of the single scales: a distance of approximately two standard deviations separated the mean scores of the delinquent and non-delinquent groups.

Because of the statistically significant differences in some of the single scales which make up the Asocial Index, and because these differences between the British and American samples varied in direction as well as in degree, it was expected that the Asocial Index would have a different mean from that of the American samples,* and it was thought possible that its distribution might vary too. The mean Index score of the British probationers was 19.956 and this varied significantly from both the American delinquents' mean of 25.296 ($t=18.37$; $p < .001$) and the American non-delinquents' mean of 15.451 ($t=15.95$; $p < .001$); the probationers thus had a mean score approximately midway between the non-delinquents and delinquents of Jesness's original sample. Standard deviations were compared: that of the probationers was not significantly different from those of either the American delinquents ($t=1.78$) or the non-delinquents ($t=1.71$) (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

Proportion of male subjects scoring at or above each level of the Asocial Index in Jesness's delinquent and non-delinquent samples, and in the sample of British probationers.

Asocial Index score	Jesness's delinquents	Jesness's non-delinquents	British probationers
39			
38			
37	.01		
36	.02		
35	.03		
34	.05		
33	.07		.01
32	.10		.01
31	.14		.02
30	.18		.04
29	.24		.05
28	.30	.01	.08
27	.38	.02	.11
26	.45	.02	.15
25	.53	.04	.19
24	.61	.05	.27
23	.67	.07	.30
22	.74	.10	.38
21	.80	.13	.45
20	.85	.17	.54
19	.89	.22	.61
18	.92	.29	.67
17	.95	.36	.75
16	.97	.45	.80
15	.98	.53	.86
14	.99	.62	.89
13		.70	.92
12		.76	.94
11		.83	.96
10		.88	.98
9		.92	.98
8		.95	.99
7		.97	
6		.98	
5		.99	
	mean=25.296 $\sigma = \pm 4.866$ N=970	mean=15.451 $\sigma = \pm 4.601$ N=1075	mean=19.956 $\sigma = \pm 5.223$ N=454

* In his report, Jesness's means had been rounded off to their nearest whole number—i.e. 25 and 15. For the purposes of this comparison, they were computed from data available in the report.

Discussion

We shall, first of all, summarise the observed relationships between the scores achieved by the British probationers and those of Jesness's delinquents. There were no significant differences between them on Value Orientation and Autism (which scales Jesness found to distinguish the delinquents from the non-delinquents), nor on Manifest Aggression and Social Anxiety (neither of which differentiated between Jesness's two groups so clearly).

On five other scales, the British scores were significantly different from the American delinquents at both the 17 and 18 year old age level. In comparison with the Californian samples, the probationers appeared to have more delinquent scores in the scales for Immaturity, Alienation, and Denial; and they had less delinquent scores in the scales for Social Maladjustment and Withdrawal. In the Repression scale, the British sample had higher—i.e. more delinquent—scores than the American, but only in the 17 year old group was the difference statistically significant.

These scales, taken by themselves, clearly induce a sense of confusion: the British probationers are seen as being more delinquent, just as delinquent, and less delinquent than Jesness's sample—depending on which scale is used. The Asocial Index emphasises the 'less delinquent' scores: it ignores Immaturity and Denial, is influenced greatly by Social Maladjustment, and the Withdrawal and Repression scores are more than a balance for Alienation. The problem is not made easier by the impossibility of adequately comparing the two populations: the majority of Jesness's delinquents came from reception centres, to which all boys referred to the California Youth Authority are sent for classification and assignment either to an appropriate institution or to parole in the community. Jesness recognised that the sample 'may contain some minor offenders whose designation as 'delinquent' could be argued'; it could also contain many of the more extreme problem cases who would be unlikely to be placed on probation in Britain.

It was thought that a comparison between this probation sample and a similarly identifiable British sample of other offenders would throw some light on the different scores obtained in the present study. Fisher (2) recently reported a study in which 203 Borstal boys, aged 16-18, were given the Jesness Inventory before leaving their allocation centre. Table 4 shows the mean scores of the 17 and 18 year old Borstal boys, as reported by Fisher, and compares them with those for the probationers first shown in Table 2.

Although Fisher's sample were all 'qualified for open conditions', and so excluded the worst risks among Borstal boys, it may nevertheless be fairly assumed that, *in general* the degree of criminality was greater in his group than in the population of probationers; it is highly likely, for instance, that the majority of the Borstal boys had already been given the opportunity of a probation order, and it is unlikely that more than a handful of them were first offenders

TABLE 4

Mean scores and standard deviations of Borstal boys responding to the Jesness Inventory; comparison of their mean scores with those of British probationers.

	Age	British probationers		Borstal boys		Comparison of means with British probationers	
		mean	SD	mean	SD		
Social Maladjustment	17	23.28	6.83	29.22	6.21	t=7.646	p<.001
	18	22.76	5.78	28.12	5.61	t=6.269	p<.001
Value Orientation	17	15.32	6.74	19.50	6.27	t=5.370	p<.001
	18	14.76	6.88	18.62	6.25	t=3.936	p<.001
Immaturity	17	15.13	4.23	14.06	4.21	t=2.096	p<.05
	18	14.21	4.29	14.58	5.48	t=0.487	Not significant
Autism	17	7.02	3.69	8.78	3.98	t=3.741	p<.001
	18	7.07	3.39	8.71	3.96	t=2.823	p<.01
Alienation	17	9.56	4.59	11.74	4.12	t=4.206	p<.001
	18	9.19	4.31	11.40	4.30	t=3.408	p<.001
Manifest Aggression	17	13.11	5.36	15.71	5.53	t=3.923	p<.001
	18	12.74	5.58	14.93	4.79	t=2.840	p<.01
Withdrawal	17	11.05	3.48	11.95	3.25	t=2.234	p<.05
	18	10.69	3.39	11.60	3.52	t=1.741	Not significant
Social Anxiety	17	12.89	3.86	12.38	4.18	t=1.033	Not significant
	18	12.74	4.15	12.55	4.28	t=0.943	Not significant
Repression	17	5.01	2.69	4.74	2.47	t=0.277	Not significant
	18	4.65	2.94	5.12	3.13	t=1.021	Not significant
Denial	17	11.72	3.67	10.64	3.90	t=2.332	p<.02
	18	11.63	3.65	10.92	3.79	t=1.262	Not significant

The numbers included in each sample were:

Probationers: 17 years, N=206; 18 years, N=111

Borstal Boys: 17 years, N=102; 18 years, N=73

(cf. Table 1). One would expect, therefore, that the mean scores on those scales which Jesness had claimed differentiated between delinquents and non-delinquents would also distinguish between Borstal boys and probationers. This was, in fact, found to be the case. In terms of Social Maladjustment, Value Orientation, Autism, Alienation and Manifest Aggression, the probationers' mean score is consistently 'less delinquent' than that of the Borstal boys (significant in all cases at, at least, the 1% level). In terms of Withdrawal and Denial, the probationers again emerged as less delinquent, although the differences at age 18 were not statistically significant. As expected, there were no differences between probationers and Borstal boys on the Social Anxiety scale; only the scores for Repression and Immaturity appeared to be behaving unexpectedly.

We are now in a position to draw together the comparative scores on the populations, and to see which differences appear to be related to delinquency factors and which might possibly be linked with cultural factors. Figures 1-3 show the ratios of mean scores on the ten scales for both 17 and 18 year olds between Jesness's delinquents and his non-delinquents, between Jesness's delinquents and the British sample of probationers, and between Fisher's Borstal population and the probationers.

Figure 1 Profile ratios of mean scores for $\frac{\text{Jesness non-delinquents}}{\text{Jesness delinquents}}$ at:

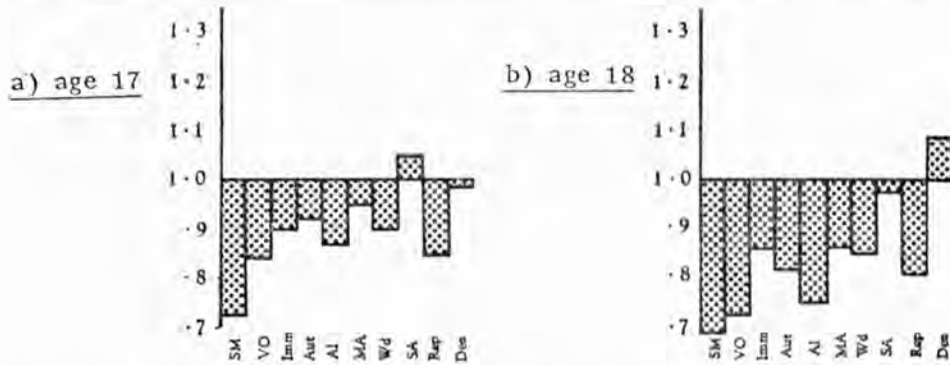


Figure 2 Profile ratios of mean scores for $\frac{\text{British probationers}}{\text{Jesness delinquents}}$ at:

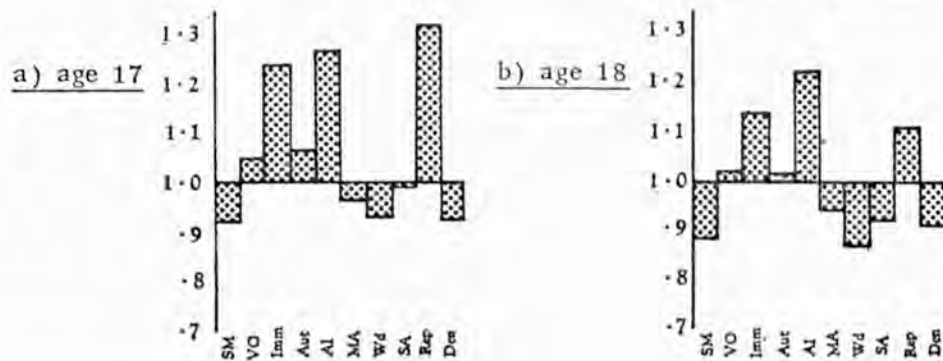
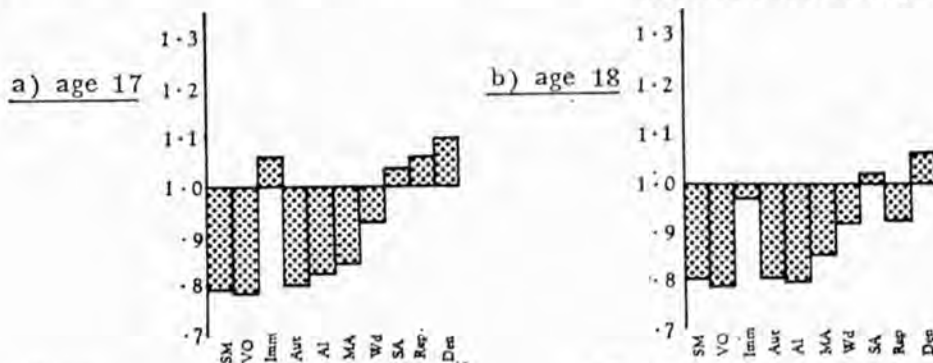


Figure 3 Profile ratios of mean scores for $\frac{\text{British probationers}}{\text{British Borstal boys}}$ at:



Note

Figure 1 shows in visual form the steady relationship on all scales between the two American samples; figure 3 shows the similar pattern when the two British samples are compared. In figure 2, however, it can be seen how much confused is the relationship between the American delinquents and the British probationers.

Key

- SM = social maladjustment
- VO = value orientation
- Imm = immaturity
- Aut = autism
- Al = alienation
- MA = manifest aggression
- Wd = withdrawal
- SA = social anxiety
- Rep = repression
- Den = denial

Figures 1a and 1b, showing the ratios of mean scores between Jesness's delinquents and non-delinquents, demonstrate his claim that the delinquents had higher scores (i.e. ratios are less than 1.00) in all scales except Social Anxiety and Denial, although in figure 1a it is seen that the 17 year olds differed from other age groups in the case of Denial. The profile of ratios in figure 1, then, is almost totally below unity. In figure 2, comparing the mean scores of Jesness's delinquents and the British probationers, what we have called the 'sense of confusion' is shown visually: five scores are below the line and five above it, and there is no common relationship between the mean scores obtained in the two populations. In particular, we can see the unexpectedly high ratios on Immaturity, Alienation and Repression and the unexpectedly low ratio on Denial, all being observed in both age groups. The difficulty is to know which, if any, of these factors can be taken at face value, so far as a British population is concerned.

Figure 3 shows the ratios of the mean scores of the Borstal boys and the probationers. As in figure 1, the profile line is almost wholly below the line, suggesting that there is a much clearer relationship between the scores obtained by the two populations in Britain, than there is between a British population and an American one; whatever else the Inventory is doing, it does seem as if it is distinguishing between Borstal boys and probationers, just as it distinguished between Californian delinquents and non-delinquents. The scores in Figure 3 which seem to have behaved roguishly are those for Immaturity (which simply failed to distinguish between the populations, or did so—as at age 17—in the reverse direction to that which might have been expected) and Repression. It is of particular note that the ratio of scores for Alienation and Denial were very close to expectations, and although the Denial scores for age 18 were not sufficiently different to attain statistical significance, it may nevertheless be concluded that these two scales behave satisfactorily when comparing British populations, although the tendency is for the British to score in a much more delinquent direction than the Americans: i.e. it might be said that, given that the scales are valid measures, the British appear to be more prone to Alienation and less to Denial than the Americans. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that the scale for Immaturity is simply not working in a meaningful way on a British sample. Repression scores differ in their ratios between 17 and 18 year olds, so far as the British populations are concerned; it may be that the exceptionally high score obtained by the 17 year old probationers is a chance occurrence and further sets of results would seem to be needed before a firm conclusion can be reached on this scale's reliability in a British context: on the evidence available, it can certainly be said that Britons appear to be more repressed, but no final comment can be made on the way in which Repression scores vary between different groups of delinquents.

Fisher, in the paper already referred to, discussed the observed differences between his results and those of Jesness, and argued that the two populations of subjects had 'different test-taking sets, probably attributable to cultural differences' between the English and American delinquents. He reached this conclusion after finding a correlation between the rank order of scales according to the proportion of positive ('True') responses they demanded, and the rank order of scales according to the ratios of the mean scores achieved by the English and American delinquents. Thus, the English boys scored proportionately more highly on those scales which depended on a comparatively large

number of 'True's in the Inventory, and they had lower scores on those scales which had the most 'False' responses. Having found that the correlation was significant at the .03 level for the 17 year olds and at the .06 level for the 18 year olds, Fisher argued that the most acceptable explanation is 'that young Americans, whatever their socio-economic background, are invariably exposed to much more testing and many more testing situations than are comparable English boys, that they are, indeed, relative to English boys, more discriminating in choosing answers, and that acquiescence will be a far greater influence on test results among the unsophisticated'. He concluded that 'the tests reflect not the personality differences indicated but differences in test-taking techniques related to a relatively pronounced acquiescent response set among the English boys'.

The British probationer scores were examined in exactly the same way as Fisher's to see if the differences observed between them and Jesness's delinquent scores could similarly be put down to an acquiescence response set. A non-significant rank correlation of $-.127$ was found for both 17 and 18 year olds, and it had to be concluded that no such tendency was present. The same test was then applied to a comparison of the Borstal population and the probationers, and there was, indeed, found to be a correlation between the order of scales asking for 'True' responses and the order of the ratios between Fisher's sample and the probationers ($\rho = .83$ at age 17, $p < .01$; $\rho = .82$ at age 18, $p < .01$).

Fisher discussed the possibility that the acquiescence response set might reflect the greater degree of delinquency in his sample, and commented that Hathaway (3) had suggested that delinquents tend to be more acquiescent in their test-taking than non-delinquents: the difficulty here was (Table 5) that the Asocial Index mean score was almost identical for the Borstal boys as for the Jesness delinquents. The present finding, however, does suggest that the discovery of an acquiescent response set is less likely to be related to differences between British and American culture patterns, than to the greater tendency of yea-saying among the Borstal boys than either among Jesness's delinquents (who covered a wider range) or among British probationers; whether this tendency is a reflection of a greater delinquency proneness or whether it stems from the rigidly institutional setting is impossible to determine at this stage, although it can be noted that Jesness's population were, at the time of taking the test, in an institution.

TABLE 5
Mean scores in the Asocial Index

American non-delinquents	15.451*
American delinquents	25.296*
Borstal boys:	
aged 17	24.18
aged 18	23.32
aged 17 and 18	23.821
British probationers:	
aged 17	19.54
aged 18	19.58
aged 19	20.98
aged 20	20.75
aged 17-20	19.956

* see note on page 9.

Table 5 shows the relative positions of the mean scores for the Asocial Index in each sample. Fisher commented on the 'very approximate concordance of the means in comparison with the potential range indicated by the great distance between the American delinquents and non-delinquents'. We have already seen how the probationers' Asocial Index was related to Jesness's samples, and its relative position to the Borstal population would appear to be logical. The success and failure rate for the present sample is currently being studied, and this will ultimately be tested against the Index.

Conclusions

1. The feasibility of administering the Jesness Inventory to a sample of probationers has been demonstrated, and the response-rate reflected the willingness with which both officers and probationers agreed to co-operate in the study. Future work will be concerned with reducing still further the proportion of cases in which no Inventory could be completed or in which the Inventory was inadequately filled in (i.e. by the probationer leaving questions unanswered). In general, the initial apprehension on the part of some officers proved to be short-lived, and many who had originally been hesitant reported that they had found the Inventory of positive value in establishing a relationship with their probationers.
2. Because the norms for different age groups differed greatly, Jesness provided sets of standard scores for each of the ten scales which enabled comparisons to be made between and within groups irrespective of age. Responses in the British population appear to be sufficiently different to render Jesness's T-scores of doubtful value. Until such time as this finding can be contradicted, or until British T-scores are available, it would seem to be wiser to use raw scores in association with the ages of the individuals concerned.
3. The Immaturity scale, in particular, must be treated very circumspectly. Not only did the British probationers appear to be more highly 'delinquent' on this scale than on any other, but their scores were not in any direct way linked with the Borstal boys, as they were on most other scales. The Immaturity scale does not contribute to the Asocial Index, and so cannot affect it in any way; as a separate score, it should be looked on with great caution.
4. On both Alienation and Denial, British populations score in a more delinquent direction than the American; within Britain, however, there is a logical relationship between the Borstal boys and the probationers on both scores. It might well be concluded that these traits behave somewhat differently in Britain, and that the scales are accordingly affected by cultural factors. This does not necessarily invalidate them in a different setting, but does make cross-cultural comparisons difficult.
5. The tendency for Repression to be present in a greater degree in a British population needs further confirmation, because of the different results obtained when comparing the 17 year olds and 18 year olds respectively in Borstal and on probation.
6. All other scales—Social Maladjustment, Value Orientation, Autism, Manifest Aggression, Withdrawal, and Social Anxiety—appear to behave very similarly in Britain and in the U.S.A. This would seem to be sufficient reason to justify the use of the Jesness Inventory in a British setting, especially as the first five of these scores, plus Alienation and Denial, satisfactorily distinguish between populations of different delinquency background.

7. Fisher's conclusion that the difference in responses was due to cultural differences between England and America is called into question, and, instead, it is suggested, that the acquiescent response set was present in his sample, not primarily because it was English, but rather because it was a Borstal population, and possibly because its delinquency proneness was greater than that of the British probationers and, on average, even than that of Jesness's delinquents.

8. It is felt that the results of this initial analysis are sufficiently encouraging to warrant further examination of the data. The different scales, the Asocial Index, and the I-level Maturity score developed more recently (4) will all be related to the social data which is being used in the study of stress in the lives of probationers, to outcome of the probation order, and to treatment given in the course of the order. Further studies will be made of the ways in which the Jesness Inventory may be found to be of practical value to probation officers, and of its suitability for measuring change in a probationer over a period of time.

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The Manual for the Jesness Inventory, written by Dr. Jesness, was published in 1966 by the Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc, 577 College Avenue, Palo Alto, California.

APPENDIX

Probationers' reactions to the Inventory

In the pilot study officers were particularly asked to comment on their client's reaction to the Inventory, and to say whether, in their view, it had presented any difficulties. In almost all cases the probationers showed themselves willing to co-operate, and in some there were signs of enthusiasm:

'He was eager to co-operate and said afterwards that he had enjoyed filling in the questionnaire . . .'

'He rushed through the questionnaire without any comment, and when I asked him at the end if he wished to post it himself, he said 'It's alright, I don't mind if you see it'.'

'He readily agreed to answer the questions. He was eager to discuss the questions relating to the police after the questionnaire was completed.'

'Probationer was a very dull youth. Nonetheless he showed surprising ability in dealing with these questions. Although it took him a long time to read through each individual item, his responses were immediate. He co-operated willingly and without anxiety.'

'Probationer was eager to do it—leapt at the suggestion:

'This seems mainly to do with the police—I rather fancy this.'

'It is interesting—he was a cunning old fellow who made this up.'

'Probationer accepted the idea with enthusiasm, and commented on various questions while completing the Inventory:

- | | |
|---|--|
| Q8 <i>My feelings get hurt easily when I am scolded or criticised.</i> | 'They must have thought this one up for me.' |
| Q19 <i>I never lie.</i> | He giggled. |
| Q23 <i>I have very strange and funny thoughts in my mind.</i> | 'That's a good one—it suits me.' |
| Q30 <i>Women are more friendly and happy than men.</i> | 'That's a smasher, that is.' |
| Q77 <i>If I could only have a car at home, things would be alright.</i> | 'That's the best one of the lot.' |

There was no difficulty or hesitation on his part in answering the Inventory—I believe he took it all quite seriously and enjoyed doing it.'

'The Inventory was felt to be a really tremendous help in building a relationship with this boy—took us quickly onto important issues, and the lad felt that we were looking at things that mattered.'

In some instances, officers found that there was difficulty in understanding some of the words, and a frequent comment by probationers was that 'this is utterly stupid', 'a load of nonsense—a load of old cod's wallop', 'these questions are nuts.'

Some of the men were suspicious, but in only two cases did this present real problems:

- (i) 'The probationer expressed some initial suspicion that the questionnaire may be directly concerned with probation. After completing it his comment was 'Are they trying to prove that I'm a looney?' It was later found that he had completed only half the Inventory, and he was asked to finish it off the following week. Whilst he expressed no particular objection to doing this, he did say that he had discussed the subject with his parents who had immediately expressed some anxiety that the exercise would be used against their son, and wanted a copy of the questionnaire to read for themselves. I briefly clarified again for the probationer the purpose of the exercise. After completing the form the probationer stated that we must realise that no-one would answer such questions truthfully if they did not know just what was at stake. The probationer declined to state the type of question that he had answered falsely.'
- (ii) 'The probationer refused to complete the Inventory after asking whether it was compulsory. He said that he was refusing because he had just been charged with a storebreaking offence which he strongly denied being involved in; he was not going to do anything to help *them* now. I explained that the research was independent of the police, but he clearly identified probation with police and government; after their attitude to him, he was not going to do anything to help anyone. He said all this pleasantly and smilingly.

'I persuaded him to look at the first page, and he said question 9 was a good one: 'most police will try to help you.' I told him he could do the lot and if he then felt like it either put it in a sealed envelope or tear it up. He was still not prepared to consider it. I explained that it was like market research and I compared it with people asking about your favourite soap powder, and throughout life he might find people asking the same sort of questions. He said gradually this country was becoming a police state. It would soon be like some states in America where police had power to put people in prison without trial for a month at a time; he had read all this in a magazine. I asked if he would reconsider his decision next week but he would not commit himself. We finished on reasonably good terms, and I told him not to hesitate to tell me if he thought in future that I was using his refusal to co-operate as a weapon against him.'

Altogether 47 probationers were involved in the pilot study:

- 17 Inventories were returned without detailed comment (Officers had been particularly asked to note those probationers who showed any suspicion or hostility towards the Inventory).
- 25 were returned with comments which showed that the probationers had responded with little or no hesitation.
- 3 probationers thought the Inventories were 'stupid', but were apparently quite happy to co-operate.
- 1 was suspiciously hostile, but was persuaded to do it.
- 1 refused to co-operate.

Pilot study officers also kept a note of the time taken by probationers to complete the Inventory. Excluding one boy who took two hours to do the job, in which time he also wrote a letter to the research worker, the mean time was 21.5 minutes; one boy did it in ten minutes, while two took over half-an-hour; the most common time was about 20-25 minutes.

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HOME OFFICE RESEARCH UNIT**Probation Project: Stress**

In this study, we are setting out to measure some of the social stresses that affect the lives of young male probationers. Broadly, we are interested in two major questions: What are the material conditions of their homes? And what kinds of relationships do they have at home, at work, and among their contemporaries?

The research project is concerned with those male probationers in the 17-20 age group (i.e. youths between their 17th and 21st birthdays). We are limiting our study to a specific number of probation areas, and all new cases falling within the stated age-range after the 1st October 1964 must be included - even those probationers who commit further offences very early on in the order.

There are four parts to the questionnaire:

Part I is for the officer to complete within a fortnight of the order being made. It applies in every case.

Part II is for the officer to put to the probationer in the first fortnight of the order. It need not be used if the probationer was unemployed on the day the order was made.

Part III is for the officer to complete after the order has been in force for 6-8 weeks. It should be completed in all cases, although there are separate sections applying to the probationer who lives at home, and the probationer living away from his parents.

Part IV is for the officer to put to the probationer after the order has been in force for about eight weeks. It applies in every case.

And two final points:

- Please see that you fill in the reference box in the top left-hand corner on the front page of each Part of the questionnaire.

- If you have any queries or problems at all, please don't hesitate to contact me direct.

And most important of all: Thankyou for helping us.

Martin Davies,
Home Office Research Unit,
Thames House South,
Millbank, London, S W 1.

Tel: VICToria 1288 (Ex 1836)

Probationer:
Officer:
Office:

THIS PAGE
SHOULD BE COMPLETED
IN ALL CASES

Part I

THE BASIC FACTS

Probation Officers are asked to complete this part of the questionnaire within a fortnight of the court appearance. The answers may be based principally on the enquiries undertaken by the officer for the court, although some answers may need to be confirmed in later interviews or home visits.

A1 Name of probationer:

A2 Date of birth:

A3 Country of birth:

A4 Marital status:

- single
- married/cohabiting
- widowed
- separated/divorced

B1 Is physical ill-health or disability a problem for the probationer?

- very much so
- slightly
- not at all
- don't know

Please give brief details:

The Offence

THIS PAGE
SHOULD BE COMPLETED
IN ALL CASES

D1	Details of current offence	Disposal	Alone/with others
Type of court:			
Date of court:			
Number of offences taken into consideration:			

D2 What PO's enquiries were undertaken?

- None
- pre-trial
- day of hearing
- remand/bail
- remand/custody

D3 What special conditions were made on the probation order (if any)?

D4 Did any relative of the probationer attend the court at any time during the hearing? (You may tick more than one)

- None
- father
- mother
- any other relative (specify)
- don't know

D5 Did any other person accompany the probationer to court at any time during the hearing (not including co-defendants, witnesses, etc.)?

- yes
- no

If so, who?

D6 Number of previous offences recorded (i.e. court appearances - but not including those for minor traffic offences):

E1 Had anything happened in the probationer's life immediately prior to this offence (i.e. in the preceding seven days) that could be called a precipitating factor? If so, give brief details:

- yes
- no

THIS PAGE
SHOULD BE COMPLETED
IN ALL CASES

The Classification of Offenders

F1 Please tick each classification in the appropriate column, according to the way you would assess the probationer's problems at the time of his court appearance.

Make sure that you place one tick against each factor; for definitions of the factors, see the explanatory notes.

Classification	Very severe	severe	Mod-erate	Mild	Absent	Don't know
<u>I INADEQUATE</u>						
Immature personality						
Mental retardation						
Character deficiency						
Other (specify)						
<u>II DISTURBED</u>						
Neurotic						
Psychotic						
Other (specify)						
<u>III CULTURAL</u>						
Delinquent family						
Delinquent gang						
Delinquent neighbourhood						
<u>IV SITUATIONAL</u>						
Family stresses						
Employment stresses						
Financial stresses						
Other (specify)						

The Probationer's Accommodation

NB || This section refers to the place where the probationer was living at the time he was placed on probation.

G1 Where does the probationer live?

- self-contained house/bungalow/cottage
- self-contained flat
- bed-sitter/lodgings
- hostel (all types)
- no fixed abode
- other (specify)

G2 With whom does he live?

- alone
- parents
- spouse
- other relatives (specify)
- older friends (i.e. aged 25 or over)
- contemporary friends
- sleeping rough
- other (specify)

G3 How many rooms are contained in the probationer's accommodation? (excluding the bathroom and toilet, but including the kitchen)

G4 Are the furnishings in the home . . .

- poor (i.e. the bare necessities only, threadbare, drab and colourless)
- fair (i.e. more than the bare necessities, but no evidence of planned acquisition or arrangement of furniture)
- good (i.e. sufficient for the family's needs, and showing evidence of planned selection)

G5 Does the probationer have a bedroom to himself?

- yes
- no

G6 If not, who else sleeps in his room?

G7 So far as the cleanliness of the home is concerned, would you describe it as . . .

- poor (i.e. habitually disorderly and/or unclean)
- fair (i.e. sporadically neat and clean)
- good (i.e. normally neat and clean)

G8 Tick whichever of the following facilities are available in the home:

- bath
- flush toilet
- electricity
- hot water
- television
- refrigerator
- washing machine

THIS PAGE
SHOULD BE COMPLETED
IN ALL CASES

The Probationer's Family

NB: We are concerned with the here-and-now situation. If the probationer has left home, probation officers are asked to give information only about the people in his present living accommodation; if he still has contact with his parents or other relatives, details should be given in answer to question H2.

H1 Who is the probationer living with?

Name, age, and relationship to the probationer	Occupation	Any criminal convictions? yes/no

H2 Does the probationer have frequent and regular contact with any other relative than those given in answer to question H1? E.g. parents if the probationer is living away from home; an older brother or sister; a divorced parent; a grandparent, etc.

Name, age, and relationship to the probationer	Occupation	Any criminal convictions? yes/no

THIS PAGE
SHOULD BE COMPLETED
IN ALL CASES

The Probationer's Employment

J1 Name the last two jobs which the probationer held before the present one:

Dates	Job (in detail)	Income	Reason for leaving	Did the probationer like it there?
				yes <input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> non-committal <input type="checkbox"/>
				yes <input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> non-committal <input type="checkbox"/>

J2 Name the probationer's 'present' job: i.e. the job he held on the day the probation order was made. If he was unemployed on that day, please say so.

Date started	Job (in detail)	Income

K1 On the day the probation order was made, was the probationer . . .

employed
 unemployed

If he was employed, questions K2-K4 need not be answered

K2 If he was unemployed, did he have a job to go to in the immediate future?

yes
 no

K3 If he was unemployed and had no job to go to, was he making an effort to obtain work?

yes
 only spasmodically
 no

K4 In your view, is unemployment a social and economic problem in the area where the probationer lives?

very much so
 slightly
 not at all
 don't know

Probationer:
Officer:
Office:

THIS PAGE NEED NOT BE COMPLETED
IF THE PROBATIONER WAS UNEMPLOYED
ON THE DAY THE ORDER WAS MADE

Part II

JOB RELATIONSHIPS

The following questions should be put by the probation officer to the probationer during the first fortnight of the probation order. Note that they refer to the job held by the probationer on the day that he was placed on probation.
If by the time these questions are asked, he has since left that job, they should still be put to him by the officer and they should still refer to the job he held on the day the probation order was made.
If the probationer was unemployed at the time the order was made (even though he had a job to go to), the whole of Part II may be ignored.

L1 Do any of your bosses - i.e. the manager, supervisor, foreman, etc. - take an interest in you?

very much so
 slightly
 not at all

L2 Do any of your bosses know that you are on probation?

yes
 no
 don't know

L3 Do you like any of your bosses?

very much so
 slightly
 not at all

L4 Do you dislike any of your bosses?

very much so
 slightly
 not at all

L5 Do you like your job? (I.e. the one held on the day the probation order was made)

very much so
 slightly
 not at all

L6 What job (if any) would you most like to have, if you could choose any one at all? (NB Probation officers should not prompt or make suggestions; if the answer is "don't know", it should be inserted accordingly).

THIS PAGE NEED NOT BE COMPLETED
IF THE PROBATIONER WAS UNEMPLOYED
ON THE DAY THE ORDER WAS MADE

L7 Do you think that your immediate boss (foreman, chargehand, supervisor, etc.) tries to push you around too much?

- yes
- no
- non-committal

L8 Would you be upset if you lost your job?

- very upset
- only slightly upset
- not upset at all
- not applicable

L9 How long do you expect to stay in this job?

- less than a month
- less than six months
- longer
- don't know
- not applicable

L10 How easily do you think you could get another job?

- very easily
- quite easily
- not so easily
- don't know
- not applicable

L11 Do you like the people you work with now? (I.e. on the day the order was made)

- all of them
- some of them
- none of them

L12 Have you any special friend at work (i.e. someone you like particularly)?

- yes
- no
- non-committal

L13 Is there any friend at work who would help you if you were in trouble?

- yes
- no
- non-committal/don't know

L14 Do you see any of your work-mates out of working hours, in your leisure time?

- yes
- no

Probationer:

Officer:

Office:

THIS PAGE SHOULD BE COMPLETED
ONLY IN CASES WHERE THE PROBATIONER
IS LIVING AT HOME WITH HIS PARENTS

PART III

Probation officers are asked to complete this part of the questionnaire 6-8 weeks after the probation order is made: i.e. when they have had time to get to know the probationer and his family background, and are in a position to make the assessments asked for.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

If the probationer is not living at home with his parents, officers should turn to page 11, and answer questions N1 and N2.

M1 Are relations between the probationer's mother and father . . .

- good (i.e. compatible, with no undue quarrelling)
- fair (i.e. incompatible, but not leading to an open breach, except for sporadic separations)
- poor (i.e. the parents are living permanently apart)
- don't know/not applicable

M2 What is the degree of family cohesiveness? (I.e. What is the extent to which the family calls forth strong emotional ties among its members, joint interests, pride in the home?)

- marked
- some
- none
- don't know

M3 Would you describe the affection of the father for the probationer as . . .

- over-protective
- warm
- indifferent
- hostile/rejective
- don't know/not applicable

M4 Would you describe the affection of the mother for the probationer as . . .

- over-protective
- warm
- indifferent
- hostile/rejective
- don't know/not applicable

M5 In describing the emotional ties of the probationer to his father, would you say that he is . . .

- attached
- indifferent
- hostile
- don't know/not applicable

THIS PAGE SHOULD BE COMPLETED ONLY
IN CASES WHERE THE PROBATIONER IS
LIVING AT HOME WITH HIS PARENTS.

M6 In describing the emotional ties of the probationer to his mother,
would you say that he is . . .

- attached
- indifferent
- hostile
- Don't know/not applicable

M7 Would you describe the control exercised by the father over the
probationer as being . . .

- overstrict
- lax
- erratic
- firm but kindly
- don't know/not applicable

M8 Would you describe the control exercised by the mother over the
probationer as being . . .

- overstrict
- lax
- erratic
- firm but kindly
- don't know/not applicable

M9 Is there any other member of the family who has a particularly
close relationship with the probationer?

- yes
- no

If so, who?

If so, would you describe the emotional ties of the
probationer to that person as being . . .

- attached
- indifferent
- hostile
- non-committal

M10 Is there any other member of the family (apart from the mother and
father) who exercises any control over the probationer?

- yes
- no

If so, who?

If so, would you describe that control as being . . .

- overstrict
- lax
- erratic
- firm but kindly

THIS PAGE SHOULD BE COMPLETED IN ALL CASES WHERE THE PROBATIONER IS NOT LIVING AT HOME WITH HIS PARENTS

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS WHERE THE PROBATIONER IS AWAY FROM HOME

(If the probationer is living at home with his parents, officers should turn to page 12, and carry on with question O1).

N1 Is there any person in the place where the probationer lives who has a particularly close relationship with him?

yes
 no

If so, who? (i)

(ii)

If so, would you describe the emotional ties of the probationer to that person (those persons) as being . . .

(i) attached (ii) attached
 indifferent indifferent
 hostile hostile
 non-committal non-committal

N2 Is there any person in the place where the probationer lives who exercises any control over the probationer?

yes
 no

If so, who? (i)

(ii)

If so, would you describe this control as being . . .

(i) overstrict (ii) overstrict
 lax lax
 erratic erratic
 firm but kindly firm but kindly

The following questions are to be answered by the probation officer 6-8-weeks after the probation order has started.

THE PROBATIONER'S CONTEMPORARIES

- Q1 In thinking of the probationer's relationship with his own contemporaries, would you say that he . . .
- is a lone wolf
 - mixes mainly with delinquents
 - mixes mainly with non-delinquents
 - don't know
- Q2 To what extent is he influenced by his friends (i.e. whether it be for better or worse)?
- a great deal
 - slightly
 - not at all
 - don't know
- Q3 If he is influenced by his friends, is it . . .
- for better
 - for worse
 - don't know
- Q4 Would you say that there was any depth of feeling between the probationer and any of his contemporaries (male)?
- very much
 - not very much
 - none at all
 - don't know

GIRL-FRIEND

- P1 Does the probationer ever go out with a girl?
- yes
 - no
- P2 If so what kind of a relationship is it?
- very casual
 - steady girl-friend
 - engaged
- P3 Would you say that there was any depth of feeling between the probationer and his girl-friend
- very much
 - not very much
 - none at all
 - don't know
 - not applicable

THIS PAGE SHOULD BE
COMPLETED IN ALL CASES

P4 To what extent does the probationer's girl-friend influence his behaviour (i.e. whether it be for better or worse)?

- a great deal
- slightly
- not at all
- don't know
- not applicable

P5 If he is influenced by his girl-friend, is it . . .

- for better
- for worse
- don't know
- not applicable

RELATIONSHIP WITH PROBATION OFFICER

Q1 Would you describe your relationship with the probationer at this stage of the order, as being . . .

- good
- moderate
- bad

Q2 In his relationship with you, has the probationer so far shown any signs of . . .

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| sullenness | <input type="checkbox"/> yes | no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| hostility | <input type="checkbox"/> yes | no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| friendliness | <input type="checkbox"/> yes | no | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| willingness to discuss his problems | <input type="checkbox"/> yes | no | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Probationer:
Officer:
Office:

THIS PAGE SHOULD BE
COMPLETED IN ALL CASES

PART IV

This part of the questionnaire is for the probation officer to put to the probationer after the order has been in force for about eight weeks. It is mainly about his leisure time activities.

R1 Can you say roughly how much money you've received during the last seven days, and from which sources (e.g. from work, the NAB, parents, etc.)?

R2 What did you do last Saturday evening?

Who were you with?

- alone
- friends of your own age
- younger friends
- girl-friend
- relatives (inc. parents)
- other (specify)

R3 What did you do on Sunday morning?

On Sunday afternoon?

On Sunday evening?

R4 When did you last go to the pictures?

- less than a week ago
- less than a month ago
- less than six months ago
- never go
- other (specify)

R5 When you last went, were you . . .

- by yourself
- with a friend
- can't remember
- not applicable

R6 When did you last go to a youth club? (or youth organisation, etc)

- less than a week ago
- less than a month ago
- less than six months ago
- never go
- other (specify)

R7 When you last went, did you go . . .

- by yourself
- with a friend
- can't remember
- not applicable

R8 Do you spend a lot of time in:

- | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|-----|--------------------------|----|
| a local coffee-bar | <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
| a public house | <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
| a billiard hall | <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
| a dance hall | <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
| a bowling alley | <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |
| any similar meeting-
place (specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> | yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | no |

R9 How much do you think your mother cares about what you do?

- a great deal
- not very much
- not at all
- not applicable

R10 How much do you think your father cares about what you do?

- a great deal
- not very much
- not at all
- not applicable

HOME OFFICE RESEARCH UNIT

Probation Research 1967-68

In this study, we are setting out to measure some of the stresses in the social, emotional, and physical environments of young male probationers.

The research project is concerned with those male probationers in the 10-20 age group (i.e. youths between their 10th. and 21st. birthdays). We are limiting our studies to a specific number of probation areas, and all new cases falling within the stated age-range after a given date must be included - even those probationers who commit further offences very early on in the order.

There are two parts to the questionnaire:

Part 1 is for the officer to complete within a fortnight of the order being made.

Part 2 is for the officer to complete as soon as possible depending on his knowledge of the probationer's environment - but in any case this should be completed within six weeks of the order being made. It should be completed in all cases, although there are separate sections applying to the probationer who lives with his parents, the probationer living away from his parents, and the married probationer.

And three final points:

Please see that you fill in the reference box in the top left-hand corner on the front page of each part of the questionnaire.

Note the instructions in the top corner of each page; not every page is to be completed in all cases.

If you have any queries or problems at all, please don't hesitate to contact me direct.

Thank you very much for helping us.

Martin Davies,
Home Office Research Unit,
Romney House,
Marsham Street,
London, S W 1.

Probationer:
Officer:
Office:

THIS PAGE SHOULD
BE COMPLETED
IN ALL CASES

PROBATION RESEARCH 1967-68

Part 1

Probation officers are asked to complete this part of the questionnaire within a fortnight of the court appearance. These questions refer to the position at the time the probation order was made. The answers may be based principally on the enquiries undertaken by the officer for the court, although some answers may need to be confirmed in later interviews or home visits.

A1. Name of Probationer:

A2. Date of Birth:

A3. Age:

A4. The Current Offence:

Date of Court:	Details of Offence:	Length of Order:
What special conditions were made on the Probation Order, if any?:		

A5. Criminal History:

Number of previous offences recorded (i.e. court appearances leading to conviction, but not including those for minor traffic offences)

Dates of last two offences, if any: 1.
2.

Date of last release from custody (e.g. Approved School, Detention Centre, Prison, etc):

THE PROBATIONER'S ACCOMMODATION

THIS PAGE SHOULD
BE COMPLETED
IN ALL CASES

A6. Where does the probationer live?

- self-contained house/ bungalow/ cottage
- self-contained flat
- bed-sitter/lodgings
- hostel (all types)
- no fixed abode
- other (specify)

A7. With whom does he live?

- alone
- parent(s) (specify)
- spouse
- other relatives (specify)
- older friends (i.e. aged 25 or over)
- contemporary friends
- other (specify)

A8. Are material conditions in the accommodation a problem for the probationer?

- very much so
- slightly
- not at all
- no fixed abode

A9. Matital status:

- single
- married/cohabiting
- widowed
- separated/divorced

SCHOOL OR WORK

THIS PAGE SHOULD
BE COMPLETED
IN ALL CASES

COMPLETE THIS SECTION IF THE PROBATIONER IS STILL AT SCHOOL

A10. Is the probationer happy at school?

<input type="checkbox"/>	yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	no

A11. Is continual absence from school a problem in this case? (Specify whether truanting, ill-health, or at mother's instigation etc.)

<input type="checkbox"/>	very much so
<input type="checkbox"/>	slightly
<input type="checkbox"/>	not at all

A 12. Is the probationer's behaviour at school said to be:

<input type="checkbox"/>	good
<input type="checkbox"/>	moderate
<input type="checkbox"/>	bad

COMPLETE THIS SECTION IF THE PROBATIONER HAS LEFT SCHOOL

A13. On the day the probation order was made, was the probationer:

<input type="checkbox"/>	employed
<input type="checkbox"/>	unemployed

A14. Has an unsteady employment record been a problem for the probationer?

<input type="checkbox"/>	very much so
<input type="checkbox"/>	slightly
<input type="checkbox"/>	not at all

Probationer:
 Officer:
 Office:

THIS PAGE SHOULD
 BE COMPLETED
 IN ALL CASES

PROBATION RESEARCH 1967-68 - Part II

Probation officers are asked to complete this section as soon as possible, but in any case no later than six weeks after the court appearance. The questions refer to the position at the time the probation order was made.

THE PROBATIONER'S HEALTH

B1. Has any psychiatric examination been made on the probationer in recent months?

yes
 no

If yes did the result show that mental illness is a problem for the probationer?

very much so
 slightly
 not at all

Please give brief details:

If no, in your opinion is mental illness a problem for the probationer?

very much so
 slightly
 not at all

Please give brief details:

B2. Is educational sub-normality a problem for the probationer?

very much so
 slightly
 not at all

B3. Is physical ill-health or disability a problem for the probationer?

very much so
 slightly
 not at all

Please give brief details:

RELATIONSHIPS AT HOME

THIS PAGE TO BE COMPLETED IF THE PROBATIONER IS SINGLE/WIDOWED, AND LIVING AT HOME.

THE TERMS 'MOTHER' AND 'FATHER' REFER TO PARENTS OR PARENT-SUBSTITUTES WITH WHOM THE PROBATIONER WAS LIVING AT THE TIME THE ORDER WAS MADE.

B4. Are relations between the probationer's mother and father--

- compatible, with no undue quarrelling
- incompatible, but not leading to an open breach, except for sporadic separations.
- the parents are living permanently apart, and there is no parent-substitute in the home.
- not applicable- widowed
- don't know

B5. What is the degree of family cohesiveness? (i.e. What is the extent to which the family calls forth strong emotional ties among its members, joint interests, pride in the home?)

- marked
- some
- none
- don't know

B6. Would you describe the affection of the father for the probationer as:

- over-protective
- warm
- indifferent
- hostile/rejective
- don't know/not applicable

B7. Would you describe the affection of the mother for the probationer as:

- over-protective
- warm
- indifferent
- hostile/rejective
- don't know/not applicable

RELATIONSHIPS AT HOME cont.

THIS PAGE TO BE COMPLETED IF THE PROBATIONER IS SINGLE/WIDOWED, AND LIVING AT HOME

B8. In describing the emotional ties of the probationer to his father, would you say that he is:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | attached |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | indifferent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | hostile |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | don't know/not applicable |

B9. In describing the emotional ties of the probationer to his mother, would you say that he is:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | attached |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | indifferent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | hostile |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | don't know/not applicable |

B10. Is there any other member of the family who has a close relationship with the probationer?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | yes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | no |

If yes, who?

If yes, would you describe the emotional ties of the probationer to that person as being:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | attached |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | indifferent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | hostile |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | non-committal |

B11. Are any of the people that the probationer is living with known to have criminal tendencies?

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | very much so |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | slightly |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | not at all |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | don't know |

THIS PAGE TO BE COMPLETED
IF THE PROBATIONER IS
SINGLE/WIDOWED, AND LIVING
AWAY FROM HOME AT THE TIME
THE ORDER WAS MADE.

B12. Is there any person in the place where the probationer lives who has a particularly close relationship with him?

<input type="checkbox"/>	yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	no

If yes, who?

B13. Would you describe the affection of this person for the probationer as:

<input type="checkbox"/>	over-protective
<input type="checkbox"/>	warm
<input type="checkbox"/>	indifferent
<input type="checkbox"/>	hostile/rejective
<input type="checkbox"/>	don't know/not applicable

B14. Would you describe the emotional ties of the probationer to that person as being:

<input type="checkbox"/>	attached
<input type="checkbox"/>	indifferent
<input type="checkbox"/>	hostile
<input type="checkbox"/>	non-committal

B15. Are any of the people that the probationer is living with known to have criminal tendencies?

<input type="checkbox"/>	very much so
<input type="checkbox"/>	slightly
<input type="checkbox"/>	not at all
<input type="checkbox"/>	don't know

MARITAL RELATIONSHIP

THIS PAGE TO BE COMPLETED
IF THE PROBATIONER IS
MARRIED/COHABITING/SEPARATED
OR DIVORCED

B16. Would you say that there is any depth of feeling between the probationer and his wife?

- very much
- not very much
- none at all
- don't know

B17. Are relations between the probationer and his wife:

- compatible, with no undue quarrelling
- incompatible, but not leading to an open breach, except for sporadic separations.
- they are living permanently apart
- don't know

B18. To what extent is the probationer's wife a source of support to him?

- a great deal
- slightly
- not at all
- don't know

B19. Are any of the people that the probationer is living with known to have criminal tendencies?

- very much so
- slightly
- not at all
- don't know

THIS PAGE SHOULD
BE COMPLETED IN
ALL CASES

B20. In thinking of the probationer's relationships with his contemporaries, would you say that he:

<input type="checkbox"/>	is a lone wolf
<input type="checkbox"/>	mixes mainly with delinquents
<input type="checkbox"/>	mixes mainly with non-delinquents
<input type="checkbox"/>	don't know

B21. Would you describe your relationship with the probationer at this stage of the order as being:

<input type="checkbox"/>	good
<input type="checkbox"/>	moderate
<input type="checkbox"/>	bad
<input type="checkbox"/>	non-existent

B22. In his relationship with you, has the probationer so far shown any signs of:

sullenness	<input type="checkbox"/>	yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	no
anxiety	<input type="checkbox"/>	yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	no
hostility	<input type="checkbox"/>	yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	no
friendliness	<input type="checkbox"/>	yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	no
willingness to discuss his problems	<input type="checkbox"/>	yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	no

B23. If you had to select one factor in this case that presents the greatest difficulty, what would you say? (If you cannot think of one, please say so.)