BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

should be an integral part of the whole penal process". If a man is compelled to submit to rehabilitative treatment inside the prison, surely he can be as justly compelled as part of his sentence to accept supervision when he is back among real temptations and difficulties. Compulsory after-care is hard both for workers and clients, but it has a logical place in the penal system and without it the problems of recidivism will not be touched.

SHIRLEY TURNER.

. . . . . .

GANGS OUTSIDE . . . and Groups (or gangs) Inside . . . might well be the omnibus sub-title for a collection of books which take as their subjects the kind of people, not necessarily always young people who 'gang up' in one way or another, often against authority, sometimes for perfectly good social purposes, sometimes in such a way as to attract and possibly deserve considerable criticism, but always in a group.

Delinquency and Opportunity by Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin is published in Messrs. Routledge and Kegan Paul's series, The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, at 25s. 0d., and its 211 pages give the reader a pretty clear idea how delinquent gangs arise. The authors are members of the professorial staff of the New York School of Social Work at Columbia University, but their writing tells of a world far removed from the campus. It is about delinquent gangs, as typically found among adolescent males in lower-class areas or large urban centres, and tells how these subcultures arise, develop various law-violating ways of life, and persist or change. Three distinctive types of such gangs are described by the authors in their opening chapter. These are "the criminal gang" devoted to theft, extortion or other illegal means of securing an income; the "conflict gang" where joining in various kinds of violent behaviour becomes an important means of securing status; and the "retreatist gang" where addiction to drugs is prevalent. In the British Isles we have the "criminal gang" and we have the violent groups but the "retreatist" group is less well-known, perhaps less in actual numbers. One of the most useful ideas to be gleaned from this book is concerned with the way in which members of these gangs look upon other members of the community. The 'criminals', for example, are said to believe that the world is populated by "smart guys" or "suckers", members of the 'conflict' groups see their "turf" as surrounded by enemies, while the 'retreatist' regards the world about him as populated by "squares". Similarly, say the professors, each subculture is characterised by distinctive evaluations "the criminals value stealth, dexterity, wit, 'front' and the capacity to avoid detection: street warriors value "heart": the retreatists place a premium on "kicks". The fundamental difference between members of these groups and the other members of the community is clearly stated in a footnote to a description of the activities of the gangs. "It should be understood" says the note "that these terms characterise these delinquent modes of adaptation from

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

the reference position of conventional society: they do not necessarily reflect the attitudes of the 'cat'. Far from thinking himself as being in retreat he defines himself as among the elect". Although we may not have seen the drug side of the "cat" group, we can understand something about their other characteristics when we read that "the ideal cat's appearance, demeanour, and taste can best be characterised as 'cool'. The cat seeks to exhibit a highly developed and sophisticated taste for clothes. He develops a colourful, discriminating vocabulary. . ."

From the initial description of these delinquent groups, the book passes on to the description of the 'opportunity' which gives the authors their title and at the same time their theory of "differential opportunity systems." They suggest that these behaviour patterns are usually, though not exclusively, associated with the male sex, that they tend to be concentrated in the lower class, and that they are most likely to be found in the urban areas. In another illuminating footnote they "do not wish to suggest that delinquent subcultures never arise in the middle class. Evidence is accumulating that they do exist but that they are organised principally for relatively petty delinquencies, such as the illicit consumption of alcohol or marijuana, sexual experiences, petty larceny and auto-theft for joy-riding. This behaviour seems to occur less frequently, to be more responsive to control and change, and to be less likely to continue in the form of adult criminal careers." The authors consider that the isolated offender—as the middle class offender more often is—is not likely to evoke serious concern on the part of the law-enforcement officials, who recognise that delinquent behaviour tends to be less stable when peer supports are weak or absent.

In examining some current theories about delinquency, the authors spend some time on "masculine" protest or "compulsive masculinity" and on the crisis of adolescence, but while they recognise the presence of these factors in any society, they are more concerned about success values in American life. Success-goals are not class-bounded, they say, but the potentially delinquent groups appear to look to goals which are not 'appropriate.' Certain almost universal types of youth are the 'college boy' primarily interested in social advancement and the 'corner boy' who is primarily interested in his local community, and the authors examine how these two groups approach the problem of attaining an appropriate success. There are barriers to legitimate opportunity, and these may be cultural or structural; and the alternative avenues to success may well lead the potentially delinquent youth into a position where he is the victim of a contradiction between the goal which he has been led to orient himself and socially structured means of striving for such a goal.

Half of this extremely well-written book has been devoted to the general consideration of delinquent subcultures, and allowing for certain easily identifiable differences between American and British areas of delinquency one does not feel inclined to quarrel with any of the views expressed, and in the last four chapters there is a wealth of instruction on the way in which

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

the subcultures develop, and how though legitimate and illegitimate opportunity is offered to everyone, it may be that in the social structure of the slum, the illegitimate opportunity may be more easily taken. Can one quarrel with this? "We believe," say Cloward and Ohlin, "that each individual occupies a position in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures. This is a new way of defining the situation." Can one quarrel with this?

The examination of the slum climate is probably the most difficult part of the book to understand. It is, naturally, entirely American and deals with the criminal, the violent and the retreatist in terms which are not entirely familiar to us. Even the language is strange to us, though no doubt we have some ideas about the rackets, the 'busting' of gas stations and the behaviour of cool cats . . . but this is generally pretty strange reading, and we are not helped when American history is quoted, telling all about the Bowery Boys and the Little Dead Rabbits of the 1850's, though we may well be persuaded by the authors that "the immigrant has been the principal constituent of the American slum" and foresee that we may well have similar problems in the not too distant future. There is an interesting thought in the statement that "the 'welfare-state' — through its income-maintenance programmes, such as home-relief, aid to dependent children, old-age security — has taken over a function once performed more or less adequately by the political machine."

Nevertheless, despite the American idiom (and this makes for enjoyable and informative reading) it may still be possible to agree with the conclusion that the major effort of those who wish to eliminate delinquency should be directed to the reorganisation of slum communities. The authors believe that slum neighbourhoods seem to be undergoing progressive disintegration, where the old social structures which once gave social control and opened up avenues of social advancement are now breaking down. The plea is for proper working substitutes for these traditional structures if any progress is to be made in stopping the trend towards violence and retreatism.

Good though this is, as a text book of ideas, it is not likely to enjoy such a vogue among prison and other institutional personnel as **Reluctant Rebels** by Howard Jones, Tavistock Publications, 230 pp., 30s. 0d.

Dr. Jones, Lecturer in Social Studies at Leicester University, begins in a way which will appeal to the residential worker in any correctional establishment (provided this same worker can stand a little criticism) when he says "The lay visitor to the average correctional school is almost always very impressed by what he sees. He sees a hundred or more delinquent children, well-fed, and living in hygienic and sometimes attractive rural surroundings; and busy all day in well-equipped class rooms and workshops. It seems an ideal setting within to essay the task of reforming deprived and rebellious young children." But all is not gold . . . Results? In England, says Dr. Jones, one in every three of these children remains unreformed, returning after his stay of anything up to three years away from home to the sort of anti-social

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

activity for which he was originally committed.

It is the hidden world of the school, (and it could well be a prison) below the tranquil order and discipline, that has its own heirarchies, its own conventions as to loyalty and moral behaviour, its own means of enforcing obedience to the social code. And, because this world is below the surface, it remains, sometimes, almost unaffected by the rehabilitative work of the correctional staff in a similar way to which the violent boys and drug-takers of the American slum operate in a world which may be virtually untouched by the neighbourhood worker or other law-enforcement officer from City Hall. Sometimes this hidden world comes roughly and noisily to the surface . . . names like Standon Park, or Carlton School, spring to mind and most correctional workers have bitter memories about the day when the hidden world came into view. It was never a pleasant sight.

Can this world, so tight and secure in its normal seclusion, be a self-governing place?

Dr. Jones describes various experiments, like Homer Lane's Little Commonwealth, and the work of A.S. Neill, G.A. Lyward, David Wills and other pioneers, and goes on to give the history of Group Therapy. Psychodrama, Sociometry, Activity Therapy and the Civil Resettlement Units for ex-P.O.W.'s are all described in a way which is clear and concise. There is also sympathetic reference to group work in the prisons. Then the book moves on to what is a highly interesting and important description of work in "Woodmarsh School" a residential community for forty disturbed boys aged ten to fourteen years whose difficulties had arisen mainly from unfavourable home circumstances. The book begins to live as it describes the various committees in which staff and boys work out some of the problems of the community (and perhaps some of their own) in language where words like 'jealousy' are used instead of 'sibling rivalry' in the language of psychoanalysis, though these terms are conveniently inserted for the more learned reader without too much talking down to the less sophisticated.

There is a chapter on Love and Authority where the need for adult love is stressed, against a background of such quotations as "A boy goes straight for a person and not for an ideal" (C. A. Joyce) and later the need for group acceptance is stressed, as secondary to adult love, but still a matter of vital importance to all except the very youngest children, and among older persons perhaps the psychopath. It is through the group that the delinquent must make his adjustment to the wider society outside the family.

The role of the adult (and the differences which arise in the ranks of the staff over their roles in any group process) is explained with great care, and it is stressed that it is of the greatest importance that the staff should be in agreement. The dissemination of understanding is in fact the important thing, says Jones, and the staff groups and the participation in therapy both help in different ways to achieve this. It seems to come as a surprise to the author that "even" custodial officers in as highly disciplined an institution as a closed prison can conduct therapy

BOOK REVIEWS—*cont.*

groups successfully, if given an opportunity and suitable preparation.

Some of the later chapters of *Reluctant Rebels* are perhaps more for the directors of group work than the lay workers in this field, but the whole book repays careful reading by all correctional workers . . . "even" those of us who work in prisons.

For the advanced worker with groups, Dr. W. R. Bion's **Experiences in Groups** Tavistock Publications, 20s. 0d., produces in its 190 pages much useful atmosphere of the actual group situations, and discusses the role of the leader in various kinds of group. Anyone who has gone sufficiently into group work as to fancy that interpretation of the group mood is an easy thing would be well advised to study Dr. Bion's own technique, of which he tells us only a little (by actual recording) but quite a lot when one reads between the lines. It is nevertheless a book for the expert, and many lay workers fully recognise their need of a trained expert to advise and assist them in the more difficult areas of their work. For such experts, and for some long-term practitioners in group work, the Tavistock publications provide much useful material, and a book by Dr. Bion would serve as the basis of a staff study group . . . another "group" of people who are 'ganging up' . . .

Prison officers (or anyone who works with groups of people who regard 'villainy' as a word of real meaning) will be interested in the background of **Smiling Damned Villain** by Rupert Croft-Cooke, Secker & Warburg, 18s. 0d., which in its 246 pages tells the life story of Paul Axel Lund. From the gaol at Lucknow, and various "Army nicks" via Winson Green to Walton (and a riot) and thence to Reading, then truly a Gaol, with the usual "I had Oscar Wilde's old cell," and so to Dartmoor, moves our hero, and he is a figure of heroic proportions, if to quote Messrs. Cloward and Ohlin *once* again, one values "stealth, dexterity, wit and 'front'," But Lund's capacity to avoid detection, the other great "criminal" value, was surely a mere fifty per cent of his professional life. All the same he had a good run for other people's money, and now, more or less settled in his little bar in Tangiers, he tells his biographer "Villains are born, not made. Real villains I mean. They're natural phenomena. Like artists and poets. Villainy's not often hereditary, either. Villainy's something that's in you. You may not practise it any more, but you can't cut it out like an appendix."

Prison staff asked to talk to outside groups will find the Central Youth Executive's **Choice of Career booklet No. 76—The Prison Service** a useful nine pennyworth. Prepared by the Ministry of Labour and Central Office of Information, published by the Stationery Office, it would also be acceptable reading by all newcomers to prison work.

A book which might come out, sometime, might be a companion to **Elizabeth: Young Policewoman** in the Bodley Head Career Novels, and might describe how Mary, or Martha (all the other girls have become models, farmers, or surgeons, or something with so-called glamour) became a Prison Officer.

M. W.

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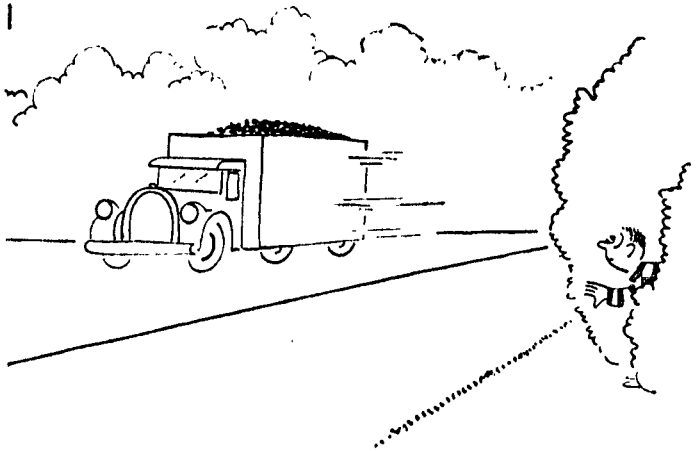

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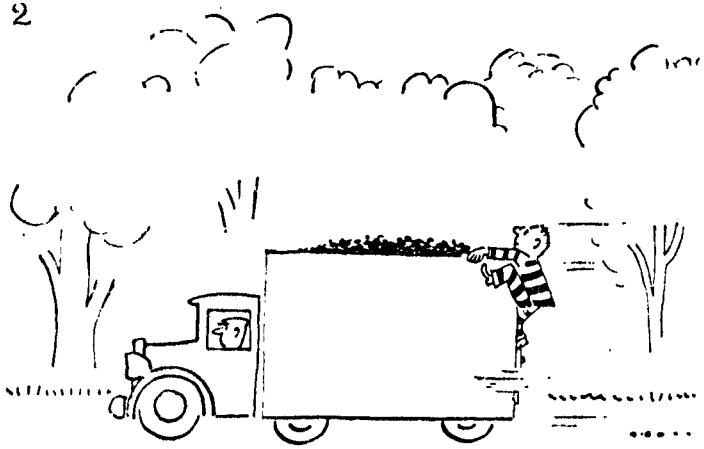

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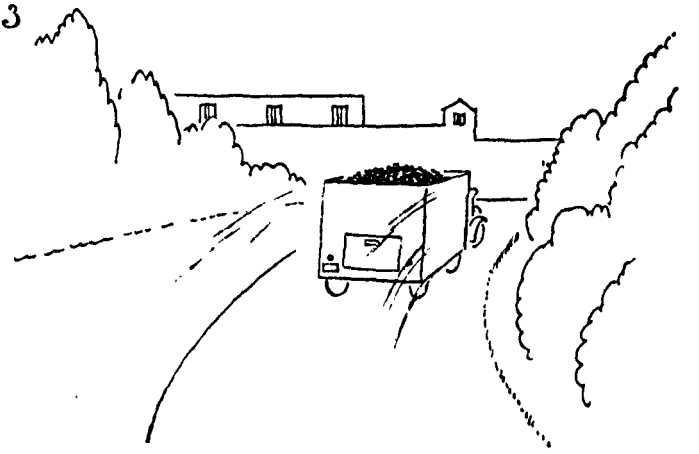

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