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Offender Therapy in Prison and Outside

S. W. ENGEL, M.D. (Heidelberg)

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IN ORDER to clarify our ideas regarding the aims and possibilities of offender therapy, we start with a schematic subdivision of the developmental types of delinquency:

(1) *Incidental delinquency.* One or more offences committed by an otherwise law-abiding individual within days or weeks.

(2) *Intermittent delinquency.* Offences committed intermittently for no obvious reason over a period of months or years.

(3) *Delinquent episode.* Offences committed consistently over a period of months or years, e.g. in adolescence or old age.

(4) *Habitual criminality.* The criminal's life has been shaped by his offences and their consequences. Unable to cope with his problems which are becoming increasingly insoluble, he gradually drifts into a criminal way of life. Frequently by the time he is 30, he has become an outcast and habitual criminal.

SCOPE OF OFFENDER TREATMENT

Effective offender therapy may reduce the extent and duration both of *incidental and intermittent delinquency,* and prevent them from deteriorating into *delinquent episodes.* Successful treatment may limit the extent and duration of a delinquent episode and also prevent it from deteriorating into habitual criminality. Even habitual criminals may, if circumstances are favourable, be redeemed and helped to return to normal society.

Nine years ago I began treating juveniles on remand in Heidelberg Prison. Results with this group were encouraging, so three years ago I started with adult prisoners, both on remand and under sentence in the prison. In addition, I also work at an outpatient clinic, where discharged prisoners, adult and

juvenile, are referred to me by the court or probation officers. Some, sent by their families, I see in my private office.

Heidelberg is a medium-sized university town in West Germany. Its two probation officers supervise offenders, undertake after-care with certain discharged prisoners and help others in need. I advise these officers and discuss difficult cases with them; I also co-operate closely with our criminal pedagogue, a woman of many years' experience in treating delinquent children and young people. We hope shortly to engage a specially trained social psychologist.

The Criminological Institute of the university carries out research and makes diagnostic reports of offender patients for the courts. A private after-care organisation looks after discharged patients, and also pays for psychotherapy in the prison and outside.

The prison building, built about a hundred years ago, holds from 130 to 150 prisoners, half of whom are male. Ages range from 16 to 70 and usually include about 10 juveniles. The inmates have committed every type of offence, including murder. Many are on remand, awaiting psychiatric evaluation by the University Clinic. If juveniles are suspected of being members of a gang, police investigation may take a long time and this necessitates a lengthy period of remand.

The prison staff of 23, consists of both administrative officials and prison officers; the latter having attended specialised training courses in psychology and sociology. Two social workers, a Catholic and a Protestant, are attached to the prison.

Offenders desire no treatment. They suffer, not from their offences, but from their legal and social consequences. Delinquents become amenable to treatment only when they have internalised their suffering and have developed a sense of guilt and are feeling anxious about themselves. In thus preparing them for treatment, as in many other respects, close co-operation with the probation officer is invaluable and the more friendly and informal the relation between the therapist and the probation officer, the better the results. The probation officer has the advantage of not being overawed by psychiatric diagnosis. He selects and refers patients for treatment, after having observed them in their life situations and not because certain labels are attached to them.

We co-operate closely with the Psychiatric Inpatient Clinic of the university and refer patients who are in need of inpatient treatment, e.g. severe alchoholics or certain sexual offenders who might benefit from chemotherapy.

Therapy in prison has various aspects. Though in practice these

inevitably overlap, they may, for theoretical purposes, be enumerated as follows:

1. *Improving the atmosphere in prison*

Both the officers and the inmates, each in their own way, suffer from the restricted life. The officers must absorb and somehow cope with the continuous pressure under which the men labour, and they may in turn take this strain out on the prisoners. By reducing the tension it is possible to prevent explosions and dangerous occurrences, such as men "running riot", attempting suicide or attempted escape. The therapist can counteract the aggressive ("he man") approach of the strutting and key-clattering officers, while encouraging those officers who combine authority with humanity. It helps to discuss worrisome situations in the prison and to take note of their observations. I take them into my confidence to some degree, make them the spokesmen for the prisoners and ask their advice in selecting inmates for therapy. Moreover, I show a friendly personal interest in them, and have even played cards with them so as to establish a more relaxed atmosphere.

2. *Mitigating excessive prison reactions*

The most common reaction to prison is the initial depression with its accompanying feelings of sadness, anxiety and despair. These abate after a while, but are sometimes abnormally strong, either in duration or in extremes of suffering, leading to suicidal attempts or trances and morbid ideas during the night. The offender relives his offence again and again in the most agonising manner, sometimes almost deliriously. Such excessive reactions can be relieved by supportive therapy.

Treatment of sentenced offenders does not differ essentially from that given to men on remand. However, the sentence, implying the legal finding of his guilt and the certainty of his imprisonment, usually creates a new trauma and great strain which may cause friction with his fellow inmates, the prison officers, his family or visitors. All will benefit if this tension is reduced by therapy.

3. *Coming to terms with the offence and its implications*

Offenders usually go through a mental process of "elucidation" set in motion by the arrest and the imprisonment, trying to think out what led to the offence, its implications and consequences.

Initially, the deed is foremost in their mind; later, their thinking is dominated by the punishment. Some offenders avoid coming to terms with their offence by dwelling exclusively on the punishment, its implications and consequences. Such blocking out of the misdeed is a poor start for a new life. Imprisonment has a constructive

value if it helps the offender to cope with the wrongs he did and his feelings of guilt.

4. *Helping the prisoner to accept his punishment*

By accepting his punishment the prisoner reaffirms his identification with society, and this enables him to dissociate himself from his misdeed. If the offender can be made to see the justification and indeed even the psychological value of the punishment, he is amenable to therapeutic and socialising influences and is ready for a new start. However, many prisoners try to ward off punishment mentally, turning it into something purely negative and harmful or accepting it only superficially, thus continuing their attitude of distrust and defiance of society.

5. *Preparing the inmate for freedom*

This aspect is of utmost importance. Years of submission and living by regulations make the prisoner unfit for life and the harshly competitive world of "freedom" where he is inevitably at a disadvantage. He will be faced with the serious problems of job finding and possibly with poverty; he may have to contend with difficulties that have arisen in his marriage and with his family during his imprisonment; he will have to make a fresh start socially and find new friends.

It is important, with the help of the family and the social worker, to lay the groundwork so as to give the discharged man a reasonable chance for a good start. If he has less cause to worry about the future, he will stand up better to his imprisonment.

Effective after-care is of course essential. To ensure continuity of therapy I also work at an out-patient clinic which accepts discharged prisoners who attend voluntarily.

6. *Pedogogic approaches*

Patients who are either not in need of, or not amenable to, deeper therapy are often helped by direct approaches. I try to guide, educate, advise and warn them of adverse consequences of their ill-thought-out plans and anti-social attitudes.

7. *Individual therapy*

(a) *Insight therapy.* In the case of the more difficult patients I try to understand their personalities and background, fathom their underlying conflicts and motives and try to reach their unconscious via free association methods, the analysis of dreams and psychological tests. Individual therapy is "uni-directional" based on the patient-therapist relation, thus enabling the therapist to adopt one essential role. Individual therapy establishes a mental intimacy which enables the patient to discuss his sexual pathology in depth.

If we succeed in resolving the psychic disturbances that led to law breaking, correct the offender's

faulty attitudes to life, giving him positive values and a social purpose, he can be resocialised.

(b) *Expression therapy.* Certain patients can express themselves in painting or modelling; this helps them to clarify their feelings and helps them to put their past behind them, shape their concepts of their present self and plan for a better future.

8. *Group therapy*

In contrast to the "uni-directional" aspect of individual therapy, a more complicated play of forces and counter-forces arises in group therapy between the therapist and the group as well as between the various members of the group. The element of drama present in the group setting overcomes normal reserve. Members adopt certain roles. There are the opposers who "act out" the aggression of the group; the moralisers, criticising and restraining the others; the neutralisers, trying to balance extremes; and those who spur on the others both constructively or destructively. The group situation sets the stage for displaying attitudes. In the discussion, aspects of character of the participants emerge, and attitudes such as lust for power, exuberance, shallowness of feeling or criminal deviousness, become apparent. The group also fosters a community spirit which evokes response from anyone capable of feeling and which, by correcting and modifying self-centredness, helps to socialise.

Our groups consist of up to seven inmates of varied types. We have "open" groups for prisoners on remand. These necessarily fluctuate and tend to change their character, since the participants appear suddenly and disappear equally suddenly on release, or when, after sentence, they are transferred to another institution. The "closed" groups for the sentenced prisoners remain fairly constant and this enables us to plan them. Some of our groups are homogeneous, as in the case of sex offenders, who have one main problem in common. We also have heterogeneous groups for offenders of all types. Best results are achieved where group therapy is combined with individual treatment.

In my criminological lectures at the university, I present offender patients to the students. To give this situation a positive meaning I try to create a sort of "psychodrama", consisting of three participants: (a) the audience asks questions, trying to draw out the offender, challenging and criticising some of his statements; (b) the offender patient who usually reponds favourably, and (c) the therapist, who only intervenes occasionally. The patient quite often feels, after the lecture, that

such a discussion has helped him to clarify some of his problems.

To conclude with three cases:

DELINQUENT EPISODE
(Car stealing)

This 17-year-old young man had been the leader of a gang of car thieves. They stole cars for their own use, but also damaged some, selling the parts in various different cities. The patient was the most intelligent and daring of the gang; without a driving licence he had taught himself and then trained a pal of his to stop suddenly in the middle of a very fast drive and turn back. This trick helped him to escape arrest on several occasions.

The court took a poor view of his case and gave him an indeterminate sentence of one to three years. Coming from a middle class background after doing poorly in several schools, he eventually dropped out. His parents were so busy with their own affairs that they did not even notice when he stayed away night after night. He had a history of stammering. His younger sister was very successful and in every way did far better than her brother. The gang offered him the sense of security and of belonging that he missed at home. When I saw him in prison he met me with cold arrogance, but eventually I overcame his defences, and a sensitive boy with a deep sense of inferiority emerged. He was obsessed by ambition, longed for thrills and gambled with danger. I made him face his inability to integrate his personality, pointing out how he had turned from a schoolboy into a casual labourer, then acted as an elevator boy and finally become a thief. He was happiest as a car thief, enjoying the danger. In prison he made a suicidal attempt which revealed the intensity of his self-destructive trends. At first he denied these and that he gambled with his life; after a while he admitted but minimised these attitudes and eventually accepted the full extent of the destructiveness and self-destructiveness that dominated his life. The next step in therapy was to help him to detach himself from his past and to plan a positive future. He began to make plans but they were too grandiose, more fit for the movies than the real world. It was obvious, however, that he was unable to finish high school and that this barred him from a career. Slowly he faced this painful fact and gradually he became less irrational, and his destructive impulses receded. I advised him to start humbly and undertake an apprenticeship. Since this hurt his pride deeply, he fought my suggestion tooth and nail but eventually he took an apprenticeship training in prison, putting all his energy into it. The third phase of treatment was after his discharge from

prison. Again, characteristically, he tried to do everything at once to make up for lost time. He continued with the treatment on the outside voluntarily; his mother, who could not at first face the seriousness of the situation, was most helpful once she had recovered from the first shock.

After this patient had passed his apprenticeship examinations he was able to embark on a more ambitious career. His emotional and personal reactions also changed completely; thus, for example, he has committed no further offences, and he visits a sick friend every day in hospital.

DELINQUENT EPISODE
(Violence and offences against property)

An 18-year-old offender had a poor relation with his parents. The father was a bully, the mother irascible and smacked his face on the slightest provocation. With his brother, however, he got on well. He felt bitter that his parents took no interest in him, but spent their evenings watching television, and also that they forced him to take up a career he detested. At 13 he took part in a burglary; gradually he drifted into beatnik company who were "the first people ready to listen" to him. Then he got mixed up with delinquents and was apprehended for using knives and knuckledusters. Sexually promiscuous since 15 he let his hair grow long and went round with a guitar. Running away from home several times he got mixed up with a roving band of juveniles, travelling even to foreign countries. When eventually arrested, he was charged with 30 offences of theft and burglary. After seven months' remand he was sentenced to an indeterminate sentence of two to four years in a juvenile prison.

I treated him in the institution, helping him solve his ambivalent relation to his parents who had disowned him, and to work out why he was driven from one juvenile group to another. The aim of the therapy was to develop his resilience and make him emotionally independent. Encouraged in therapy to paint and model, which he had never done before, he learned to express through these media what he could not put into works. This helped him to clarify his thoughts and feelings, he realised how much he detested the business world and that he wanted a more congenial occupation. He discovered an interest in, and ability for, interior decorating. Expression therapy thus enabled him to shape a new future.

DELINQUENT EPISODE
(Exhibitionism)

A 15-year-old boy was referred for treatment by the court for exhibitionism. Since he was 13 he had been in the habit of hiding

in the forest, on the outskirts of the village, or in the entrance of a house waiting for very young girls, and then masturbated in front of them. Physically and mentally underdeveloped, he was a very immature personality; sexually precocious he was quite unable to cope with his strong sexual impulses. My aim was to lessen his need for a sexual dramatisation, to develop social attitudes and to decrease his narcissistic concentration on his own body. I treated him for half a year, at monthly intervals, by making him aware of the irrational and aggressive aspects of his masturbatory activities and telling him that sex is only satisfactory if it becomes part of an emotional and personal relation.

He did not know any of the girls in front of whom he masturbated and was not likely to meet them again. They were shadowy figures to him, forming only an anonymous background for his fantasies. Actually he was timid, inhibited, lonely and had no friends. In the course of the treatment he became more outgoing. He started to play the trumpet in a jazz club, took an interest in football and went to dancing classes. He began to make friends with boys and girls. As he formed closer personal relations, he stopped his exhibitionistic activities, both because other satisfactions lessened his sexual needs and because he would have been ashamed had his friends known of his offences. As he matured he found a steady girl friend and there was no further trouble.

CONTRIBUTORS

CARTOONIST MAXWELL ATKINSON, formerly of the Home Office Research Unit, is now with the research department of the University of Essex.

MARK BEESON lectures in criminology at the Staff College. After studying psychology at London he was a teacher before engaging in social research for the B.B.C. and Goverment Social Survey. He is an Associate of the British Psychological Society and is currently engaged on a study of unemployment and delinquency.

MELITTA SCHMIDEBERG, in private psychiatric practice, is President of the Association for Psychistric Treatment of Offenders and was formerly Medical Adviser to the Board of Correction of New York City.

REV. J. H. DREW is Assistant Chaplain General.

J. S. FLETCHER is Psysical Education Instructor at Feltham borstal. He holds coaching awards for basket ball, canoeing and gymnastics.

DR. S. W. ENGEL is psychiatrist at Heidelberg Prison, West Germany.

Police . . . old and new

A History of Police in England and Wales 900–1966

T. A. CRITCHLEY

Constable 50s. 0d.

The Gentle Arm of the Law

Life as a Policewoman

JENNIFER HILTON

Educational Explorers 21s. 0d.

WHILE IT MAY BE necessary, these days, to employ a public relations officer at New Scotland Yard and to use the skills and arts of world-famous designers to clothe our women police officers, no one with any knowledge of our colleagues in the police forces would deny that, when all is said and done, it is the character and personality of the man or woman behind the uniform which not only creates public interest in the Force but sustains the Force if and when public opinion is subjected to pressures not always beneficial to service morale or public confidence. The same is true of the Prison Service but we have not as yet been able to present such a clear picture of our aims. "The primary object of an efficient police is the prevention of crime . . ."; the words of Sir Richard Mayne, one of Peel's first Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police, was an admirable opening sentence for the first instructions to the newly-joining constables of 1829 whose life and duties are described (with the painstaking attention to detail one might have expected from a Victorian photographer) by Mr. Critchley: it was still the opening sentence of the sergeant who was Miss Hilton's instructor in 1955. Just over 100 years separated the constables, in their blue tailed coat, blue trousers (white trousers optional in summer) and a glazed black top-hat strengthened with a thick leather crown, from the policewoman who even in 1955 had a smart, made-to-measure uniform.

Mr. Critchley, who was Principal Private Secretary to Mr. R. A. Butler, then Home Secretary, from 1957–60, writes penetratingly of the "long hours of toil and tedium, aching feet, boredom and blisters, coarse jokes over a mug of tea, countless brawls in streets and pubs, more foot-slogging by moonlight or starlight with a lantern searching down a dark alleyway, a sergeant breathing down a man's neck on morning parade,

the stink of police cells when tramps are unlocked on a fine summer's morning, wearing in a new pair of boots, issue of a whistle instead of a rattle, the chase after a youth when a man finds himself out of breath at 40 and begins to see the end, the longed-for day of release on a small pension if luck or ill-health earn it after all: it is surely possible for the policeman of today to catch a faint breath of the daily routine of the policeman in Queen Victoria's time . . .".

Miss Hilton joined when she was 20 years of age, having had some slight experience of social work in an East End settlement. She describes her training at Peel House . . . 15 male trainees to three girls . . . "we are either spoilt or persecuted on courses—never ignored" . . . a sentiment which may well be echoed by women prison officers. Five years later Miss Hilton was a sergeant and in 1965, 10 years after joining, she was on a course for qualification to inspector rank. Shortly she takes up a two-year teaching posting to the staff of the National Police College at Bramshill. Her concept of her work is that the usefulness of police duty "lies somewhere between that of doctors and dustmen".

"Policewomen", she says, "fit into the pattern of policing, not by catching criminals (although many find this interesting) which can usually just as well be done by the men, nor by searching women prisoners, which could just as well be done by a matron, but by providing a link with, and to some extent supplementing the social services".

Miss Hilton's book, which is in the "My Life and Work" series and a companion volume to Nicholas Tyndall's *Prison People*, is good background reading for any young lady who thinks she just might be interested in becoming a policewoman. Certainly after reading this modestly expressed, purely personal account, no one will be put off; rather will their interest be stimulated. From a purely Prison Service angle, it is interesting to have the comments of an intelligent and observant "professional" colleague on our own establishments. She says some of her training class went to Holloway . . . "I felt I had seen quite enough of this grim place when, dressed in plain clothes, I had taken a prisoner there and almost been incarcerated myself! I put myself down for the trip to Hill Hall, a women's open prison. Set in rolling countryside beyond Epping Forest, this is a pleasant place in wide grounds. The groups of prisoners looked pale and plump as though fed extensively on starch. It was rather like a subdued girls' boarding school, except for the babies in prams in the cloisters, until I read the regulations in one of the dormitories and found (medieval touch) that they could still be punished

with three days' bread and water". She adds that the course made her more aware of the methods of treatment available, or lacking, for the people arrested by the police and taken before the courts. She began to feel that reform was more difficult than prevention, and solutions would only be found in the criminal's background.

This is the sort of book which police forces will use for recruitment purposes, and it should perform a useful public relations function for the police as a national institution.

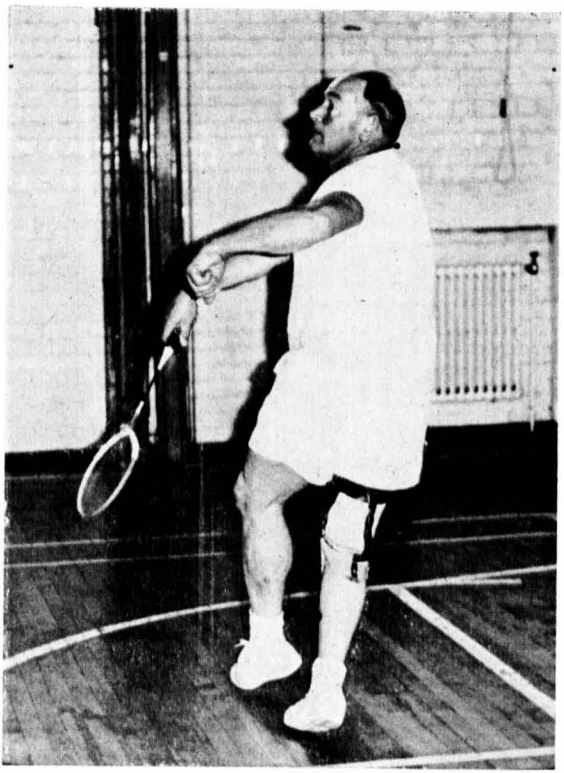
Mr. Critchley's 347 pages of quite small type represents a major study of the whole police system in England and Wales, as compared with Miss Hilton's 115 pages of very readable, larger type, and his work on this subject may very readily be compared, and not unfavourably, with the late Sir Lionel Fox's book on the prisons and borstals. Both, though at first glance rather formidable, turn out to be very much easier reading than one would have imagined, and there are quite a few flashes of humour and a pleasant taste in selecting anecdotes and quotations. There is a particularly fascinating chapter beginning with the sentence: "Police history would almost certainly have taken a different course had Churchill remained at the Home Office to direct the police and not the Navy, after 1914". The same might be said about the Prison Service. A few years before the battle of Sydney Street (when armed policemen and soldiers fought a battle with two Russian anarchists, whose gang had already murdered two policemen and maimed two others, and Mr. Churchill himself "directed" operations for a period and was much criticised for so doing) the police service had been having internal trouble, much of it over the "right to confer" and Mr. Critchley tells the story of Inspector Syme who, as a young officer, had shown great promise but later fell out with his superiors, accusing them of oppression and injustice. Syme, as an enquiry many years later showed, had right on his side but lacked discretion. He inspired agitation in the Press and in Parliament, was disciplined and dismissed. He then embarked on a vendetta against the Commissioner, published libellous pamphlets, and associated with Kempster, founder of the *Police Review*. In 1913, Syme started a clandestine union, the Metropolitan Police Union, afterwards styled the National Union of Police and Prison Officers. His later career was punctuated by spells of prison sentences for criminal libel and for trying to cause disaffection among the police in wartime. He was frequently on hunger strike and was eventually admitted to Broadmoor. The Government awarded him substantial compensation in 1931 but by then his mind was affected

and he ended his days throwing bricks through the windows of the Home Office. He died in 1955.

The "right to confer" and many other points of grievance were eventually dealt with . . . and so police history is made. Newly joining police (and prison) officers of today accept the benefits of history: it is rather sad that we do not always give credit to the men whose lives and struggles were the flesh and bones of history. Mr. Critchley's book is the first full-length history for nearly 70 years, and Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Jacob, in the Newsam Memorial Lecture at the Police College said: "At times it seems like a work of fiction, so hard is it to believe that some of the events really happened".

No historian needs a better recommendation.

M. W.



What is the link between the borstal at Hatfield and Mr. Ralph Speight, of Doncaster, here pictured playing badminton?

Disabled?—Not so as you'd notice it!

J. S. FLETCHER

VISIT A SPORTS club in Doncaster and you will see young people training together at weight lifting, older men enjoying a game of badminton, and in one corner a young girl at her archery practice. Nothing very exciting about that, you may say, and you would be right, except for two things: first, lads of Hatfield borstal (and some of their officers) are behind-the-scene workers at this club; second, the weight lifters, the badminton players and even the girl archer are all disabled . . . for this is the Doncaster Polio Sports Club.

How did all this happen? For the past three years Mr. S. R. Norris, my fellow physical education instructor, half a dozen lads from the borstal and myself have been helping the Doncaster branch of the Polio Fellowship with their swimming sessions. This, begun under the encouragement of Mr. M. P. H. Coombes when he was our governor, consisted of helping the patients to learn to swim, largely by "being around" especially near the more disabled. Last year, at one of these sessions, we were approached by some of the members to start a sports club. They had no knowledge of any sports which would be suitable for them, no place to operate . . . all they had was a wish to take part in sport of some kind. After discussion they also had the willingness of two P.E.I.'s, to help, and the possibility of using the borstal gymnasium if the governor agreed. By this time the governor was Mr. T. R. Carnegie and, when we discussed our plans with him, he agreed that the gymnasium could be used on a Sunday morning when most of the lads would be at Church. It was decided that members would need a certificate from their doctors and at the same time it was agreed that we, the instructors, must find out as much as possible about the work we were about to undertake. So, we had a place to work, more than likely

The Club (with the author extreme left, his colleague P. E. I. Norris extreme right)

a good few members, but our own knowledge needed a boost.

Having visited the spinal injuries unit at Wakefield's famous Pinderfields Hospital, and remembering their sports section, I decided we must seek their advice. As soon as Mr. M. Smart and Mr. B. Gordon, their remedial gymnasts, knew our problems they were delighted to help. During our visit we watched basketball and, as before, I was filled with admiration for the way in which this game was tackled. No doubt many factors come into the rehabilitation of disabled people, but surgery, various kinds of therapy, even psychiatry, all may not be enough for people who suddenly find the use of their legs gone and who are faced with the prospect of spending the rest of their lives in a wheel chair. Yet here they were, playing basketball, and playing it like professionals.

After more advice, we decided on basketball, badminton, table tennis and weight lifting. When we returned we were a little apprehensive when we considered the physical condition of some of our friends, and decided that unless we could really appreciate their difficulties we would not get anywhere—we decided to learn things as they would have to learn them—in a wheel chair.

Visitors to institutions are usually introduced to P.E.I.'s, and generally they make some good-humoured crack about "muscle

men"; I wonder what some of our visitors to the club thought when they saw two able-bodied muscle men in wheel chairs? Any one who plays basketball will understand our problems if he sees how many baskets out of 10 he can get when sitting on a chair at the free throw line. Or in another sport, have you ever tried to throw a javelin while sitting down? If you practice this, remember also that an able-bodied person in a chair will eventually become the more proficient; then you have some idea how difficult this is for the disabled.

Nevertheless, we got on with it, and in due time we formed a team. We played Pinderfields: the final score was something like 88 against us, four against them, and that included two points they gave us! We realised we were too old and too slow, and so basketball became a relaxing game for us as opposed to a competitive one, but please do not think we gave up everything just because we were too old and too slow for basketball. I am sure the example of Carl Hepple, captain of the Pinderfields team, was an inspiration to our team members. We were all delighted when he was voted paraplegics "Sportsman of the Year". Our own record, possibly not too bad for our first full year, included two first awards at bonda bowls, two firsts in the women's shot, discus and javelin, two seconds in lightweight and heavyweight weight lifting (120 lb. and 175 lb. press respectively). one certificate for best overall team and eight certificates for wheel chair racing.

We began with patients who were disabled by polio or sclerosis. We now have amputees . . . and after she has had an operation for arthritis we hope to have a blind patient too. Believe it or not, she has not only tried archery but has hit the target too.

Two men with the use of only one arm each are playing billiards and snooker thanks to the ingenuity of our vocational training course instructors, who made a two and a half inch base on which a movable arm is fitted. This serves as the other hand and can be raised or lowered as required.

The Doncaster Round Table came to our aid, introduced to us by our former deputy governor, Mr. J. R. Sandy, and after a mammouth jumble sale gave the club over £80 worth of equipment for badminton and archery. When the Tablers gave us all this we entertained them to an achery contest—and beat them.

Mr. Knowles, our trade assistant carpenter, is another regular Sunday morning helper who has given a lot of time and thought to our problems.

Usually some six lads help us in the gymnasium or at archery on the field. They never fail to be moved by the courage and patience of our members. After all it isn't

every day you have the chance to see a girl "knock and shoot" . . . using only her feet.

We started with eight members, now we have an average of 14 each week. One, with hemiplegia, plays badminton and snooker; this condition follows a stroke and generally this type of patient is not suited to strenuous games of any kind, but if the game is regulated to the patient there is no reason why he should not play a game . . . ours certainly does, and enjoys it. Another, a sclerosis case, could only manage, and with very great effort, to pull a two and a half pound weight on a piece of string along the floor to him as he sat in his wheel chair. Since he began as a member he has progressed so far that he can pull another wheel chair (with a patient in it) and he also does archery using a 28 lb. bow at a 20 yards range. Janet, who only has the use of her legs, finds archery to her taste. She sits, picks the arrows, knocks the bow, draws and fires the bow over 30 to 40 yards . . . all this with the feet only. One of our more recent members, with total amputation of both legs at upper third of the thigh, does weight lifting and indoor games. Nothing we have been able to do with these people would have been possible without their determination, patience and will power.

Our first amputee, besides being a very good badminton player, is also an excellent swimmer. We haven't taught this man a lot, but he says: "If I miss a Sunday morning I feel awful. I wouldn't miss it for anything".

The emblem of the club, the phoenix, tells the story of this club, a story of "living again".

I am not an expert in this field, like our members I want to learn all I can and we have been helped by all sorts of people, like my colleague, P.E.I. Fryer from Wakefield, and to all of them we are grateful. Perhaps what I've written here may give someone else, somewhere else, an idea about doing something along the same lines for someone else in the same situation.

I'm leaving Hatfield now for Feltham borstal. I hear someone there is interested in a group of handicapped children. Perhaps they will be interested in sport. Who knows?

"If they extend this working-out scheme much more, we're going to become redundant!"

Psychotherapy for the Offender

MELITTA SCHMIDEBERG, M.D.

ONE OF THE hallmarks of a civilised society is its readiness to share its resources with "useless" members —looking after the sick, the infants, the unemployed and the aged. A further step in society's development towards greater humanity is extending its care even to those who actively injure law-abiding citizens. Both the Christian and Jewish faiths see in the criminal a human being, but their noble precepts were seldom applied in practice. Only in the last 200 years have civilized nations begun to take a serious interest in the welfare and mentality of the offender and develop humane approaches to crime prevention. The prime motive of all prison reform, of probation, rehabilitative measures as well as of offender therapy is humane compassion. Our ancestors had an effective and cheap method of dealing with criminals. They executed them, often on the spot; if they were merciful, quickly. Harsh though their solution was, at least they were spared the problem of recidivism.

Our generation falls between two stools. Conscience forbids us to execute or grossly ill-treat criminals, yet we have not decided whole-heartedly on rehabilitation. However, the fact must be faced that all who are unable or unwilling to support themselves, are supported by others. Financially, it does not make much difference to the community whether such "non-workers" live on social assistance, are supervised by probation officers, looked after by social workers or are maintained in prisons or mental hospitals. The number of criminals who have to be supported, is unfortunately not insignificant, and with the increasingly higher expectation of life most of them will live to a ripe old age. In addition, their families must also be cared for, and not infrequently, their children grow into maladjusted or delinquent personalities who constitute yet

another burden for the next generation. Thus, for humane as well as for practical motives we should face this problem squarely and tackle it rationally. The more prisoners are effectively rehabilitated, the better for the community, financially, socially and morally.

Offenders vary greatly, but one factor stands out. Few among them have a steady work record and vocational qualifications, and obviously a man unable to earn his living by honest means, is likely to become dishonest. But more than that: satisfying work roots a person in society. Without this, it is hard for him to find a decent wife or make desirable friendships. Unable to earn, he is bound to suffer from a sense of inferiority and will be exposed to hurts and slights, and is therefore likely to become maladjusted and possibly delinquent.

Good vocational training in youth helps to prevent delinquency, and the training or retraining of prisoners is an essential aspect of rehabilitation. Prison should provide a routine of work and a mode of living comparable to the efforts necessary in the competitive world of freedom.

Thus if we really mean seriously to rehabilitate offenders, we must train or retrain those who need it. This does not solve all problems, but it goes a long way. Continental countries of Western Europe are ahead of us with their systems of apprenticeship and training for the young: the retraining programmes for redundant workers, prisoners and others. They also have excellent workshops in their prisons. Their aim is not merely to keep inmates "busy" but to prepare them for competitive life outside. Industrial firms co-operate by placing orders in the prisons, and often even send a foreman to supervise and train the men with the blessing of the trade union. How else can they be prepared for gainful employment in freedom? We all know the great difficulties discharged prisoners encounter when looking for employment, and caution on the part of employers is understandable. Obviously, if these men are well qualified the employer will more readily overlook a man's record.

Muscles atrophy through disuse. An interesting experiment was made by keeping a healthy young man in bed for two weeks, allowing him neither to move, nor even feed himself. In this short span his muscles deteriorated 20 per cent. The same applies to mental faculties: initiative, memory, willpower, concentration, judgment and attention develop through example, training, practice and competition, but atrophy through prolonged inactivity.

The prisoner can only face the hard life after discharge if he is physically and mentally fit. He will certainly need all his resilience. Every start requires effort, even for a normal and healthy man,

whether he emigrates, moves to a different city or takes on a new job. It is still harder for people who have been sick or led abnormal lives in mental or penal institutions.

Considering the heavy odds under which a discharged prisoner labours, it is remarkable that the rate of recidivism is so low. If so many ill-prepared prisoners, given only very little help on the outside, manage to go straight, then surely a considerably higher proportion should do well, if they have been adequately prepared and if the after-care is more realistically planned.

It shows that most offenders really would prefer to belong to normal society and even many of those who have failed have struggled hard. The community will have to decide whether it genuinely wants rehabilitation and if so, plan it carefully, or prefers to return to the barbaric but logical solutions of our forbears.

Living conditions and feeding in prisons have steadily improved, but this is not enough. These should be such as to make the man really fit. Fruit is not a luxury, but an important source of vitamins. Fresh air is a necessity, and the more inmates can be employed on the outside, the better.

All prisoners suffer mentally from the artificial conditions, from the disgrace, the removal from normal life and worries about their family. Prison officers who live with the men are well aware of this. Suffering is inevitable, in fact society regards this suffering as inherent in the sentence. However, even apart from humane considerations too much suffering leads to mental deterioration and consequent maladjustment when discharged.

A healthy routine, purposive work and recreation, and some hope for the future will go a long way towards creating a better atmosphere and lessen the tension in prison. Much has been written about helping the families of prisoners, but little is being done. If the family can be kept intact, the returned prisoner has a far better chance of going straight, and moreover, his children are less likely to become maladjusted. Timely help often prevents a second generation of delinquents.

Offender therapy is a new concept, and it will take a generation to work out its details and precepts. It is in fact still a new thing even for law-abiding neurotics, and existing services for the community are grossly inadequate. This should not deter us however from providing therapy for prisoners who badly need it.

Prisoners must get used to the idea of therapy, the staff must learn what to expect from the therapist and work out methods of co-operation; the therapist himself has much to learn. Work in mental institutions, diagnostic work for the courts, private practice do not equip him for the situations he is

likely to encounter, nor help him to fathom the prisoner's mentality and problems.

Most offenders are unwilling patients on the outside, but in the isolation of prison, lonely and depressed, they are usually glad to talk to anybody sympathetic. It is a relief and a welcome change from monotony. But the therapist must be realistic in his approach and avoid patronising. He must also develop the right balance between inmates and staff. If he is indiscriminately on the side of the prisoners, he is bound to have trouble with the staff; if he has no sympathy with the prisoners, he cannot make contact. Certainly he should listen to their grievances, which are often justified; but self-pity is not constructive and he should keep a sense of proportion and not raise false hopes or make promises he cannot keep. Nor does it help to dwell too much on the past; the therapist must, without being unsympathetic, remind the patient of the fact that many people coming from equally bad conditions, with an unhappy childhood and poor family life, have managed to grow up into law-abiding citizens.

The patient must learn to adjust. After all, he is in trouble, because he could not get along with people and keep society's rules. Modern criminology has stressed, rightly, that too good an adjustment to prison is no preparation for normal life. On the other hand, neither is too much rebellion. As prisons are gradually becoming more of a community and the staff increasingly understanding, prisoners who get on with the officers are also more likely to get on with employers on the outside. It is both an advantage and a disadvantage to the therapist that he has no disciplinary authority. In the long run his influence on the inmates and the staff depends on his own personality and his ability to get on with people.

Psychoanalytic approaches are not suited for offenders who suffer from a lack of inhibition rather than from excess of it. "Abreaction" must be handled very cautiously in prison or it may cause explosive behaviour. Dwelling on the past is of less use than preparing for the future and coping with present difficulties. The approach should be a socialising one, the prisoner should learn to consider others and develop his own ability within given limits and possibilities.

Since the most difficult phase is the return to freedom after discharge, it is then that therapy and help is most needed. There should, if possible, be a continuity of treatment and after-care so that the same therapist can treat the prisoners after discharge.

Who Said That?

Base Durance and Contagious Prison . . .

Come let's away to prison . . . we two alone will sing like birds i'the cage

The raging rocks
And shivering shocks
Shall break the locks
Of prison gates

But that I am forbid to
Tell the secrets of my prison house
I could a tale unfold . . .

Shades of the prison house begin to close
Upon the growing boy

Stone walls do not a prison make . . .

"A bird cage, Sir", said Sam, "veels vithin veels, a prison in a prison"

If you wish to become someone, dare to do something worthy of banishment or imprisonment

No love is foul nor prison fair

As he went through Cold Bath Fields he saw a solitary cell
And the Devil was pleased for it gave him a hint
For improving his prisons in Hell

This Lime Tree Bower, my prison . . .

I have been studying how I may compare
This prison, where I live, with the world

★ *Shakespeare, The Bible, Herrick, Dickens, Juvenal, Coleridge, Wilde, Dostoievsky, Wordsworth . . .*

Which?

This is the season for public speaking

Rotary, Round Table, Church and Chapel groups, Young Farmers, Townswomen's Guilds, Women's Institutes, University Societies are all anxious to hear about prisons

An apt quotation benefits speaker and audience alike and on the opposite page there are some well-known (perhaps well-worn) sayings

A BOOK TOKEN

is offered for a list of the TEN most telling quotations

not including any of the examples

Entries to

EDITORIAL OFFICE
H. M. PRISON, BLUNDESTON
LOWESTOFT, SUFFOLK

not later than 1st February, 1968

A short report on the entries will appear in the April issue of the *Prison Service Journal*

The Prisoner— His Characteristics and Needs

J. H. DREW

WHEN I STARTED thinking about different types of prisoners, I imagined I would simply read a few books so as to give me a comprehensive list of types of human personality as found in prison—mainly so that the list would be a complete one. I knew a fair number of types myself but wanted to make a comprehensive survey. The more I read, however, the clearer it became that whatever else any list would be, it would not be comprehensive. No one is going to produce a neat list of human types into which we can fit all the people we meet in or out of prison. So when you come to the end of this and feel it is incomplete or superficial, be assured that no one is more conscious of that than I. So to human categories. The first great division in the field of delinquency is one that is often forgotten. It is two-fold:

(*a*) The caught (or failures at crime).

(*b*) The uncaught (or successful at crime).

It is a useful exercise to reflect that *a* is a very small proportion of *a* plus *b*. Further, all our work on *a* has no effect on *b*, and the moral and social conditions which cause the large *b* will continue also to produce the smaller *a*. In other words, however successful the Prison Department and any others become, in treating *a*, we will never be successful enough to be out of work.

Any work on human personality will give you certain types, and some of these labels have become part of our everyday language, as for instance:

(1) The extrovert (the outward looking person).

(2) The introvert (an obsessional person).

(3) The psychopath.

More will be said of (3) later.

It is interesting to note that modern writers on human personality still use the ancient divisions as laid down by Hippocrates though altering the actual wording. So the work of the Russian Pavlov

described in Sargents' *Battle for the Mind*, does this.

HIPPOCRATES	PAVLOV
(1) Choleric.	Strong, excitatory.
(2) Sanguine.	Lively.
(3) Phlegmatic.	Calm, imperturbable.
(4) Melancholic.	Weak, inhibitatory.

The trouble with "typing" human beings is that, as we all know, we have in us a mixture of types. This is what makes the subject a complex one, and this theme is one to which we must constantly return. Then there is the complication of having categories created by certain influences e.g.:

(1) Those categories created by prison administration—stars, Y.P.'s, B.I.'s, recalls, trainable ordinaries, ordinaries, C.T.'s, P.D.'s (already these are disappearing from the scene), lifers, and that *corps d'élite* of the prison world, picked out in startling technicolour from their fellow men, the E men, and the latest additions A, B, C and D. Many and varied are the "characteristics" imposed on men by being in one or other of these categories.

(2) Those created by prison society—the manipulator, the baron, the strong arm man, the trusty, the "bloody-minded", the grass, the "good" prisoner.

(3) The categories into which men are put because of the pattern of their criminal behaviour—the false pretender, the petty sneak thief, the robbery with violence, the often pathetic indecent exposure and, much rarer, the big time men, the forger or jewel thief.

(4) The medical types—epileptics, alcoholics and homosexuals.

(5) The psychological types—psychopaths and hysterics.

B. A. Johnson, principal psychologist at Risley, did some research in 1964 at Manchester amongst unsentenced Y.P.'s in custody awaiting a sentence or a trial. He points out that in "Penal Practice in a Changing Society" the Department declared its "wish to develop a system of classification which is based more on a study of the personalities of the offender and less on objective criteria such as previous convictions and sentences". His study led to the conviction that there are indeed different types of offenders, not only different types of people who become delinquent, but offenders who belong to different categories as offenders. He then went on to ask a question which I feel like having printed in red, like quotations from the Bible in Christmas letters to prisoners: "Is it possible at all to generalise in the uniqueness of human nature"? He defended what he went on to do by saying something we must all acknowledge in ourselves, when brought up short by such a

question. "Inadmissible or not", he said, "the fact is, we *do* generalise". We see patterns of human behaviour. And alas, we so often try to fit our human into these patterns, so that we can have a nice tidy label on him. Johnson's study can help us a good deal, especially when we remember that *he* asked the question about the uniqueness of human nature. He studied a group of young delinquents on the basis of the happy or unhappy family. Now this is something right up our street. Are not we always on about the importance of the family and how it is the basic unit in human life? The psychologist, be it known, says the same thing, only in somewhat different terms: "The foundations of the mature social personality are laid down in the earliest interpersonal relationships; vertically with parent figures as the embodiment of authority, and horizontally with siblings as the prototypal peer-group with its more or less subdued authoritarianism of hierarchic subordination and superordination". I could not resist quoting that one. Some of the areas which he investigated might be of help to us in getting to understand our younger men better and have some kind of case history about them. The three main areas of human life studied were:

DOMESTIC STABILITY—because this is a social achievement, in that it involves living with others, coming to terms with them as equals rather than as people from whom one can expect a home as a right.

COURTSHIP. This is a unique form of personal relationship demanding personal commitment. It is a measure of maturity in that only those who have attained sufficient maturity are able to commit themselves to this degree of mutual intimacy. Loving and being loved is a threat to the immature. Against this, as evidence on the personality we are studying, is the fact that having a girl is a fashion. Having a girl, therefore, is not necessarily reliable evidence of maturity; but *not* having one is much more reliable evidence of immaturity.

WORK. This again is more reliable evidence on the negative side. Adequacy in work is uneventful. Unemployment, the end of a job and why, tells us something of the man, and his answers help us to grade him as incompetent, apathetic, impulsive or just unfortunate.

There has always been an argument about the comparative importance of inherited character and environment on the personality. Johnson is most illuminating on this. "That behaviour is a function of both constitution

and environment is an elementary principle to which theorists of all schools give assent but then seem to forget it and pursue diverging lines of enquiry. This results in sophisticated and highly elaborated theoretical systems, concerned with constitutional variables (e.g. Eysenck); and equally sophisticated systems concerned with environmental variables (e.g. sociologists) but no apparent communication between them. Faced with the practical realities of dealing with offenders, the inadequacies of any such one-sided theoretical casework became increasingly apparent. When so many dull, inadequate and unstable individuals are able to manage their lives without coming into conflict with the law, there *must* be special environmental pressures on the one in prison. Every human personality must be viewed as an emergent process that can only be expressed in terms of a story (history). It is in the life story that the two components of constitution and environment can be observed in proportionate relationship. A criminal offence is an event in the life story. It may be an isolated event or it may mark the beginning of a more or less protracted phase. A phase of delinquency and the series of separate crimes within it are different levels of phenomena, but equally do they constitute episodes in the story." We need to know as much as we can about the background of each member of our flock, so reception interviews, all visits, applications etc., are never wasted, as each one adds to our store of knowledge. Jones in *Crime and the Penal System*, U.T.P., sees the same dangers as Johnson in specialist approach to criminology. He cites two general headings of study:

(1) Criminal biology—concerned with the study of the personality of the criminal and the role of the personality in causing his delinquencies.
(2) Criminal sociology—the study of the social factors.

But there are dangers and difficulties even in this modest division. The chief danger is that the specialist becomes so absorbed in his own narrow field that he loses sight of the overall picture.

"The criminologist", says Jones, "has a natural human craving for certainty but human motives are often deeply hidden, so that the individual himself hardly realises that he has such feelings within him. The observer must infer them from external behaviour *or* (chaplains please note!) derive them from personal contact, by some mysterious interpersonal alchemy that we must, for want of a real understanding of its nature, call intuition". This is an actual quotation from Jones' book and not made up by me to underline what I am trying to say and Jones, even if his name *is* Jones, is a criminologist of some standing and a

lecturer of Leicester University. Anyway it means we can take comfort from our daily involvement in the prison. The more we get to know our men—the more we get to know our men! We know this, but it is nice to be told so by the experts. In the human being, causes of action are woven one with another, modifying each other in the process. It is refreshing to find that Jones, too, has respect for the individual as a man. He points out that "our very proper respect" for human beings as persons precludes our using and manipulating them like guinea-pigs in the interest of science. The recent tendencies for experiment in social science has brought with it an obligation, as its justification, to help the subjects of the experiment "to solve their problems through the measures adopted". He gives some history of the long search for "types" of, or reasons for, criminal behaviour. As the years from 1850 onward unfold, many theories about criminal types have been put forward and contradicted. This is not the place to go into such history but reference to Walker or Jones will give you pen pictures of the historical development. But any or all of them will only be at best a partial guide to us in our studies of human nature and too much dependence on them prove disastrous. As an instance of the kind of thing we can find throughout this field of enquiry let us look for a moment at the work of Kretschner, a psychiatrist, who put forward the theory that there was a relationship between physique and temperament. The four main physical types are:

(1) Thinner, taller, more angular, which he called asthenic.
(2) Rounded, which he called pyknic.
(3) Well developed muscles and skeletons, which he called athletic.
(4) Marked physical anomalies, which he called dysplastic.

He claimed that the pyknic is associated with warm sociable, but "up one day down the next" type, the cyclothymic temperament.

The other physical types are apt to be detached, inturned, meditative temperament. By comparing his own estimate of the proportions of the various physical types in the general population with studies made of physical types of criminals, Kretschner found that pyknics are less likely to become criminal than any others. Now this is not going to give us any great guidance in "typing" our people. Indeed if we look at ourselves, most of us are mixtures of two or more of these types and in varying proportions. As many people will remember, Harry Secombe, a "pyknic" if ever there was one, claims, nevertheless, to be a very tall man sitting down.

Can we get any help from the electro-encephalographic studies of

the electrical activity of the brain? The e.e.g. is a delicate instrument which records the electrical activity near the surface of the brain. It is assumed that this activity reflects the more important electrical changes deeper down. Many e.e.g. studies have been made. One claims that 65 per cent of a group of aggressive psychopaths, and 32 per cent of a group of inadequates, as compared with 15 per cent of normals showed an unusual cerebral rythm. It is suggested that it might indicate some form of cerebral immaturity. Many in this field, though, say that educational and environmental factors probably play as large a part.

Controversy continues to rage about the relationship between intelligence, or lack of it and criminality. It is easy to see how the connection between the subnormal intellect and crime might arise. He tends to be easily led. His failure to get on in school and work may upset his social adjustments. He may well have difficulty in understanding and coping with the complexity of modern social life. *But* the more intelligent offenders are more likely to avoid arrest so the sample is suspect. They belong to class *a* (the caught) not class *b* (the uncaught). Then, intelligence tests are affected by outside factors such as anxiety and lack of concentration, or by cultural or educational background. So both the delinquent behaviour *and* a low test result may be due to a common emotional factor or to a poor home. While the lower intelligence group contribute the larger proportion of delinquents, yet delinquents always include a wide range of intelligents. There is no simple "black and white" picture.

There has been much study made of the many possibilities of explaining criminality. The common result has been a demonstration of how complex is the problem. There is a fascinating study on the theory of degenerate families, another on the studies of twins. You will be relieved to read that I am only going to mention them. Then there is the "psychopathic personality". This "type" is the clinician's own contribution to the theory of the criminal category. He meets certain lifelong misfits whom he finds he cannot reach by any sort of remedial treatment and whose misfit behaviour cannot be traced to some recognised social or psychiatric cause. This type is assumed to be constitutionally inferior (indeed he was once called morally insane or a moral imbecile).

We are bound to meet his like, so a little more must be said of him. Neither sane nor insane, he is said to be congenitally incapable of making a satisfactory adjustment to normal social life. He may be aggressive and violent or merely inadequate, he may be criminal or merely feckless. In spite of apparent stupidity in persisting in profitless courses of action, he may

be highly intelligent. His behaviour may lead him to prison or mental hospital but in either case little can be done for him. The three main types are (1) aggressive; (2) inadequate; (3) creative. The causes can be many, sometimes mainly hereditary, sometimes environmental. Often, complicated neurological abnormalities are involved. The word psychopath has become a sort of waste-paper basket into which all those which fall into no other established category can be put. Investigators differ widely about them, but, as we all know, there is truth in the idea. They are difficult to treat successfully and they seem to display certain common symptons:

(a) Failure to adjust to the demands of society from the earliest years.
(b) Inability to learn by experience.
(c) No sign of guilt or shame.
(d) Inability to make personal relationships with other people except the most shallow and fleeting.

There are many books on this whole subject. I have read quite a few*.

What you have read, if you have read it, is the collected wisdom of others and very little of mine. There is enough, I think, and perhaps more than enough, to show the vast diversity of human beings. And a chaplain's job remains, through it all, recognising John Smith as John Smith and not as a type; and going on offering care and friendship when and if everyone else has stopped. There never is a time when the chaplain writes a man off. But we need to remind ourselves that his personality has been so battered by life that the area of free will is extremely limited. So is his ability to respond to what we have to offer. But however much he rejects what we offer, we must go on offering and we have to learn the lesson that the kind of response for which we are trained to look—interest in religion, prayers, attendance at services, attempt to live a Christian life, commitment, conversion, call it what you will—is more than likely completely beyond his power to give. This is a hard lesson, very difficult indeed for the part-time chaplain to learn, stepping as he does from one world into another. The full-time chaplain who does not learn this has less excuse. Even the presence of "star" prisoners, who may be differentiated from others in more ways than just the red star on his sleeve—one being his ability to feel shame for his position, may lead the chaplain into concentrating on him because his responses may be of the kind more easily recognised. But what

*(1) *Crime and Punishment in Britain*, Nigel Walker.
(2) *Crime and the Penal System*, Howard Jones.
(3) *Bang to Rights*, Frank Norman.
(4) *The Unknown Citizen*, Tony Parker.
(5) *Battle for the Mind*, William Sargent.

about the man who cannot do that? The people who sit in darkness turn away or hide their eyes when they see a great light and we, who are trying to bring the light, may read that as rejection when it really is only their method of adjustment.

The penitent thief is often quoted. Our Lord talked to him and made promises to him, but He also died with and for the other one. Charles de Foucald wanted to found a religious order and thought of himself as the "universal little brother of all people" but especially concentrated himself for the salvation of the Moslem people in the Sahara. His life was one of prayer and work lived in abject poverty. He gave his friendship, trust and love to all without reserve, placing himself at everyone's disposal. In 1916 he was assassinated. Not one person had come to join him. It was not until 1933 that any fruit began to show from this—the "little Sisters of Jesus". Wherever there are minorities despised, rejected or overlooked there they try to live. They are not there to teach or preach. They are there as neighbours, who love, care for and respect each individual. The chaplain can take a leaf out of their book.

So I have no tidy list to give you; no cut and dried compartments into which you can place all your parishioners. You can learn much about human nature from books but in the end you will have to learn from the man himself. The very fact that you treat him as a man, as himself, is your strongest ally. Do not make up your mind what kind of response you expect from him. He will give what he can and we must learn to recognise it. I treasure a story that Sister Thrush, of Church Army Prison Welfare headquarters, told me of her experience at one home. She had called while the man was in prison and helped the wife and family. Later she called when the husband was at home. He contributed hardly anything to the conversation but did accompany her to the door as she left and said: "If you would like a game of chess next time you come I could give you a game!" That was his way of making response. Sister Thrush cannot play chess.

Read Frank Norman's *Bang to Right* and Tony Parker's *The Unknown Citizen* and see pictures of the kind of men I am talking about, whose responses have been so conditioned by life that we show insensitivity when we are surprised that they behave in the way they do. We have a great number of these in our big prisons and it is so easy to lump them all together with the label "incurable". It needs great patience to live and work with them. But if it's involvement with humans we want and with humans who need us, here more than anywhere will we find what we seek.

Murder and Violence in Contemporary Criminology

The Subculture of Violence by MARVIN E. WOLFGANG and FRANCO FERRACUTI, London, Tavistock Publications: New York, Barnes & Noble, June 1967, 63*s*. Paperback 30*s*.

Reviewed by MARK BEESON

A REVIEWER once carelessly wrote of a psychology book that it filled a much needed gap. He was writing in the bad old days when psychology had no integrated approach. Criminologists are now acknowledging that their subject has been suffering the same malaise. The main culprit has been identified as the multi-causal "explanation". This erstwhile virtuoso has been particularly powerful in Britain, having gained from Burt's early support. It took Wilkins' *Social Deviance*[1] to expose the anti-scientific character of this man-of-straw: Wilkins also seized the opportunity to press for a less confusing, less defeatist formulation of theory.

Mannheim's *Comparative Criminology*[2]—the most comprehensive text so far—was more cautious in its comments on the multi-factor notion. Nevertheless, its author repeatedly expressed his hope that criminology would embrace an interdisciplinary approach. In the typological field, for example, Mannheim declared that the need "for cross-disciplinary team work is particularly urgent in criminology. In theory this has become universally accepted; in actual practice it still very often remains a distant ideal to which mere lip-service is paid at inter-disciplinary congresses and conferences" (p. 18). Anticipating the publication of this book, Mannheim credits the authors with presenting in chapter 1 "much valuable material . . . on . . . problems concerning the object of full 'integration' between different scientific disciplines, in particular sociology, psychology and biology" (p. 287).

Wolfgang's own faith in the unitary nature of criminology is, of course, well documented. He suggested some years ago[3] that, in their contributions to the science of criminology, the "separate disciplines" should properly be thought of as nothing more than "artifacts of analysis". In the exchange, he

argued, "despite its acknowledged indebtedness to other disciplines, criminology has made important contributions to the fuller understanding" of a wide range of other social phenomena (p. 159).

INTEGRATION IN CRIMINOLOGY

In sub-titling the present book "Towards an Integrated Theory of Criminology", the authors commit themselves totally to their mission. The first two chapters of the book attack the general issue of integration. It is gratifying to anyone interested in the field that one of those to whom the book is dedicated is Sellin. The other is Di Tullio, reflecting Ferracuti's origins and the publication of the Italian version of the book last year. For Wolfgang, the work continues the valuable tradition of trans-continental co-operation which he began as a Guggenheim Fellow in Italy with his classic reappraising paper on Lombroso in Mannheim's *Pioneers in Criminology*[4]

The book offers a challenge to those who approach criminology from one of the specialities on which the science depends. Inevitably, the task of reviewing the book must stimulate in the reviewer a proper modesty over his own capacity to judge a work which aspires to press integration beyond the limits achieved so far.

WHAT IS THE BOOK ABOUT?

The work appears as a blend of the efforts of one author trained in the social and cultural traditions of American criminology and the other trained in the medical and biological traditions of European criminology. First, and at the more general level, the book is concerned to express the need for an integrated approach, particularly in criminology but also more generally in the social and other sciences. Only secondly, at a more particular level, the book attempts the application of the integrative approach to the issue which provides the title—the subculture of violence. As Mannheim notices, the authors acknowledge that: "The ultimate end of integration is grandiose and ambitious but worth the candle" (pp. xvi and 6). The authors declare: "Our immediate goal is to examine the techniques of scientific integration and to demonstrate its application by collating data and theory from sociology, psychology and biology relative to a major form of deviant conduct" (p. 6).

The book, we are assured, has been "worth the candle". The potential reader needs to know whether it is worth both ends of the candle. To those who use the term "subculture" with some glimmerings of its inadequacy, chapter 3 is useful. To those who can face the inevitable challenge of reducing theory to empirical propositions, the same chapter is invaluable. To anyone with a specific interest in violence and a sympathy for measurement, chapter 3 onwards is suggestive. Anyone who reads the first two chapters closely is likely to develop, through exasperation,

an abiding interest in violence. Chapter 5 provides stimulation, particularly to those involved in treatment.

As a preliminary, it must be said that both authors are sufficiently established to withstand justifiable attack. In particular, Wolfgang's paper on Lombroso,[4] his *Patterns in Criminal Homicide*,[5] his editorial role with Savitz and Johnson on *The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency*[6] and *The Sociology of Punishment and Correction*[7] and, not least, his "Race and Crime" in Klare's *Changing Concepts of Crime and its Treatment*[8] cannot be gainsaid, as signal contributions to the literature. The present book, however, stirs some of the anxieties which attach to *The Measurement of Delinquency*[9] and, at its worst, babbles esoterically.

A CRASH AT THE CROSSROADS

The first, orienting chapter is short but disastrous. The first sentence is perhaps only arguably tautological, the second begs the question and is declamatory in a way that is not unequivocally supported by what follows. The third sentence ignores the dynamic nature of the discipline and the framework within which the scholar works. This is not a good start by any standards, even if it is an artifice to provoke the reader. The provocation stimulates a defensive reaction, ineffectively challenged by the authors expression of faith. What singular benefit is to accrue from this vaunted "integrative approach"? This becomes a haunting question, linked with the tendency noticed by Mannheim for the authors to be more successful in showing what they do *not* mean by integration than they are in showing what they *do* mean. This threatens to reach idiot proportions as they quote in their notes: "Nor does our use of the term integration have any relationship to Sorokin's reference to 'integral truth', which he refers to as . . ." (p. 14). They refer the reader to 17 pages of one of Sorokin's volumes to explicate the non-meaning, although Sorokin is anything but central to their argument.

The authors take shelter by declaring that they are making a restricted analysis. They are perhaps not properly respectful of some earlier unmentioned workers, notably Moles, Lippitt and Withey[10] of Michigan and, more historically, even Cabot of the Cambridge Somerville project[11]. Equally, the authors show no appreciation of the possibility that they may set their readers a greater task of assimilation than that set by "unintegrated writers". The new style approach that the authors hope for may also let loose yet another different, albeit integrated, stream in the contemporary cacophony. Against this, what is so amiss in the modest attempt of those engaged in interdisciplinary research: "not focussing their efforts at this time upon the building of any single social science map but . . . seeking to relate some of the

disciplines that deal with similar or related problems in connection with similar or related phenomena and in this way to bring an increasing inter-relationship among these data, phenomena and conceptualisms?" (p. 9 quoting Tyler). Certainly, in the short run, it is better to read *Growth to Freedom*[12] and *Homeless Borstal Boys*[13] as separate texts than to hold off, waiting for an integrated volume. Given too, the intervening variable of the reader's capabilities, the reading of two separate texts may *always* be preferable. The authors observe that: "the assumptions on which an individual discipline is based may be matters of doubt or may even be empirically improbable when treated in a different context. This does not invalidate a discipline as a science but it limits its range of explanation and prediction" (p. 6 quoting Tyler). There is, however, no evidence adduced to show that these limits are a severe handicap or that the integrated approach can effectively avoid the handicap. It may simply incorporate the handicap into the integrated text. The standard of chapter 1 as a whole must throw doubt on whether Mannheim's respect truly applies to the chapter. On balance, it is likelier that his remarks apply to the existing chapter 2.

A GRAB-BAG WITH HICCUPS

There is a hint that the first chapter was written more to preface the second than as an exercise in its own right. Ambiguously titled "Criminology as an Integrating Discipline", chapter 2 opens by expanding the first paragraph of the book, with particular reference to criminology. In doing so, the first quarter of the chapter duplicates entirely, though with minor alterations and additions, including a few references, Wolfgang's earlier article referred to above[3] without providing a reference to it. This duplication throws doubt on the role of the second author, since he has effected so little change in Wolfgang's original individual article. It must be acknowledged, however, that the two authors were collaborating at that time, when they jointly wrote their brief piece in the *British Journal of Criminology*[14]. This piece is far from irrelevant for the present book, since it presented the design for a study of violence in Puerto Rico. The present text, however, does not present any findings from the proposed study and merely refers to it once, although Mannheim's foreword also does so parenthetically. Incidentally, the more than occasional inadequacy of the index becomes apparent in the attempt to confirm this.

The "old" section of chapter 2, then, should be familiar as an earnest of Wolfgang's faith in the integrity of criminology. To the reader of Popper, the content may smack somewhat of scientistics, but this is more a characteristic of the introspective phase of the science than of Wolfgang as spokesman. The new section of the

chapter examines the major research trends in criminology. The first section, on clinical criminology, is international in scope and rather thin. It is, in any case, acknowledged to be incomplete. Its international character makes it difficult to check—it may be the only carelessness that the British borstal system is referred to as a good example of the application of diagnostic techniques in the *juvenile* field. This also seems to illustrate a confusion between diagnosis and its rigorous application in a research or scientific sense. While this clinical section raises the issue of the utility of the multiple factor approach, it does so with less clarity than Wilkins' treatment. The closing observation is that : ". . . the clinical criminologist is more frequently a consumer than a creator of theoretical formulations and constructs. On the other hand, the scientist, particularly the sociologist, working at the macroscopic theoretical level must rely for proof upon the functions of the clinician working through individuals who ultimately are collected together as arrays of variables and attributes for statistical manipulation and analysis" (p. 36). Rather than being a clear, succinct, critical synthesising conclusion, this seems an ambiguous, confused and question-begging invitation to perpetuate an old debate.

Next, the authors turn to an examination of the sociological tradition. The Gluecks, they imply, epitomize the lack of integration characteristic of the science. No capital is made of the failure of the Gluecks to integrate, even within their own frame of reference, as far as the arithmetic of their methods is concerned. Pursuing their theme, Wolfgang and Ferracuti can only declaim on the penalties of isolationism, since there is no comparable indication of the benefits of a more integrationist approach. In this context, the ten pages (pp. 49–58) devoted to a more intensive review of "Current Developments in Theory and Research" are much more rewarding. Particularly gratifying is the recognition of Wilkins' contribution. The section suffers, however, from a rather uncritical approach in which some questionable work is included without any attempt to appraise its true worth.

In the course of its wanderings, chapter 2 does engage with, or at least runs parallel to, a major criminological problem. The case for an explicit guiding theory without which the "whole cosmic, organic, psychic, and sociological universes of variables are presented in unmanageable form to the investigator" (p. 59) is certainly noticed, but not expanded or zealously pursued except in relation to the inadequacies of the multiple factor school. Adherents are given excellent advice (p. 62) towards making their procedures more explicit and scientific. The "generalising theorist", too, is advised, though more

toward "operationalising" his analyses. Yet both ideal types would do well to heed *both* sets of advice. Meanwhile, this most promising section of the chapter is largely sacrificed to concentrating attention on personality as the intervening variable between the attributes of a social system and the nature of individual behaviour. This concentration links with the section devoted to the confrontation between clinical and sociological criminology (p. 67 ff.), and this suggests that fuller discussion of the general problem was excluded for the sake of the more immediate purpose.

As it is, the authors declare, there is a danger of a serious split between the two camps. Yet this declaration pays insufficient attention to differences in what represents "pay-off" to the two camps as the authors define them. The authors identify the clinical school with the "practitioners", wherever they are operating, rather than with the European school of criminology (p. 67). This narrowness is not unhelpful, since it suggests that "Social workers could have become the functional liaison between disciplines that need one another" (p. 72). The fruitfulness of this idea is unfortunately not explored, but the idea is one which confronts anyone engaged in the training of those assuming the role of social worker. It would be a diplomatic gesture for the theorist to declare that until the social worker seizes, or is acknowledged to have, this liaison role, the theorist's contribution to action is minimal.

The closing sections of the chapter knit together the threads which the authors have picked upon in the development of the science. Yet, in the case of Wilkins, for example, the authors have done little more than flirt with his writings. Where they have followed, there is coherence. Where they divert, chaos re-establishes itself. The reader is left to resolve precisely the sort of disorder which exists in the literature as a whole. This certainly leaves the following chapter with a real task. Chapter 2, incidentally, perpetuates the worst traditions of scholarship and obscurantism apparent in chapter 1. The reader is referred to nine pages of a work of the turn of the century to elucidate the once-only use of the word "sympodial" to describe the way separate disciplines merge and develop (p. 77, Note 14).

The perennial question of the applicability of American writing to Britain is raised in the closing homily in the chapter stressing the need for training for an integrated criminology. There will be those who already see this being achieved here. They would be right to hesitate before deciding whether to accept that the contrast as the authors have drawn it applies to Britain.

SUBCULTURE THROUGH A GLASS, DARKLY

With chapter 3, the content of the book switches from quixotic

epistemology to rather firmer territory. The foremost issue is the meaning of "subculture": "Generally, we build upon the assumption alluded to briefly by Shils and by Jaeger and Selznick, namely, that not all values, beliefs, or norms in a society have equal status, that some priority allocation is made, that the subcultural variants may partially accept, sometimes deny, and even construct antitheses of, elements of the central, wider, or dominant values, yet remain within that cultural system" (p. 99). This cannot for long pretend to be a *careful* statement, but it does attempt explicitness and provides a starting zone, if not a starting point. It is difficult to decide in what follows whether the carelessness is merely an irritating distraction or whether it sabotages the entire edifice. The crude anthropomorphism, for example, as the authors "use the term 'parent' to refer . . . to a larger culture that is willing to adopt a subculture voluntarily grafted to the parent because of a sufficiency in number and type of significant values commonly shared between 'parent' and 'child'" (p. 100) is touching but dysfunctional. The metaphors are mixed, the causal clause is worse than redundant. The reader has to believe he knows what the authors are getting at if he is to read on. If the reader continues, he will notice the authors identifying the obstacle presented by the absence of "objective and independent measurements of the norms of conduct" (p. 102). This is followed by a simple bridge: "Because a subculture refers to a normative system of some group or groups smaller than the whole society, it should be possible to examine descriptively the composition of the population that shares the subcultural values. Individuals are, after all, culture carriers who both reflect and transmit through social learning, the attitudes, ideals, and ideas of their cultures" (p. 103) to "We are, therefore, suggesting at this point that there are two major types of subcultural values: (a) *tolerated concordant values;* and (b) *untolerated discordant values.* This suggested dichotomy is commonly recognised, but has not been made explicit or described value by value in sufficient detail. It calls, first, for a classification of norms assumed to be different in *kind.* But before this division can be empirically performed, we need clear ideas of the values that constitute the dominant value system so that we have a base line from which to determine the category of values that presumably are different" (pp. 110–111).

TO THE SLIDE RULE

Next, the proposal is to construct a scale of values reflecting their relative priorities and intensities and their concordance or discordance relative to the parent culture. This is sketchy stuff, hampered, for example by the introduction of "belief" into discussion intended to clarify the use of the terms

"value" and "norm". So "*for operational theory we are inclined to view values as normative standards that are part of the repertoire of response which an individual may use as alternatives for action*" (p. 114). Ensuing comment indicates that the authors selected the term "normative" with deliberation, as referring to "desirable". They reject the alternative, "norm", since that refers to "a standard to which a social group generally conforms or which the group manifests in conduct" (p. 114). Unfortunately, the discussion is not explicit on what is meant by the words "inclined", "response", "use", "alternatives" or "action". The reader is left uncertain how crucial these terms are. The same criticism may be applied to the authors selective list of criteria of values (p. 115) although it applies very much less to the selective list of criteria of norms borrowed, together with the context of annotations, from Blake and Davis (pp. 116–117). By something close to casuistry, the authors then prise open an inconsistency they see in Parsons' use of his categorisation of values as cognitive, appreciative or moral. They enlist Parsons' support as they propose to: "contend, values can be captured on the cognitive level by socio-psychological investigation, they can be operationally defined and measured for intensity of subscription by individuals and groups, and they can be clustered in a way that denotes relative consistency, thereby promoting and producing a social system and sub-system" (p. 120).

The next step investigates the foundations of the measurement of values. The section is particularly memorable for the reference to Catton's attack on the problem of values assumed to be infinite (viz. human life itself, worship of God and acceptance of God's will) which notionally could not be subordinate (pp. 123–124). Catton demonstrated to his satisfaction that clergymen could discriminate between such values, the values could be scaled and could not, therefore, be regarded as "infinite", in the mathematical sense. A crucial observation in the general discussion concerns the use of the "available phenomenologically perceived culture items, first, as exterior indices of culture values, and, second, as independent criteria for comparison with the groups cognitive expression of their value orientations" (p. 125). These items presumably include the "language, art forms, mass-communication etc.", to which the authors vaguely refer. Those who find themselves in disagreement with Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy*, for example, will shudder at the difficulties of arriving at a non-controversial account of a culture in such terms.

The authors next apply much the same strategy in the field of values as Wolfgang used with Sellin in the *Measurement of Delinquency*[9]. The

reader may feel that this is a development which *has* to come! The authors do not disguise their own commitment to a faith: "We believe that despite the plethora of acts, tendencies to act, feelings, thoughts, attitudes, despite the multitudinous values, norms ... an effort to locate dominant values in a culture and in its subcultural components, to classify and to measure them, should, and can be made" (p. 139).

Of noxious stimuli

The major concern of the final section of the chapter "The Thesis of a Subculture of Violence" is: "with the bulk of homicides—the passion crimes, the violent slayings—that are not premeditated and are not psychotic manifestations" (p. 141). Slayings by those recognised as psychotic or legally insane, or by psychiatrically designated abnormal subjects are eliminated from the discussion. The reader will notice, as the authors do belatedly (pp. 162 and 270–271), that violence in pursuit of perceived rights, e.g. associated with the civil rights movement, political emancipation or the conditions of the disadvantaged, are not excluded from the class in brief. They are, however, hardly discussed on their merits. It is wryly amusing that the authors should later wishfully declare that: "commission of homicide by actors from the subculture at variance with the prevailing culture cannot be adequately explained in terms of frustration due to failure to obtain normative goals of the latter, in terms of inability to succeed adequately with normative procedures (means) for attaining those goals, nor in terms of an individual psychological condition of anomie" (p. 152).

The section includes very brief comments on psychoanalytic theories, medical and biological studies, psychometrics, the frustration-aggression hypothesis, containment theory (after Reckless), catharsis, child-rearing practices and aggression and social learning and conditioning. The brief notes are all too brief. The bulk of the discussion concerns the "cultural context". This last fifth of the chapter knits the preceding sections well. Mention of Selvin is welcome (p. 151) although the full implications of his later work seem to be as lost on these authors as on most contemporary sociologists.

On one page in the midst of the section, however, the reader's patience will be sorely tried (p. 156). The continuation paragraph is monumentally muddled. The following teeters between considering the social approval of violence in time of war and the extent to which similar factors operate in the confrontations between individuals which result in homicide. Yet in the middle of the paragraph even the authors suspect they are at sea

as they suggest: "It may be relevant to point out that in the Philadelphia study of criminal homicide, 65 per cent of the offenders and 47 per cent of the victims had previous arrest records". Interesting, yes. Even vital. But it is surely up to the authors to make the relevance apparent and in this they fail. It is no coincidence that the page also features a misprint, a confusion of tense and the marvellous word "allelomimetic" which seems synonymous with "imitative". Meanwhile, the incidental reference to the pre-arrest rate in Wolfgang's earlier study[5] raises again the applicability of this book to the British reader. Evidence on prior convictions from Gibson and Klein[15] shows a much lower rate of prior involvement in serious incidents. From this flows doubt about the extent to which "criminal homicide" in Britain is "subcultural" or continuous with violence or aggressive offences.

Towards the end of the chapter (pp. 158–161) the authors set out seven propositions which they regard as corollaries to their central discussion. In the main, these are more like independent statements, some of them empirically based, which qualify the sense in which the terms "culture" and "subculture" are to be understood. The pages exceed a summary in sometimes introducing ideas which have not previously been discussed. Finally, the text disposes of notions about a biological basis of aggressive behaviour, prior to the relevant discussion in the succeeding chapter. The dialectical account is also dispatched summarily. The authors have no patience with the suggestion that a contemporary culture is a synthesis in which lie the dynamics of an emerging contra-culture. This seems a gratuitous swipe at Hegel just to show how the authors stand with respect to Marx. They go to this trouble although they simultaneously write that they are not concerned with the genesis of subcultures, solely with their operation.

Throughout this long chapter, the uncertainty of what the authors wish to convey by their use of the word "aggression" is a serious handicap. Although the reader is made clear about the dramatic end of the continuum, some of the quoted studies (e.g. Bandura) refer less obviously to aggression than to the inherent properties of Bobo dolls. It is true that the authors refer to Buss's definition of aggression as: "the delivery of noxious stimuli in an interpersonal context" (p. 160) but they do not declare their own position relative to this doubtful code. In this and other respects, the book makes considerable assumptions about the reader's familiarity with certain sources. In particular, the reader would be quite lost if he had not first read at least Sutherland and Cressey's

Principles of Criminology, Cohen's *Delinquent Boys* and Matza's *Delinquency and Drift*.

WANT A FIGHT?

The overall content and certain idiosyncracies of style suggest that the next, short chapter is largely Ferracuti's. It is narrower but also more careful than the rest of the book. The concern raised in respect of the end of the preceding chapter that homicide may be discontinuous from aggression or violence is not stilled. The chapter endeavours to present: "Biological, psychiatric and psychometric perspectives on a subculture of violence from studies on homicide" (p. 186, Title). Having selected this brief, it is perhaps not surprising that murder among kin receives so little attention.

A related single-mindedness is apparent as the authors repeatedly insist that studies to which they refer *do* involve the operation of subcultural factors when there is a notable lack of evidence. For example: "The proclivity to violence on the part of parents who engage in this type of offense (battering children to produce the 'battered child' syndrome) can occasionally be subcultural" (p. 208).

The section on the biology of violence seems determined to dismiss the argument employing the notion of "instinct". In doing so, it perhaps pays insufficient attention to Lorenz[16] particularly. After a "rapid excursus" (*sic*): "Although some demonstrable correlations exist, we are compelled to conclude with Scott, McNeil, and Buss that there is no basic need for fighting, either aggressively or defensively, unless adequate stimuli meet the organism from the external environment. In brief, there is no physiological evidence of any stimuli for fighting in a normal organism. 'The important fact', says Scott, 'is that the chain of causation in every (well-studied) case eventually traces back to the outside'. Although there may be individual differences in the reactivity to external stimuli evoking aggression, these minor characteristics do not by themelves explain aggressive behaviour. This general conclusion, we find, is in agreement with a behavioral, subcultural approach" (pp. 200–201). Anyone want a fight? Later, in the section on psychiatric studies, there is a marvellous piece of anti-metaphysic: "In general, the less clearly motivated a murder is (in the sense that it is impossible to comprehend the motives) the higher is the probability that the homicidal subject is very abnormal. The easier it is to 'understand' (in the sense of both emotional and rational understanding) the homicidal motives, the more normal the subject is likely to be" (p. 209). Apart from confusing the *probability* of abnormality with the likelihood of greater *individual* normality, this statement

must be as superficial as it seems. Of course, the reader who follows up the sources will discover more than 150 references, and at that, the list fails to include Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood*.

The text next goes on to despatch the psychoanalytic case. The brevity with which it does so will not commend itself to the "orthodox". The authors, in the space they allot to the issue, do not attempt to penetrate the: "syllogistic circle of the doctrinal position" (p. 210).

The final comments in the chapter deal with the psychological diagnosis of the homicidal personality. It is perhaps simply bad planning that only *after* discussing studies employing the Rorschach do the authors introduce the compelling note that these analyses have never involved "blind" procedures in which the analyst is unaware of the manifestation of the homicidal tendency in his subject.

THE LAST ROUND-UP

The final chapter includes "a set of interpretative conclusions generated by relatively systematic research", "culture case studies on homicide from different countries" and comments on the "control, prevention, and treatment of violent crime" (p. 258). Age and sex, social class and race are the key issues mentioned. There is a neat piece on anomie, regarding it as a special case of culture conflict. The "culture case studies" are fascinating guides to places from which the tourist is unlikely to return, recommendable to less likeable colleagues.

In the course of these sections, however, the authors are discovered writing: ". . . there is no reason to believe that intensity of personal interaction is greater in number or degree among specific social groups, among lower classes, minority groups, the unskilled, or the young adult or the male population. The sentiments of attraction and hostility are widely and probably randomly distributed" (p. 267). Puzzlingly, in the context of this book, this must mean the opposite of what it says.

It is also in these sections that doubt arises over just how "ultimate" the use of violence is. In the "life-style" of the adult middle-class, this may be accepted, as they sit in judgment on the disadvantaged. But there are situations in which to deny the individual the last rites, to tie him to a contract of labour, to impugn his loyalty, to seduce his wife or otherwise assault his "rep" may arguably be more ultimate assaults than to kick him downstairs. Certainly, there is a large American minority to which the authors do not address themselves as they dismiss the ultimateness of non-violence, saying that "the Negro non-violent protest in

the United States has been successful (*sic*) for the same reason that Gandhi's measures succeeded—the 'administration respected the rights of others' (pp. 270–271). What, then of Newark, Detroit, New York, July 1967"? Besides this, the authors are far from showing a parallel between situations involving collective support of violence as a sanction and situations involving personal confrontations.

The text then takes a stimulating operations research approach to control, prevention and treatment, relating this to the issue of prediction. Oddly, these pages (pp. 284–289) are rather bare of references. Wilkins, who gave these ideas a lot of their impetus, is unmentioned. In a piece on the application of systems analysis, the authors carry this approach forward, although in so doing they have mis-read the works of Greenhalgh (pp. 292–293).

There is then quite a banal piece on the effect of changes in communication, transportation and medical technology on the proportion of fatal assaults, followed by "social engineering" proposals for "dispersing" subculturists. The reader begins to wonder how far the middle-class are prepared to go in employing their command of the power-structure. Such scepticism is nobbled as the authors quote Tumin, suggesting that to doubt the problematic nature of social problems is to envy the licence of those who engage in proscribed behaviour (p. 308).

In their discussion of "treatment", the authors proposals for intervention are more legitimate and less radical. It is not clear, however, just what the "therapist" is to *do* once he appreciates the role of the subculture in the aetiology of the presenting behaviour.

The potential of this last chapter is high. But the brief is merely to throw out ideas for consideration. The burden of providing the consideration is thrust on the reader.

This is the epitaph on the book as a whole. It demands considerable effort from the reader, its usefulness depends upon the reader crystallising the meaning for himself. The traditional modesty of the last paragraph of the book, however, shames the savage reviewer: "We hope that our work might be considered useful as a bibliographical guide, as a review of the current stage of criminological research and theory, as a clear statement of our thesis of a subculture of violence, as a comprehensive summary of criminological knowledge about homicidal and other assaultive behaviour, and as an encouragement to the development of integrated scientific theory and research" (p. 316).

The first of these is nowhere mentioned as an objective of the

book, the second is approached, but incompletely, the third is lamentably missed. The fourth has, in some measure, been achieved. The fifth, despite the book's shortcomings, may yet prove to have been "worth the candle". As much and more perhaps, could readily be achieved by a greater readership for Berger's incomparable *Invitation to Sociology*[17].

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TALKING ABOUT AFTER-CARE

THE INSTITUTE for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency announces a series of lectures, on various aspects of after-care, to be given at Caxton Hall, London, on Wednesday evenings. Speakers include Mrs. Eliane Gibson, Secretary of the Circle Trust on "Wives and Families", Dr. Peter Scott, Consultant Psychiatrist, on "The Volunteer and After-Care", Timothy Cook, Warden of Rathcoole Hostel for Alcoholics on "The Hard Core" and Bryan Reed, Deputy Director of the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders on "Residential Help and its problems".

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"MAN IN A EUROPEAN SOCIETY"*

THE NEW Council of Europe work programme for 1967-8, just published, includes plans to study the effect of mass media on juvenile delinquency: crime statistics, drug addiction, working conditions for *au-pair* girls, the social and legal protection of unmarried mothers, and the problems of migrant workers are among many of the 100 projects relevant to the correctional field.

*Students may borrow a copy from the Editor.

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AMONG BOOKS due for early publication are *Social Policy and the Young Delinquent* by Peter Boss, Lecturer in Social Science, Liverpool University and *The Professional Task in Welfare Practice*. Peter Nokes, Lecturer in Sociology, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Leeds (a contributor to this JOURNAL and lecturer at the Staff College) argues strongly that the increasing tendency for welfare practice to be placed exclusively on a "scientific" basis is a dangerous one, since this would mean a denial of the expressive and communicative elements in social policy. Routledge and Kegan Paul will publish both books, also *The Work of the Probation and After-Care Officer* by Phyllida Parsloe, Lecturer in Social Science and Administration, London School of Economics.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

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No Easy Road by Sallie Trotter . . . for review in the next JOURNAL.

* * * * * *

AN OFFICER of a London prison writes:

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