HOME OFFICE RESEARCH STUDIES

6

Hostels for Probationers

A Home Office Research Unit Report

LONDON: HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE: £1 3s 0d [£1·15] net

HOME OFFICE RESEARCH STUDIES

6

Hostels for Probationers

A study of the aims, working and variations in effectiveness of male probation hostels with special reference to the influence of the environment on delinquency

By Ian Sinclair

LONDON: HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE 1971

SBN 11 340106 X

FOREWORD

The central theme of the Home Office Research Unit's research on probation has so far been an attempt to describe different forms of treatment and assess their effects on different groups of probationers. The research here reported, although also relevant to the present general interest in hostels, was undertaken as a part of this line of study.

The report investigates the nature of probation hostel treatment and the way in which it is affected by intake, management structure and residential staff. It examines questions relevant to typologies of treatment and of probationers and among its conclusions are that boys from satisfactory and unsatisfactory homes differ in their reactions to the transition from family to hostel, that some hostel regimes are more able than others to ensure low reconviction rates among their residents, and that some hostel wardens do better with one type of boy and others with another. Again in line with our other probation research, the report is much concerned with the impact of environmental factors on probationers, and its general trend is to underline the importance of the current environment in both the diagnosis and the treatment of delinquents. It is hoped that the report will interest not only those concerned with the administration and running of hostels but also fieldworkers and others involved in the study or treatment of delinquency.

T. S. LODGE,
Director of Research and Statistics.

880639 A 2

GENERAL PLAN OF THE PROBATION RESEARCH PROJECT

The project has the central purpose of studying differences in outcome for different types of probationer who have been dealt with in different ways on probation. The research plan can be divided into three parts:

(1) *Pilot Study:* This was primarily an initial experiment in classifying treatment carried out in Middlesex.

(2) *National Study of Probation:* This comprises several projects, all on a national scale. The principal one is concerned with male offenders aged 17 and under 21 who were put on probation in 1964 in eight large cities.

(3) *Supporting Research:* Several ancillary enquiries are in progress, or have been completed, concerned either with the evaluation of research methods or with investigation in detail of selected features of probation. They include studies on: methods of predicting reconviction; probationers in their social environment; the use of group work in probation; probation hostels; and the treatment relationships between officers and probationers.

Reports already published are listed at the end of this volume. Further reports will be published as the various parts of the research are completed.

STEVEN FOLKARD,
Senior Research Officer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In carrying out this research the author has been helped by so many people that it is impossible to give all their names: for these a general, but none the less sincere acknowledgement must suffice. Others, however, can be acknowledged by name.

No report in this series is completed without a great deal of help from other members of the Research Unit. In the present case, as well as acknowledging generally this assistance, the author wishes particularly to mention the help given by Mrs. E. O'Leary in coding and performing statistical calculation, and the services of the four clerical officers successively allocated to the project, Mr. M. Jarvis, Mr. A. Chapman, Miss H. Rigby and Mr. G. Obikwu, who carried out the more tedious but none the less essential parts of the research with a high degree of skill and conscientiousness.

The report will be submitted for a higher degree at London University and the author benefited a great deal from the critical acumen of his supervisor, Mr. N. Timms. Others who have given freely of their time and advice include Mr. G. Draper of the Oxford Unit of Social Medicine, who, apart from giving general statistical advice, also wrote a special programme for calculation of interaction χ^2, and Miss J. Bunch and Mr. J. D. Moffett, who criticised the report on the basis of their knowledge of both social work and research.

The most important acknowledgements, however, must be to the Hostel and Probation Committees, on whose permission the research depended, and the hostel and probation staff, whose co-operation made possible what success was achieved. The author owes a personal debt to the hostel staff with whom he had most contact: his wife, formerly warden of Braley House Probation Hostel for girls, Mr. A. Goodrum and Mr. R. Cork of Altrincham Hostel, and Mr. and Mrs. T. E. Wood of Spooner House. Neither these nor other probation and hostel staff are likely to agree with all the views expressed, but insofar as the report possesses insight, it is largely due to them.

IAN SINCLAIR

880639 A 3

CONTENTS

880639 A 4

CHAPTER 1

Introduction : General outline of Research

1.1 Introduction

Many delinquents have bad homes and some are homeless. It seems natural, therefore, to try to provide them with some form of substitute family or, if this should prove impossible, with an institution which is as like a family as possible and does not remove them from the community. Hostels for male probationers are a logical consequence of these ideas ; fundamentally they represent a hypothesis about the environmental causes of delinquency and therefore about its correct cure.

To the research worker, the hostels offer a good opportunity for testing the ideas about the relationship between environment and delinquency on which they are based. This report will provide data on the differences in the criminal behaviour of probationers in different hostels and also on the way in which the behaviour of probationers varies depending on whether they are in their own families or in a hostel. One of the report's themes is that both families and hostels are capable of having a dramatic and immediate effect on a probationer's behaviour and that they probably achieve these results in similar ways.

Yet, although one general theme of the report is the effect of the environment on deliquency, its focus is the probation hostels themselves, their organisation, the needs they serve, the problems of the staff and the consequences of the differences in their regimes. Unfortunately the hostels are little known and this is the first time they have been the subject of large-scale published research. It is best to begin with a brief description of the hostels, the reasons for studying them, and the way in which the study was carried out.

1.2 Probation Hostels

The research dealt only with approved probation hostels for males. In July 1966 there were 23 of the hostels in England. All were in big towns or cities, often in residential districts where there are large Victorian houses. They were classified by the maximum number, age range and religion, of their residents. Most were intended for 19 or 20 probationers ; the smallest could take only 12 and the largest 24. The most common age groups were 15–18 years (12 hostels) and 16–19 years (four hostels), but there were also hostels for the age groups 15–17, 17–19, 17–21 and 18–21 years. Three hostels were intended for Roman Catholics (practising or nominal) only.

The central features of the hostels have not changed since the fieldwork for the research ended in August 1966. Each hostel is inspected by the Home Office, managed by a voluntary committee and run by a married couple who are helped by one or two assistants, a cook and some domestic staff.

The probationers can be sent to the hostels by the courts for a period of up to 12 months. The period may be shorter than this, but it is generally

understood that it must be long enough for the resident to benefit from his stay. Almost invariably the court imposes a condition of residence for 12 months, which may later be slightly reduced. A few boys, approximately two per cent, are sent on a supervision order. At the hostel, the boys are supervised by a local probation officer known as the liaison probation officer. They go out to work daily and hand over the money earned to the warden, who gives them pocket money, and divides the rest between their board and lodging, their savings, and certain other expenses. They can usually go out one weekday evening and after lunch on Saturdays and Sundays. At other times they take part in a training programme which may include, for example, English, carpentry, or swimming.

Unless otherwise stated, the report refers to the situation existing in August 1966. As already explained, the main features of the hostels have not changed since that date. There have, however, been a number of important developments of which the research worker has no direct experience. The principal ones are described in an appendix provided by the probation and after-care department of the Home Office (Appendix 9) and this should be read carefully by anyone wishing to make a judgment on the present situation.

1.3 Need for Research

There is surprisingly little knowledge about probation hostels even among those who are concerned with them in their everyday work. Not all probation officers use them, and those who do may know only one or two. Vacancies are hard to get, and lack of time and the distance involved make it hard for the officers to supplement their knowledge with informal visits. There have been interesting and useful studies of hostels, of which the most recent is that by Monger[1]. However, there has been no large-scale research and administrators and committees have had to take decisions over hostels on relatively little evidence. Two quotations can illustrate their difficulties.

In 1962, the Morison Committee commented, "We have had here to rely on our subjective impressions and those of witnesses, because there has been no systematic research into the results achieved by probation hostels. Research is needed into their results and methods."[2] In 1966, the report on probation hostels in Scotland faced similar problems: "Our Hostels Committee told us they found the preparation of this report a most interesting but difficult task. Consideration of many problems to do with the use of hostels for probationers increased their awareness of the complexity of many of them and of the absence of information on which to make confident pronouncements as to desirable courses of action."[3]

These considerations are, perhaps, a sufficient justification for this study, but the current interest of social administrators in hostels as "the answer to a variety of social ills"[4] gives it a more general application and makes it especially relevant to current developments. New types of hostel tend to duplicate some of the features of probation hostels, for example, the system of control through voluntary committees; and indeed these features have been shared with diverse institutions such as approved schools and moral

welfare homes. These arrangements have their origins in English social history, but so far there has been little attempt to study their effectiveness or the problems they raise[5]. Probation hostels allow one to study these and to concentrate on a form of institution which is now particularly popular.

Research into probation hostels should be of theoretical as well as practical relevance. As will be seen, it should interest penologists studying institutions and criminologists attempting to explain delinquency. Better still, it offers a solution to some of the more difficult problems of research method that they face.

A penologist studies the treatment of offenders, normally those in institutions, and must try to describe the important aspects of any treatment and assess its effects. This assessment should be done statistically. So a penological study should, if possible, consider large numbers of offenders and a number of different institutions[6]. Only in this way can the effect of variations in the treatment be determined or its important aspects discovered. However, few studies meet the two requirements of detailed description and statistical reliability. Thus Mannheim and Wilkins[7] used a prediction equation to suggest differences in effectiveness between open and closed borstals but gave no analysis of the treatment which might explain their results. By contrast, Polsky[8] gave a brilliant and vivid account of one small institution, "Cottage Six", but there was no means of deciding how far his findings depended on the boys selected, the rules, the staff, or the larger institution of which the cottage was part.

Probation hostels can supply the statistical requirements of penological research, and have the further advantage of comparative simplicity. Unlike the houses in approved schools and borstals, their study is not complicated by the need to consider the overall institution. Permissiveness in a probation hostel can in a sense be studied on its own, whereas a permissive teacher will probably achieve different results in a permissive and an authoritarian school. If scientists should begin by studying the simplest systems in their field, there is a strong argument for an approach to the study of approved schools and borstals through that of probation hostels or similar institutions.

Criminologists are concerned to find out why delinquents get into trouble. Traditionally they have approached this problem through surveys. Offenders are compared with non-offenders, or delinquents who offend again with those who do not. Although these surveys have shown that certain types of home background are associated with delinquency, the exact nature of this relationship remains obscure. Does the boy from a poor home become delinquent because of his present uphappy life, or because of his previous poor upbringing, or because he has inherited his parents' difficult temperament?[9] Does he himself produce the tense situation which apparently leads to his downfall? So with other findings on the influence of the environment in delinquency. Do some boys lead others astray? Or do birds of a feather flock together? It is difficult to answer these questions through surveys.

The study of hostels can help towards the solution of this problem in two ways. First, it provides an opportunity to study groups of probationers

who have been placed in different situations which are not of their choosing. This may make it possible to trace variations in the criminal behaviour of the groups to differences in the situation rather than between their personalities. Second, it provides a useful opportunity to study the period in which offences take place. If the environment plays a larger part in producing delinquency among some probationers than others, one may find the former to be relatively free of crime while in the hostel but not on their return to their previous environment.

1.4 Development of Research Plan

The lack of previous research into probation hostels meant that the study was first approached with no closely formulated hypotheses or aims. In the event, the project developed progressively, each stage leading to new questions and hence to the collection of further data. These different stages and their associated questions were mainly determined by statistical findings, but the interpretation of the results depended as much on the qualitative data which were collected throughout the study. The research plan is best described chronologically as it developed.

The study began with an examination of the documents most easily to hand. These were the monthly hostel returns to the Home Office (H1 returns), which gave, among other things, details of the ages, courts of origin and reasons for leaving of boys taken into hostels from 1954 onwards. The first analyses showed remarkable variations between the hostels, or rather between the hostel regimes (" regime " is here used to describe the tenure or reign of one warden), in the proportion of boys leaving as the result of an absconding or offence, which varied from 13·5 per cent. to 78·5 per cent.

This discovery determined the course of the research. The first step was to try to relate these variations in absconding and offences to factors in the hostel, such as size, age range and location.

The next step was to collect background information on a large sample of hostel boys to determine whether the variations could be accounted for by differences in intake.

The last step was to collect information on the attitude and methods of those running a small sample of 16 hostels and relate this to the absconding and offence rates.

Each of these stages in the research was marked off by the collection of different sets of statistical data. However, the research worker became convinced that many of the statistical findings could only properly be understood in the light of knowledge of the hostel system that was gained in less structured ways, and interviews with hostel staff and probation officers have had a great influence on the final shape of the report.

The next section gives a more detailed account of the statistical and qualitative data used in the research. Each sample will be introduced more fully later, but it would be helpful to the reader if he could keep their names in mind.

1.5 Data and Research Instruments

The following were the principal sources of statistical data :

1. *Main Sample.* Hostel monthly *H1 returns*[10] were used to provide data on 4,446 boys who entered hostels between 1st January 1954 and 30th June 1963. (1954 was the first year for which the records were available and the later date was chosen as it was necessary for all boys to have completed their year in residence when the sample was collected.) The sample included all probationers entering during this period, with the exception of 92 boys in whose cases information was defective and boys entering two particular hostels between 1959 and their closure in 1962. The data available on boys in the sample included age at entry, court of origin, length of condition of residence, details of absconding and reason for leaving. The data were used to investigate differences in absconding and criminal behaviour between hostel regimes. The main sample was also used as a frame for samples on which more detailed information was sought.

2. *Background Sample.* This sample included all boys in the main sample who entered hostels between 1st July 1960 and 30th June 1961. Reconviction data were collected on all 429 boys from both the Metropolitan Police Criminal Record Office and local probation offices. Usable background information in the form of probation officer reports and similar documents was collected on 414 boys and coded using the *Background recording sheet*[11]. The sample was used to describe the characteristics of hostel residents and the reasons for placing them in the hostel, to relate background characteristics to reconviction both within and outside the hostel, and to check the hypothesis that differences in selection policy might account for differences in delinquent behaviour between the various regimes.

3. *Intensive Sample.* Sixteen regimes were studied more intensively. The wardens of these regimes were those who had been in post over the period July 1965 to August 1966. Information was collected on the attitudes of the warden and matron, as measured by the *Jesness staff attitude questionnaire*[12], the permissiveness of the hostel, as measured by the *Rule permissiveness scale*[13], and the delinquent behaviour of the boys. Differences in the attitudes of the wardens and in their rules were then related to differences in the incidence of delinquent behaviour.

The following subsidiary samples were also collected:

1. *Reconviction Sample.* Reconviction information was obtained on 344 boys who entered hostels for the age ranges 16–19 and 17–21 years between 1st July 1961 and 30th June 1963. The dates were chosen to provide a three-year follow up at the time the sample was collected and the main purpose was to obtain evidence relevant to the hypothesis that one particular regime was able to affect its

boys not only while they were in the hostel, but also after they had left. The data were also used to check certain findings relating to boys who entered lodgings after leaving their hostel.

2. *Failure Sample.* Reconviction data were obtained on 408 boys who entered hostels between 1954 and 1959 (records for these years were more easily available to the researcher) and left as the result of an absconding or an offence. No more than 20 boys were taken from any one regime, those selected being the first 20 failures to enter the regimes that had taken more than 20 such and all the failures in the other regimes. The data were used to examine the effects of severe sentences for absconders on other boys in the hostel and to gain a measure of the criminality of hostel "failures" by examining their subsequent careers.

3. *Pilot Samples.* Background information was collected on 372 boys who entered four different regimes. This information was used to test and validate the schedule used in the background survey. Only one finding is reported from these studies.

4. *Assistant Warden Samples.* Statistical information on age and turnover was collected on 139 assistant wardens, and ratings for satisfactoriness on 133 assistant wardens. Some assistant wardens fell into both samples.

The following qualitative data have been used:

1. *Published Written Material.* A literature survey was carried out, covering the historical development of hostels and the main writings on them. This survey is used as an introduction to the research.

2. *Records.* The following records were used:

   (*a*) Progress records describing important events relating to 372 boys in four different hostels.

   (*b*) Children's department inspectors' reports on 46 different regimes over the period 1954–30th June 1963. Inspectors visit the hostels generally at least once a year and their reports give, among other things, their impressions of the regime and accounts of recent events.

   (*c*) Monthly reports by the warden to his managing committee. A considerable number of these were examined. They give the warden's account of the main events of the past month.

3. *Interviews.* Interviews were held with:

   (*a*) 33 probation officers attached to hostels, to explore the probation officer's experience of hostels and his views of them.

   (*b*) 27 assistant wardens, to explore the assistant's attitude to his job and his reasons for undertaking it.

   (*c*) 16 wardens, mainly to gain factual information but also to cover the warden's reactions to his job.

   (*d*) 16 matrons, to cover the matron's reactions to her job.

   These four types of interviews followed structured patterns and were part of the research plan. Most wardens, however, were interviewed at least once more and further interviews were held with other wardens, members of the management committees, children's department inspectors and probation inspectors, and others unofficially connected with hostels.

4. *Informal Observation.* The research worker made informal visits to a few hostels at which he knew the staff, and was able to observe the hostel programme at all hours of the day. He also chatted to the boys, but the impressions gained in this way were too fragmentary to be the basis of research, and, in any case, the conversations were mainly concentrated on the safe topics of sport, work, the local town and the boy's home town, rather than the staff and the hostel. The main advantage of the informal observation was that it gave the research worker some immediate familiarity with the hostels and hence a greater degree of confidence in handling the data.

1.6 Plan of Report

The report describes the effect of the administrative framework on the warden and, through him, on the residents.

Chapters 2–5 deal with the system as a whole. They cover the hostels' aims as interpreted in the literature and by the courts and staff, and the pressures that exist to see that these aims are carried out.

Chapters 6–8 cover the strains placed by the system on the staff and the attitudes they develop in response to these strains.

Chapters 9–12 deal with the wardens' differing solutions to the problems, and with the way in which these different solutions are associated with differences in hostel results. Chapter 9 is a central chapter. It develops a measure of performance which is used to evaluate the effectiveness of the wardens' varying methods.

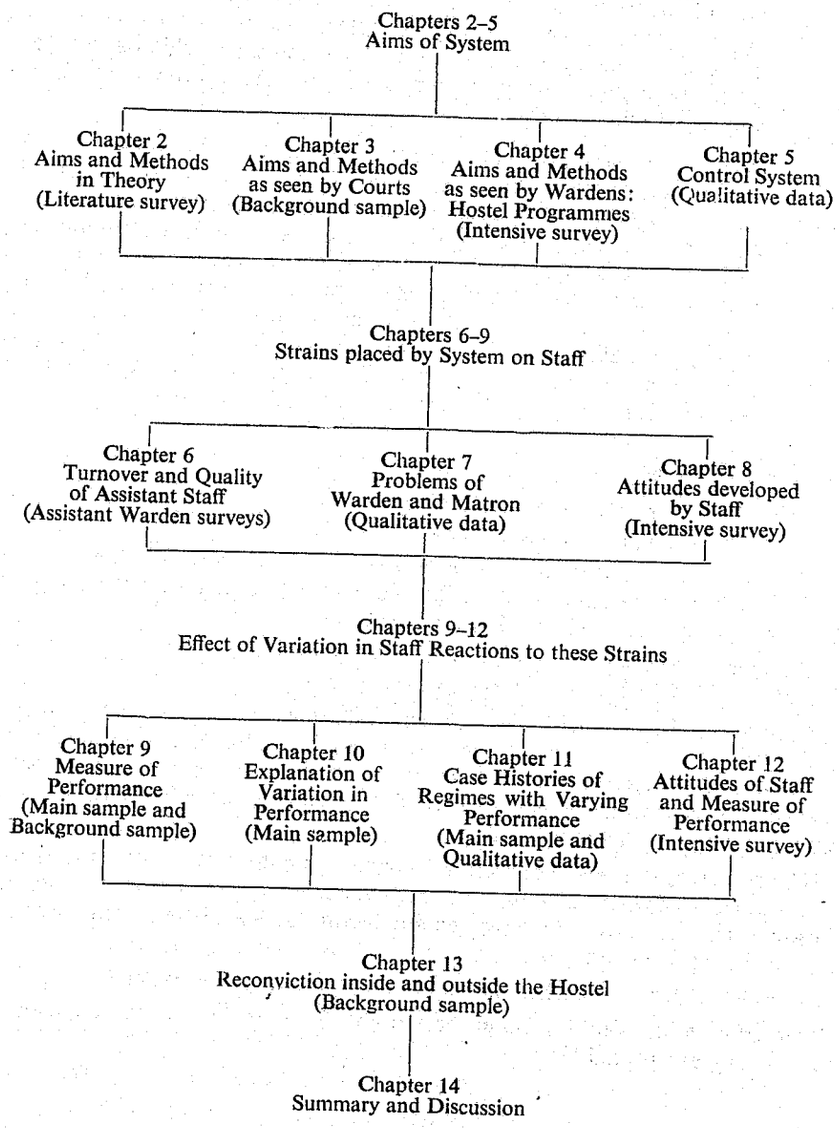
Chapter 13 discusses the overall reconviction rate of the system and uses the tendency of some groups of boys to be reconvicted during or after the hostel period to throw light on general factors in hostel treatment over and above the wardens' attitudes.

Chapter 14 brings together the main results and discusses them.

Diagram I sets out the main steps in this argument and the chapters in which they are placed.

Diagram I

Presentation of Report and Main Sources of Data



1.7 Difficulties in Communication

Home Office research into probation and after-care is conceived as a partnership between research workers and those in the field. The benefits the research workers receive are clear, for without the field workers they could not collect the data which they need. Moreover, in the present research at least, many of the concepts and guiding hypotheses are based on the insights of hostel wardens and liaison probation officers.

These insights, however, must be tested against data and some readers may be unfamiliar with this type of statistical report. They should find no trouble if they allow their eye to skip the statistical formulae. For example, the statement, "Boys with poor work records were significantly more likely to be assessed as needing training ($\chi^2=9{\cdot}59$; df$=1$; $p<{\cdot}01$)" retains its general meaning if "significantly" and the symbols in brackets are omitted. The only symbols that are not of purely technical interest are those giving significance levels ($p<{\cdot}05$, $p<{\cdot}01$, $p<{\cdot}001$); these mean respectively that the finding reported would occur by chance less than five times in 100, once in 100 and once in 1,000 times. In other words, they tell the reader how much confidence he can feel on statistical grounds that the same result would be found if another much larger sample were collected.

1.8 Summary

Probation hostels are small hostels catering for adolescent probationers who are normally sent to them for a period of one year. The hostels are of interest in their own right and are also relevant to some of the more general and important problems of social administration and criminology.

The report discusses a variety of different samples and both qualitative and statistical data. It has four main themes: the aims and methods of the hostel system, the problems with which the system faces the wardens, the effect of the wardens' solutions to these problems, and the reactions of the boys to the experience of being placed in a hostel.

At the most general level, there are two main areas of theoretical interest; the problems of running small institutions and the effect of the environment on delinquency.

NOTES

1. Monger, M., Probation Paper, No. 6 *The English Probation Hostel,* National Association of Probation Officers, 1969.

2. *Second Report of the Departmental Committee on the Probation Service.* Cmnd. 1800, H.M.S.O., 1962, p. 7.

3. *Probation Hostels in Scotland, Final Report by the Scottish Probation Advisory and Training Council,* H.M.S.O., 1966, p. 27.

4. *Residential Provision for Homeless Discharged Offenders: Report of the Working Party on the Place of Voluntary Service in After-care,* H.M.S.O., 1966, p. 25.

For a statement of general assumptions behind hostels see Conrad, J. P., *Crime and its Correction,* Tavistock Publications, 1965, p. 248.

5. The major piece of completed English research into hostels is by Aptsie, R. Z., *The Transitional Hostel for the Mentally Ill*—Social Factors Affecting its Role and

Functions, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics Library. This research covers hostels for the mentally ill. Other research at present being undertaken includes research on hostels for prisoners, ex-prisoners, alcoholics and the mentally subnormal.

6. The number of institutions is important. In some studies the effectiveness of, say, a therapeutic community is evaluated by comparing the success of those entering one therapeutic community with the success of those entering another institution. This is rather like evaluating the success of the comprehensive school system by comparing the examination results of one comprehensive school with those of a neighbouring grammar and secondary modern. It depends on the school selected. The question is, do comprehensive schools *tend* to be better than other forms of school?

7. Mannheim, H. and Wilkins, L. T., *Prediction Methods in relation to Borstal Training*, H.M.S.O., 1955. There are, for example, three possible explanations of the differences between open and closed borstals: they could arise from differing patterns of training, different concentrations of high risk boys, or factors in the selection process not available to those making the prediction equation.

8. Polsky, H. W., *Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment*, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1962. A claim to the generality of the findings is implicit in the word "the" in the subtitle.

9. C.f. Robins, L. N., *Deviant Children Grown Up*, The Williams and Wilkins Company, p. 178: "The relationship between broken or discordant homes and delinquency or adult criminality so often interpreted in the literature as showing that broken homes cause delinquency or criminality may well be a spurious relationship occurring only because having an antisocial father simultaneously produces adult antisocial behaviour in the children and marital discord between the parents."

10. Forms and research instruments whose names are underlined will retain these names from now on. For H1 returns see Appendix 6.

11. For a description see Chapter 3 and Appendix 5.

12. For a description see Chapter 8 and Appendix 6.

13. For a description see Chapter 4 and Appendix 7.

CHAPTER 2

Aims of Hostel System

2.1 Introduction

What are probation hostels meant to do? This is an important question, the answers to which should determine the type of boys sent, the type of training given, and the appropriate administrative structure—in short the context in which staff and residents work and live. This chapter examines the various aims that have been proposed for hostels. It takes its data from the literature and from official reports, but only from those parts that are relevant to its main theme, namely the aims of the hostel system and the methods of putting them into effect.

2.2 Reasons for Probation Hostels

Probation hostels are sometimes called halfway houses[1], and the name implies the arguments for them. Halfway between closed institutions and the community, they are said to avoid the disadvantages of approved schools and borstals; they lack the stigma, provide closer relationships with those in authority[2] and enable the boys to go out to work and maintain their self-respect[3]. However, they can also remove a delinquent from stresses in the community; he has time to sort himself out and if he has troubles at home he may find that absence makes the heart grow fonder[4].

It may be that these advantages can be combined, that the hostel designed to remove a delinquent from stress is also best able to provide a substitute for approved school training, and a hostel programme intended to form the habit of regular work is equally suitable for encouraging the growth of relationships. Historically, however, the hostel system has been set different goals at different times, and the effects of these changes of purpose can be seen in the present system.

2.3 Forerunners of Hostels

The forerunners of the probation hostels were the temporary homes set up by the London Police Court Mission some time before the Probation of Offenders Act of 1907. These were homes, not hostels, since the boys in them did not go out to work, being kept busy in and around the house and not allowed out at all except for very limited periods. They were placed in the home as an emergency measure, stayed for a few weeks at the most and then went on to more permanent living-in jobs, for example in the forces, large houses or the Yorkshire mines[5].

The foundations of the present hostel system were laid by the 1927 Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders. This committee thought that some young offenders needed character training and should go to approved schools and borstals where their treatment was likely to be comparatively long term. Other young offenders were said to include some with mainly environmental difficulties; for these, hostels were appropriate.

"Where a court does not think that training is really required, residence in a hostel under the supervision of a probation officer appears to offer a satisfactory means of attaining the object. This system will probably meet in some measure the demand for shorter periods of detention."[6]

So hostels were seen as "a place in which a person is lodged and from which he goes out to ordinary work in conditions of freedom", and hostel supervision was to be limited to "finding work for the boy and keeping some oversight on his leisure hours."[7]

The Home Office accepted the recommendations of the Committee and undertook to approve hostels and pay a grant towards the upkeep of their residents. The grant was payable for six months. "Generally speaking it is not desirable to keep a probationer in a hostel for more than six months."[8] A previous circular had defined the type of resident thought likely to benefit.

"In many cases it is not sufficient simply to place a young offender under the supervision of a probation officer, because the young offender may have no home or an undesirable home and even if he has work or work can be found for him, temptation may come to him when work is over because he has nowhere to find reasonable recreation."[9]

The theory that probation hostels were to provide short term good lodgings lasted officially from 1927 to 1949, when it was superseded by the Probation Hostel and Home Rules[10]. These rules seem to have been modelled on those for approved schools, and conflict with the 1927 Committee's view that hostels and approved schools were to be very different and that hostels should not train. Rule 19 requires each hostel to submit a scheme of training to the Secretary of State. A circular makes clear what was in mind.

"The regime in both hostels and homes should have regard to the paramount importance of character training. In hostels a scheme of training will, apart from training in habits of regular attendance at their place of employment and industrious application to work, be directed mainly to evening activities and the constructive use of leisure time. Instruction in handicrafts and physical training should be included in the programme. It is important that residents should be left free on some evenings each week to make their own leisure arrangements, either within or outside the hostel, subject to any necessary advice and guidance."[11]

Other changes were in the same direction[12]. Before 1949 wardens had been able to refuse applications on the grounds of unsuitability, but this practice had "resulted in the exclusion of numbers of cases considered by the courts as suitable for this form of treatment". It was felt that this practice could not be justified now that the service was on a statutory footing with support from public funds[13]. Rule 8 of the Probation Hostel and Home Rules prescribes certain strictly limited categories of persons who may not be admitted to a hostel, and wardens are generally expected to accept any other application for which there is a vacancy. It is assumed, however, that wardens will have the opportunity of representing to the court through the probation officer that a particular individual would not be suitable for their

hostel and that due regard will be paid to any such representation. In practice, the excess of applications over vacancies in recent years has allowed wardens to exercise a considerable measure of selection. No resident can be removed from a hostel without the consent of the court.

Later reports departed slightly from the ideas behind the 1949 Probation Hostel Rules. In 1962, the Morison Committee recognised the importance of serious application to handicrafts and physical activities but placed more emphasis on personal relationships. They saw hostels as providing "training, with mature adult support and control, in regular habits of work, in the useful employment of leisure, in personal hygiene, and, above all, in living acceptably with contemporaries and older people."[14] They thought that hostel residents should be those whose homes or associates were unsatisfactory but whose personal difficulties were such that they could not maintain themselves in lodgings or an ordinary hostel.

These ideas were taken further in a report published by the Scottish Probation Advisory and Training Council[15] in 1966. This saw hostels as specialised treatment units in which the boys developed through relationships with each other and the staff. Scottish hostels should be more permissive than English ones. Groupwork and casework techniques should be used and the boys encouraged to develop insight. At least one and probably two of the staff should be trained caseworkers and the pay and the professional support should be adequate to attract and retain them.

The Scottish report was influenced by an experimental hostel for ex-borstal boys[16]. This hostel set out to provide the essential characteristics of a home, an aim which is officially shared with English probation hostels. A former Home Secretary put the point at a National Association of Homes and Hostels dinner:

"What you are doing is to try to provide your charges (most of whom I suppose, already feel themselves to be grown up or nearly so) with the stable background, the standards of behaviour, the warmth of interest, the appreciation of good qualities, the forbearance and the patient encouragement which those of us who were fortunate were given in childhood within our own families."[17]

2.4 The Goals of Hostels as seen in the Literature

Thus probation hostels have been seen as temporary homes, short term training institutions, therapeutic communities and families. Grimsey[18] has criticised the Morison Committee on the ground that they did not determine which conception was most appropriate. If probation hostels were intended to be substitute families, they should have relatively small numbers, definitely far less than 15.

If they were to train they would need trained staff and it would be uneconomic to have hostels with less than 25 residents. The same hostel could not meet the needs of boys waiting to return home and boys with no homes. "In the absence of any guiding principles about the function of hostels, fantasies of what hostels could or should provide will continue to

bedevil probation officers and wardens." Grimsey's criticism brought together two main strands of complaints: the difficulty of selecting the right boys for hostels and the problems of attracting and supporting staff.

The Probation Hostel Rules see hostels as short term training institutions, and this raises problems over who should be selected for them. Placement in a hostel involves removal from home and so most writers believe that offenders sent to hostels should have had bad homes or mixed with bad company [19]. But if the environment is too unsatisfactory the offender may not be able to return to it; so hostels are said to be unsuitable for those with long term problems [20], who include those with very bad homes and those with none.

Some writers believe that homeless boys are particularly difficult; they may feel that they have been dumped, withdraw from the situation or make undue demands on the warden [21]. If the warden fails to meet their demands they may reject him and this may lead to counter-rejection and removal from the hostel. At the best, a boy can only settle in a hostel for a limited time: "Here is comfort, friendship, happiness, such as they had never envisaged before. But, no; it is not to be theirs for long after all, it seems . . ., the uprooting is a disadvantage, and a painful, delicate business." [22]

The short length of stay means that hostels cannot be considered substitute families; according to some writers it also limits their effectiveness as training institutions. Grygier wrote of the hostel cases he considered: "The greatest weakness of hostels seems to be the strictly limited length of stay . . . To suggest that six or even twelve months' stay in a hostel would solve their problems permanently is not realistic." [23] He noted that, "With the return to the old environment, relapse was inevitable, treatment was interrupted and new offences followed." [24] Yet hostels must try to alter their residents' personalities or attitudes; otherwise placement in a hostel means only that the resident must be moved twice [25].

The hostels face further problems in filling a role as training institutions, in that they are not equipped to deal with the recalcitrant [26], or, most writers think, with the very disturbed [27]. Some writers give more specific criteria. There are warnings against the products of approved schools and children's homes[28], the vagrant[29], the dull[30], the enuretic[31], homosexuals and the sexually precocious [32]. All of these have been said to create trouble for themselves, or for the other boys or the staff. There is disagreement about criminal record, some thinking it important and others not[33].

There are other important disagreements over the sort of probationer hostels should take. Cooks and Grygier thought that the degree of social and emotional immaturity was the main criterion for placement in a probation hostel [34]. In their experience boys described as immature, impulsive or childish were more likely to fail than others. Good school and work records were definite indications and bad school and work records counter indications. The important thing to determine was whether the delinquent could adjust in situations away from home.

Payne, by contrast, thought work failure an allowable symptom, as was "negative and dangerous leisure activity". The delinquents he describes as suitable for hostel placement do not seem noticeably mature and others appear to agree with him [35].

These differences over the right type of hostel case might imply the need for different types of hostel. This was Grygier's opinion: "The scatter of hostel cases is, from the clinical point of view, too wide, and this makes impracticable establishing a regime which would be satisfactory for all inmates." [36] Others suggest that wardens may often have an aptitude for dealing with a particular type of boy, and that even so their success with them may depend on the group in the hostel at the time. "Success is more likely where the court and its advisers appreciate that, given an available place in the hostel at the time, the capacity of that hostel successfully to absorb a disturbed youngster into its community depends on the quality of the warden and staff then in post and on the number of non-co-operative boys among the probationers in residence."[37]

Monger discussed the difficulties of correct placement, arguing that probation officers' inexperience of hostels makes it difficult for them to select the right hostel for their probationer, and even if the appropriate hostel is approached, it is unlikely to have a vacancy [38]. Elkin agreed: ". . . vacancies have to be found wherever they are available. There is no possibility of selecting the one most suitable to the individual . . ." [39].

The most common and serious criticism of the hostels is undoubtedly concerned with staffing, the importance of which is generally recognised [40]. The Central Council of Probation Committees stated that: "We wish to emphasise that the value of the hostels lies in the value of the wardens and that the success or failure of the whole hostel system depends on the quality of the persons in charge." [41] Yet the hostel system lacks the trained staff, career opportunities and salary scales available in approved schools and other institutions. So some authors have demanded for hostel staff better status[42], better training[43], more adequate superannuation and pensions, and closer integration with approved school and remand home services. Conrad made this his central criticism of the hostel system: "The problem has been to find competent people willing to live the abnormal lives required of hostel wardens. Even with some relief, the hostel warden finds himself at work primarily during the leisure hours of everyone else. Confined to his establishment, he finds his social life limited to the company of his charges. Without a professional identification with either the probation service or other occupations, his is a lonely existence. Many simple solutions to a problem which drastically limits the usefulness of the hostel as a treatment device could be advanced and have doubtless been considered."[44]

The general feeling of a gap between the promise of the hostel system and its actual attainments is perhaps best summed up by Elkin. "Looking at hostels as a whole one is left with the impression that comparatively little thought has been given to a consideration of their problems. They seem to be regarded rather as an appendage to the general system for dealing with adolescent offenders, and not as an integral and important section of

it. . . . Yet if more attention was given to the hostels and more money was spent on them, so that the standards of work could be raised, they could play a far bigger part than they do at present. Nothing else can take their place as a halfway house between supervision and freedom, and it is unfortunate that the best use has not been made of them."[45]

These criticisms can be considered in the light of the evidence presented later in the report.

Features of the hostel system can be viewed in the light of two questions: What type of goal does this feature suggest as appropriate for hostels? Is this goal consistent with the others the hostels have been set?

NOTES

1. E.g. Fry, Margery, *Arms of the Law,* Victor Gollancz, London, 1951, p.120, and Elkin, Winifred, *The English Penal System,* Penguin Books, 1957, p.81.

2. Cf. Friedlander, Kate, *The Psycholanalytical Approach to Juvenile Delinquency,* Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1947, p.263.

3. Cf. Home Office, Third Report on the Work of the Children's Branch, 1925, p.40.

4. Cf. Monger, M., *Casework in Probation,* London, Butterworths, 1964, p.181.

5. *Report of Departmental Committee on Probation of Offenders Act 1907, Minutes of Evidence and Appendices,* p.2.

6. *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders,* Cmd. 2831, 1927, p.56.

7. Ibid.

8. Home Office Circular, 31st July 1930.

9. Home Office Circular, 20th July 1928.

10. Probation Hostel and Home Rules, 1949.

11. Home Office Circular 148/1949.

12. Cf. Grimsey, B., "Probation Hostels, Some Observations on the Morison Report", *Probation,* Vol. 10, 1963, p.101.

13. Home Office Circular, 148/1949.

14. *Second Report of the Departmental Committee on the Probation Service,* H.M.S.O., 1962, Cmnd. 1800, p.7.

15. *Probation Hostels in Scotland: Final Report by the Scottish Probation Advisory and Training Council, H.M.S.O., 1966.*

16. Miller, D., *Growth to Freedom,* Tavistock Publications, 1964.

17. Rt. Hon. Henry Brooke, *Probation,* Vol. 10, Dec. 1963, p.117.

18. Grimsey, op. cit.

19. E.g. Spencer, J. C., and Grygier, T., *The Probation Hostel in England,* Institute for Study and Treatment of Delinquency Reprint from *Focus,* November 1952, p.8 and Cooks, R.A.F., *Home Office Approved Probation Hostels,* Justice of the Peace, 1956, p.12.

20. Home Office Circular 148/1949. Cf. Payne, "Approved Probation Hostels for Boys—The Warden and the Liaison Officer", *Probation,* Vol. 7, p.87, and *The Probation Service,* Ed. King, London, Butterworths, 1964, p.112.

21. Monger, op. cit., p.182 and Stott, D. H., *Saving Children from Delinquency,* University of London, 1952, p.121.

22. Glover, D., *Probation and Re-Education,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955, p.198 ff.

23. Spencer and Grygier, op. cit., p.9.

24. Spencer and Grygier, op. cit., p.8.

25. Cooks, op. cit., p.12.

26. Home Office Circular 148/1949. Cf. *Sentence of the Court,* H.M.S.O., 1964, p.5 and Weston, N., "Some thoughts on Cases for Probation Homes", *Probation,* Vol. 6, p.17.

27. Payne, op. cit.: King, op. cit., p.111: Cooks, op. cit., p.13: Spencer and Grygier, op. cit., p.8: *Probation Hostels in Scotland,* Weston, p.6.

28. Cooks, op. cit., p.7 and p.12: Spencer, op. cit., p.6. Cf. Weston, op. cit.

29. Cooks, op. cit., p.12: King, op. cit., p.111: Spencer and Grygier, op. cit., p.8.

30. Cooks, op. cit., p.12.

31. Cooks, op. cit., p.8.

32. Cooks, op. cit., p.13.

33. See Cooks, op. cit., p.12: Spencer and Grygier, op. cit., p.8: Payne, op. cit., and Monger, op. cit., p.186.

34. Cooks, op. cit., p.14: Spencer and Grygier, op. cit., p.7.

35. The case histories of boys thought by Glover and Monger to be suitable for hostels do not seem to indicate maturity.

36. Spencer and Grygier, op. cit., p.9.

37. *Probation Hostels in Scotland,* p.9.

38. Monger, op. cit., pp. 179–180.

39. Elkin, op. cit., p.79.

40. Cf. *Report of the Care of Children Committee,* H.M.S.O., 1946, p.88: Monger, op. cit., p.179: *Probation Hostels in Scotland,* p.20 ff: Spencer and Grygier, op. cit. p.5.

41. Central Council of Probation Committees, Royal Commission on the Penal System, Memorandum of Evidence, p.7.

42. Spencer, op. cit., p.5 ff.

43. Elkin, op. cit., p.79. Cf. 31st Annual Report of Magistrates Association, 1950, p.11.

44. Conrad, John P., *Crime and its Correction,* Tavistock Publications, 1965, p.275.

45. Elkin, op. cit., p.80 ff.

CHAPTER 3

The Background Sample : Reasons for Placement

3.1 Introduction

There seems to be fairly general agreement that probation hostels should take offenders who have poor homes or bad associates and relatively mild disorders of personality. What sort of offenders in fact go to them and why are they sent? This chapter describes the backgrounds and previous behaviour of a representative sample of hostel boys, and the reasons for their placement.

The chapter will also highlight another goal of the hostel system. So far it has been assumed that hostels are designed to meet simply the needs of offenders. But courts sentencing delinquents must consider not only their needs but also their deserts—a boy arrested for singing in the street may need borstal training but is unlikely to receive it. So there can be a conflict between treatment and justice and this can have serious implications for hostels just as the conflict between treatment and custody is said to have for other forms of penal institution.

3.2 Sample and Data Collected

The sample chosen for study consisted of all probationers sent to 17 probation hostels between 1st July 1960 and 30th June 1961, at the time the most recent date which would allow the boys to be followed up over three years. Two of the male hostels functioning in 1960–61 were omitted from the study as their records were not available and there was no reason to believe that their omission would bias the results. The total sample contained 429 boys, whose names were taken from the hostel monthly returns.

The main records used are the probation officer reports which were submitted to the courts at the time the relevant condition of residence was imposed. These reports set down the factors in the boy's background and behaviour which the probation officer considers relevant, and are the basis for the court's decision to send a boy to a hostel and frequently for the warden's decision to accept him. Their study can shed light on what it is that the courts, probation officers and wardens hope that the hostels can do.

The records were sought from the relevant probation officers and hostels. Contemporary probation reports were obtained for 73·4% of the sample, and records which were considered usable for a further 23·1%. The remaining 3·5% of the cases were omitted from those parts of the study that were not concerned simply with reconviction rate, so that tables normally give details of 414 boys. One boy died after leaving the hostel and is omitted from tables giving data on reconviction within three years of entering the hostel. A very inadequate record was available for one boy, who is included in the few tables for which relevant information on him was available.

On receipt, the records were photo-copied and returned to the officer who sent them. They were then coded by a research colleague, Mrs. O'Leary, according to a scheme which had been worked out in four pilot studies. Information on previous and subsequent convictions was sought from the boys'

probation officers and the Criminal Record Office of the Metropolitan Police. (Appendix 5 gives a more detailed discussion of the methodological problems raised by this part of the study.)

From time to time, case studies are used. These are chosen from 17 records extracted by a clerk using a random number table. One case was disregarded for lack of information and eight selected as illustrating the points made in the more statistical sections. These histories are given in detail in the text.

3.3 Offence History

A delinquent's sentence is influenced by the seriousness of his current offence and the number of his previous ones. Table 1 gives the reasons for the court appearances which sent the sample boys to the hostels.

Table 1

Reason for Court Appearance Resulting in Placement

		%
Breaking and entering	108	25
Larceny	183	43
Taking and driving away	28	7
Sex offences	15	4
Fraud	5	1
Violent offences	11	3
Breach of probation or amending order	66	15
Other reason	10	2
Not known	3	1
Total	429	100

Source: Background sample.

NOTE: Where there was more than one offence, only the offence that comes first in Table 1 was counted. Due to rounding, percentages do not add to 100%.

67·8% of court appearances were related to breaking and entering or larceny, and at one time or another 93% of the sample had committed offences for gain, i.e. larceny, fraud, or breaking and entering. Although no data are available on strictly comparable samples of delinquents, data collected by Davies on a sample of 507 probationers aged 17 to 21 show a very similar pattern[1] and suggest that probation hostel placement has little relation to the type of offence committed. However, two exceptions to this rule are provided by offences of violence and court proceedings for breach or amending order. 6·3% of Davies's sample received probation for offences of violence and the comparatively low proportion of violent offenders in the hostel sample probably results from selection: hostel wardens must live on the job, and as one said in an interview: "You don't take a boy who has just thrown his father through the window."

Davies did not collect figures on boys whose orders were amended without their being in breach of probation or breaches of probation which were not connected with a further offence, but it seems probable that in most samples these would represent fewer than 15·4% of the total. These boys arrived at the hostel for a variety of reasons; some were proving unusally difficult,

and failing to comply with the conditions of the probation order, usually by refusing to work; others had been thrown out of home or lodgings. With a few, no doubt, the probation officer had planned the move from the beginning of the probation order and had been waiting for a vacancy; but the impression was that this happened rarely.

If selection for a probation hostel appeared largely unrelated to the type of offence, it was certainly not unrelated to the number of previous offences. Table 2 sets out the previous penalties which the sample had received and Table 3 compares their number of previous convictions with other samples of similar age.

Table 2

Most Severe Penalty Received Before Hostel Residence

		%
Prison	1	0
Approved school or Borstal	26	6
Detention centre	13	3
Attendance centre or remand home	39	9
Probation	218	51
Fine	21	5
Other penalties	22	5
No previous penalty	86	20
Not known	3	1
Total	429	100

Source: Background sample.

NOTE: Where a boy had received more than one penalty, only the penalty that comes first in Table 2 was counted.

Table 3

Offence Histories of Sample Compared with Specified Groups

Sentence	*Age Range in Years (inclusive)*	*Number of Previous Convictions or Findings of Guilt*					
		0	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5 or more*
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Probation	17 to 20	38	25	17	11	5	6
Background sample ...	15 to 16	33	30	18	13	5	3
Background sample ...	17 to 20	23	28	20	14	9	5
Detention centre ...	17 to 20	14	24	23	17	10	13
Approved school ...	13	10	21	35	21	7	6
Borstal	17 to 20	5	13	18	20	17	27
Prison	17 to 20	12	12	15	13	14	34

Source: Background sample and other samples.

NOTE 1: Due to rounding, not all percentages add to 100%.

NOTE 2: Probation group. Random sample convicted 1958 n=539. Mrs. Simon's data, Home Office Research Unit.
Detention centre group. Total intake 1960.
Approved school group. Representative sample 1962 n=120. Miss Field's data, Home Office Research Unit.
Borstal group. Total intake 1960.
Prison group. Total intake 1960.

All samples except the probation hostel sample and Mrs. Simon's sample defined offence as: "Home Office Standard List Offence". The higher percentages of breaches of probation in the hostel sample and the difficulty in many cases of deciding whether a breach of probation arose from a further offence or a failure to obey some other part of the probationer's order led to the decision to include breaches but not amending orders as offences. The resulting increase in the number of previous convictions is slight and does not affect the main argument.

It seems clear from Tables 2 and 3 that those who sentenced the sample tended to regard a probation hostel as a form of treatment slightly more serious than probation, but less serious than borstal or approved school. Only 6·3% of the sample had received approved school, borstal or prison sentences, whereas 50·8% had received probation but no previous institutional treatment. Although the low number of boys from approved school and borstal may partly arise from the reluctance of wardens to take them, this explanation is unlikely to account for the comparatively low number of previous convictions. A boy in the sample was likely to have slightly more previous convictions than non-hostel probationers, but definitely fewer than those sentenced to approved school, detention centre, borstal or prison. The figures suggest that hostels are used to avoid approved school or borstal, and Case 1 may provide an example of how this happens.

Case 1

Case 1 was aged 17, the only child of a broken marriage, who was described as moody, immature, energetic, active and impetuous. His intellectual expressions of guilt were belied by his plausible explanations, and he had an obsession with guns and explosives. At the Child Guidance Clinic he attended for five years, the psychiatrist thought him a boy with many psychological problems.

He left school was six "O" levels and secured an apprenticeship, from which he was dismissed following an offence. After quarrelling with his mother, and being twice placed in approved lodgings without success, he became friendly with a single man aged 40, who was mentally ill. Summarising this period, the probation officer noted two offences within a year of receiving probation, and concluded: "He seems to me a youth who needs a period of training and re-education for living . . . in his present state of immaturity the chances of his making a success of further probation while living at home would be negligible". But, he went on, "though he appears to qualify for borstal training and is in need of training of the type he would receive there, one cannot help feeling that he is not typical of the youth who would be found in such institutions and has slight misgivings about the effect on him".

One reason, therefore, for placing a boy in a hostel is that the court is reluctant to send him elsewhere. In four out of five cases in the sample, other forms of penal treatment had been tried and failed. The court may be faced with a choice between approved school, borstal and a probation hostel; in the light of a boy's previous record it sometimes chooses

a hostel. The boys themselves are said by the wardens to be well aware of the niceties of this situation and many of them are said to agree to hostel placement as the lesser of two evils[2].

3.4 Ages of Sample

Age is a further variable which is strongly related to selection for hostel placement. This relationship, of course, arises from the availability of vacancies; with only 299 boys in the sample going to hostels in the 15 to 17 year and 15 to 18 year age group, the number of vacancies for the 15 year age group was smaller than that for 16-year-olds, who can also go to hostels in the older age group. Table 4 relates the number of boys taken in each age group to the vacancies available.

Table 4

Age at Entry Related to Number of Possible Vacancies

Age	*Number Taken*	%	*Maximum Possible Number*
15 years	83	19	299
16 years	161	38	405
17 years	117	27	406
18 years	50	12	120
19 years	14	3	14
20 years	1	0	14
Not known	3	1	
Total	429	100	429

Source: Background sample.

NOTE: Some 19-year-old boys were taken into hostels not catering for their age group

The significant aspect of Table 4 is that despite the equal number of places theoretically available to 16- and 17-year-old boys, a greater number of 16-year-olds were taken. This suggests that applications in this age group are more likely to be accepted or that there are more of them, or both.

Data recently collected by Leeves[3] on applications to a 17 to 21 year hostel suggested a greater demand in the younger age groups. Similarly, the Principal Probation Officer for Glasgow listed for the years 1961 and 1962 the number of offenders who his officers felt would have responded well to a probation hostel, and found that 96 of these were aged 15 to 18 and only 33 aged 18 to 21[4]. This was, of course, a theoretical exercise, and there were no probation hostels on the English pattern in Scotland at the time. The Glasgow officers might not have responded similarly in a real situation.

Taken as a whole, the evidence suggests that probation officers and courts consider hostels more suitable for younger boys. Like previous offences, age may play its part by helping to rule out one of the possible methods of removal from home. A 16-year-old is less likely to be able to support himself in lodgings than a 20-year-old; he probably has a greater need for

discipline and support and his earnings are almost certainly less. Case 2 provides an example of this argument and also illustrates the kind of adolescent discontent that is seen in a number of probation hostel boys.

Case 2

Case 2 was aged 16, and one of eight children, the oldest of whom was living away; a ninth child was expected. His father was an unemployed long distance lorry driver whose previous absences had left the discipline to his "over-indulgent" wife. Now he was at home he was bitterly disappointed in his son, would not tolerate his wayward behaviour and stated he had no interest in him whatsoever. The boy himself had apparently given no cause for concern till the age of 14 when his behaviour and choice of friends deteriorated. Since leaving school, he had had nine jobs in one year. The probation officer described him as "unsettled, without purpose, undisciplined, frank but with frankness tending to over-confidence tinged with defiance", and doubted his ability to live on his own: "If given a chance by the court, he would leave home and find lodgings in the West End . . . with his poor ability to manage his affairs and very poor appreciation of reality (he) will not be able to withstand the strains and stress. . . . Probation hostel training would improve his mode of living".

3.5 Further Reasons for Placement

One reason for a boy being placed in a probation hostel may be that he has not been convicted of enough offences for the court to wish to send him to approved school or borstal. Another may be that he is too young to be placed in lodgings. These, however, are negative reasons and neither explains why it was decided to remove him from home and place him in a hostel. What line of reasoning leads a court to take this step?

Examination of probation officer reports in the sample shows that the arguments in them could be grouped into five main categories, which in turn fall into two classes depending on whether the emphasis is on:

(*a*) the negative aspect of the offender's environment, i.e. a particularly bad locality (environment), or bad home, or homelessness, and

(*b*) the positive aspect of hostel training, i.e. the value of the training function of the hostel—the fact that a probationer must work and lead a disciplined and regular life—and the support provided by the hostel staff.

Two residual categories were necessary, the first covering reports in which unusual reasons were given—for example, the necessity of providing a transitional step from an institution to the outside world, or the offender's need for the company of boys of similar age, and the second, reports which offered no definite reason for placement so that it was doubtful whether the officer had a hostel in mind.

Table 5 gives the distribution of the different types of argument. Boys on whom the probation reports were available are shown separately from the others, since it was clearly easier to assess the reasons for placement where a probation report was present. As in subsequent tables, the 15 cases where

no information was available are omitted. Where more than one argument was used, both were counted[5]. All assessments were done by Mrs. O'Leary.

Table 5

Reports Available Related to Reason for Placement

Reason Inferred	*P.O. Report Available*	%	*P.O. Report Not Available*	%
Training in hostel	218	69	61	62
Support in hostel	43	14	15	15
Removal from home	160	51	36	36
Removal from environment	39	12	11	11
Homelessness	49	16	20	20
Other	16	5	1	1
Not inferrable	16	5	14	14
Total number of reports	315	100	99	100

Source: Background sample.

69% of the probation reports were assessed as stressing the discipline and training provided by hostel life, and only 14% the support. It seems clear that probation officers look on hostels more as places for correcting behaviour than as substitute families. 51% of the reports were assessed as stressing the importance of removal from home and this reason is far more common than that of removal from an unsatisfactory area (12%) or a probationer's homelessness (16%). Only 5% of the reports gave no definite reason.

Table 6 can be usefully compared with one produced by Leeves[6], who asked 80 probation officers applying for places in a 17 to 21 year hostel what they expected to achieve by hostel treatment. Leeves analysed his 50 replies as follows.

Table 6

Expectations of Hostel Treatment held by Probation Officers Asking for Placement

		%
Removal from home or environment	23	56
Readjustment of habits	22	44
Personal development and maturity	17	34
Need for stability/stable background	12	24
Total requests	50	100

Source: Leeves' data.

Leeves' categories are not really comparable to those used here, since they refer not only to the methods expected to produce results (e.g. removal from home) but also to the results themselves (e.g. readjustment of habits). But the two studies support each other, since both suggest that removal from home and some form of habit training are the two things most in the minds of the probation officers concerned. The reasons behind the officers' recommendations will become clear in the next two sections.

3.6 Home Backgrounds of Sample

The facts which led the officers to consider that the boys in the sample needed removal from home or discipline can be seen from the study of the boys' homes and behaviour. In both these areas, there seemed to be severe problems.

Only 41% of the 414 boys had a family with both natural parents and not all of these were living at home. Many of the sample had homes which were clearly unsatisfactory. The reasons for this varied, but a representative list included the presence of other criminal members, acute marital strife, a parent who was either alcoholic, mentally disturbed or actively cruel, or the fact that the family was referred to as a "problem family". 30% of the sample lived in homes that were unsatisfactory on these criteria, the most common reasons being the presence of other criminal members (19% of the cases) and the existence of acute marital strife (10% of the cases).

At a more detailed level, many of the boys had problems with one or both parents. 124 (30%) lived either with step-mothers or with mothers who were stated to be actively unkind to them or created problems by their over-protectiveness. 168 (41%) were not living with their natural mothers at the time of the offence, and, as can be seen in Table 7, these were particularly likely to have been involved in pilfering, here defined as stealing small sums of money (less than £2 where the sum was given) from the probationer's home or from the place where he was living.

Table 7

Pilfering Related to Home Background

	Pilferers	%	*Others*	%	*Total*	%
Living with natural mother	46	19	200	81	246	100
Others	51	30	117	70	168	100
Total	97	23	317	77	414	100

Source: Background sample.
$\chi^2 = 6{\cdot}93$; df=1; $p < {\cdot}01$.

This supports the view that pilfering is often a "comforting offence" associated with maternal deprivation, and that some pilferers take money as a substitute for the love they cannot get. Case 3 provides an example.

Case 3

Case 3 was illegitimate and boarded out for the first four years of his life, after which his mother married and her husband adopted him. At the age of 16 he was described by the probation officer as solitary and by his parents as terribly untruthful and a pilferer from his grandmother and father. His parents' marriage was not happy, and marked by rows and separations. A few months previous to his offence, his mother had finally deserted the home, and during this period, his work had deteriorated and he was believed to have stolen at work. The probation officer related his behaviour to the matrimonial problems: "He wants his mother

880639 B 2

home . . . and he's unable to accept the situation and in consequence has developed a feeling of resentment to all and sundry ".

This boy settled down in the probation hostel, subsequently went into lodgings, married and is now doing " extremely well ".

Like many delinquents, probationers in the sample tended to have problems with their fathers. Boys presumably need an adequate male adult—hopefully their father—with whom they are on reasonable terms and who is able to guide them and serve as a model for their behaviour. However, 47% of the boys who were living at home had fathers or substitutes who were dead, absent, 60 years old or over or less than 25 years old, chronically invalid or out of work, mentally sick, or so uninterested in their sons that they made no effort to get them back to work when they fell out of it. 37% of the sample had step-fathers or got on very badly with the fathers they had. Case 2 has already provided an example of a boy at odds with his father. Case 4 illustrates the problem of an ineffective father.

Case 4

Case 4's father had a bad heart and had been confined to his home for the past four years. Discipline had suffered and the probation officer was decided about the cause of the offence: " Over the past month there is no doubt he has been pleasing himself as to the company he keeps, whilst frequenting public houses and staying out quite late at night. In point of fact the parents were usually in bed and had no idea as to what time he came home at all. He is a lad with no worthwhile leisure interests or hobbies and there is no doubt that he is before the court through sheer idleness during these periods."

Most of the boys in the sample had homes that were unsatisfactory in one way or another. Some had no homes or at least none they could return to. For the purposes of the study, homeless probationers were those who had left home for at least a month and who were unable to return because of their parents' or their own unwillingness. 17% of the sample fell into this category and a higher proportion, 24·6%, had left home at some time or another, going into lodgings, joining the Services or Merchant Navy or working in road gangs or travelling fairs.

For many of these " home-leavers ", leaving home appeared to be the culmination of a period of uncertainty during which they moved from one family group to another, not settling with any and finally moving out into the world on their own. Table 8 gives their previous family history.

Table 8

Previous Family History of Home-leavers

	Home-leavers		*Other*		*Total*	
		%		%		%
Lived with more than one family ...	48	36	86	64	134	100
Lived with only one family	51	18	229	82	280	100
Total	99	24	315	76	414	100

Source: Background sample.

$\chi^2 = 14 \cdot 49$; df=1; $p < \cdot 001$.

NOTE: " Lived with only one family " includes those who had lived with one family in the past but had subsequently gone into lodgings, etc.

36% of those who had lived with more than one family had left home, as opposed to only 18% of the remainder. Few of them can have moved out into the world with memories of a secure childhood. With some, the parents were living apart and the probationer moved from one to the other, profiting as best he could from each. With others, the relationships within the home had become so bad that it was hoped that placing the boy with a relative might improve the situation. With others, the probationer had been sent from family to family since early youth. 13% of the sample had been in children's homes, but this was not counted as living with another family.

3.7 Overall Assessment of Background

The statistics quoted so far may give a false impression of the background of the sample. They rely on things that can easily be counted, and homes lacking easily definable problems were therefore considered " satisfactory ". Also, many of the problems counted exclude each other. For example, although only 37% of the sample had step-fathers, or poor relationships with their natural fathers, those with no father and those living away from home were necessarily without this difficulty, and so the variety of the problems presented may falsify the overall picture.

To overcome this difficulty, a general assessment was made of each probationer's background, which was rated as stressful, lacking in discipline or neglectful, tense, good, or homeless (by definition no case could be placed in more than one category). The distinction between tense and stressful is important for the hypotheses tested in the study. Both tense and stressful homes would be unpleasant for the probationer, but in stressful homes the unpleasantness arose from the behaviour of the other members of the family over which he had no control, while in tense ones it was uncertain how far the probationer had brought the unpleasantness on himself. These overall ratings were then related to the arguments leading to hostel placement. Tables 9 and 10 set out the relationship of home background to emphasis on training and removal from home.

Table 9

Home Background Related to Emphasis Laid on Training

	Training Emphasised		*Training not Emphasised*		*Total*	
		%		%		%
Indifferent, neglectful	97	82	22	18	119	100
Tense	86	62	52	38	138	100
Stressful	16	55	13	45	29	100
Good	37	60	25	40	62	100
Homeless	35	66	18	34	53	100
Unclassified	8	62	5	38	13	100
Total	279	67	135	33	414	100

Source: Background sample.

880639

Table 10

Home Background Related to Emphasis Laid on Removal from Home

	Removal Emphasised		*Removal not Emphasised*		*Total*	
		%		%		%
Indifferent, neglectful	64	54	55	46	119	100
Tense	89	64	49	36	138	100
Stressful	24	83	5	17	29	100
Good	12	19	50	81	62	100
Homeless	4	8	49	92	53	100
Unclassified	3	23	10	77	13	100
Total	196	47	218	53	414	100

Source: Background sample.

NOTE: The four homeless boys in whose case removal from home was emphasised were boys whose parents were prepared to take them back but whose return the probation officer was anxious to prevent.

Tables 9 and 10 differ from those normally found in research reports, in that the variables related are not really defined independently, since the research worker coding the records might well feel that a probation officer describing a stressful home was also urging removal from it. Despite this limitation, the tables do illustrate the impression, likely to be gained by anyone reading the reports, that very few of the home situations could be said to be satisfactory or even reasonable and that essentially the probation officers look to the hostel to provide a remedy for the precise defect which the home displays. With indifferent or neglectful homes, they look to the hostel for discipline, and with stressful ones for a respite.

3.8 Previous Behaviour of Sample

The probation officers' recommendations did not rest only on home surroundings. Many of the boys created problems at home, at work or in their social activities. The probation officer's account of Case 5 can serve as an example.

Case 5

Case 5 was 18 years' old, handsome, and given to drink and bad companions. His refusal to work drove his mother to the point where she could no longer put up with him, and while living rough he stole 4s. 0d. from a tramp. The probation hostel was unable to help; he disrupted it and had to be removed. Within three years of leaving, he had eight further convictions, including two for unlawful wounding and one each for common assault, disorderly conduct, and robbery with violence.

In pilot studies, the variable "difficult behaviour at home" was defined by means of a check list. This covered stealing from home, keeping very late hours, refusing to work or contribute to the home where this brought definite conflict with parents, piling up hire purchase debts and refusing to pay, destructiveness at home, bullying of siblings, definite deceitfulness and cases of drinking or drug-taking where this brought the boy into conflict with his

parents. However, not all probation officers gave such specific examples of what they described as difficult behaviour, and it was therefore decided to include boys who had obviously been difficult for some time, although it was not clear in what way, and also wanderers. On these criteria, 53% of the sample were known to have caused trouble in the places where they were living, 17% were known to have wandered and 23% to have pilfered.

Information on work record and leisure behaviour was not considered very reliable and may cast more light on the reasons for placement than on the boys. The sample was divided into four categories: those with a definitely bad record (over six jobs, out of work for at least six months, very strong emphasis in the report), those whose work record was described as bad, those with no mention of their work record as good or bad, and those who were described as having good work records. Table 11 relates these categories to emphasis on training in the reports.

Table 11

Work Record Related to Emphasis on Need for Training

	Training Emphasised		*Others*		*Total*	
		%		%		%
Very bad	69	86	11	14	80	100
Bad	62	78	17	22	79	100
No mention	102	63	60	37	162	100
Good	37	48	40	52	77	100
Not applicable	9	56	7	44	16	100
Total	279	67	135	33	414	100

Source: Background sample.

As before, the assessment of training as a reason for hostel placement and the assessment of work record were not made independently. Again, however, there is no doubt that officers do look to hostels to improve the work records. Similarly, the 35·5% of the sample believed to be proving a problem in their leisure activities were significantly more likely to have reports emphasising a need for training ($\chi^2=9{\cdot}59$; df$=1$; $p<{\cdot}01$).

3.9 Summary

Monger[7] wrote of the spirit behind the Probation Hostel Rules: "A first reaction to the official ideas of 1949 might be that hostel residents were expected to be, if not paragons of virtue, at least more solidly equipped with the social virtues than many probationers. They were to be healthy, amendable to discipline, reliable employees and with difficulties which it was reasonable to expect could be dealt with in six months, in most cases.'

It is clear that those in the present sample were not always of this sort. Typically, they were felt to be in need of training or discipline. Many had bad work records, many showed symptoms such as pilfering or wandering that are normally thought to indicate maladjustment and many had environmental difficulties (such as homelessness or very bad homes) that were likely to be permanent.

880639 B 4

It appears that the boys were sometimes placed in hostels not because it was evident that this form of treatment might meet their needs, but rather because there seemed little else to do. They were too difficult to be left at home or their homes were too unsatisfactory ; they were too young or too unreliable to be placed in lodgings, but their criminal histories were not yet serious enough to justify their placement in approved school or borstal.

It is possible that some of these could only be contained by a disciplined regime. However, all boys in a hostel must be subject to the same discipline, and by sending many different sorts of boy, the courts reinforce their own view that hostels should be training institutions rather than therapeutic communities or homes.

NOTES

1. Information collected by M. Davies, Home Office Research Unit, 1964–65. This sample is not random but is probably representative.

2. One informed the research worker that he had chosen the hostel because his probation officer had " tipped him the wink ".

3. Leeves, R. E., " What Criteria for Admission to Probation Hostels? ", *British Journal of Criminology,* April 1967.

4. *Probation Hostels in Scotland : Final Report by the Scottish Probation Advisory and Training Council,* H.M.S.O., 1966, p. 11.

5. The arguments were mostly independent of each other, that is, the fact that one was used did not make it more or less likely that another would be. However, arguments stressing removal from home were clearly less likely to be found in reports stressing homelessness and were also significantly less likely to be found in reports stressing removal from the environment. ($\chi^2=4{\cdot}67$; df=1 ; $p<{\cdot}05$).

6. Leeves, R. E., op. cit., p. 210.

7. Monger, M., *Casework in Probation,* London, Butterworths, 1964, p. 180.

CHAPTER 4

Hostel Programmes

4.1 Introduction

" There is very little that is general about hostels. They depend on the people who run them. About the only thing that is common, is that most of the boys who come to them are on probation." This, at any rate, was the view of one warden and, to those who know them, few hostels seem very like any other. But there remains much that distinguishes a probation hostel from other forms of institution. This chapter sets out to describe the common elements in hostel programmes as they appeared to the research worker[1].

These programmes can be seen as a bridge between two different areas covered by the research—the social pressures outside a hostel and the events within it. The programmes involve rules and discipline ; thus they are, on the one hand, the result of the history and theory behind the hostels and the expectation of the courts, while on the other, they present the staff with their disciplinarian role and its accompanying problems. For the boys, breaches of this discipline provide a language through which they can express their dissatisfaction with the hostel.

4.2 Reception Procedure

A probationer arriving at a hostel is most likely to find a large Victorian house set in one of the residential districts of an older industrial city. Some, however, will arrive at purpose-built hostels or at hostels in towns such as Ipswich and Reading rather than Leeds or London. Whatever the type of town or building, the probationer's first impression is likely to be of a hall which is clean, and highly polished. The reception procedure varies from hostel to hostel. The new arrival may be interviewed in the presence of his probation officer, left outside and interviewed later or put in the charge of some boy who happens to be about. Sooner or later, he is likely to be given an idea of what is expected of him and what may happen to him if he does not comply. As the standard letter used by one hostel to its prospective residents puts it:

> " Life in a hostel can be very pleasant so long as a truthful and straightforward attitude is adopted but if the choice is made with the idea that you can indulge in an attempt to beat the book or one-upmanship, then don't do it ; others have tried and failed and you will get short shrift. Life will be no longer pleasant ; ultimately it will become necessary to return you to court for re-assessment."

However, reception interviews vary considerably and some are more welcoming than others. A meeting of hostel wardens and liaison officers decided that a cup of tea could play an important part.

Following his reception, the probationer will probably be helped to unpack, and articles such as knives or studded belts will be removed. If his hair is very long, he may be sent out to have it cut, and if he lacks

suitable clothing, he will be kitted out from hostel stocks. Probation officers could sometimes make the initiation ceremony easier by trying to ensure that their probationers meet a hostel's requirements in dress before they arrive.

For the first two or three days the new resident will probably be kept about the hostel, learning what is expected of him by the staff and boys. The research shed little light on the process of initiation by the boys and was not designed to do so. It is clear that the residents test out a new arrival and see how much he will stand for, but the nature and severity of this seem to vary from hostel to hostel and from time to time in the same hostel. The evidence of absconding suggests that the settling-in process is fairly rapid. It will be shown later that the chance that a resident will abscond at a given time depends very largely on his reaction to the hostel situation, and comparatively few boys abscond after the first three months. In 1964, for example, 65 boys left as the result of an absconding and of these 49, or 75%, had left before completing three months[2].

4.3 Routine, Rules and Activities

When the staff have had time to form a picture of a boy, they normally try to find him work through their contacts or through the Ministry of Labour, although at some hostels a new arrival is left to find work on his own, encouraged possibly by a list of employers and a time limit by which he must have a job.

Once in work, he is settled into the regular routine of the hostel. At some time between 5.50 a.m. and 6.30 a.m. he is called by an assistant warden or the warden. He then has a strip wash, shaves and goes to breakfast, cooked with varying degrees of success by a member of the male staff or by hostel boys on kitchen duty. Before leaving for work, he has to tidy his bed and locker, possibly boxing his blankets, and complete whatever chores he has on the rota (for example, washing up). At the time appropriate to his work, he is given his fare and lunch money. By approximately 8 a.m. the hostel is cleared of all boys but the sick, the out of work and the newly arrived. The process is one that calls for order and discipline.

Some boys may walk to work in order to save their fare and increase their spending money. Once there, however, there is nothing to mark off the hostel boys from the others, except possibly their attitude to cigarettes; some scrounge them from their more affluent workmates; some spend their lunch money on them and at one hostel in the sample luncheon vouchers were given in order to try to prevent this.

The boys begin to return from work at about 4.30 p.m. and go through the process of getting themselves ready for tea at 6.30 p.m. This involves changing from their work clothes and performing some more chores. They also collect mail. This is normally handed to them unopened, but in five of the 16 hostels in the intensive survey, the warden opened either ingoing or outgoing mail[3]. At approximately 6.30, there is tea, a meal that varies in formality. At most of the hostels visited, the warden and his wife took all their meals with the boys, but at six of the 16 in the intensive survey, either

warden or matron preferred to take some or all of their meals in their own quarters. The staff normally sit at a separate table, with the boys sitting at individual tables round about. Usually the same boys sit together and this may or may not be required by the staff.

Supper and washing up are followed by the evening programme. This, too, varies from hostel to hostel. At one, for example, there is no fixed programme but the boys can arrange any outside activity which the warden approves. At another, the boys participate in a fixed hostel programme to which no exception is made. The programmes themselves may be focused on events and classes taking place within the hostel or on activities outside it, such as those at evening institutes. They normally include some form of P.T., swimming, weight-lifting, basket-ball, etc., and often classes in English and reading for the educationally backward. The residents may have classes in carpentry or art, often with impressive results.

One night of the week is usually a domestic night allotted to mending and cleaning and writing letters in the hostel. The residents can normally play table-tennis or billiards and use the gym or carpenter's shop, if available. At some hostels, the barber calls. This haircutting is done at a cheaper rate than outside and may be paid for out of savings.

At all times the residents are subject to rules and are also, of course, expected to be of "good behaviour", although the exact definition of this differs from hostel to hostel. They are likely to be discouraged from lending and borrowing, since these sometimes cloak mild extortion. They may not be allowed to go to their dormitories without permission, because of the danger of pilfering. They may not be allowed to turn on the radio or TV, because these are expensive pieces of equipment and liable to get broken, and, for similar reasons, they may have to ask for permission before they can use the table-tennis bats or billiard cues. At some hostels, the boys buy much of the equipment, contributing a fixed sum per week towards such things as the hiring of a television set or buying records. They are normally in charge of what they pay for.

Table 11 summarises some of the more important customs found in the 16 hostels intensively surveyed. The "not applicable" column includes those cases where the rule appeared to be subject to important qualifications.

Table 12

Variations in Customs at 16 Hostels

	Yes	*No*	*Not Applicable*
Boys may turn on TV without permission	6	10	0
Boys may turn on wireless without permission...	7	6	3
Boys may go to dormitories without permission	4	11	1
Boys may use games equipment without permission	7	8	1
Boys may always use more than one room on free evenings ...	12	1	3
Boys may have photographs outside lockers	12	4	0
Boys may have pin-ups outside lockers	7	9	0

Source: Intensive sample.

The evening generally ends at about 9.30 p.m.; the boys then have a mug of cocoa, and at most hostels they are in bed by 10 p.m. Not all bed-times are enforced equally rigidly and some wardens may make an exception if there is a popular T.V. programme. There seem to be various ways of calming the boys down once in bed. At two hostels music is piped into the dormitories and turned off some time after the lights are out. At one, the lights are not turned out until after the boys are almost all asleep, the abrupt turning of the switch being regarded as a signal for possible disorder. The staff believes that the size of the dormitory is relevant to the amount of likely skylarking. The largest dormitories seen took 13 boys and several hostels had single rooms for some of the boys. Although no exact data were collected on this, six or seven appeared to be the usual number.

On Friday evenings, or on their normal pay day, the residents hand over their wage packets to the wardens[4]. These are usually unopened, but in one hostel visited, the boys were allowed to remove some money before handing them over. There is no legal compulsion on the boy; and the procedure is sometimes much resented and occasionally subject to attempted evasion, the boys pretending to have lost their wage packets or acquiring empty wage packets and falsifying the entries. At the time the survey was made they received in return a basic pocket money allowance of 12s. 9d., to which 1s. 3d. was added for shaving kit and washing materials (soap is provided free by the hostel). Those with savings received an extra privilege sum of up to 5s. if they were under 18, and 10s. if they were over 18. (These amounts are adjusted from time to time by the Home Office.) Some wardens do not hand over all this sum at once but guard against the prodigality of their charges by giving pocket money in two amounts, once at weekends and once on the boys' weekday night out. While the size of a resident's savings depends partly on his age and the wage he is able to demand, the relatively frugal allowance enables some to save large sums, sometimes up to £200. These savings can only be spent with the permission of the wardens, some of whom encourage spending on clothes and similar items. There is a general belief that the savings are quickly spent on the boys' return home.

On Saturday and Sunday the boys are allowed out, and at most hostels they are allowed out on at least one weeknight as well. The times at which they are expected back vary, and this variation is only partly explained by the fact that hostels catering for older boys tend to allow them out later. Table 13 gives details of the times at which the residents are expected back from their nights out at the 16 hostels in the intensive survey.

Table 13 is based on the hostels' standard times, but some hostels give late passes for special occasions and some have privilege schemes which allow the longer-staying resident to come in later. However, the typical hostel boy is unlikely to be able to finish the last showing at a cinema or take his girl-friend home after it. Moreover, the time specified for

return to the hostel is likely to be strictly insisted upon and excuses, if allowed at all, are severely examined. In many hostels, thirty minutes' lateness could result in loss of privileges for a month.

Table 13

Free Time in 16 Hostels

	Not Allowed Out	*Time Expected Back*				
		9–9.15	*9.30–9.45*	*10–10.15*	*10.16–10.30*	*10.45–11*
Weekday night ...	4	0	6	5	1	0
Saturday	0	0	2	6	6	2
Sunday	0	2	5	7	2	0

Source: Intensive sample.

4.4 Dress

Hostel wardens are almost incomparably well informed on the current teenage trends, but in their heart of hearts many would probably like to see their charges walking through town in the suits from Hepworths and Burtons that they often recommend. The degree of compromise that is reached between these two positions varies from hostel to hostel, the watershed being permission to wear trousers with 14 inch bottoms and the most extreme position encountered permission to wear a studded belt. Some wardens feel that their aim is to fit the boys into the local teenage culture and that current fashions can help to do this. Others regard them as the uniform of criminality and the ticket of entry to the less desirable groups in the neighbourhood. Table 14 sets out the regulations on dress as found in the intensive survey.

Table 14

Regulations on Dress in 16 Hostels

14 inch trouser bottoms forbidden	5
Winkle-picker shoes forbidden	5
Going out in jeans forbidden except for work	11
Three-weekly haircuts required	15
Special hostel clothing required in hostel	2
Collarless jackets forbidden	3

Source: Intensive sample.

4.5 Weekends

Saturdays and Sundays are the main days for going out, although Saturday morning may well be a time of chores for those who are not working. On Sunday, the boys may have to go to church, or have a service or religious discussion in the hostel. (They may also be prepared for confirmation while at the hostel. The insistence on church-going at some hostels arises from the religious inspiration of their managements and is said not to be popular with the boys.)

Saturday and Sunday can also be days for the more out-going hostel activities. Camping is popular at many hostels and may take place at weekends or Bank Holidays. Two hostels were found to be very keen on the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme and had made this the focus of a number of activities. Other special events are also found, although not necessarily at weekends. These events are often part of the general tradition of the hostel, similar to the special privileges that a boy may have on his birthday, or the Christmas party. Residents may be taken on trips to London Airport or to some sporting event or show, and film shows and lectures are sometimes held.

At one hostel, there was a scheme of regular monthly dances, one method of dealing with the girl-friend problem, which, together with drink and long hair, tends to be a source of strong feelings among hostel staff. At a few hostels, the boys are allowed to bring in their girl-friends, but generally this would be a special concession. At one hostel, the warden and his wife used to invite a boy and his girl-friend to tea if they had been going out together for some time. At another, the warden asked the boys to bring their girl-friends to the Christmas party, but, in his own words, "No bird came". Prudence or past experience persuades other wardens to forbid all girl-friends to enter their hostel.

4.6 Sanctions

Rules must be enforced by sanctions. Discipline is in the hands of the warden, although in one hostel visited, he consulted a boys' committee on some aspects. Residents may be punished immediately for specific offences or given points which are added up at the end of the week. Point systems are sometimes accompanied by a system of grading, of which the following is an unusually explicit example.

GRADING SYSTEM IN ONE HOSTEL

Conditions	*Privileges*
Grade A	
1. At least one month in hostel	First in line to all privileges
2. At least one month free from D grade	Three periods free time
3. Very good report from employer	Over 18 up to 10s. extra pocket money
4. Very good work in hostel	Under 18 up to 5s. extra pocket money
5. Correct attitude to other boys	
6. Correct attitude to staff	
7. Sets good example to other boys	
8. Helps and encourages new boys	
9. Needs no supervision	
Grade B	
1. Good work report from employer	Second in line for privileges
2. Good work in hostel	Two periods of free time
3. Personal conduct and behaviour satisfactory	Over 18 years up to 5s. extra pocket money weekly
4. Does not need personal supervision	Under 18 years up to 2s. 6d. extra pocket money weekly
5. Trying to do his best but capable of improving	
6. Responds well to hostel training	
7. New boys placed in this grade for two weeks	

Conditions	*Privileges*
Grade C	
1. Fair work report from employer	One period free time, normally Sunday afternoon
2. Poor work record in hostel	Extra work when other boys are (*a*) relaxing, (*b*) enjoying free periods
3. The dodgers, scroungers, the don't knows, I forgot, I thought . . .	
4. Late in from free time	
5. Late reporting to and from work	
6. Requires supervision regards personal cleanliness, hostel duties and personal behaviour	
Grade D	
1. Poor work record	First in line for all extra work
2. Suspended or dismissed by employer	Free period of two hours, normally Sunday morning after church
3. Persistent lateness	
4. Bad attitude to other boys	
5. Use of violence to other boys	
6. Obscene or lewd language	
7. Misbehaviour outside hostel	

This grading system sets out the main types of punishment which are used in hostels: loss of pocket money, extra tasks and loss of free time. Other variations include loss of home leave and refusal to recommend a resident for early return home. Punishments can be made more severe in a number of ways; scrubbing tasks can be given for weekends, or, as in one past regime, for two hours after the other boys had gone to bed. Sarcasm in front of other boys is probably much disliked, and other punishments can serve similar ends. For example, in a previous regime a punishment used was to make the boys wear shorts. One warden wrote up a boy's early release date in pencil and had him in to rub it out when he committed a serious breach of the rules.

Punishments vary like everything else. Swearing is a good example: reaction ranged from the attitude that "it is understood that the boys do not swear in front of women", through a sharp reprimand (the most common), a threepenny fine, a sixpenny fine, to depriving the boy of all privileges for a month. In the intensive survey, 16 wardens were asked which of the following wardens they most closely resembled.

"Warden H believes that firm punishment tends to prevent further trouble, both with the culprit and with other boys. He may deprive a boy of privileges for four weeks for breaches of hostel discipline such as 30 minutes' lateness at night and use punishments of similar strictness. Warden I makes no use of any punishment at all, with the exception of major offences such as absconding. A mid-position might be a warden who generally punished half-hour lateness with one week's gatings." Five wardens rated themselves as very similar to Warden H and only two considered themselves closer to Warden I than Warden H.

Wardens have carrots as well as sticks. They may exempt a boy from all or part of the hostel programme or argue for his early return home. They also have considerable influence over the granting of home leave, but some

home leave appeared to be universal in all the hostels visited. It is not normally granted until the boy has been in the hostel for at least three months, since the wardens believe that to grant it before is unsettling, and this belief has been endorsed by a Home Office Circular (H O C 138/1964).

4.7 Patterns of Hostel Regime

If one considers only the rules and regulations, the most obvious way to group hostels is by their degree of permissiveness. If the classification is valid, hostels which are strict over changing work, should also be strict about dress and so on. In order to check this assumption, the hostel regulations were divided into four groups depending on whether they dealt with work, dress, customs in the hostel or the times at which the boys were expected to be in. These groups were chosen on the grounds that questions on them seemed to cover important areas of an adolescent's life, and to elicit reliable answers[5].

Each regime was given a permissiveness score for each of these main areas. The score for time out was the number of quarters of an hour after 8.30 p.m. that the boys were normally given each week. The score for the other areas was based on the answers to certain questions. Those on customs and dress are given in Tables 12 and 14. Those on work were:

Is a boy allowed to change work if:

1. he cannot get on with his foreman or workmates ;
2. he is accused of stealing at work but no charge is pressed or proved ;
3. he has the offer of a job with more pay ;
4. he finds the work heavy but is physically capable of it?

In scoring these questions, 1 was given for a definite yes, ½ for yes with important qualifications and 0 for a definite no ; and a similar scoring system was applied in the other areas. For example, the "customs" score was calculated by giving 1 for each "yes" in Table 11, 0 for each "no" and ½ for each "N/A".

If there is a general factor of permissiveness, then hostels with a high permissiveness score in one area should also score highly in another. Table 15 gives the product moment correlation co-efficients between the permissiveness scores in the four different areas. (A correlation of +1 would imply a perfect positive correlation, −1 a perfect negative correlation and 0 no correlation at all.)

Table 15

Intercorrelations of Permissiveness Scores

	Work	*Hours*	*Customs*	*Dress*
Work	—	·81	·52	·28
Hours...	·81	—	·5	·25
Customs	·52	·5	—	·56
Dress	·28	·25	·56	—

Source: Intensive sample.

Each regime was then given a weighted permissiveness score. It was assumed that each area gave an equally good estimate of permissiveness and the method used was to divide the regime's score in each area by the maximum score obtainable for that area and then to add the results. As a check on its validity the score was correlated with the relevant warden's score on two scales on the staff attitude questionnaire. These measured a favourable attitude to control and an institutional orientation. The correlations were:—

Permissiveness and favourable attitudes to control ... ... −·65

Permissiveness and institutional orientation ... ... −·63

As might be expected, therefore, the more favourable the attitudes the wardens expressed towards control the less permissive the hostel rules were likely to be. The permissiveness score is related to the boys' behaviour in chapter 12.

Summary

The research worker's general impression of the hostel system gained through talking to the staff was one of discipline, tempered with good sense. In many ways, the hostels are reminiscent of an older tradition in the probation service, with an emphasis on religion, work, discipline, sensible advice and constructive use of leisure. The boys are lads, not clients, and supervision of the staff is in the hands of a voluntary committee. But any impression is likely to be misleading ; there are wide variations in the types of regime and a more accurate picture can be found only by taking these into account. The overall framework and the variations it allows, the influence of the warden's attitudes, the disciplinary nature of his role and the differences in theory between ordinary probation and hostel treatment raise questions that are considered in more detail later in the report.

NOTES

1. The data and impressions were mainly gathered during visits to 16 hostel regimes in the intensive survey, but data taken from other visits are occasionally used.

2. Data taken from Home Office H1 returns.

3. There are two purposes to this practice. It helps the warden to prevent the boys from receiving money from home and it also enables him to know if a boy is receiving upsetting news. Only one warden censored outgoing mail in order to prevent alarming despatches.

4. Cf. Miller, D., *Growth to Freedom*, Tavistock Publications, 1964, p. 48. "We have said that the warden was not known to the boys by this title, neither was Northways described as a hostel. To many delinquent youths these words have implications which differ from those of the community at large. Hostels are seen as rigid punitive institutions which are society's extension of the penal system. Wardens are described as 'people who take your pay packet away'."

5. The scales given were constructed "a priori". A question on freedom to take a shower or bath was dropped, since answers seemed to depend on a hostel's hot water supply rather than attitudes.

CHAPTER 5

The Control System

5.1 Introduction

So far the report has covered the hostels' aims, and the methods of putting them into effect. As with any system, however, a full description must include not only the aims and methods but also the second line of defence, the control system designed to check that the aims are being achieved and to take action if they are not. As argued before, the type of control required depends on the aims set: if hostels are set ambitious goals they may need elaborate support. For example, a therapeutic community, depending on what this means, probably needs a consultant psychiatrist, while less ambitious hostels need less elaborate checks.

This chapter deals with the hostels' control system. "Control system" is interpreted in a wide sense, including both official forms of control such as the Home Office inspections, and the unofficial ones such as the influence of local employers. There are two things to be considered: the system of overall control of the hostels, which is concerned, for example, with their general cost and the failure rate; and the system for seeing that any individual hostel is functioning adequately. Only after these systems have been studied can the differences between individual hostels be understood and interpreted. If the overall control system is very powerful, the hostels will tend to be similar in performance; if it is weak, there may be important differences. If the committee's control is very effective, this rather than the warden will determine a hostel's success. If it is ineffective, a change of warden may bring a dramatic change in performance.

5.2 Central Government

Hostel wardens are responsible to their committees, who, in turn, are responsible to the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State issues the Probation Hostel Rules and these impose the framework within which the hostels operate, without, of course, determining whether they work well or badly. This framework represents only a limited form of control, but the word "control" can be correctly applied to Home Office financial supervision, which is close. Hostel accounts are checked centrally, as of course are proposals for capital expenditure. The accounts must be set out in detail and wardens are likely to be questioned on the exact nature of their expenditure under each head. In order to keep probation officers informed of vacancies, the Home Office requires hostels to make fortnightly returns of the number of boys in residence, and a warden who has not made a return by the correct day is likely to be telephoned on the next one. This return puts pressure on wardens to keep their hostels full and so reinforces the rule that hostels should not be selective. Financial regulations help to form the residents' picture of the hostel, and they are sometimes said to regard wardens as "people who take your pay packet away". By contrast, a circular requiring older residents to receive money rather than sandwiches for their

lunch can be used to encourage the responsible use of money. Financial control can, of course, be employed to further a variety of managerial aims; for example, the recruitment of assistant wardens can be encouraged by authorising expenditure on their accommodation. Finance is the ultimate sanction, and an unsatisfactory hostel could be closed by withholding public money.

Home Office financial control is of necessity limited in scope, and is more adapted to preventing the squandering or fraudulent use of public money than to ensuring that it is being used to best advantage. For example, one might ask whether extra money should be allocated to borstals or probation hostels, or whether, within the hostel system, further expense was best incurred in improving assistant wardens' quarters, raising wardens' salaries, or recruiting part-time staff. These questions could not be answered, partly because, given the complexity of the question and the unsatisfactory state of social science, conclusive answers are probably impossible, but also because of a lack of routine statistics which could provide relevant evidence. Thus there are no routine statistics on staff turnover, the type of boys sent, their failure rates or the variations between hostels. Even if these statistics were available and could be used as suggested, it would still be difficult to make them the basis of practical action. For example, staff salaries are not within the control of the Home Office but are fixed by an independent negotiating body in relation to other services (and more recently they have been subject to constraints in relation to the incomes policy).

Yet the hostel system would be difficult to control even if statistics were more plentiful and the theoretical knowledge necessary to use the statistics were more developed. One reason is the number of independent bodies with influence in the system. The courts are not responsible to the Home Office, but they have an important influence on the hostels since they control the type of boy sent; committees are not appointed by the Home Office and are correspondingly independent, and the wardens are responsible to the committees. It is unlikely that the Home Office inspectors would press for a warden's dismissal simply on the grounds of emotional unfitness, since public bodies must not only be just, but also be seen to be so, and more substantial grounds are required for dismissal. Thus good practices must be spread by persuasion rather than fiat and there are many people to be persuaded. Moreover, the hostel system lacks the selection boards, training schemes or classifying schools through which the central government could exert its influence.

In many ways, the Home Office gives the impression of being more concerned with particular hostel problems than with general ones. As already pointed out, there is no statistical feedback on problems common to all the hostels. Inspectors' reports deal with individual hostels, not with the hostel system as a whole. More general problems involving change have usually been left to outside committees, and there is no tradition of controlled experiment or research. This concern with the particular rather than the general is probably a result of the Home Office's accountability to Parliament.

In the end, one homosexual assistant warden is more likely to concern the newspapers or a Member of Parliament than is the general problem of recruiting assistant wardens.

So the Home Office cannot manage the hostels as a central office can manage a chain of shops. It does not innovate and lacks routine statistics, centralised training facilities, and clear responsibilities. It cannot be held responsible for hostels in the same ways as it can be held responsible for borstals[1]. More important for the present research, it allows the hostels to be very different from each other.

5.3 Children's Department Inspectors

The Home Office exerts some of its influence on individual hostels through the Children's Department inspectors. These visit the hostels normally at least once a year and may also attend important meetings of the management committees such as those called to appoint staff. The inspectors have a wide experience of hostels and other institutions and they often give the wardens valued advice. But their influence on the hostel should not be exaggerated. Some inspection reports note that a warden has been advised that a practice such as censoring letters, not eating with the boys, or having meals in silence was undesirable; but the advice may have to be repeated at a later visit. Moreover, if it is difficult for an inspector to influence clear-cut practices of this sort, it is far more difficult for him to influence less tangible ones. Thus, he may notice that staff relations are poor or that discipline is at a low ebb, but the most he can do is to refer the matter to the committee, who, of course, may know of it already. The inspectors' visits act as a check that the Probation Hostel Rules are being obeyed, and their reports are likely to include observations on the fire precautions and the keeping of the log book. While at the hostel, they can discuss the warden's needs for extra equipment and his professional problems, and they are later able to put his views to the managing committee and the Home Office.

The work of the Children's Department Inspectorate is of obvious value in keeping the Home Office administration in touch with hostels, in bringing to light practical problems, and in providing support and expert advice to wardens and managing committees alike. However, the inspectors do not provide strong pressure towards uniformity of practice or performance, and in this they are in line with general Home Office policy in relation to hostels.

5.4 Hostel Committees

The Probation Hostel Rules place the responsibility for the hostel on the managing committee. They specify that these committees shall meet once a month (at least once in every two months at the hostel), that at least two members must be women, that one member of the committee shall visit the hostel every month and that some of its members shall live within a reasonable distance of the hostel. The composition of the committee is left open and no detailed information was collected on it. The majority of committees include a local senior or principal probation officer and many a minister of religion—a result of the Christian origins of many hostels. A

representative committee might involve magistrates, doctors, school teachers, local businessmen, civil servants and university lecturers. It is not known whether any has a member with experience of residential social work, but probably most do not.

The bread and butter of committee meetings is finance; for example, the allocation of contracts to catering firms, repairs, and the possibility of buying a new billiard table or of extending the buildings. The warden also gives an account of the important events of the past month, and the committee may offer him advice and support. According to their special interests, they may lay down some of the general lines on which the hostel is to be run; such as, the policy to be followed over home leave, or compulsory church on Sundays or the annual camp. Most important of all, the committee appoint and—very rarely—dismiss the staff.

Most men's morale is influenced by the attitudes of their superiors, and wardens are no exception. They are responsible to the committee, they enter their salary scales at a point determined by it, and their financial requests for mechanised potato peelers or any other equipment must be channelled through it. Moreover, the responsibility of the warden's job is heavy and he may sometimes wish to refer a decision upwards in order to be sure that he has support. He may particularly value the support of individual members of the committee, many of whom spend much more time in the hostel than is required by the Probation Hostel Rules. One warden, for example, spoke especially well of a former chairman: "Before any meeting he would come round here and ask me how the hostel was going. Not only that but things about myself—what I was doing about leave and so on. When the committee meeting came, he really knew what was what and he got through it very quickly."

The committee's ability to support the warden is probably greater than their ability to control what he does. They often know little about the day to day running of the hostel, at any rate in comparison with the liaison probation officer. Thus, one liaison officer interviewed was—exceptionally—also a member of the committee and had faced an awkward dilemma. As liaison officer he had known that the hostel was going through a bad patch, but he felt unable to tell the committee until the situation had resolved itself. By contrast, a warden said he was brought to the brink of resigning because a liaison officer was telling the committee too much: "You can't tell the committee everything, otherwise you would be there all week." The committee members must be tactful in their attempts to learn about the hostel; if their interest follows a period of trouble they may be thought snoopers, but at other times they may be criticised because they take too little interest or because they come when the residents are out.

Disputes between warden and committee do sometimes occur and are difficult, since they are inevitably disputes of principle; the committee have no further facts on which to base a decision different from the warden's, nor is their responsibility wider than his. Logically, therefore, they must

disagree on the grounds that his assessment of the situation or his general principles are wrong. Disputes over permissiveness are an example. At one hostel, the committee ordered the warden to provide headboards for pin-ups ; at another the committee tried to persuade the warden to discourage the boys from having girl-friends.

These disputes explain the nature of the wardens' occasional dissatisfaction with their committees, which, when it occurs, tends to focus on their non-professional nature. Thus Cooks, commenting favourably on his committee, remarked: "How refreshing compared with some committees who know nothing, or very little, about the practical issues involved and yet insist on putting into effect their own ideas."[2] Two wardens interviewed spoke of the necessity of "educating your committee"—"They still look on you as a caretaker like in the old workhouse days." Others told stories intended to indicate that some members were very out of touch with hostel life. Wardens who wished to speak well of their committees—and these perhaps were in the majority—tended to stress the successful careers of the members or the fact that they never interfered.

In practice, committees rarely intervene in the running of the hostel. The warden is on the spot and has the relevant information and experience, and in the absence of clear criteria about which decisions belong to the committee and which to him, he inevitably takes most decisions. So, like the Children's Department inspectors, the committees exert little pressure for uniform practice. As has been seen, hostel regimes depend greatly on the wardens' attitudes. Hostels change sharply with a change of warden ; a hostel which was permissive may become strict and a hostel which ran a group-based programme may change to a more individual approach.

5.5 Neighbours

Proposals to purchase houses for use as probation hostels almost always provoke local opposition, but this dies down once the hostel is established. Wardens sometimes receive complaints, although rarely about criminal activities, but on the whole, the hostels have little contact with the local residents except through clubs, education facilities, and occasionally theological or university colleges. Consideration for the neighbours probably encourages the warden to take steps against too much noise or disorder, but few wardens would welcome these in any circumstances.

5.6 Employers

Wardens in the intensive sample were asked if they would allow a boy to change work if he could not get on with his foreman or workmates. Almost invariably they answered that they would know the foreman, and would be able to go to the firm and see if they could sort the matter out. One warden visited all his boys' employers once a month and there is no doubt that the relations of wardens with local employers were almost equally close elsewhere.

The hostels need contacts among employers and probably make more use of them than of the local Youth Employment Bureau, or Labour Exchange. Many employers go out of their way to help hostel probationers. They may be willing to persevere with a resident who has not worked for a long time and who may consequently be unfit. Equally valuable is their ability to provide information on how a boy is working, or whether he is not coming to work.

In return, the hostel can provide employers with some benefits. Hostel residents are likely to be at work on time and every day, and there is pressure on them not to change their jobs. Some probation officers felt that the hostels went too far in this direction and that boys were not allowed to change jobs on reasonable grounds or were placed in inferior jobs. Certainly the temptation is there, but if a resident does express a strong preference for a particular type of work, strenuous efforts will normally be made to get him into it. Like the neighbours, the employers probably exercise a slight influence towards strictness, since they reinforce the wardens' natural inclination to oppose changes of work.

5.7 Police

Police interest in hostels varies. In peaceful times, they are not seen at the hostel ; in more troubled ones, they may be helpful to the warden in a variety of ways. They can see him before they question a boy, so that he is sometimes able to clear up a matter without the general excitement that follows a police visit to a hostel. They can also help by giving information on residents' acivities and by picking up absconders before a warrant has been taken out. In some hostels they have had social contacts with the residents. In general, however, they have no obvious direct influence on the hostels.

5.8 The Court Local to the Hostel

The local court has a direct and important influence on the hostel, since it is the court which is most likely to amend the probation orders of probationers who it is felt should leave and to deal with those who abscond, commit offences or prove particularly unruly. The question of whether or not a hostel boy should leave is of great importance to the hostel staff and the liaison officer. In considering it, the hostel staff must consider the welfare of the boy and the hostel, the liaison probation officer the welfare of the boy, and the court the welfare of the boy, the welfare of the community and the gravity of the offence. Theoretically, there is obviously room for conflict here—a boy who flings a pillow at the warden is disrupting the hostel and may well be better in borstal, but it would be difficult for a court to give him a borstal sentence. This problem is considered in more detail in the discussion on the liaison probation officer.

5.9 Liaison Officer

Very occasionally a probation officer finds a boy a vacancy in a hostel and continues to supervise him after arrival. All other hostel residents are under the supervision of a local probation officer known as a liaison probation officer. The number of these officers involved with any hostel

varies from one to four, and other probation officers may also be involved, as when a senior probation officer is a member of the management committee or has arranged to deal with the warden over the general problems of hostel liaison. The liaison officers provide the warden's main contacts with other professional social workers. Their influence on the hostel must be carefully examined. During the research, the research worker interviewed 33 probation officers who were or had been liaison officers. The purpose of the interviews was to use their ideas and insights to derive hypotheses and (originally with all, but later only with serving liaison officers) to introduce a standard form which they were asked to complete. The interviews were not aimed at elucidating the liaison officers' role, but officers inevitably touched on this and some expressed doubts over what it should be. These doubts hinged round two important related questions which the liaison officer must answer. How far should he allow himself to be identified with the hostel staff, and—as a special but important variant of this—what attitude should he take to hostel disciplinary problems? And how far was his primary duty to the staff and how far to the boys?

The answer an officer gives to these questions influences his methods at many points. He may interview boys within the hostel, thus associating himself with it, or at his office, thus implying that he is interested in the probationer as an individual rather than as a member of a group. He may give few interviews or rely on casual contacts, thus emphasising the paramount importance of the warden, or he may hold regular casework interviews. A few officers have experimented with groups, thus inevitably bringing the hostel situation into their treatment, but wardens have normally been suspicious of these experiments, few of which have lasted long.

An important choice for the officer is whether he considers interviews with hostel boys as confidential to himself alone or confidential to himself and the hostel staff. There are arguments on both sides; one officer reasoned that by treating his interviews as confidential to himself, he was able to learn of bullying or homosexuality which the residents would conceal from the staff. Another felt that it was vital to avoid the impression of a split between himself and the staff. He was unusual in always interviewing in the presence of the warden. Wardens are often suspicious of the contents of confidential interviews, and may even question boys about what goes on in them. They feel that the boys slip on a special face at the interview, while they see the "six o'clock in the morning one"—"We have more of a relationship with the boy than the probation officer. The boy sees his probation officer and if he's a hail-fellow-well-met type he tells him a few dirty jokes and then he's away. Otherwise he may put on his penitent face. We see all his faces."

Such suspicion arises partly from the liaison officer's position as a receiver of grouses about the hostel. Liaison officers must decide how they will deal with these. At one extreme, an officer made it plain that he and the warden were identified by referring to the warden and himself as "we": at the other was a liaison officer who disagreed with the running of the hostel, and discouraged his probationers from discussing it. More common were the officers who saw themselves in a neutral, uninvolved position. They

tried to be safety valves for the probationers' feelings about the hostel; if a boy resented the warden, they explored his resentment in the same way that they would have examined his difficulties with his father, pointing out the reasons for what was happening and avoiding passing judgment.

Casework with resentful hostel residents is like marital casework with aggrieved wives; it is hard to avoid taking sides. One officer remarked that the warden had a down on certain boys. "Curiously enough, these always seem to be the ones I get on best with." Another stressed the false picture which the liaison officer can get of a boy and the effect this difference can have on the warden. "You can imagine the warden sitting there jaded with his day's experiences and a happy P.O. breezes in like uncle coming from outside and giving the naughty nephew 2s. 6d." One warden felt that the probation officer saw himself as the impartial adjudicator. "How would the probation officer like the warden coming to his house and sitting as it were in judgment on him?"

The suspicion that sometimes exists between wardens and liaison officers may be accentuated by differences in training. As a test of this hypothesis, four statements were examined in the attitude questionnaire given to wardens in the intensive sample. Two statements were taken to represent the wardens' attitude towards the psychological theory included in probation officer training. These were:

1. It actually seems that a knowledge of psychological theory is of very little help in dealing with groups of boys.
2. In dealing with these boys, it is best to leave theory alone and face the many problems with common sense.

Two were taken to represent the warden's attitude towards interviews. These were:

3. Individual counselling should have priority over recreational activities. (Scored in a negative direction.)
4. A boy's trust in the warden should be safeguarded better by not having so many people with different ideas talking to him.

Wardens had answered these questions on a six-point scale ranging from disagree very much to agree very much. The statements were, therefore, allotted a score from -3 to $+3$ and the two statements added together to give a score for attitude to interviewing and attitude to psychological theory. As predicted, there was a positive correlation between a negative attitude to training and a negative attitude towards individual interviews. ($r = +\cdot48$; $df = 14$; $p < \cdot05$; one-tailed test.) It seems, therefore, that those who are suspicious of the value of the probation officer's interviews are also likely to be suspicious of training that includes psychological theory.

Differences of opinion between warden and liaison officer sometimes arouse strong feelings, which are related to their differing degrees of involvement. Most probation officers have over 50 cases; they rarely see any of these more than once a week, and their training warns them against the dangers of becoming over-involved. The wardens live with approximately 20 boys and it would be hard for them to maintain a clinical detachment even if it were

desirable. Their involvement with a boy may take the form of a reluctance to let him go or a strong desire to get rid of him. However, if their relations with the liaison officer are good they may see his greater detachment not as a threat but as an aid:

"You can get emotionally tied up with a boy who is putting himself up against the rules. You see discipline being torn asunder and the whole structure of decent living going apart. You feel like as if they've murdered a policeman. That's when you need a good probation officer who can say: 'Jack, you're getting too involved'."

Problems between warden and liaison officer do not arise only from differences in training and attitude. They stem also from differences in role and from the different criteria on which each must make his decisions. The liaison officer deals with probationers on their own; he is not so immediately concerned with problems of discipline or, necessarily, with the welfare of the hostel as a whole.

These differences in training and role lead naturally to different attitudes towards permissiveness. During the intensive survey 21 liaison officers were interviewed. They were not questioned directly on their attitudes to the running of the hostel, but nevertheless 10 indicated that their own attitudes were more permissive than the warden's, and none said that they would run the hostel on stricter lines[3].

The study also produced other evidence that the liaison officers see the wardens as less permissive than the wardens see themselves. Wardens and liaison officers were each given a form (see Appendix 6) describing various contrasting roles which the warden might play. The wardens were asked to rate themselves on the degree of similarity which they showed to the two contrasting roles, and the liaison officers were asked to rate the warden in the same way. Question 2 on the form described two extreme types of warden, one of whom could reasonably be described as very permissive and the other as more authoritarian. Of the 21 liaison officers completing the form, only one thought that the warden was very close to the permissive warden described, while 12 thought that he was very close to the authoritarian warden. Of the 16 wardens, 4 thought that they were very close to the permissive warden and only 6 that they were very close to the authoritarian warden[4].

These differences can result in disagreements over policy. A liaison officer may feel that residents should find their own jobs, while the warden may fear that new residents will pretend they are in work and then at the time of reckoning abscond rather than fail to hand over their wage packets. The liaison officer may think there should be a more relaxed programme, while the warden expects that this will lead to disorder. Normally the liaison officer accepts that the warden has the final responsibility and these disagreements are rarely brought into the open.

A more common cause of disagreement is the question of whether the warden should use the liaison officer as a threat. The warden is in a difficult disciplinary position. He is the ultimate authority in the hostel but it is still possible for a resident to defy him to his face. Unlike school teachers

or army sergeants, he may have difficulty in calling upon superior force, for a court cannot be expected to impose borstal training for refusal to wash a plate. Despite this, wardens may still threaten residents with court action or take them before their probation officer and demand a stern lecture. The liaison officers differ in their reaction to these appeals. Some feel that the warden has no sanctions and must therefore be supported. Others are opposed to threats which they think out of proportion or inappropriate to the role of probation officer[5]. Some wardens argue that the sanctions available to themselves and the liaison officer should be increased and that conditions of residence should contain the further requirement that a resident comply with the regulations of the hostel. The Morison Committee considered this suggestion but thought that there was "little scope for strengthening the sanctions at present available".

Similar problems arise over abscondings. A warden may want a severe sentence on an absconder to deter others; he may even announce at the evening meal what sentence has been given. He may feel that an absconding is a personal slap in the face and that it reflects on the hostel. By contrast, a probation officer is less concerned with a hostel group and more with the individual resident. He is unlikely to be blamed for an absconding and may urge leniency. Thus arguments arise between warden and liaison officer and sometimes become bitter. At least one warden has resigned over them.

Given these differences, it is not surprising that some liaison officers feel uneasy over the role they should play. "All through that time there was trouble and the boys kept coming to me and complaining about something or other that the warden had done and asking me if I thought it was just. I used to dislike going down to the hostel, not knowing if I went as a sort of trades union rep or a gauleiter weeding out the unfit."

It should be stressed that these differences between warden and liaison officer are normally potential rather than actual. They are liable to come to a head when there is trouble in the hostel, and the number of abscondings increases and the staff are on edge. In more peaceful times, they are traps for the tactless rather than ever-present sources of discontent. Most liaison officers have reasonable or good relations with their wardens. Some hostels have weekly meetings between the hostel staff and the probation service. There are now regional meetings of liaison officrs and hostel staff and a hope that these will lead to greater mutual understanding[6].

5.10 Home Probation Officer

By law, a court cannot insert a condition of residence in a probation order without receiving a home surroundings report. This report is normally prepared by the "home probation officer"[7], who is also the officer most likely to find a probationer a place in a hostel and to supervise him on his return home. These officers affect the hostels through their influence on the type of probationer taken. Chapter 3 of the report has covered this aspect. It remains to deal with their relations with the hostel staff.

The relationship between the home probation officer and the warden is a delicate one. The home probation officer, like the liaison officer, is likely

to have a different training from the warden, and his main source of information on the hostel may be his probationer, who is sometimes biased. On their side, the hostel staff may suspect that the home probation officer has persuaded them to take a difficult resident by giving them inadequate information, or that he has given the probationer the impression that there is a choice between hostel and borstal training and that hostel training is easier and shorter than borstal. They may also suspect that the home officer is tired of a youth and sees a hostel as a method of getting him "out of his hair", preferably for good.

Problems may arise over whether a boy should go into lodgings at the end of his stay. This question involves warden, liaison officer and home probation officer. The research worker's impression was that the home probation officer is more likely to favour lodgings, since he is in touch with the home, which is often bad. The liaison officer is less likely to favour lodgings, possibly because he has to find them. Wardens may vary in their attitude according to their attitude to the boy.

Given these potential problems, it is important that the home probation officers try to see the wardens' point of view. Probably most do, but not all. Wardens welcome information on former residents, which they do not often receive. They complain that probation officers delay answering letters about home leave, or making home visits when a resident has not been getting letters. They often return residents to bad homes and are anxious about them. They are then particularly likely to blame home probation officers for failing to give the support they themselves would like to give but cannot. They sometimes suspect that with many home probation officers it is a case of "out of sight out of mind". They may blame the home probation officer for all the defects of the hostel system: "After-care is the weak link."

Again it seemed that relations between the hostel staff and the home probation officers were on the whole reasonable, if rather tenuous. Over a period of time, the wardens acquire contacts with particular officers who, they feel, appreciate their problems and know their hostel and the type of boy who does well there. It is these officers who get priority when selection is made.

5.11 Summary and Discussion

This chapter set out to consider the effect of those outside the hostels both on the hostel system as a whole and on the individual hostels within it. Corresponding to this distinction between the system and its individual institutions is that between the control exercised by the central government, with its concern with policy and overall cost, and that by the local people, concerned with the day-to-day management of any one hostel. The chapter suggested that neither form of control was likely to be very effective.

The central government undoubtedly influences the type of hostel that a probation hostel can be, but it has less effect on whether or not it is good of its kind, or indeed on whether the general standard of hostels will be high or low. It exercises little managerial control over hostels, a fact exemplified by the deficiency of relevant statistics on staff turnover, or

reconviction rates. However, this lack of control was attributed not to insufficient expertise on the part of the civil servants responsible for hostels, but rather to the absence of institutional means through which the control could be exercised.

The second type of control, that by local people, also has its difficulties. These are seen most clearly in the problems facing those outside the hostel if they wish to counteract troubles within it. Those in immediate contact with the hostels form the warden's first line of defence; it is to these, if to anyone, that he must turn for help. For the purposes of this study, trouble means absconding or offences, and it is clear that trouble in this sense will tend to worsen the hostel's relations with the outside world. Employers may find their hostel boys removed by the courts and may be less likely to take others; police may be asked to collect absconders from distant towns; the committee may wish to help but is in danger of being accused of interference. The liaison officer will be exposed to complaints from the boys and to disputes with the warden over the proper treatment of absconders. Only the court might seem likely to help by imposing deterrent sentences on absconders, but it will be shown later that such action is probably ineffective.

This discussion of the problems of controlling hostels should prepare the reader for the great variations in hostel standards that are later to be discussed. It is suggested here that the control systems are not sufficiently powerful to obtain uniform standards between different hostels or even within one hostel over a period of time. Chapters 10 and 11 will give this suggestion statistical support.

NOTES

1. This section was first drafted before publication of Volume 2 of the Fulton Report (*The Civil Service: Vol 2: Report of a Management Consultancy Group*, H.M.S.O., 1968). This volume, however, dealt with many of the same problems. Examples of this are the difficulty of combining scrupulous fairness with good staff management (Para. 307/8), of the dispersal of responsibility among different institutions (Para. 317), of public accountability, random feed-back and of the consequent requirement for relatively senior civil servants to deal with comparatively minor matters (Para. 303, 305, 306 and 334). The problem of rapid changes of goal following political change (Para. 310) does not seem to have troubled the hostel system, although its analogue may be the different goals proposed by different departmental committees (see Chapter 2 of this report). The hostels may represent a different problem, i.e. the problem of controlling a small area of public life which is not the subject of public interest and about which there is, in any case, no publicly available control information. In the context of the Fulton Report, it is perhaps worth saying that the civil servant mainly responsible for probation hostels seemed to the research worker to have a very good understanding of them. His problem in improving the hostels has to do with the system within which he must work.

2. Cooks, R. A. F., *Keep them out of Prison*, Jarrolds, 1958, p. 15.

3. It is important to note that this difference in attitude need not imply criticism and by no means all the officers who felt that they themselves would be more permissive in running the hostel felt that the warden should be more permissive. In general the interviewer attempted to avoid any impression that the warden was being criticised and certainly most liaison officers would have been very unwilling to criticise him. As one officer put it: "I do not see how I can talk about these people; they are my friends."

4. The correlation between the wardens' ratings and those of the liaison officers was low (r=·34) But there was a significant tendency for individual wardens to see themselves as more similar to the permissive warden than did their probation officers. Wilcoxon test T=9, N=11, $p<\cdot05$. (Ties were omitted. Where more than one liaison officer rated, the average was used.)

5. For attitudes of probation officers, see Folkard et al, *Probation Research, A Preliminary Report,* A Home Office Research Unit Report, H.M.S.O., 1966, pp. 46-47.

6. The discussion of liaison officer role has been mainly descriptive. For suggestions as to what he ought to do, see: *The Probation Service,* Ed. J. King, London, Butterworths, 1964, p. 113 ; Monger, M., *Casework in Probation,* London, Butterworths, 1964, p. 185 ; and unpublished memoranda by Leeves, R. E., "The Duties of Warden and Liaison Probation Officer in the Probation Hostel", and by the Rainer Foundation, "Approved Probation Hostels and Homes: Liaison with Probation Services".

For very similar problems, see Miller D., *Growth to Freedom,* Tavistock Publications, 1964. This discusses the role of the psychiatrist in relation to hostel staff. A discussion of conflicts between professional and non-professional staff is given in: Weber, H., "Conflict between Professional and Non-Professional Personnel in Institutional Delinquency Treatment", *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* 48, June 1957, pp. 26-43.

7. For a discussion of duties of home probation officer, see Monger, op. cit., p. 179 ; King, op. cit., p. 111. For strictures on home probation officers, see Cooks, R. A. F., *Home Office Approved Probation Hostels,* Justice of the Peace, 1956, p. 18 ; and Spencer, J. C. in Spencer, J. C. and Grygier, T., *The Probation Hostel in England,* Institute for the Study and Treatment of Deliquency, 1950, p. 6.

CHAPTER 6

Assistant Wardens

6.1 Introduction

So far this report has examined a warden's relations with those outside the hostel. It turns now to the support which he is likely to receive from his assistant staff.

Each hostel has an entitlement of one, or more commonly two, assistant wardens, of whom one may be known as deputy and receive a consequently higher salary. The assistants help in the supervision of the boys, calling them in the morning, checking the household tasks, and generally keeping order. At some hostels they are expected to prepare the boys' breakfast, check their underwear or help with extra chores such as painting or gardening. They may also be given special responsibilities for such matters as laundry, camping or liaison with employers. During the day, the assistants are about in the hostel, helping to deal with the telephone and callers. Their hours are long and they may be on duty for 70 hours a week. A warden without assistants, or with an assistant he cannot trust, must cover this time himself, often working from 05.30 a.m. till 11 p.m., and even if he is able to leave the hostel, he will be uncertain of what he will find when he comes back.

6.2 Surveys Dealing with Assistants

Surveys undertaken during the research covered the age, quality and turnover of assistants, the reasons for this turnover, and its possible effects on the warden's annual leave and on the state of the hostel in his absence. In detail, the surveys were:

1. Turnover survey. Data on age and turnover of assistants were taken from the financial records of 19 hostels[1]. The data covered 139 assistants who were in post between 1st January 1961 and 31st December 1964. Assistants who had not left when the survey closed were included and given an estimated length of stay for the purpose of some of the calculations[2].
2. Quality and leave survey. Wardens in the intensive sample were asked to rate their past and present assistants on a four point scale ranging from very satisfactory to markedly unsatisfactory. This survey covered 133 assistants. The wardens were also asked for details of leave and sickness over the past two years and use was made of hostel H1 returns to test the hypothesis that the number of abscondings and offences rose in months when the warden was on leave. 15 of the 16 wardens returned the questionnaire and one left his job before completing it.
3. Interview survey. Assistant wardens at the hostels in the intensive sample were interviewed on their reactions to their job and their reasons for entering it.

Appendix I discusses the results of the interview survey and the data from the turnover survey relevant to the understanding of the assistants' behaviour.

This is at a tangent to the main argument of the report. The present chapter uses data from the turnover and quality surveys to describe some of this behaviour and its effects on the warden and the hostel.

6.3 Results of Turnover Survey

At the time of entry to a hostel most assistants were young. 50% were under 29; the mean age was approximately 31, and the most common age was 23. It might have been expected that assistant wardens going to hostels in the older age range would themselves have been older. If anything the reverse was the case; 44% of the assistant wardens in hostels catering for older boys were under 25 as opposed to only 32% in the hostels for the younger age range. On the whole, however, the age distributions were similar. Table 16 sets out the distribution of ages analysed by age group of hostel.

Table 16

Age Distribution of Assistant Wardens Analysed by Hostel Age Range

Age of Assistants	*15–18 Year Hostels**	*Hostels in Older Age Range*	*Total*
18–19	3	0	3
20–24	19	31	50
25–29	12	11	23
30–34	7	10	17
35–39	10	5	15
40+	13	10	23
Not known	5	3	8
Total	69	70	139

* Includes one 15–17 year hostel.

Source: Assistant warden survey I.

The comparative youth of the sample suggests that many of them were inexperienced. If so, few of them stayed long enough to acquire experience and put it to use in the hostel. Table 17 analyses the length of stay of the 139 assistants.

Table 17

Length of Stay of Assistants

Period in Months	*Number*	*Cumulative %*
0–3	29	21
4–6	33	45
7–9	22	60
10–12	7	65
13–15	15	76
15–18	8	82
19–21	4	85
22 months +	21	100

Source: Assistant warden survey I.

An estimated 50% of the assistants had left after drawing no more than seven months' pay[3] and 82% after drawing no more than 18 months' pay. Because of this rapid turnover, the hostels surveyed were found to be understaffed with assistant wardens for an average of 87·6 days or just under three months a year[4]. Some hostels were advertising for assistants for continuous periods of over six months.

6.4 Quality Survey

The staff shortage restricts the hostels' ability to be selective over their assistants. Table 18 sets out the ratings given by wardens to the assistants in the quality survey.

6.5 Quality of Assistants

Table 18

Ratings by Wardens of their Assistants

Very Satisfactory	*Quite Satisfactory*	*Unsatisfactory*	*Markedly Unsatisfactory*	*Total*
29	33	31	40	133
%	%	%	%	%
21·8	24·8	23·3	30·1	100

Source: Assistant warden survey 2.

In the questionnaire instructions, a very satisfactory assistant was defined as one who was capable of taking over easily when the warden was away. Only one in five assistants fulfilled this condition, as opposed to nearly one in three who were thought markedly unsatisfactory.

Wardens were asked to give reasons for rating any assistant "markedly unsatisfactory" and a content analysis was made of their replies. In this analysis, assistants were allotted to six categories: homosexual, mentally disturbed, discipline troubles, disloyal, immature and other.

Examples of these categories are:

Homosexual ... ... "After warning, persisted in bringing home a little boy to sleep in his room. Pervert, gave lessons in fornication."

Mentally disturbed ... "A queer character who forgot to wash, went about with his fly open and in my opinion required medical treatment."

Discipline troubles ... "When left in charge he was incapable of controlling the boys, in fact, he left the hostel without male supervision to obtain police help."

Bad influence ... ... "Became involved in the less reputable side of lads' activities—unsafe with lads' girl friends, traded also in stolen property."

880639 C

Disloyal	"Had religious mania. Tried to run the hostel like a revival meeting. Very disloyal. Set the boys against warden and matron by quoting confidential remarks made at staff meetings, etc."
Immature	This was a less precise category than those given previously and covered those described as unreliable, irresponsible, lazy, or immature.
Other	"He married a few days after taking over duty. His bride joined him at night by slipping up the fire escape stairs."

Where an assistant fell into more than one category, he was allotted to the one which occurs first in the order given above. Table 19 gives the resulting distribution.

Table 19

Reasons Given for "Markedly Unsatisfactory" Rating of Assistants

Homosexuality	10
Mental Disturbance	3
Discipline Difficulties:	
Bad Influence	7
Other	2
Disloyalty	9
Immaturity	7
Other	2
Total	40

Source: Assistant warden survey 2.

6.6 Wardens' Leave Periods

If a warden and matron go on leave, they cut the hostel supervisory staff by 50%. The staff left behind may well be youthful, inexperienced, and regarded by their wardens as unsatisfatory, and these facts make the wardens reluctant to take their leave: "The chairman is always saying: 'Get away from it, let them burn the place down if they want.' The last weekend I went away, when I came back, one boy had had a tooth knocked out and there was blood all over the carpet. I said to my wife, 'Is it worth it?' It's not that I think I'm indispensable or anything like that, but I do have some effect on what they do."

Excluding weekends that were not part of a continuous period of leave and excluding sick leave, the wardens who answered the questionnaire had taken an average of 22·3 days' leave per year over the previous two years. Over the first six months of 1966, they and the matrons had an average of 1·1 weekends free every three months. Four wardens had no free weekends over those six months and two had no leave in 1965.

It is also difficult for wardens to take sick leave. One warden was interviewed shortly after he had been advised by his doctor to take a week off. Due to staff shortages, he carried on, and later in the year suffered a serious heart attack. In the past, a number of wardens have continued in post when seriously sick.

The reluctance of wardens to leave the hostel is sometimes explained by probation officers as arising from psychological needs rather than from the reality of the situation. This assumption was tested by comparing the number of different boys absconding or leaving the hostel as the result of fresh charges in months when the warden or matron were sick or on leave, and in months when both were present. Table 20 sets out the results of this analysis which is based on the replies of the 15 wardens to the quality questionnaire, and covers the two years, 1964 and 1965.

Table 20

Absconding and Offences Related to Months in which Wardens or Matrons were on Leave or Away Sick

	Months in which Hostels Open	*Absconding*		*Offences*		*Absconding and Offences*	
		Number	*Average per month*	*Number*	*Average per month*	*Number*	*Average per month*
Leave/ Sickness	87	78	·9	55	·63	133	1·53
Other ...	258	113	·44	120	·47	233	·90
		t=2·78; df=14; p<·01		NS		t=2·92; df=14 p<·01	

Source: Assistant warden survey 2.

NOTE: t tests calculated as for correlated means.

The average number of boys absconding in the month when the warden is away is slightly over twice as great as in the rest of the year, and the average number leaving as a result of a further charge is also higher. Similar findings have been reported elsewhere[6] and theory suggests that under authoritarian leadership "withdrawal of the leader precipitates crises and even possible dissolution"[6]. Thus, however good the assistants, trouble is likely in the warden's absence, but in some cases an assistant's inexperience seems to contribute to it. One assistant, for example, allowed a boy to garage a stolen car with a West African registration number, believing it to belong to the boy's brother. Four other residents joined the first on trips, thus making themselves guilty of an offence. On the occasion already cited when the assistant left the hostel to obtain police help, a group of boys did not wait for the police but absconded, committed further offences and were sentenced accordingly.

These troubles are not the only consequences of shortage of staff. Wardens and assistants in short-staffed hostels must work longer hours and are more likely to be supervising the hostel on their own. The arrival of new assistants does not immediately ease the burden, since they are tested out by the boys and must be carefully nursed in the first few weeks. Some wardens

stated that an assistant was only fully accepted by those boys who arrived after him. If so, it is unfortunate, since the majority of the boys stay longer than the majority of the assistants.

6.7 Summary

Assistant wardens tend to be young. Their turnover is rapid and this results in the recruitment of some unsatisfactory staff, unsatisfactory supervision in the warden's absence, long hours and lack of leave for the warden and matron, and periods of instability on the arrival of new staff. The hostel system places heavy demands on the staff for the maintenance of discipline, and the lack of satisfactory assistants means that these demands fall primarily on the warden and matron, whose importance is most dramatically illustrated by the doubled absconding rate in their absence.

The report turns next to the roles of the warden and matron, on whom the hostels so heavily depend.

NOTES

1. Two hostels were omitted. One had not been open long; the records of the other were inconsistent.

2. The sample used to estimate length of stay was a sample of assistant wardens in post during the period under review, not a sample of those who left in the period under review. Some of the posts had only recently been established and some of those appointed to them were still in post when the data were collected. If these assistants, who were, of course, among the longer-staying ones, had been omitted, the overall length of stay would have been underestimated. The problem, therefore, was to estimate the length of stay of assistants who had not left, taking account of the fact that they had already spent a certain number of months in the hostel. This problem seemed most easily solved by the simulation method described below. Each of the assistants who had left was allotted a number, no number being used more than once. The assistants who had not left were then considered in order, the longest staying assistant (say Assistant A) being considered first. A random number table was then consulted and a search made down the columns until a number was found equal to one already allotted (to Assistant B say). If Assistant B had lasted longer than Assistant A then Assistant A was treated as if he had left in the same month as B and allotted an individual number. If B had left in the same month as A had now reached, a coin was tossed, heads meaning that A would be treated as if he had left in the same month as B and tails meaning that the search of a random number table would be continued. If B had left before lasting as long as A, the search of the random number table was continued until A was allotted a length of stay and an individual number. The next longest staying assistant was then considered.

3. The turnover figures were, of course, taken from records dealing with pay.

4. In order to get comparable estimates of periods understaffed per year, the number of days' entitlement for each hostel was worked out and the number of days short of an assistant warden expressed as a proportion of this. This proportion was then multiplied by 730 in order to give the number of days a hostel entitled to two assistant wardens would be short on its entitlement. This gave a range from 0 to 208·8 with a mean of 87·6 and a median of 70.

5. Cf. Polsky, H. W., *Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1963, p. 135. Also Miller, D., *Growth to Freedom*, Tavistock Publications, 1964, p. 80. For increased incidence of aggression on disturbed wards during staff leave, see Folkard, S., *Aggression*, Netherne Monographs 1, 1959, p. 105.

6. Gibb, C. A., Article on "Leadership" in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Ed. Gardner and Linzey, Vol. 2, Addison Wesley, 1959, p. 909.

CHAPTER 7

Warden and Matron

7.1 Introduction

Statistics produced in the present research reinforce the general impression that the crucial factors in a probation hostel are the warden and matron, but have little meaning without an understanding of what these posts involve. The following information was gathered by means of unstructured interviews and conversations that were held from time to time with a variety of wardens and matrons. Most of the interviews were with the wardens, but 16 matrons in the intensive survey were interviewed for between 15 and 20 minutes. As far as possible, all interviews were taken down verbatim, but many of the impressions were gathered during telephone conversations or informal visits and were not recorded on the spot.

7.2 Matron

With very rare exceptions, the warden and matron of a probation hostel are husband and wife. So the matron has the dual role of looking after her own flat and family, and being matron to the hostel. Her duties include responsibility for food, laundry, cleaning and health and generally being mother to the boys. She is helped by a cook, a seamstress and domestic staff and deputises for them when they are away. If she is short-staffed, she may be very hard-worked.

The matron has a less formal relationship with the boys than the male staff. She can talk to them in the kitchen, help them with their mending or writing home and look after them when they are sick. But matrons differ in what they think soft or sentimental. Some discourage the boys from coming into the kitchen, thinking them liable to get in the way or cut themselves; others encourage it. Their attitude towards helping with mending varies from: "I do their mending; matron is Mum and anyway when they've done it, it is worse than it was before", to, "I give them a needle and thread and say: 'It's time you learnt, I don't have to do it!'" They must be tactful about their use of discipline: "They are at an age when they are very against petticoat government. If I absolutely say they have to do a thing, they have to do it, but I have to take a fair amount of old buck". At one hostel, the matron never gives an order.

The matron has a difficult role. Officially she is not in charge of the assistant wardens, but she is the warden's wife, and the assistants may be uncertain of their relationship with her, and resent it. She must be tactful with the cleaning women: "They were here before I came: I suppose it's the usual trouble—not wanting to work for a younger woman." She is the only resident woman in a house of men and she may miss the company of other women. There is general complaint that "it (being in a hostel) plays hell with your social life". Two found that even when they met their friends it was difficult to explain what their lives were like. They must find time for their children if they have them: "You've got to look after your own." If they have babies they may find it difficult to act as matron.

But reactions vary. Some matrons take their problems in their stride; others feel overworked and come to resent their job. The following interviews illustrate the difference from matron to matron.

"These boys all want so much of you. With 20 boys coming in you can't give it. It's terribly difficult in a year to get to know them all. They are all so different. It's hard work to have time for them and we mustn't spend five minutes longer with Jack than with John . . . (When we came) it was terrible. My husband had told me I had lived a sheltered life but I didn't realise such things went on. I said to my husband: 'We've got to get out of here. I don't care if we have to move the furniture out into the street.' The language I heard! And the boys are so big, they tower over you . . . My husband and I hardly have any time together. I've got three young girls and I hardly ever see them. I get very tired, especially when I have to do the cooking. I find I get a terrible pain and was worried that it was a heart or cancer or something. I went to the doctor and he said it's nothing else—just fatigue. You just go on—you just have to, especially with the staff. It's very difficult to get an assistant with any sense. The only person I've ever met in this area is the minister's wife and she's a very busy person. I've got a friend at a children's home up the road, but we only talk to each other on the telephone most of the time. The only ones locally who come to our door come to complain."

This interview is, of course, only a part of the truth even about the matron interviewed, who was a sensible woman, well able to manage her job. It seemed to the research worker that the people interviewed took on a role and exaggerated it, seeing for a time only one side of the picture. The following interview which covers roughly the same ground gives a different side.

"Some boys are grateful, some aren't and think it's all part of the matron's job. I've very few friends. It's difficult to ask them to the hostel. I'd never forbid a boy to come up and he might come up when they were there. I love the theatre but I never manage to get to see it. When one assistant is off, somebody has to be about in the evening. At times it can be difficult. I'd like some women friends but I don't go anywhere to meet them. Men can be very unsympathetic at times. There's the difficulty. In itself, however, it depends entirely on the personality of the matron. I love the work, which counteracts any complaints. I always have, and I wouldn't want to do anything else. I like everything about it. There's nothing dull. I like the crises, the minor ones; a boy losing his girl-friend or cutting his finger. I like helping a boy with writing home. The life is very much what you make it. I could sit back on my dignity but I wouldn't do that. I revel in it."

Another matron voiced perhaps a similar feeling: "I don't know why I like the life. It's like a drug. It gets you."

In the past, some matrons have reacted to their problems by withdrawing from the hostel. As one former assistant put it: "The only time she ever came into the hostel was to complain that something wasn't cleaned."

A probation officer referred to the same matron: "She was the yardstick by which I measure all sour women." But the research worker's impression was that many matrons were working in situations in which withdrawal would have been a very reasonable human reaction. The statistics produced later suggest that if the matron is dissatisfied, the hostel may suffer; so if help could be given, it would affect not only the matron but also the whole atmosphere of the hostel.

7.3 Warden

The wardens of male probation hostels are married men, mainly aged between 40 and 60. Of the 16 wardens in the intensive survey, two were in their thirties, five in their forties, seven in their fifties and two in their sixties. They have rarely had formal training: only two of the 16 had taken a year's official training course, although two more were being seconded to do so. But almost all had wide experience of residential social work. The sample included men with a background of work in prisons, borstals, approved schools, remand homes, E.S.N. residential schools and local authority and probation hostels. Some, either together with this experience or instead of it, had a service or police background. One had been a prison welfare officer. One had been with the Youth Service and one had been working in an organisation and methods department. They had often reached responsible positions; for example, the three wardens who had been regular soldiers had all reached the rank of Lieutenant Colonel or above. There were no grounds for thinking that probation hostel wardens were an inadequate group of men unable to obtain comparable work elsewhere.

The main difference between the warden and the other members of staff is that he carries the final responsibility. This responsibility covers every hour of the day and all the various parts of hostel life. An assistant who had acted for a time as warden put the point strongly: "Now I can go to bed and know that nothing can get me up till I'm on duty tomorrow. The warden hasn't got that assurance. It's a big psychological difference."

Perhaps the most important of these responsibilities is the responsibility for discipline. One Principal Probation Officer defined the main attribute of a good warden as: "The ability to keep discipline without imposing too much of a strain on himself or anyone else". The need to maintain discipline influences much that a warden does.

One of the first things in the warden's mind is the danger that if a particular fault is not checked, it will spread. If one boy is allowed to come in five minutes late on his free evening, five may do so on the next free evening and feel aggrieved if they are punished and the first was not. Some take these dangers in their stride: "Every now and then you have to have a blitz on things, otherwise the lavatory chains aren't pulled, or there are dirty socks under the mattress, or you find the boys wearing through their boots to their uppers; so you have them standing by their beds with their boots on. Still, you have to tell them why you do these things, otherwise

880639 C 4

it's just bull." Other wardens emphasised the insecurity of the situation: "Trouble breeds trouble and it only needs a little to blow up", or, in a written reply: "The warden and the male staff must be capable of enforcing punishment once it is awarded, otherwise chaos and bullying will occur."

The warden must maintain his position in the hostel and he must be seen to be in control. Thus most wardens draw a distinction between what a resident can say to them in their office and what he can say in front of other residents.

"One boy threatened me. I said to him, 'You can say what you like to me in my office, but when you put your fist to me in front of a crowd of boys, there is no more I can do for you.' Twice I've had boys threaten me. I've got no sanctions. If I can't handle a boy, I have to take him to court and get rid of him."

The warden is likely to have difficulties with many of his charges; he acts as a substitute parent to a number of boys who are sent to the hostel specifically because they cannot get on with their parents, and the restrictions of hostel life are quite severe. Compared with teachers or probation officers, he is in particularly close contact with the boys, and if he has a stormy interview with a resident, he will still meet him next day in the hostel. against you." Some emphasised the lack of sanctions and felt that the warden expressed the feeling that the boys did not like them: "To them we're all screws"; that it was difficult to trust the boys, and that the situation was unstable; "I prefer to deal with animals; humans are too explosive"; or that the boys might combine and get out of hand: "I have never yet met any that were pro-staff. If it came to a showdown they would all combine against you." Some emphasised the lack of sanctions and felt that the wardens should have other sanctions such as the ability to arrange for boys to be remanded in custody. Others stressed the dangers of weakness: "To weaken would be terrible." Or again, "These boys can't stand weak adults." Others emphasised the importance of tact. "I don't say to a boy 'go to bed'. He might not, if you see what I mean."

The wardens have responsibilities apart from discipline. Some of these are brought out in their relationships with the courts. They give evidence when their boys appear in court on a charge of breach of probation. They may influence the court in its sentencing of a boy with whom they are personally involved. One felt that the court blamed him for a boy's misbehaviour: "The Clerk said to this boy: 'Did the warden say he would never get off your back?' The boy said 'No'. The Clerk said: 'Would you be happier if the warden left the court?'"

The wardens are also concerned with their own legal liabilities. Very occasionally a member of staff in a hostel hits a boy, as indeed happens in schools and elsewhere. Whatever the provocation, it renders the staff member liable to a charge of assault. The staff may also be accused of indecent assault and one warden said that he never interviewed a boy alone unless the door was open. Others experienced anxiety about their liability for failure to call the doctor when necessary, or for accidents to their probationers.

The warden has financial responsibility. If the hostel is run by a local committee of a large organisation, some of the book-keeping may be done centrally. At the least, however, he is likely to pay the staff and handle the boys' wages and the petty cash. Some wardens take this part of their job in their stride, but not all, and poor accounting has led to resignations.

The warden is also responsible for his family. He must consider carefully whether his wife enjoys the job and whether he thinks it is good for his children. He must watch the boys' attempts to play his family off against him and accept the fact that his marriage is public in a way that others are not. In his selection of boys, he may take account of his family and try to avoid violent and sexual offenders.

Despite their responsibility, the wardens do not always receive much support. They share with their staff the strain of long hours, lack of privacy and difficulty in meeting friends. Difficulties within the hostel are liable to result in strained relations with those outside. Problems in the hostel affect not only the warden but also his wife, and unlike others he cannot often refresh himself from his job by talking to those not immediately connected with it.

Yet many wardens did not give an impression of insecurity[1]. Despite the responsibilities, and in some cases the lack of support, the turnover among wardens is far lower than that among assistants. Some wardens, it is true, felt that they stayed because they were in a rut: "It's like a man drinking bad beer—you know it's doing you no good but you go on doing it." And if they leave, they change not only their job but also their home. But others confessed to the fascination of the job: "I don't know why I do it. Maybe I'm bossy; I wouldn't do anything else." The job is varied, the warden is largely his own master, and within the hostel his status is apparent. For some, there is a sense that they are fulfilling a vocation, and for all there is the potential satisfaction of the personal relationships that develop. A letter or visit from an old boy is one of a number of intangible rewards that possibly account for the relatively low turnover of the wardens and matrons.

In interviews, the wardens' reactions to their work were varied. Some appeared to have no worries, while others were tense. In assessing these reactions, it is very important to take account of the situation in the hostel; the problems of discipline and responsibility are always present, but the acuteness with which they are posed varies from time to time. Those connected with hostels sometimes stated that a warden was inclined to flap or to reject and went on to deduce that the troubles of the hostel were due to the fact that the warden was an insecure or rejecting person. This line of reasoning leads to a simple theory of hostels whereby any defects in the hostel system are blamed on the wardens. This view was not supported by the statistical findings of the research and failed to take into account the situation in which the wardens are placed. Unless this situation is kept in mind, anyone attempting to understand a particular hostel will be misled as to the nature of those who run it, and will attribute to defects of character, behaviour which arises naturally from the situation itself[2].

NOTES

1. It is difficult to illustrate this with quotations. One warden, for example, told the research worker that he "never worried". This could be seen as "denial" although the research worker assessed it as truthful. Much depends on the tone of voice, which cannot be reproduced on paper.

2. A detailed study of cottage parents in America who have a rather similar rôle is given in Weber, G. H., "Emotional and Defensive Reaction of Cottage Parents", *The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organisation and Change*, Ed. Cressey D., Holt, Rheinhart and Winston Inc., 1961, pp. 189-228. The report was written in ignorance of this article.

CHAPTER 8

Staff Attitudes

8.1 Introduction

The Probation Hostel Rules and the sentencing policy of the courts may be partly responsible for the highly disciplined structure of the typical probation hostel. The last chapter examined the meanings which this structure may have for the staff, illustrating some of the possible reactions with quotations from interviews. The present one explores these reactions more systematically, using data from an attitude questionnaire and comparing them with similar data obtained from staff in an American Institution. Chapter 12 of the report will examine how far different staff attitudes may be related to different results. The attitude data are therefore a link between the impersonal pressures in the hostel, the staff's reaction to these pressures, and the results. They are central to the plan of the research.

8.2 Questionnaire and Sample

The data were collected by means of a staff attitude questionnaire. This instrument was developed by Dr. Carl Jesness[1] for his study of the Fricot Ranch School, and was in its turn largely taken from a scale developed by Earl S. Schaefer and Richard Q. Bell[2] for use with parents. Some questions were modified for use by English hostel staff, "warden" being substituted for "supervisor", "cheeks" for "sasses" and so on. One question which referred to marching was omitted altogether. The remaining 143 were administered in the same order as by Dr. Jesness, who kindly provided a copy of his original questionnaire.

The research worker gave the questionnaire to the staff of the hostels in the intensive survey. He generally left it at the hostel and asked the staff not to discuss it before finishing it. It was returned by all the 29 assistant wardens, 16 of the 17 wardens and 14 of the 17 matrons to whom it was given. One warden and matron dissociated themselves from the research after an unrelated disagreement with the Home Office. One matron said she would not complete the questionnaire since the questions were unanswerable, and one left before completing it. In general, matrons were more reluctant to complete the questionnaire, taking longer to return it and sometimes leaving answers blank.

The questionnaire provides scales on 13 attitudes and these are described by Dr. Jesness as follows:—

1. For authority (16 items). A high score shows a preference for a single line of authority with the supervisor dominant and responsible for keeping the boys in order.
2. For strictness (15 items, American version 16 items). The items suggest a preference for tight limits and avoidance of permissiveness. A high scorer approves in principle of strictness in dealing with children.

3. For control (13 items). The items emphasise a need for control. Establishment of order is given priority over friendship or play.
4. For breaking the will (8 items). The items give emphasis to forcing of compliance. A high scoring individual believes that children need to be broken of rebelliousness and that pressure towards conformity is essential for their development.
5. For harshness (14 items). The scale reflects the belief that physical punishment is necessary and/or desirable. Such disciplinary measures as spanking are believed to lead to positive results.
6. For forcing independence (17 items). A high scorer on this scale believes that young children should be discouraged from dependency on adults; they should make their own decisions and solve their own problems.
7. For aggression (8 items). The items reflect an opinion that a boy should be capable of self-defence, and a very high scorer believes that aggression against others is at times healthy and desirable.
8. For achievement (9 items). Here there is reflected the opinion that rewards should be given only for achievement and that hard work is more beneficial than play.
9. Withholding affection (6 items). This scale shows a belief that a boy can be spoiled by too much affection and that a show of warmth should be withheld except for special occasions.
10. Suppression of affect (5 items). These items idealise a stoic toughness and ability to withstand frustration without revealing emotion.
11. For equality (17 items). This scale suggests the democratic orientation that a boy should be treated with respect on an equal basis with adults and that his opinions should be taken into account.
12. For discussion of problems (8 items). The scale emphasises open discussion, the desirability of trying to understand a boy's difficulties and one-to-one counselling by staff.
13. Defensiveness (7 items). These items present common situations ordinarily irritating and frustrating to staff and the extent to which a staff member is willing to admit his irritation gives an estimate of his test-taking attitude while completing the opinion survey.

Scores on the 13 scales are listed separately and also totalled to form area scores based on logical equivalence of content. The area scores in turn are combined to arrive at the single index of custody orientation. The four area scales are composed as follows.

Under the concept of authoritarian control are the scales:

For authority
For strictness
For control.

Under the concept of punitive discipline are the scales:

For breaking the will
For harshness.

Under emotional distance are the scales:

For forcing independence
For aggression
For achievement
Withdrawal of affection
Suppression of affect.

Under equalitarian interaction are the scales:

For equality
For discussing problems.

One of the aims of using the quesionnaire was to acquire data relevant to assessing the validity and reliability of its scales. Appendix 7 gives their split half reliabilities and their inter-correlations.

8.3 Results

Jesness summarised some of the attitudes of the staff at Fricot Ranch by saying that they were much concerned with the problems of discipline and management. He gave examples of answers from a sample of 41 staff. These show a remarkably similar pattern to the answers given by the 45 wardens and assistant wardens in the present sample.

Thus, 76% of the Fricot staff and 67% of the hostel staff agreed that "punishing a boy immediately for getting into mischief is the best way to stop it". 66% of the hostel staff and 67% of the American sample agreed that "a boy will be grateful later on for strict training now". 100% of the American staff and 95% of the English agreed that a boy who makes a mess should clean it up himself. 93% of the English and 97% of the Americans felt that "a wise parent will hesitate before whipping a child to teach him to change his ways".

The English were even more insistent than the American staff that "with these boys a wise staff member would establish firm control before trying to act friendly", the relevant percentages being 89% and 71%. But 96% of the hostel staff and 100% of the Fricot staff agreed that "staff should ask for the boys' opinions and take them into account when something which directly concerns them is being decided". 96% of the hostel staff and 91% of the Fricot staff agreed that "the best way to get a boy to behave is to make him feel he is wanted and needed". In both groups there was almost unanimous agreement that one of the supervisors' main objects should be to teach respect for authority, that a boy who does not try should not be rewarded, that boys should not be allowed to talk back to staff and that discipline cannot be maintained without the use of group punishment.

Table 21 compares the English staff and the American staff in respect of the scores on the different scales. The scores are the average for each item in the scale, scores greater than 4 signifying agreement with the attitude and scores less than 4 disagreement. The maximum and minimum scores are 7 and 1 respectively.

Table 21

Attitude Scales—Comparison of English and American Staff Scores (Range 1-7)

	American Staff		*English Staff*		
	Fricot Social Workers	*Fricot Supervisors*	*Hostel Wardens*	*Hostel Matrons*	*Hostel Assistant Wardens*
Authority	3·27	4·56	4·69	5·13	5·34
Strictness	2·84	4·04	4·24	4·06	4·46
Control	3·33	4·19	3·95	3·83	4·32
Breaking the will ...	2·31	2·60	2·52	2·37	3·07
Harshness	3·63	4·20	3·33	3·65	3·99
Independence	3·52	3·88	3·99	4·02	4·25
Aggression	4·03	3·49	3·30	3·38	3·24
Achievement	2·98	3·73	4·26	4·48	4·39
Withholding affection ...	2·75	3·35	4·24	3·98	4·38
Suppression of affect ...	2·62	3·22	3·90	3·95	4·20
Equality	5·88	5·53	5·63	5·39	5·24
Discussing problems ...	5·80	5·28	4·96	5·04	5·02
Defensiveness	3·83	4·03	4·73	4·89	4·63
Authoritarian control ...	3·09	4·30	4·32	4·51	4·74
Punitive discipline ...	2·09	3·64	3·04	3·24	3·64
Emotional distance ...	3·22	3·71	3·96	4·13	4·10
Equalitarian interaction	5·68	5·44	5·41	5·33	5·17
Custody orientation ...	3·07	3·68	3·69	4·33	4·00

Source: Intensive sample.

The major impression is of the similarity of the English and American institution workers and the differences between the institution workers and the American social workers. Thus the total custody orientation scores of the American supervisors and the English wardens are almost exactly the same[3]. This suggests the problems of communication between hostel staff and probation officers which have already been discussed.

8.4 Interpretation of Scores

One should be cautious in interpreting the results, at any rate in individual cases. The words authority, strictness, control and so on carry with them the expectation that a high scorer on, for example, the control scale should also run a very strict hostel. In general, this was so, and there was a negative correlation of —·3 between the wardens' scores on the control scale and their permissiveness scores. However, there were exceptions, and the impression was that the answers to the questionnaire were related partly to the way in which a warden ran his hostel and partly to his education, training, and social class[4].

Moreover, the answers of some staff may have reflected not what they did but what they would like to do. This can be illustrated from an interview with an assistant warden who obtained the highest score of all on the custody orientation scale. This man was quiet and cautious and admitted to finding the job rather a strain.

"I have to be very careful. I can't shout at them or give them punishments. The other assistant can do that. If I did that they'd probably turn round and laugh at me."

Nevertheless, his answers favoured firm and severe control.

The impression that authoritarian answers do not necessarily reflect authoritarian behaviour is similar to that of Jesness and his associates. In their five years at Fricot Ranch, they were able to observe the members of staff closely and gained the impression that the longer a member of staff stayed at the ranch, the more authoritarian his behaviour became. However, they also found that his scores on the institutional orientation scale tended to decline. Jesness wrote:

"Why the discrepancy between our informal observation, backed to some extent by hard fact, and the attitude opinion data? Although it is possible that the staff have merely learned the 'correct' responses, our best guess is that they did become more treatment oriented in thinking but were not provided with the tools (training, techniques, opportunities) to translate these ideas into action."

This explanation might account for the fact that the supervisors' behaviour did not become less authoritarian but hardly for the fact that it apparently became more authoritarian. Table 22 suggests an alternative explanation. It compares the test/re-test scores of supervisors at the Fricot Ranch and the scores of the wardens and assistant wardens over 28 years and assistant wardens under 28 years in the English sample.

Table 22

Custody Orientation Scores

Differences relating to test/re-test and to role

Fricot staff ...	First test	3·77
Fricot staff ...	Second test	3·48
Hostel staff ...	Wardens	3·69
Hostel staff ...	Assistant Wardens≥28	3·90
Hostel staff ...	Assistant Wardens<28	4·13

Source: Intensive sample.

The difference found between the assistant wardens and the wardens is in the same direction as that which experience appeared to produce in the American sample. The difference was highly significant ($p<·01$) for the authoritarian control and punitive discipline scales and significant ($p<·05$) for the scales on breaking the will, harshness and total custody orientation. The differences in the scores of assistant wardens of 28 or over and assistant wardens under 28 were similar but only one difference was significant, the younger assistant wardens being more defensive ($p<·001$).

The apparently greater institutional orientation of the younger, less experienced members of staff may arise not from the attitudes which they may bring to the institution but from their insecurity. However, this insecurity may also prevent them from expressing their attitudes in action,

and the questionnaire may, therefore, measure not what a person does, but what he would like to do. Experience, bringing with it security, may decrease the need for limits but increase the ability to impose them, thus leading to the apparent contradiction observed by Jesness. But the scores may also express what a person would like to do and does. The suggestion that there may be two possible faulty staff reactions to discipline, withdrawal and excessive harshness, will be examined later in the report.

Summary

In summary, the application of the questionnaire showed that the attitudes of English hostel staffs were generally similar to those of their American counterparts in a closed institution and in some ways they appeared even more "custody-oriented". Caution should, however, be used in interpreting the results of the questionnaire, since it is felt that it sometimes relates not to what people do but to what they would like to do, and may measure a sense of threat or suppressed hostility. If this interpretation is accepted, the data suggest the commonsense hypothesis that attitudes arise in part from the situation and that the younger and less experienced members of staff are more insecure. Whatever the explanation, the attitudes of probation hostel staff are not, at first sight, consistent with the relaxed, informal atmosphere that is one of the advantages claimed for the small, open institution, but their attitudes are what might be expected if hostels are to be short-term training institutions. Chapter 12 will discuss the relationship between the attitudes of the wardens and matrons and the boys' behaviour.

NOTES

1. Jesness, C. F., *The Fricot Ranch Study,* Department of the Youth Authority, California Research Report 47, 1965.

2. Schaefer, E. S and Bell, R. Q., "Development of the Parental Attitude Research Instrument", *Child Development,* 29 September 1958, pp. 339-361.

3. On the other hand, all staff score highly on the equalitarian interaction scale, a fact which Jesness suggests is indicative of conflict of goals within the institution.

4. This impression is perhaps supported by the fact that in America the custody orientation scale was found to correlate ·71 with a version of the California F scale and this is known to be influenced by such variables.

CHAPTER 9

A Measure of Performance

9.1 Introduction

At a certain distance, all hostels may seem alike, marked off from other institutions by size, intake and a common framework of regulations. A closer view shows a baffling range of differences, some centering on such obvious factors as the buildings and locations and others on less tangible ones such as the personalities of the staff in charge. The framework has been described; the report now turns to the more difficult problems of the differences.

This chapter discusses a measure of performance—here called failure rate—which can be used to examine the differences between hostels. Failure rate is defined more accurately later, but roughly speaking the failure rate of a hostel is the proportion of boys who leave as the result of an absconding or offence.

Failure rate is different from reconviction rate, which is the usual measure used in criminology. This difference is partly a matter of the period at risk. In most research, a man is counted as reconvicted if he is reconvicted within, depending on the study, two or three or five years of receiving a particular treatment; one year reconviction rates are the exception. Yet in this study a boy will only be counted a failure if he fails at the hostel, and no boy is allowed to remain at the hostel for more than 12 months. A further difference between the two measures is that it is possible for a boy to be reconvicted at the hostel without necessarily being counted a failure (for example, the court may fine him and return him to the hostel), or to fail at the hostel without being reconvicted (the court may remove him from the hostel for absconding, which is a breach of probation but not normally counted a criminal offence). These differences between reconviction rate and failure rate make it important to explain the concept of failure rate and justify its use at some length.

The paramount reason for using failure rate rather than reconviction rate is a practical one. The report later discusses different failure rates based on data from over 4,750 boys. It would have been impossible to obtain similarly accurate reconviction data on this number of boys, many of whom were juveniles. However, it is only by using data from comparable numbers that one would be able to make some of the important analyses that are discussed in the following chapters.

The concept of failure rate is used for two purposes. The first is practical. It is intended to argue that practices that have appeared in the past to encourage low failure rates are also likely to be popular from the public's point of view. For this reason the report will try to show that failure rate as defined here is closely related to the more normal measure of reconviction rate, and also that differences in failure rate are not normally due to differences in selection.

The second purpose for which failure rate is used is theoretical. If it is found that different regimes have a marked effect on the incidence of delinquency among their residents, this will be of considerable theoretical interest. It will show something about the influences to which delinquents respond. But in order to demonstrate such differences, it is necessary to have an appropriate measure of delinquent behaviour.

An attempt will be made to argue that failure rate is an appropriate measure of delinquent behaviour. The steps in this argument are first that it is reasonable to treat absconding as equivalent to a criminal offence, and second that failure rate is highly correlated with reconviction rate.

9.2 Definition of Failure Rate

The measure of performance was defined as follows:

$$\text{Failure rate} = \frac{Lc + La}{Lc+La+Ls} \times 100$$

Here, Lc is the number of probationers known to leave as the result of a further offence. La is the number of probationers known to leave as the result of an absconding and Ls is the number of probationers known to leave because their period of residence expires or their Order is cancelled for good progress[1]. It is important to note that a boy can abscond or be reconvicted and yet be allowed to remain in the hostel and so be counted as a "success". However, as can be seen in Appendix 2, the proportion of absconders who are subsequently successful is very small. Of the 429 boys in the background sample, there were only 39 who absconded or committed an offence within a year of arrival at the hostel but were nevertheless counted as "successes".

9.3 Failure Rate and Absconding

Appendix 2 deals in detail with the relationship of failure rate to absconding. This is an important matter. Over the period 1954—June 1963, 63% of the hostel failures left as the result of absconding. It might be felt that absconding is a domestic matter for the hostel and not a proper concern for the criminologist. This argument is hard to maintain. Absconding is, of course, a breach of probation. Moreover, Appendix 2 shows that slightly over 50% of a sample known to leave the hostel as the result of an absconding committed an offence while absconding. Boys who left the hostel as the result of an absconding were also found to be more likely to be reconvicted later than boys who left as the result of an offence not committed while absconding. It seems, therefore, that absconders are particularly criminally inclined and that it is reasonable to treat absconding as a form of delinquent activity.

9.4 Variations in Failure Rate

A regime is the name given to the tenure of one warden. Over time, one hostel may have several wardens and therefore several regimes. Between 1954 and mid-1963, there were 48 different regimes in 22 different hostels. One of these 48 regimes took in only three boys and another none, but with these two exceptions, failure rates were calculated for all the regimes.

Boys entering two particular hostels between 1959 and 1962 were omitted, since the records were not available at the time the analysis was made. Table 23 sets out the grouped failure rates as calculated from data on 4,343 boys.

Table 23

Distribution of Failure Rate in 46 Regimes

Failure Rate %	*Number of Regimes*	*Number of Boys*	%	*Average number of Boys per Regime*
10–14	1	37	·8	37·0
15–19	4	200	4·6	50·0
20–24	4	432	9·9	108·0
25–29	9	972	22·4	108·0
30–34	8	738	17·0	92·3
35–39	5	951	22·0	190·2
40–44	8	797	18·3	99·6
45–49	2	59	1·4	29·5
50+	5	157	3·6	31·4
Total	46	4,343	100	94·4

Source: Main sample.

The failure rates varied from 13·5% (n=37) to 78·1% (n=32).

As can be seen from Table 23, the extreme failure rates (both high and low) tend to be in those regimes which took in only a small number of boys in the period under observation.

Nevertheless, the divergence is startling and probably constitutes the main finding of the research.

9.5 Failure Rate and Reconviction Rate

The courts send boys to hostels in the hope that they will not be reconvicted either at the hostel or later when they leave. A three year reconviction rate might therefore be considered the most appropriate measure of a regime's performance.

Fortunately for the purposes of this study, there is evidence that the correlation between failure rate and reconviction rate is close and that a reduction of failure rate would bring a reduction of reconviction rate whether this were measured over one year or three. In the background sample, a boy was said to be reconvicted if he was convicted of a Home Office Standard List Offence, or a non-Standard List Offence resulting in committal to approved school or borstal. There were 17 regimes in the sample and their failure rates varied from 12% to 70%, the one year reconviction rates from 15% to 78%, and the three year reconviction rates from 37% to 88%. The correlation of failure rate with both reconviction rates was very high at ·82 and ·69 respectively[2].

These correlations with reconviction rate provide a practical justification for the use of failure rate as a measure of performance. However, it might

still be felt that it was undesirable to use a measure which concentrates so exclusively on a boy's behaviour while he is in the hostel. For example, a strict hostel might ensure conformity among its residents but fail to teach them to adjust to the demands of life outside.

For this reason, an "old boys' reconviction rate" was calculated by omitting boys who were reconvicted in the first year and finding the percentage of those who survived the first year (in the hostel) but were reconvicted in the second and third years (out of the hostel):
i.e. old boys' reconviction rate=

$$\frac{\text{Total number reconvicted} - \text{boys reconvicted in 1st year}}{\text{Total number of boys} \quad - \text{boys reconvicted in 1st year}}$$

The relationships discussed above can be illustrated by Table 24. This gives the failure rates, first year reconviction rates, "old boy" reconviction rates and three year reconviction rates of three groups of regimes. The regimes have been divided into those with high, medium and low first year reconviction rates. As can be seen, this division produces a similar division in respect of failure rates, old boy reconviction rates and three year reconviction rates. However, the variation in old boy reconviction rates is very slight and a long way from being significant[3].

As a result, over three years the differences between the reconviction rates of the three groups of hostels shrink but still remain significant. The striking effect of the environment is suggested by the fact that the old boys' reconviction rate is approximately the same as the high first year reconviction rate regimes but over twice that of the low first year reconviction rate regimes.

Table 24

Relationship Between Failure Rate and Different Reconviction Rates in Three Groups of Regimes

	N	*Failure Rate* %	*First Year Reconviction Rate* %	*Old Boys Reconviction Rate* %	*Three Year Reconviction Rate* %
High First Year Reconviction Rate Regimes	111	51	59	53	81
Medium First Year Reconviction Rate Regimes	186	29	38	50	69
Low First Year Reconviction Rate Regimes	128	21	23	48	60
Total	425	33	39	50	69

Source: Background sample.

NOTE: Three cases with no previous record and one case who subsequently died are omitted.

9.6 Failure Rates and Selection

Regimes differ in failure rate and these differences are related to reconviction rates. Can the variation be accounted for by selection? It is obvious that the wardens do choose the boys whom they take. If, however, this were a complete explanation of the differing failure rates, one would expect to be able to pick up differences in selection policy by surveying the probation

officers' reports on which selection is mainly based. The hypothesis that selection accounted for differences in failure rate was tested on the background sample.

The regimes in the sample were divided into two groups, those with a high (greater than 30%) failure rate and those with a lower one[4]. The two groups of regimes were compared in respect of the background characteristics of the boys they selected. A list of the variables considered is given in Appendix 6. Only one significant difference was found, high failure rate regimes taking a lower proportion of boys (36% as against 50%) who were aged 17 or over at entry. This difference in average age was due to the fact that more of the high failure rate regimes were in the hostels catering for the younger age group. It cannot account for the variations in failure rate, since, taking the years 1954 to 1963 as a whole, the hostels in the younger age range tended to have lower failure rates. There was, therefore, no evidence that differences in failure rate were accounted for by differences in selection policy.

The conclusion that neither different selection policies nor different sentencing policies by courts local to the hostel can account for the different results of various regimes is confirmed by an analysis carried out on three factors found to have a significant relationship to reconviction in the first year.

As in Table 24, the regimes surveyed were divided into three groups, those with high, medium and low first year reconviction rates. This grouping was done by a research colleague, Mrs. O'Leary, before she began the analysis to be described. The background factors were then related to reconvictions separately in each of three groups[5]. Tables 25–27 set out the relationships found.

Table 25

Relationship of Previous Convictions and Reconviction in First Year in Three Groups of Regimes

	Number Entering Hostel	*Proportion of Total* %	*Proportion Reconvicted In First Year* %
High Reconviction Rate Regimes			
0 or 1 previous convictions	64	58	53
2 or more previous convictions	47	42	68
Total	111	100	59
Medium Reconviction Rate Regimes			
0 or 1 previous convictions	102	55	29
2 or more previous convictions	84	45	49
Total	186	100	38
Low Reconviction Rate Regimes			
0 or 1 previous convictions	77	60	19
2 or more previous convictions	51	40	27
Total	128	100	23

Source: Background sample.

Table 26

Relationship of Factor "Lived with More than One Family" to Reconviction in First Year in Three Groups of Regimes

	Number Entering Hostel	*Proportion of Total* %	*Proportion Reconvicted In First Year* %
High Reconviction Rate Regimes			
Lived with more than one family	43	39	67
Lived with one family	67	61	54
Total	110	100	59
Medium Reconviction Rate Regimes			
Lived with more than one family	52	29	44
Lived with one family	128	71	35
Total	180	100	38
Low Reconviction Rate Regimes			
Lived with more than one family	40	32	30
Lived with one family	84	68	20
Total	124	100	23

Source: Background sample.

Table 27

Relationship of Factor "Removal from Home Emphasised" to Reconviction in First Year in Three Groups of Regimes

	Number Entering Hostel	*Proportion of Total* %	*Proportion Reconvicted In First Year* %
High Reconviction Rate Regimes			
Removal from home emphasised	48	44	58
Remainder	62	56	60
Total	110	100	59
Medium Reconviction Rate Regimes			
Removal from home emphasised	90	50	30
Remainder	90	50	46
Total	180	100	38
Low Reconviction Rate Regimes			
Removal from home emphasised	57	46	14
Remainder	67	54	31
Total	124	100	23

Source: Background sample.

As can be seen from Tables 25–27, there was no tendency for hostel regimes with high reconviction rates to take a high proportion of boys with these adverse factors in their records.

These findings are important for two reasons. In the first place, they are strong evidence against selection being the main cause of variations in first year reconviction rates. If the wardens of successful regimes were picking the better risk boys, they would hardly ignore the factors isolated in Tables 25–27.

In the second place, the findings are evidence against what might be called the "corruption" theory of penal treatment. This theory attributes the most important characteristics of penal institutions to the influence of other offenders. It holds that offenders placed together generate a delinquent subculture which inevitably frustrates the best efforts of the staff to help them.

However, if the most important influences in the hostel really came from the boys, one would expect that hostels going through a bad period would be those with an unusually high proportion of high risk boys in their intake. The fact that this is apparently not so is therefore both interesting and encouraging.

9.7 Summary and Discussion

A measure of failure rate has been introduced. It has been shown that regimes vary sharply in their failure rates and that these failure rates correlate highly with one year and three year reconviction rates. The variation is not apparently explained by variations in selection. This finding is in keeping with Clarke's research on approved schools, in which he concluded that "there are wide inter-school differences in absconding rates which reflect wide differences of school environment"[6].

Hostel regimes do differ in their ability to prevent a boy being reconvicted within three years of his entering the hostel. But, in general, these differences are accounted for by their strong and very different effects on the boys' behaviour while they are in the hostel. With one exception, to be discussed later, the regimes do not apparently differ in their effects on the reconviction rate of boys who have left the hostel.

These findings strengthen the argument for focussing the research on the boys' behaviour in the hostel. To judge from the background and reconviction samples, 64% of hostel residents reconvicted within three years are reconvicted in the first year. If any substantial inroad is to be made on the overall reconviction rates of probation hostel boys the number of first year reconvictions must be cut. It seems possible that this could be done, and it is important to find out how to do it.

There is a further strong reason for focussing on the boys' year in the hostel. The boys studied in this chapter came from very varied backgrounds and some had far more serious criminal histories than others. Yet none of the factors studied, whether from their backgrounds or from their criminal histories, were as important in predicting first year reconviction as the hostel to which they went. Indeed, with these boys, it seemed

that 17 years' previous experience counted as little in comparison with the immediate impact of the hostel environment while the boys were in it.

But the gratifying evidence of a hostel's ability to influence its present residents for good carries with it a less welcome corollary. If the effects of 17 years of family training can be modified almost overnight, how long can we expect the impact of one year's hostel training to last? It is not surprising that when boys have left the hostel, it is not usually the differences in their past hostel environments that count, but the differences in the environments to which they go.

By focussing on the boys' year in the hostel one may hope to carry the enquiry a stage further, showing not only that the environment is important but also what factors in it tend to encourage delinquency and what to inhibit it. These questions will occupy the next three chapters of the report.

NOTES

1. Those who entered the hostel but whose reason for leaving is unknown were omitted. These formed less than 2% of the total. Those who left as unsuitable (e.g. mentally ill, for compassionate reasons, etc.) were also omitted. These form a further 2%.

2. Both correlations were worked using the transformation $p' = \text{arc sin } \sqrt{p}$.

3. The hypothesis that regimes differed significantly in their "old boys' reconviction rates" could not be tested by the χ^2 test since some of the numbers involved were too small. The hypothesis was tested by dividing boys not reconvicted in the first year into two groups, those with odd reference numbers and those with even. It was argued that if there were genuine differences in the old boys' reconviction rates, regimes that had high old boys' reconviction rates among boys with odd reference numbers, would also have high old boys' reconviction rates among boys with even reference numbers. The regimes were therefore split into two groups, those with high old boys' reconviction rates among boys with odd-numbered reference numbers (group 1 regimes) and those with low (group 2 regimes). However, it was found that group 2 regimes had a slightly higher old boys' reconviction rate among boys with even reference numbers than group 1 regimes. The hypothesis was therefore rejected.

4. The failure rates were calculated over all the years during which the regimes were operating, except that probationers admitted after 30 June 1963 were excluded. Eight regimes, all with failure rates of under 30%, were called low failure rate regimes and nine regimes, all with failure rates over 30%, were called high failure rate regimes. The overall failure rate of the low failure rate regimes was 25·1% (n=987), and the overall failure rate for the high failure rate regimes was 36·3% (n=1271). Considering boys in the background sample only, the respective failure rates were 25·1% (n=203) and 39·6% (n=217). (n of course excludes boys who left the hostel as unsuitable and boys in whose cases the result is not known from the hostel records.) The difference between the two groups of hostels is therefore slightly greater in the period under survey than in the period not under survey.

5. This analysis was originally carried out in order to test the possibility that the relationship found between background factors and reconviction in the first year was due to biases in selection, the regimes with high failure rates tending to select a certain type of case. The analysis, however, serves equally well as a test of the hypothesis that selection is not a major cause of the difference in first year reconviction rates.

6. Clarke, R. V. G., "Factors Influencing Absconding by Approved School Boys", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1968.

CHAPTER 10

The Explanation of Varying Failure Rates

10.1 Introduction

The evidence examined in chapter 9 suggested that variations in failure rate cannot be explained by variations in selection. In trying to explain them, two main groups of variables should be considered. These are:

1. Variables essentially connected with the hostel which do not change with staff.

2. Variables connected with the warden.

The variables connected with the hostel include the size, area, permitted age range, liaison probation officer, buildings and local court.

The variables connected with the warden can be sub-divided into those of policy and personality. Policy variables are more easily manipulated. For example, any warden can alter a policy of taking younger or older boys or a policy of advising the court against taking back absconders. Personality variables are less easily brought under control and include the warden's attitude to the residents and his relationship with his wife.

The analysis shows first that none of the variables connected with the hostel is likely to have a great effect on failure rate. It goes on to suggest that the success of different policies probably depends not on the intrinsic goodness or badness of these policies but rather on the attitude of the warden towards them. This seems to lead to the conclusion that only personality variables count, but in the final analysis this also is shown as too simple a hypothesis.

10.2 Variables Connected with the Hostel

The variations in failure rate could be explained entirely by differences between the wardens or factors more permanently connected with the hostels could also play their part.

It was clear from looking at the data that if the hostel itself had an effect it was of rather a strange sort. In some hostels, the failure rates of successive wardens were very close together, while in others they were far apart. For example, in one hostel the successive failure rates were 17% (n=29), 25% (n=141), 23% (n=73); while in another they were 14% (n=37), 30% (n=92), 44% (n=105). This phenomenon could be the result of chance. Some hostels could be lucky with their staff while others could have more of a mixed bag. Another hypothesis is that in some hostels the wardens are selected, controlled or supported in such a way that their failure rates are found to be uniform, while in other hostels there is more scope for individual variation. For technical reasons it is very difficult to decide between these two hypotheses. The analysis actually carried out did not

confirm the second of them, which may nevertheless still be true. Whatever the correct explanation, it is clear that if the environment exercises any effect on the hostel, it is through the warden rather than despite him[1].

The first analysis did not support the idea that any hostel variable was of great importance, possibly because it tried to cover all variables at once. Three hostel variables were, therefore, dealt with in more detail. These were size, area and age-range; of these, age-range, being in part a policy variable, is considered later.

The correct size for a probation hostel is disputed. It may be argued that small hostels provide a more homely atmosphere and less pressure on the warden, or that large ones ensure that the pressures in the hostel are absorbed among the boys and make it easier for a boy to find a congenial friend. Practically, a large hostel tends to mean a lower cost per boy and this has led the Home Office to concentrate on hostels catering for approximately 20 residents. The data were examined to see if there might be any "right size" for minimising failure rate. There was no evidence that there is[2].

By contrast with size, there is probably fairly general agreement about what constitutes a good location for a probation hostel. There should be plentiful and varied work, a low incidence of delinquency, and reasonable access to the type of socially acceptable entertainments that hostel residents enjoy. Some evidence to the Morison Committee painted a gloomy picture of the local environment of probation hostels. In practice, however, this seems to have been based on the delinquency rates of the cities in which the hostels are, rather than their immediate neighbourhoods.

Three analyses were undertaken to examine the relationship between hostel location and failure rate. These tested the hypotheses that London hostels, hostels in cities with high crime rates and two hostels in what are clearly bad areas might have higher failure rates than others. None of these hypotheses was supported[3].

Although no hostel variable could be shown to be related to the failure rate, this does not mean that discussion about these variables should end. In statistics, chance variations in the data give rise to two forms of error, asserting a falsehood or failing to assert a truth. It is quite possible that the research has fallen into the second error, but if so, the effects missed are small[4].

To sum up this section, if hostel variables have an effect, it is probably through the warden; the statistics confirm the warden's presence on the centre of the stage.

10.3 Policy Variables

It is not easy to control a hostel by rational decisions. Relationships within it have as little to do with consciously formulated policies as do normal marriages or friendships. Even the rules which can be altered by a simple decision must nevertheless be interpreted from moment to moment, and their meanings depend on the attitudes of those who enforce them.

But some decisions seem relatively clear-cut. A new warden can take over a hostel when it is full or empty; he can select probationers from a wide or narrow age range, with few or many previous convictions, from neighbouring towns or far away; he can ask the court for severe sentences on absconders or argue for their return. A Home Office circular could instruct him to take these actions and there would be no difficulty in carrying them out. Equally these decisions attract the research worker, by offering him the hope that he may be able to give clear-cut advice; it is easier to tell a warden to narrow his age range, than to tell him to show more warmth towards his charges. But the search for these panaceas proved elusive and the following discussion of two policy decisions may suggest some reasons why.

10.4 Absconding and Sentencing

Can a severe sentence on one absconder prevent other boys from absconding? As has been seen, this subject is a delicate one and it is at this point that any conflict between warden and probation officer generally comes to a head. The question of whether severe sentences for absconding can deter is therefore important.

In order to be able to study a satisfactory number of absconders in each regime, the analyses directed at this problem were at first restricted to the 16 regimes in the main sample whose failure rates were based on at least 100 probationers. The proportion of absconders returned to these regimes by the courts ranged from 57% in one regime to 22% in another. Altogether, 41% of the 871 absconders were taken back and the differences between regimes in the percentage taken back were very highly significant ($\chi^2=43{\cdot}07$; df=15; $p<{\cdot}001$).

Yet, contrary to what the "deterrent theory" would lead one to expect, the liberal policies were not associated with high absconding rates—rather the reverse. There was a rank correlation of −·43 between the percentage returned and the failure rate.

The lower failure rate of the hostels associated with these more lenient policies results from the definition of a failure as a boy who leaves as the result of an absconding or offence; if a hostel took back all its absconders it would almost certainly have a low failure rate. The relationship of absconding and sentencing policy can be seen more clearly if one calculates a trouble rate, a resident who gets into trouble being defined as one who is a failure or who absconds and is subsequently taken back. The rank correlation between trouble rate and take-back rate is −·06. So there is no evidence that a policy of taking back absconders affects the other residents in the hostel either for good or ill. Table 28 sets out the data on which these statements are based.

Table 28

Take-back Rate, Trouble Rate and Failure Rate

Number of Absconders	*Take-back Rate* %	*Failure Rate* %	*Trouble Rate* %
76	57 (1)	34 (8)	48 (3)
70	56 (2)	25 (14)	35 (11)
42	55 (3)	31 (9=)	42 (8)
130	48 (4)	37 (7)	44 (6)
31	45 (5)	25 (15)	28 (15)
73	44 (6)	43 (2)	49 (2)
35	43 (7)	26 (13)	32 (12)
51	41 (8)	31 (9=)	37 (10)
28	39 (9)	28 (12)	29 (14)
23	39 (10)	23 (16)	28 (16)
23	35 (11)	28 (11)	31 (13)
50	34 (12)	43 (3)	49 (1)
60	30 (13)	42 (4)	47 (4)
26	27 (14)	44 (1)	45 (5)
64	27 (15)	40 (5)	43 (7)
89	22 (16)	38 (6)	41 (9)

Source: Sub-sample of Main sample.

NOTE:

1 Numbers in brackets represent rank order.

2 Unequal rankings are given to some apparently equal percentages. Such percentages are not equal if taken to further places of decimals.

Take-back Rate v Failure Rate: Rho = −·43; df=14; $p < .1$.

Take-back Rate v Trouble Rate: Rho = −·06; df=14; NS.

The take-back rate is not the only possible measure of leniency. One further measure is the percentage of boys who, on leaving the hostel as the result of an absconding, receive no more serious penalty than probation, discharge or fine. Are regimes with low failure rates associated with relatively severe penalties for those who leave as the result of an absconding? The sample used to answer this question was the failure sample. This was drawn from those regimes which operated between 1954 and 1959, and consisted of the last 20 failures of each of these regimes or all the failures if the regime had taken less than 20. These boys were followed up at the Metropolitan Police Criminal Record Office and it was possible to relate the sentences they received to the failure rate of the hostels from which they came.

The main determinant of whether or not an absconder received an institutional sentence was whether or not he committed an offence while absconding. 51% of those who committed no offence while absconding received an institutional sentence, as opposed to 79% of those who did commit an offence. Absconders from high failure rate hostels did not receive more lenient sentences.

Table 29

Disposal of Absconders Leaving Hostels

Regime Failure Rate %	*No Offence Committed Penalty*						*Offence Committed Penalty*					
	Probation, etc.	%	*Institution*	%	*Total*	%	*Probation, etc.*	%	*Institution*	%	*Total*	%
0 to 29 ...	14	48	15	52	29	100	8	20	33	80	41	100
30 to 39 ...	29	54	25	46	54	100	16	27	44	73	60	100
40+ ...	23	43	30	57	53	100	5	14	32	86	37	100
Total	66	4	70	51	136	100	29	21	109	79	138	100

Source: Failure sample.

10.5 Sentence and Interval to Next Absconding

Despite the negative results so far discussed, it seemed worthwhile to do one further analysis to test the possibility that severe punishment of absconders can deter others. The reason for this decision was partly the interest of the subject itself, and partly the very strong conviction that is held by both wardens and liaison officers that absconding can be deterred and that it is occasionally expedient that one boy should receive a heavy sentence for the sake of the others. In support of this conclusion, they point to occasions on which a run of absconding has apparently been ended by an approved school order made on one absconder. It was therefore necessary to test the deterrence theory as rigorously as possible.

It is possible that severe punishment of absconders deters others, despite the fact that regimes with low failure rates are not associated with comparatively severe treatment of absconders. This would happen if there was some characteristic of a regime that tended to be associated both with a low failure rate and with recommendations for the mild treatment of absconders. This could happen, for example, if hostel wardens with kind hearts were both more likely to take absconders back and to have low failure rates. Taking absconders back might encourage absconding, while the kind heart of the warden might discourage it and these two opposite effects might cancel each other out. If one is to allow for effects of this sort, one must consider the effect of a particular sentence on an absconder on other potential absconders within the same regime.

The hypothesis that severe sentences on absconders can deter others can be tested against the intervals in time between one absconding and the next. On this hypothesis, absconding incidents for which a resident was sent home or returned to the hostel should often be quickly followed by other absconding incidents; absconding incidents for which the absconder received a relatively severe sentence should usually be isolated or the last of a series.

Following out this idea, the research worker used data from the failure sample to classify absconding incidents by the type of sentence the absconders received. It was then possible to calculate the interval between each

absconding and the next one and to say whether this was greater or smaller than the "typical" time for the regime that was being considered[5]. Table 30 sets out the resulting data.

Table 30

Different Sentences Related to Time to Next Absconding

Time to Next Absconding	*Taken Back*		*No Institutional Sentence*		*Detention Centre*		*Other Institution*	
		%		%		%		%
Greater than median time	42	48	17	45	8	73	33	52
Less than median time	46	52	21	55	3	27	30	48
Total	88	100	38	100	11	100	63	100

Source: Failure sample.

As can be seen from Table 30, the more lenient sentences of taking an absconder back or sending him home (No Institutional Sentence) tended to be followed by a slightly higher proportion of absconding incidents that follow closer on the previous absconding than one would expect. Nevertheless, the effect is very slight and a long way from being statistically significant.

This result is not perhaps as surprising as it might seem to be. The hypothesis that one can deter rests implicitly on the assumption that a would-be offender weighs up the likely gain from his offence, the probability of being caught and the probable loss if he is. It is very hard to see that absconding could be explained by any rational calculation of this sort. The absconder is almost certain to be caught; he may be sentenced to borstal or approved school training. This seems to outweigh the probable gain of a weekend's spree with his wage packet[6]. Absconding, in fact, is not a rational activity. Nevertheless, it remains possible that this negative result arises from the use of a rather insensitive test on data not originally collected for this purpose. The possibility of testing the hypothesis yet more rigorously is being considered by Dr. R. Clarke. Dr. Clarke has already shown that caning absconders in approved schools apparently deters other boys from absconding. So far, however, Dr. Clarke's results support those reported here.

10.6 Factors Affecting Re-absconding

These figures might seem to imply that courts could disregard the fears of hostel staffs over possible effects of a mild sentence on absconders. For two reasons this conclusion is not strictly justified by the facts. In the first place, it is likely to be valid only while the courts continue to operate within roughly the same limits as they do at present. If the court sent home all absconders, the numbers of absconders would probably increase. A second reason for considering the views of the staff seriously was discovered accidentally, and is connected with the failure rate of those who were sent back to the hostel.

absconding and the next one and to say whether this was greater or smaller than the "typical" time for the regime that was being considered[5]. Table 30 sets out the resulting data.

Table 30

Different Sentences Related to Time to Next Absconding

Time to Next Absconding	*Taken Back*		*No Institutional Sentence*		*Detention Centre*		*Other Institution*	
		%		%		%		%
Greater than median time	42	48	17	45	8	73	33	52
Less than median time	46	52	21	55	3	27	30	48
Total	88	100	38	100	11	100	63	100

Source: Failure sample.

As can be seen from Table 30, the more lenient sentences of taking an absconder back or sending him home (No Institutional Sentence) tended to be followed by a slightly higher proportion of absconding incidents that follow closer on the previous absconding than one would expect. Nevertheless, the effect is very slight and a long way from being statistically significant.

This result is not perhaps as surprising as it might seem to be. The hypothesis that one can deter rests implicitly on the assumption that a would-be offender weighs up the likely gain from his offence, the probability of being caught and the probable loss if he is. It is very hard to see that absconding could be explained by any rational calculation of this sort. The absconder is almost certain to be caught; he may be sentenced to borstal or approved school training. This seems to outweigh the probable gain of a weekend's spree with his wage packet[6]. Absconding, in fact, is not a rational activity. Nevertheless, it remains possible that this negative result arises from the use of a rather insensitive test on data not originally collected for this purpose. The possibility of testing the hypothesis yet more rigorously is being considered by Dr. R. Clarke. Dr. Clarke has already shown that caning absconders in approved schools apparently deters other boys from absconding. So far, however, Dr. Clarke's results support those reported here.

10.6 Factors Affecting Re-absconding

These figures might seem to imply that courts could disregard the fears of hostel staffs over possible effects of a mild sentence on absconders. For two reasons this conclusion is not strictly justified by the facts. In the first place, it is likely to be valid only while the courts continue to operate within roughly the same limits as they do at present. If the court sent home all absconders, the numbers of absconders would probably increase. A second reason for considering the views of the staff seriously was discovered accidentally, and is connected with the failure rate of those who were sent back to the hostel.

Overall, the failure rates of those who were sent back to the hostel after absconding were 53·4% (n=328) in the hostels for younger boys and 59·5% (n=116) in the hostels for older boys. It was noticed, however, that the two regimes that took back the highest proportion of absconders also appeared to do best with the absconders they took back, in the sense that a higher proportion of these "taken-back" absconders passed out of the hostel successfully. In order to check on this observation, a "fresh-trouble rate" was calculated for the 16 regimes whose failure rates were based on at least 100 probationers. A fresh-trouble rate was defined as the proportion of absconders taken back to the hostel after their first absconding who subsequently absconded or left as the result of offences. Table 31 sets out the relations between take-back rate, trouble rate and fresh-trouble rate.

Table 31

Take-back Rate, Trouble Rate and Fresh-trouble Rate

Take-back Rate %	*Trouble Rate* %	*Fresh-trouble Rate* %
57 (1)	48 (3)	49 (14)
56 (2)	35 (11)	41 (15)
55 (3)	42 (8)	57 (12)
48 (4)	44 (6)	65 (8)
45 (5)	28 (15)	64 (9)
44 (6)	49 (2)	69 (6)
43 (7)	32 (12)	53 (13)
41 (8)	37 (10)	57 (11)
39 (9)	29 (14)	82 (2)
39 (10)	23 (16)	28 (16)
35 (11)	31 (13)	75 (4)
34 (12)	49 (1)	71 (5)
30 (13)	47 (4)	78 (3)
27 (14)	45 (5)	86 (1)
27 (15)	43 (7)	65 (7)
22 (16)	41 (9)	60 (10)

Source: Sub-sample of Main sample.

NOTE: Numbers in brackets represent ranks. Apparently equal percentages given unequal ranks are not equal if taken to further places of decimals.
Take-back Rate v Trouble Rate: Rho=−·06; df=14; NS.
Take-back Rate v Fresh-trouble Rate: Rho=−·54; df=14; $p<·05$.
Trouble Rate v Fresh-trouble Rate: Rho=·31; df=14; NS.

As can be seen from Table 31, regimes with a high percentage of boys getting into trouble at least once also tended to have more trouble with their returned absconders. This tendency was not statistically significant. However, there was a significant tendency for regimes which took back a relatively large proportion of absconders to have less further trouble with them.

One explanation for this finding is suggested by an apparent exception to the tendency for regimes with high take-back rates and low trouble rates to have low fresh-trouble rates. This regime, which is included in Table 31, had

the ninth highest take-back rate, the third lowest trouble rate but the highest fresh-trouble rate but one, i.e. although the regime was successful with most of the residents and prepared to take back many of the absconders, it was very unsuccessful with the absconders who were returned. According to the liaison officer, the relatively high take-back rate at this regime did not reflect the warden's attitude. The warden, like others, took the view that stern punishment deterred offenders and used to announce at supper that the boy who absconded last week was now in borstal. This practice was not approved by the liaison officer, who even succeeded on one occasion in having two boys return to the hostel after the warden had made his announcement. Clearly, the warden's attitude to absconding was likely to be reflected in his attitude to the two boys returned. In a regime where there is not a conflict between warden and liaison officer, a warden who feels strongly about absconding may persuade the court to return few absconders; absconders who are returned may expect to be rejected for a time and so abscond again. This would account for the correlation between low take-back rates and high fresh-trouble rates.

10.7 Age Range

Hostel wardens and liaison probation officers tend to think that the age range of hostels is too wide. They argue that the older boys bully the younger or that they corrupt them by boasting of their delinquent and criminal exploits —the neighing of the dormitory stallion is not a sound in which the staff of probation hostels take pleasure. A wide age range is also said to add to the difficulty of treating all residents alike. Older boys are said to need different handling and their higher wages and consequent greater savings may lead to a sense of injustice among the younger. So some hostel wardens try to narrow their hostel's age range through selection. Is there any evidence that this policy is a good one?

Table 32

Age, Failure Rate and Type of Failure

	N	*Failure Rate* %	*Proportion of Failures Absconding* %
15 years	930	31·3	52·3
16 years	1,591	32·6	63·4
17 years	1,295	35·3	67·0
18 years	402	39·1	68·2
19 years+	128	26·6	70·6

Source: Main sample.

Table 32 gives the age and failure rates of probationers in the sample. The failure rate increases gradually with age with the exception of those aged 19 or over, who are a small group taken predominantly from one particularly successful hostel. This suggests that older boys are more difficult. The

third column shows that the proportion of failures who leave as the result of absconding also rises steadily with age. If bullying was the main cause of absconding among younger boys one would have expected the opposite.

A more detailed analysis took account of the differences in failure rate between regimes. The intake of each regime was divided into two groups, of older and younger boys. The younger boys were taken to be those aged 15 to 16.5 at entry in the hostels for younger boys and those aged 16 to 17.11 at entry in the others. The analysis was carried out only on those regimes which took in a statistically satisfactory number in both age groups[7], making 21 regimes in the 15 to 18 age group and eight in the other. Two questions were asked. First, are there in fact differences in selection policy over age? Second, do these differences matter?

The data showed clearly that wardens do differ on whether they prefer to select older or younger boys. The percentage of relatively older boys taken varied from 31·9% to 62·8% in the 15 to 18 year group of hostels and from 24% to 60·8% in the 16 to 19 year group of hostels. ($\chi^2=61{\cdot}34$; df=20; $p<{\cdot}001$ and $\chi^2=36{\cdot}06$; df=6; $p<{\cdot}001$ respectively.)

Each hostel was then considered separately to see whether the proportion of failures was higher among its older or younger boys. This examination showed that if there was a relationship between age and success, it was likely to be a complex one depending on the hostel to which a boy was sent. Two different 15 to 18 year regimes, for example, gave the results set out in Table 33.

Table 33

The Relationship of Age and Success—a Comparison of Two Regimes in the Younger Age Range of Hostels

Age	*Regime A* *Failed*	%	*Succeeded*	%	*Total*	%	*Regime B* *Failed*	%	*Succeeded*	%	*Total*	%
15 to 16·5	18	18·8	78	81·3	96	100	22	45·8	26	54·2	48	100
16·6 or over	17	37·8	28	62·2	45	100	4	11·1	32	88·9	36	100
Total ...	35	24·8	106	75·2	141	100	26	30·9	58	69·1	84	100

Source: Sub-sample of Main sample.

As can be seen from Table 33, it is older boys who do better under Regime B and the younger boys who do better under Regime A. Both differences are marked.

The differences between regimes A and B could be due to chance variation or to a significant tendency for older boys to do comparatively better in some regimes and worse in others. A method for tackling this sort of question has been given by Norton[8], and a computer programme was written for it by Gerald Draper of the unit of Biomathematics at Oxford. The analysis showed

880639

that the differences between regimes in the comparative success of older and younger boys were too marked to be easily due to chance. This result seems both surprising and important. As always, there are two main classes of explanation; that is, it could depend on either (*a*) the boys in the regime or (*b*) the staff in charge.

The result could be explained if there were a tendency for residents of similar age to abscond or offend together; if, for example, an absconding by one older boy tended to lead to an outbreak of absconding among his older friends. But data taken from seven regimes[9] in the younger age group produced no evidence for this process. This explanation seems therefore unlikely.

Only one piece of evidence suggested that differences in the relative proportions failing in old and young age groups might arise from factors connected with the boys rather than the staff. One regime showed a change over time; among the first half of the boys taken in, it was the older boys who were more likely to fail; among the second half, it was the younger. The difference in the interactions was very highly significant. (χ^2 for difference in interaction $=11{\cdot}8$; df$=1$; $p<{\cdot}001$.) But the evidence is not conclusive, partly because the regime was exceptional for other reasons—it suffered a particularly serious outbreak of homosexuality during the period under review—and partly because it will be seen later that wardens change their techniques during the course of their regime.

Evidence that the differences found might be due to the staff is also difficult to obtain but probably more convincing. Table 34 gives data on two regimes which are relevant to this problem.

Table 34

Age and Success: A Comparison of Two Regimes

Age at Entry	*Regime C* Failed		Succeeded		*Total*		*Regime D* Failed		Succeeded		*Total*	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
16 to 18...	18	38·3	29	61·7	47	100	16	27·1	43	72·9	59	100
18 or over	15	20·5	58	79·5	73	100	25	25·5	73	74·5	98	100
Total ...	33	27·5	87	72·5	120	100	41	26·1	116	73·4	157	100

Source: Sub-sample of Main sample.

Both regimes took similar proportions of boys in the 16–17 year age group, and both have similar overall success rates, although regime C has comparatively poor success with its younger boys. The two regimes were in hostels with different age ranges (16–19 and 17–21 years) but the warden of regime C was known to prefer the older age group and selected them whenever possible. His preference was justified by his greater success with them.

Wardens naturally try to select boys with whom they think will do well, just as they probably try to take back those absconders for whom they have a

natural sympathy. It might be expected, therefore, that wardens with a policy of selecting older boys might be more successful with them, just as wardens who take back more absconders tend to be more successful with these. But although this expectation was confirmed with the regime just discussed, it was not found to be generally true.

Perhaps one should put forward a more complicated explanation. A warden may be equally at home with older and younger age boys and thus equally willing to take both groups. But he may react strongly towards or against a particular type of role in the hostel, and some roles, particularly leadership ones, may more often belong to the older boys. Thus older residents may do well or badly according to whether the warden prefers to work with the inmate leadership or keep it in its place. This explanation would fit well with some of the research worker's impressions[10] and also with the fact that, contrary to the general rule, the one regime known to the research worker to operate a fully fledged "prefect" system did better with its older boys than with its younger ones. However, the explanation remains a hypothesis to be tested by further research.

10.8 Epidemics and Personalities of Warden and Matron

The analyses that have been described seemed to lead more and more to the conclusion that the crucial factors in any hostel must be the personalities of the staff. Studies of variables such as size and location had failed to show any effect, and even where apparent policy effects were found, as with age range and taking back absconders, it always seemed that the attitudes of the warden must be taken into account in order to explain the results. The impression of the research worker was reinforced by the views of those in the field. Again and again, liaison probation officers and others who had seen more than one warden in charge of a hostel, emphasised the vital importance of personality.

Against this evidence, there was one awkward fact, which was that two of the three wardens who had changed hostels had failure rates in their second hostel which differed significantly from those which they had in their first. So convinced, however, was the research worker of the overwhelming importance of personality that for a long time this evidence was simply ignored. Nevertheless, rather late in the research an attempt was made to discover whether there was a tendency for hostels to go through bad patches even during the same regime. In order to test the hypothesis that they did, the failure rates of the first half of each warden's intake were compared with the failure rates over the second half. The analysis used the χ^2 test and was done on those regimes which had taken in a statistically respectable number in the period under observation[11]. 32 regimes were included in the analysis, which showed conclusively that hostels did go through bad patches, in the sense that the failure rate was sometimes much greater in one half of a warden's regime than in another and these differences were most unlikely to arise through chance. ($\chi^2=59{\cdot}67$; df$=32$; $p<{\cdot}001$.)

This finding threw doubt on some of the assumptions on which the research was going forward. It now appeared that hostels were subject to

some sort of "epidemic" effect and this could mean that there was, in a sense, no reason for the difference in failure rate between the various regimes. If one school gets measles and another does not, the reason could be a chance contact of one boy at his home but the schools would nevertheless have very different health records.

But although it was clear that regimes did undergo "epidemics", this did not preclude the possibility that the staff could have an effect. For example, one could put forward the hypothesis that some regimes were liable to longer or more frequent epidemics than others and that these differences would be due to the staff[12]. Before one can test this hypothesis one must try to determine the influence of one epidemic on the next. To return to the example of a school: a school which suffered two outbreaks of typhoid in two consecutive winters might be suspected of lack of health precautions rather than simple misfortune, but before casting judgment one must try to determine if the two outbreaks were independent. Suspicion might be allayed if it could be shown that typhoid epidemics generally smouldered on and that the two outbreaks were probably connected. However, if the school had been closed down and new pupils recruited, one would suspect that the fault lay in the health precautions rather than in the infection of one pupil by another.

This example explains the analysis that was now undertaken. The wardens' intakes were divided up into blocks of consecutive admissions in such a way that the fact that one block had an unusually high or low number of failures provided no evidence that the next block would have an unusually high or low number of failures. One can then argue that if some wardens tend to have consistently low failure rates in the different "admission blocks", the reason for this is probably to be found in the wardens rather than in the spread of a tradition from one block to the next.

Analysis was concentrated on the 16 regimes whose failure rates were based on at least 100 probationers. Only continuous sections of at least 100 probationers were considered so if a regime took in 20 probationers and then closed temporarily, these 20 were excluded from the analysis. The intake of these regimes was divided into successive groups of 20, those boys who left as being unsuitable being omitted. Counting began with the first boy taken in and the final remainder was ignored, i.e. if a hostel took in 108 boys, the last 8 were not considered. The number of failures in each group of 20 was counted, thus giving a string of consecutive numbers, as it might be 7, 5, 9, 7, 4, 8, etc. If the epidemics are of a fairly lasting nature, a comparatively high number of failures in the first 20 boys taken in is likely to be followed by a comparatively high number in the next 20 and so on. If, on the other hand, the epidemics are fairly short, a group of 20 is more likely to contain the entire epidemic and a tendency for high numbers to be followed by high numbers will be less marked. The strength of the tendency for a high number of failures to be followed by a high number of failures was measured through a serial correlation coefficient which was calculated for each of the 16 hostels. The value of these serial correlation coefficients ranged from $-\cdot57$ to $+\cdot43$ and their pooled value was $-\cdot023$.

This result shows that there was no tendency for a high number of failures in the first 20 taken in to be followed by a high number of failures in the second 20 and so on. Each successive number of failures can therefore be regarded as independent of the preceding one and it is legitimate to use ordinary statistical techniques to see if some regimes tend to have a consistently higher number of failures per 20 than others. An analysis of variance was carried out and showed that this was so. ($F=3\cdot13$; $df=15$ and 115; $p<\cdot001$.)

From these analyse appeared that the staff in charge do have a very important effect, but that at any moment this can be obscured by epidemic effects through which a high number of failures can come upon the hostels with even the most successful wardens.

10.9 Summary and Discussion

Four major points have been argued in the last two chapters. These are:

1. Differences in failure rate are not totally explained by differences in selection.
2. The differences depend mainly on the staff in charge.
3. There is some evidence that the staff in charge determine not only how many boys fail but also which particular group of boys is most likely to fail.
4. Despite the importance of the staff in charge, other factors can cause outbreaks of trouble from time to time.

Provided point 1 is accepted, points 2 and 4, and to some extent point 3, follow directly from the statistical calculations. It is therefore worth summarising the evidence in favour of point 1. This is:

1. People are not normally good at picking out future successes and failures from information supplied on delinquents. Certainly no previous study suggests that differences in selection ability could account for differences in failure rate of the order found.
2. If differences in selection ability accounted for differences in failure rate, one would expect wardens to become better with practice. This can occur, but it is possible for a warden to do significantly worse towards the end of his regime. Similarly, wardens changing hostels can do significantly worse even though they take with them their selection expertise.
3. Wardens stated in conversation that selection was "a lucky dip" and some stressed that whether a particular boy succeeded depended on the state of the hostel when he came.
4. Events in the hostel can cause absconding to take place. There are twice the number of abscondings in months when the warden or matron are on leave or sick as in months when they are not.
5. No differences can be found in intake between high and low failure rate hostels.

6. The most plausible explanation of the fact that hostels differ in their success with different age ranges of boys, and with the absconders they take back, is that it depends not on selection but on the attitude of the warden. It seems reasonable to suppose that the actual number of failures could also depend largely on the warden.

7. Finally, the next three chapters will show that a boy's delinquency is often very much bound up with the situation existing at the time at his home, and that the type of hostel likely to control delinquents seems remarkably similar to the type of home associated with absence of delinquency. The internal consistency of these findings on the importance of the primary group adds greatly to their plausibility.

For these reasons, it seems that differences in failure rate do arise from the hostel situation and that these differences relate partly to the attitudes and personalities of the staff in charge and partly to more transient factors, but not to more easily measurable factors such as size and location. These less tangible factors are considered in more detail in the next two chapters of the report.

NOTES

1. The hostels considered were those which had experienced more than one warden in the period under review. The number of boys taken by the regimes in these hostels varied from 13 to 254. In order to equalise variances of the failure rates, a random sample of 20 was drawn from each regime for which this was possible. A failure rate was calculated for each sample and transformed using the arc sin square root transformation. Bartlett's test was then used to see if there was a significant difference in the variance of failure rates in the different hostels. Clearly this method wastes a lot of data.

2. The technique used was the Kruskal-Wallis one way analysis of variance. This assumes that the variables have equal variance. But it was felt that it was less sensitive to inequalities of variance than a parametric test.

3. These results are perhaps less surprising when it is remembered that the majority of hostel failures occur as the result of an absconding. Unfortunately, in the records studied no statistics were kept of the number of times a hostel boy offended in company with a local one. In the memory of the research worker, however, the occasions on which a hostel boy was involved with a non-hostel boy were very few indeed and were nearly always fights rather than planned delinquencies. It is therefore reasonable to think that the local area is not likely to have a marked effect on the failure rate of the hostel.

4. For example, wardens have said that a dormitory of 13 is difficult to control and that a dormitory of four is better than one of three or two. Similarly, they have stressed the importance of some area in which the boys can go out and let off steam; or of having a hostel in which it is relatively easy for one man to supervise boys in different rooms. All these points make obvious sense, but it is clearly unlikely that any of them would be sufficiently important for it to be picked up in a statistical analysis of the sort described.

5. i.e. Intervals between abscondings that equalled the median were dropped from the analysis.

6. The most common days for absconding are those on which the boys receive their wages. For 1966 the numbers of absconders on different days were: Monday 15, Tuesday 8, Wednesday 9, Thursday 23, Friday 32, Saturday 20, Sunday 6.

7. Expected value $\geqslant 5$ in each cell of a 2×2 contingency table.

8. Norton, H. W., "Calculation of χ^2 for complex contingency tables", *American Statistical Association Journal*, 1945, pp. 251–258. (Norton's method gives a value of χ^2 and this was found to be 41·49; df=19; $p < \cdot001$ for the younger group of hostels and 18·41; df =7; $p < \cdot025$ for the older group of hostels. The high value of the χ^2 for the first group depended, however, on data drawn from the second regime given in Table 32. If this regime was omitted, the value of χ^2 dropped to 27·92; df=18, $p < \cdot1$.)

9. These were the seven regimes in hostels of the 16 to 18 year age group which took in at least 100 boys between 1st January 1954 and 30th December 1959. A correlation was worked between the ages of boys who absconded on the same day. (The ages were transformed to their logarithms to produce a more normal distribution.) The pooled value of the correlations found was negative and non-significant. It did not appear that there was any general tendency for boys who absconded on the same day to be either older or younger than each other.

10. For example, at one hostel known to the research worker a particular boy was singled out by the warden for criticism. The following warden used the same boy, allowing him at times to behave almost like a prefect.

11. Expected value $\geqslant 5$ in each cell of 2×2 contingency table.

12. Statistically the problem is that one can no longer use the χ^2 test to test for differences between the regimes. The use of the χ^2 test in the previous analysis can be justified on the grounds that it showed that the assumptions on which it is based did not hold, i.e. a high χ^2 may mean either there are significant differences or that the assumptions of the χ^2 test were invalid. Either conclusion is important.

CHAPTER 11

Case Studies

11.1 Introduction

Statistics are an abstract guide to hostels. What lies behind the statistics discussed in the last two chapters? What are the people like who run successful hostels? In the course of the research these questions were first tackled through case studies and only later more statistically through data from the intensive survey. This chapter discusses the three groups of case studies. These are:

(*a*) Studies of regimes with failure rates of less than 20%.
(*b*) Studies of regimes with failure rates of more than 40%.
(*c*) Studies of selected changes over time.

11.2 Sources of Data

The general character of the sources is the same for all sections. Essentially the information came from inspectors' reports, interviews by the research worker and documents kept in the hostels.

Inspectors' reports were available for all the regimes. The inspectors visit the hostels approximately once every six months and report on their impressions of the regime and on recent important events. Although the reports vary in content they provide one valuable contemporary source for the study of a past regime.

The interviews were designed to cover the more important aspects of present and past regimes and were held with a variety of people, including the wardens themselves, the matrons, liaison officers, members of the committee and past assistant wardens. They were hard to evaluate. With past regimes there was a tendency for time to simplify both the good and the bad; some wardens were cast in an almost neanderthal role, growling down the corridors of their cowed hostel and kicking over the buckets of those washing the floor, "just to show who was boss"; others by contrast appeared as uniformly solid, firm, kindly and understanding, good North country people whose walls at Christmas were covered with cards from grateful former residents. With existing regimes the situation was more complex and the information given seemed to depend on considerations of loyalty, recent disagreements and the interviewee's perception of the research worker's role and opinions.

Nevertheless, the interviews drew on the experience of trained social workers and others, some of them with nearly 20 years' close experience of hostels. No research into hostels could afford to by-pass experience of this sort.

Some of the case studies are partly based on the warden's reports to his committee and his progress reports on residents. These give a picture of some of the warden's attitudes and also contemporary information on hostel events.

11.3 Regimes with Low Failure Rates

Of the 46 regimes which took in boys over the period 1954 to 30th June 1963 only five had failure rates of less than 20%. Of these five, two are known to have gone through troubled periods before 1954, and if boys entering before this date had been considered, their failure rates would have been counted as over 20%. But all five regimes clearly had outstandingly low failure rates and are of interest for this reason.

Regime 1

The warden of the first regime made a definite impression on those who knew him: "He was a big, hefty, slow-moving fellow . . . and his wife did what he said. He ran a very good hostel. In fact, we went two years without any trouble at all. I'm under the impression that he would walk up to a boy who was giving trouble and say: 'If you don't behave yourself I'll give you a belt round the ear'ole.' If there was any hint of trouble, he would stamp on it immediately." Others confirmed this impression: "He was the essential authoritarian." Or again: "He was as rigid as they come, but with certain good qualities."

The emphasis that was placed on discipline was in keeping with the warden's philosophy. In his reports to the committee, he returned frequently to the importance of "absolute consistency" and those attempting to explain the success of the hostel most often attributed it to the nature of the discipline. A contemporary report by the principal probation officer lays stress on the discipline, the fairness of the staff and the strong line taken by the court with offenders.

But the highly authoritarian regime was viewed with mixed feelings by local probation service and committee alike. Conflict arose over the warden's refusal to allow the boys to change jobs: "When they came, he made them take the work he wanted. I don't think there was very much discussion about it. If they left work there was always the question of action for a breach. I think the boys saw the works foreman as the extension of the hostel authority." Echoes of this conflict appear in the inspectors' reports, where it is noted that in one year only one boy left his job and the warden is urged to consider each case on its merits.

The ambivalence of those interviewed towards the strictness of the regime tended to be resolved by insistence that the success was temporary only: "His breakdown rate after leaving the hostel when this supportive discipline was withdrawn was fairly considerable." Or again: "The discipline produced a very low failure rate when the boys were there, but I think he probably had a high failure rate when they left." In fact no very systematic follow-up was made, but one carried out by a temporary member of the committee appears to contradict this assertion.

The warden originally attributed his success to selection and in particular to his refusal to accept approved school boys. However, the statistics produced earlier in the report make it unlikely that this selectivity has quite the efficacy with which he endowed it. When interviewed, the warden stated that he exercised selection only in relation to approved school boys and that he was quite prepared to accept boys offered him by telephone.

The emphasis on discipline might give the impression that the hostel was an essentially cold place, but the children's inspector felt that the hostel had been run in a homely and efficient way. In part, this impression may have been created by the matron, whose role was stressed by the warden in his reports to the committee. Others, too, had a good impression of her: "She was a very charming person, not unduly dominated by her husband. He was very much the master in his own household and I think she played along with this. I think the boys saw her as the mother figure although she was not sloppy; it would be difficult to find anyone better." Or again: "She was a lady in every sense of the term."

The warden also does not appear as a cold person. The children's inspector noted "a sense of humour" and a "genuine interest in the boys". The warden's reports to his committee show an understanding of individual boys' difficulties which would normally be thought uncharacteristic of the typical authoritarian. For example, he clearly realised the feelings of worthlessness that troubled some of the hostel residents. His reports show one further quality: he obviously enjoyed the activities in the hostel and took a pride in it.

In summary, the regime that operated in this hostel could perhaps be best described as paternalist.

Regime 2

Inspector's reports give the impression that this regime was quiet and restrictive. The boys were allowed out on two nights a week, originally from 2 to 10 p.m. on Saturday and 2 to 9 p.m. on Sunday and later from 2 to 8.55 p.m. on both nights This allowed them out for less time than in any other regime in the same age range on which information was available.

Other data also indicate unusual restrictiveness. The residents had standard clothing into which they changed on return from work and the domestic order of the house was described as very good. This good order was bought at a cost and the inspectors noted that there had been overspending on cleaning materials. They also noticed with disapproval that residents were not allowed to place toothpaste on their toothbrushes and the toothpaste was spread by a member of the staff. They were not impressed by the warden and matron, who, they felt, did not inspire confidence either singly or as a team.

Others, however, had a better impression of the warden. A member of the committee remembered him as "very good" and, surprisingly, "less of a martinet than others. He had good control, but with him it was more fun, if you see what I mean". A probation officer described him as "a big man physically. He was strict, but he was also kind". The liaison officer said of him, "I liked him very much. He was not a martinet, but he was very firm. Most of the lads thought he was a fair man. Their general attitude was one of respect. He was a big man in every way. My impression was that he was not very involved with the boys." Control, in fact, does not seem to have bothered the warden and

he was prepared to accept a boy from another hostel where he had caused a breakdown in discipline. On one occasion a local gang chased two of his boys into the hostel. The gang was stated to be 50 strong, but whatever their numbers the warden went out into the drive to meet them and quickly sent them packing.

The matron did not play an assertive part in the hostel. One children's inspector found her "unimpressive" and another "placid". A third said, "She has a good knowledge of the individual boys and a kindly manner towards them." The liaison officer described her as, "Matronly. She had a friendly approach. She was fairly motherly." This was in line with his view of the hostel as "fairly warm; much warmer than the preceding regime; the warden had understanding, but it was not a vast understanding".

The general impression is, therefore, of a fair and firm warden with a large enough personality to control the boys and carry the responsibility of the hostel without appearing ruffled, and with the support of a kind and equable matron. Neither the training programme nor the routine can be described as particularly imaginative. However, the boys did not abscond. Again the regime might be described as paternalist.

Regime 3

This regime experienced trouble at its beginning. For this reason it is discussed twice, both as an example of a regime in which an apparent change took place, and as an example of a regime in which the number of absconders and offenders was very low.

Again, there seems little doubt that it was outstandingly strict. A probation inspector had commented that the warden's work was "sound, down to earth, and on firm, well disciplined lines". The liaison officer described the discipline as "firm, to say the least", and an examination of records kept at the hostel suggests that discipline was much more severe than that found elsewhere. The warden described his methods as follows: "These boys are not Grammar School boys. They like to know where they are. If I tell a boy he has to do something, that's that—he has to do it."

The warden exercised discipline described by one probation officer as "demanding". His progress records on boys show a refusal to accept a superficial answer or response. He made this attitude plain in the initial interview, in which he questioned the boy on his reasons for getting into trouble and dealt very roughly with any excuses. The following is a typical account: "On speaking to the boy regarding his general behaviour at home, he puts a great deal of the blame on his parents, but now that he has been removed from them, he feels a little sorry . . . It was also obvious from conversation that he has had a great deal of his own way, of which he has taken advantage, becoming spoiled and out of control. It was made quite clear to him that one of the first things he has to learn is to respect authority and to do as he is told without question. He considers himself

a sort of tough character, but this outlook, I am sure, will change as time passes. There is, no doubt, much good in this youth, but at present, being completely adverse to authority, he will require a great deal of supervision, guidance and discipline to bring out the best in him. This I feel might be cultivated through interest in certain sports he likes, mainly swimming and boxing."

The warden's refusal to accept excuses was accompanied by a demand that the boys' good behaviour should not be confined to the hostel. Finding, for example, that one resident had entered a public house while on home leave, he deprived him of his privileges for three months. Many wardens would doubtless feel that a boy on home leave was not subject to hostel discipline ; in this, as in the very severe nature of the punishment, the warden was an exception.

There were varied assessments of the warden's understanding. A probation inspector wrote : "He has, I think, a kind heart, but his methods are too rigid and he has little understanding of adolescent boys." By contrast, a children's inspector wrote: "The warden knows his case histories and realises the necessity of treating each individually and in a different way. He shows an amazing fund of practical psychology and human understanding in this." As the success of the regime became apparent, this latter judgment tended to prevail.

The regime was unusual in the deliberate use made of the matron. Describing her, the children's inspector wrote that she had a keen interest in the boys and her care for them was not limited to a purely physical basis. She seemed to him to be matron there in more than its purely domestic sense and indeed the whole unit appeared to approach fairly close to a family group pattern. Matron distributed no punishments and, according to the liaison officer, sometimes even "shielded the boys from the genuine wrath of her husband"[1]. The case records show that institutionalised boys and others who had lacked affection were sometimes deliberately singled out for her extra attention.

This practice of handing over boys to the matron was sometimes recommended by a local psychiatrist, who played his part in other ways in softening the rigour of the regime. The psychiatrist was very interested in the hostel, which he visited sometimes as often as four times a week ; he saw all the boys on admission to the hostel, gave individual psychotherapy to a few, and would also chat to the boys informally in the warden's absence. The personalities of the warden and psychiatrist clicked. As the warden put it: "This psychiatrist was a blunt sort of fellow. He really got to know the boys. He would say to me, 'back-pedal on him', or, 'give him a bit of rope' and I would." There is no doubt that the psychiatrist gave a great deal of personal support to the warden, and when he left the district, was greatly missed.

In an interview the warden attributed much to the support he received not only from the psychiatrist but also from the liaison officer and the

committee. The history of relations between the probation service and the hostel are, however, described later.

In summary, the regime presents a picture of strict discipline, enforced by a powerful warden, but guided by understanding. Again, the regime might perhaps be fairly called paternalist.

Regime 4

Regime 4 is of particular interest. There is evidence that it was more effective than others in preventing delinquency among its residents and also—and this accounts for its unusual interest—among its old boys. This last feature was first noticed in the background sample, where it was found than only 20% of the fifteen first-year survivors from this regime were reconvicted in the following two years as opposed to 51% of the 247 survivors from the remaining hostels. This pattern was checked by obtaining reconviction data on all boys entering hostels in the 16–19 age range and above between 1st July 1961 and 30th June 1963.

Table 35 compares the admission policy of Regime 4 and others in relation to previous convictions.

Table 35

Admission Policy in Relation to Previous Offences: Regime 4 and other Regimes

Previous Convictions	*Regime 4*		*Others*		*Total*	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
No Record	8	14	13	5	21	6
1	6	11	40	14	46	13
2	13	23	87	30	100	29
3	13	23	68	24	81	24
4	8	14	33	11	41	12
5+	8	14	42	15	50	15
?	1	2	4	1	5	1
Total	57	100	287	100	344	100

Source: Reconviction sample.

NOTE: ? denotes those cases in which a criminal record was obtained but thought inaccurate on internal grounds.

Table 35 provides no evidence that the warden of Regime 4 was less willing than others to accept boys with a high number of previous convictions. If he was unusually selective one would have expected him to have concentrated on boys with fewer convictions ; the fact that he did not do so lends particular interest to Table 36, which shows that, even where boys reconvicted in the first year are omitted, the boys from Regime 4 were significantly less likely to be reconvicted in the second and third years than boys from other regimes.

Table 36

Reconviction Rate of Those not Reconvicted in 1st Year Regime 4 and Other Regimes

Previous Convictions		*2–3 year Reconvictions*		*Success*		*Total*	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
1 or No Record ...	Regime 4 ...	3	21	11	79	14	100
	Others ...	8	25	24	75	32	100
2	Regime 4 ...	3	33	6	67	9	100
	Others ...	17	46	20	54	37	100
3	Regime 4 ...	5	42	7	58	12	100
	Others ...	14	64	8	36	22	100
4	Regime 4 ...	0	0	4	100	4	100
	Others ...	6	60	4	40	10	100
5	Regime 4 ...	0	0	1	100	1	100
	Others ...	11	69	5	31	16	100
?	Regime 4 ...	1	100	0	0	1	100
	Others ...	1	50	1	50	2	100
Total	Regime 4 ...	12	29	29	71	41	100
	Others ...	57	48	62	52	119	100
Grand Total ...		69	43	91	57	160	100

Source: Reconviction sample.

Amalgamating results by Cochran's procedure $z=1{\cdot}96$; $p<{\cdot}05$.

Description

Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of attitudes towards the regime was their ambivalence. There was agreement that the warden was a commanding figure and respected by the boys, but also that he was an awkward person to deal with and far too involved with his charges. This over-involvement was believed by some observers to endanger the warden's mental health and it had led to disputes with the probation service.

The regime itself was quite strict. Job-changing was strongly discouraged, beds were boxed in the mornings, letters censored and the hours out were not generous; a former assistant warden who was disgruntled with the regime described it as rigid. While, however, there was no doubt that the warden was in charge, he was not thought by the liaison officer to relate to the boys primarily as an authority figure, nor was the regime one that would be described as outstandingly consistent.

The appearance of inconsistency arose from the warden's feeling that it was necessary to concentrate on different boys at different times. His involvement with selected individuals was heavy; he would interview them alone for over an hour, and he and his wife would take boys away with them for weekends in a cottage in the country. He reacted strongly to being let down, feeling sometimes that a particular resident was the best in the hostel and at other times that he was the worst.

Interviewed by the research worker, the warden gave the impression of a powerful but emotional person. He offered the boys a high degree of involvement, but demanded a high standard of behaviour from them. His attitude towards stealing was in no way detached. Although intellectually he felt that pilfering within the hostel was a matter for hostel discipline, his immediate inclination was to turn the offenders over to the police. He was far from seeing only the good side of his charges, whose basic attitude he described as selfish.

Some of the hostel customs were unusual. According to the warden and liaison officer, there was a system of "grassing", and it was the done thing for the boys to tell the warden of other boys who were thinking of breaking the law. The warden discouraged the residents from keeping company with undesirable girls who were described as "taggy bits". Any resident who saw another with a "taggy bit" was expected to inform the warden. Another unusual feature was that the boys made a number of collections for good causes and, according to the warden, even had to be restrained from doing this. "They are like four-year-olds who have just learnt how to give. When they have learnt they want to go on and on." The hostel residents were expected to do more than passively conform. Their acceptance of these expectations may have followed from the warden's technique, which consisted in part of a highly conditional offer of affection. Thus, asked what he would do if a boy complained that he had favourites, he said "I would say to him 'If you behaved yourself you could have this affection also.'" And he did not seem to be content with a superficial response. Some examples may make clear what is meant.

A particularly difficult boy committed some misdemeanour at camp. "I took him through each one of his five offences and I showed him how in each one he had cruelly damaged someone. He said, 'You do know how to hurt people.' I said 'I'm not trying to hurt you, Kevin, I'm trying to help you.' Another boy remarked that his father could drop dead. I said to him, 'When you go to bed tonight, I want you to think how much of all that is due to you.'"

These examples of straight talking took place within a context of concern and the warden liked to demonstrate that his concern did not stop when a boy left the hostel. Originally it was his policy to encourage boys from poor homes to go into lodgings, but this led to a dispute with the probation service. Like other wardens he encouraged those leaving to write or ring up, and brought out his concern in interviews. He seemed able to show that he wanted the boys to stay out of trouble not only for his sake but for their own.

"This boy had a very difficult temper. He had controlled it for a long time, but a week before he was due to go, he had an outburst. I said, 'Go upstairs and wait there.' After half an hour I went up to see him. I said: 'The only difference between us, John, is that you don't seem to care what happens to you when you leave—I do'."[2]

The existence of this concern gave point to the threat of its withdrawal, which the warden was quite willing to apply.

One boy from a difficult home had a strong emotional relationship with the warden, but tested this by token abscondings which were announced to the warden beforehand, and ended at about 2 a.m. in the local police station. The warden dealt with the last such absconding by refusing to talk to the boy for a week, thus bringing about an apology and an effective reconciliation.[3]

The matron's part in running the hostel was less easy to define. She seemed to one observer volatile, and to another "more reserved than her husband". She provided hot-water bottles for the boys, and was particularly vehement against the Home Office food allowance, which she felt was unrealistic for growing boys. The main impression gained by the research worker from an interview after she had left was that she had loved her job. The liaison officer felt that she backed up her husband well.

In summary, this regime could again probably be regarded as paternalist; it was reasonably strict and seemed warm. It appeared, however, less consistent than others which have so far been described. The warden set out to challenge some of the more fundamental attitudes of his charges, which related not only to their behaviour in the hostel but also to their behaviour outside, and to the fairly generally accepted code against "grassing". In doing this he made use of the technique of withdrawal of affection.

Regime 5

Little is known about the final regime with a failure rate of 20%. A probation officer had a memory of the warden as a kind person and of his wife as highly strung. However, he emphasised that the regime was a long time ago.

The only contemporary account available is by a children's inspector, who thought the warden had a good approach to the work and handled the boys with sympathetic firmness. He seemed to understand their individual problems and his progress reports indicated a careful study of each of them. The general atmosphere was said to be of friendliness between boys and staff.

On further visits, the inspector confirmed this impression. He had no doubt that every boy could rely on a kind, sympathetic and fair treatment from the warden, who did not seem to suffer fools gladly. The boys appeared to know just how far to go.

The regime, however, does not seem to have been outstandingly strict. The succeeding warden complained that his predecessor had been too lenient and the inspector was inclined to agree. On his first visit, the inspector remarked that the warden "was not the type to allow liberties to be taken, but I would not describe him as a disciplinarian".

11.4 Regimes with High Failure Rates

Fifteen regimes in the period studied had failure rates of 40% or over. Of these, one took in only sixteen boys and is omitted for lack of information. Three of the others are still in operation. They also are not discussed. The outstanding characteristics of the remaining eleven regimes[4] were classified

as: breakdown in discipline (two regimes), troubles centred on the matron (four regimes), breakdown in warmth (five regimes). These features are the reverse of the paternalist pattern found in the low failure rate regimes.

11.5 Breakdown in Discipline

There are two types of discipline breakdown in a hostel. The first arises from an isolated incident. The boys may refuse to eat their meal and bang their knives on the table in defiance of the staff, or decide not to go to work and present themselves at the probation office to complain. Such incidents can arise in hostels where the apparent level of discipline is very high. The second type of discipline breakdown exists in those hostels where poor behaviour appears to have become a general rule. The residents get drunk, fight, lie in bed and refuse to go to work, or carve their release dates on the dormitory walls. Two of the eleven regimes showed relatively clear symptoms of this type of discipline breakdown.

One such regime was described by a probation officer who had once worked in it: "There was a fierce quarrel between the warden and matron and assistant warden. The boys used to go upstairs to bed and spit on the staff from over the banisters. Everyone thought me odd because I ran upstairs after them to stop them. Even then I couldn't believe that all probation hostels were like this." The liaison officer of the hostel had similar views: "The warden was a very sick man with a rather sentimental approach to the boys, and the matron was on the edge of a nervous breakdown. Together they made a sick pair." He also thought the assistant warden "very disloyal".

In the other hostel, the breakdown in discipline appears to have coincided with an attempt to introduce a more relaxed programme. An inspector reported on the hostel: "This hostel does not run a fixed routine as is customary in most hostels. Activities are of an ad hoc nature and involve a fair amount of expeditions to places of interest. Also involved is a great deal of spontaneous discussion and music playing in the hostel itself." Later the inspector commented that "the warden and matron show a lively interest in their work. There is no doubt that their method of running a hostel is far harder work than it would be if they used a fixed programme for every evening".

As part of a later attempt to apply more standard techniques to the types of data being discussed, people who knew a regime were asked to rate the actual warden on his similarity to two contrasting fictitious wardens who were described for them. The fictitious permissive warden (Warden D) was described as follows:

"Warden D has few rules and is prepared to discuss infringement of them and give the boys the benefit of the doubt. He feels it better for the atmosphere of the hostel to let the occasional slammed door or swear-word pass without comment."

The person filling in this form on the above regime rated the warden as very similar to Warden D and wrote in comment: "The warden went even

further than Warden D in permissiveness and tended to become too involved in individual boys' problems, the result being a total lack of discipline, causing acute discomfort to all concerned."

11.6 Trouble Centred on Matron

The problems of four regimes appeared to centre on the matron and her relations with the warden. In the first of these, it was clear that the matron had taken over the role of disciplinarian and the liaison officer described how she used to shout at the boys and how her husband would change his mind on matters of discipline on a word from his wife. The residents complained bitterly to the liaison officer, who was uncertain what to do.

In the other three regimes in this group, the cause of the trouble was less clear. A liaison officer, commenting on one of these, described the atmosphere as one of "communicated apathy", and the general impression gained was of a series of small incidents, each tending to generate other incidents and to increase rather than resolve bad feeling. The warden was described as strict and his discipline as "consistent but at the end rather desperate". The matron was also sympathetically described, but it was clear that her efforts at disciplining the residents antagonised them and her husband's attempts to defend her did little to help.

In two regimes, the warden and matron had problems with their marriage which in turn probably affected their behaviour. In one, the matron withdrew almost completely from the hostel and, according to a temporary assistant, only came into it to shout at the boys for not cleaning the dishes. In the other, the warden, possibly in reaction to his matrimonial problems, became loud-mouthed and insecure, while the matron became provocative towards the boys and obsessional about the house. Neither regime seems to have suffered any marked breakdown in discipline.

11.7 Breakdown in Warmth

Discipline does not ensure a low failure rate. An inspector visiting one high failure rate regime formed a good impression of the hostel. He found that although the warden and matron were quiet-natured people, as also was their deputy, they managed to enforce a fairly rigid discipline—more than in any other probation home or hostel he knew. He was, however, doubtful about some of their traditions, such as no speaking at meals, and wondered whether these tipped the balance and caused some of the more unsettled boys to abscond. While admiring the clockwork way the domestic side of their lives ticked over, and feeling that their organised evening activities had much to recommend them, he would have liked to have seen the boys have more opportunity for conversation with mature adults on matters which interested them and about which they might be expected to know.

Thus the general impression was of strict discipline but a rather cold atmosphere. This was confirmed by other observers, and the warden himself said that he had no difficulty in keeping discipline, but that when

pressure was on, some boys tended to resolve the tension by absconding. According to a liaison officer, the warden tended to reject the more difficult boys. For example, he would give them an order out of the corner of his mouth and then shout at them if they had not heard. "The discipline was of a paternal kind and only the boys who accepted whole-heartedly the regime at the hostel were accepted and allowed a more relaxed discipline. The matron was extremely efficient. The whole house was orderly but lacked the warmth of adult support."

The impression of a somewhat aggressive inconsistency was found much more strongly in another regime in this group. The warden of the regime felt that his methods were justified and taught boys that crime did not pay. He was very free in discussing them.

One of his main aims was to strip the boys of any excuse. He did this largely through sarcasm: "I don't want any of this guff about being a poor, misguided little darling. I don't want any excuses about what you've done. You're a criminal." He backed up this approach with threats: "You've got a prison up the road, a detention centre down the way. If you don't toe the line, that's the next port of call for you." He found it useful to have ex-approved school and detention centre boys in the hostel, since he could point to their histories in admonishing others.

He also aimed to induce stress and thought that in this way he could teach the boys to handle stressful situations. His chief method was the manipulation of uncertainty. Punishments were never for a fixed duration; spot checks were common; and no boy knew for certain when or whether he could go for home leave. The warden might decide that a resident should be kept in but not tell him until ten minutes before he was due to go out. No message could then be given to the resident's girl friend. "He may cry, he may scream the place down. They're soft-gutted, these boys, but they get over it. That way I treat them like they treat us." No one could count on avoiding punishment; one boy might wash a room badly and get no punishment; another would wash it quite well and get "something serious".

The warden felt that punishment should be suited to the particular boy—"each individual has his breaking point"—and was therapeutic. The main thing was to find something a boy had done wrong "which is not difficult in a place like this" and then punish him in the way most likely to cause him to break down. He might, for example, cut back the boy's pocket money "to the limit". "If he commits a further offence, that proves he has not learnt. If he comes and asks for more money, this proves that he has not learnt." If, however, the boy neither asked for money nor stole, this proved that he had learnt something.

While, however, the warden set out systematically to break the confidence of the tougher boys, he also tried to build up the confidence of the less tough and in this he was believed by the liaison officer to do valuable work. The liaison officer in general confirmed the warden's account of his regime. While the theory on which it was based may be interesting, it certainly appeared costly in terms of reconviction. Of a sample of 38 boys followed up over a three-year period, 85% were reconvicted.

There were three other regimes in this "cold" group. They were probably more similar to the first regime discussed than to the second.

11.8 Changes over time

So far the case histories have been designed to cast light on the personalities and methods that seem to produce high or low failure rate regimes. But this is only part of the problem. Failure rates can change over time, even though the warden and matron remain the same. The study of these changes is in some ways even more important, since if failure rates can change, as it were, unexpectedly, it should be possible to produce similar changes by design.

The decision to study changes over time raises certain problems, because it is not easy to determine when a regime changed from a good to a bad patch. Even if one decides on criteria for identifying these patches, it is difficult to obtain information on them. There is a tendency for past regimes to be remembered as all good or all bad, and for the more subtle nature of changes to have been forgotten.

For this reason, the changes to be discussed are not chosen on the basis of any particular statistical criterion, but rather because it was clear on intuitive grounds that a change did indeed take place. The changes have been classified as short or long term.

11.9 Short Term Changes Due to Boys

No one who has talked to hostel staff can doubt that the residents influence one another. Fashions arise in the hostel that have nothing to do with any activities on the part of the staff. The residents may tattoo themselves, adopt new fashions in clothes, take up unlikely sports such as chess or start washing their hair once a week. Some boys may set out to make themselves leaders in the hostel[5], and a bad atmosphere is often attributed to a particular leader or leaders. There can be fashions of bullying, or "borrowing" of cigarettes, clothing or money. Epidemics of pilfering can start and cause unrest among the probationers and tightening of restrictions by the staff. The list of the ways in which the residents are said to influence each other could be extended indefinitely, since, as has already been stated, the majority of the staff believe that almost any type of behaviour is contagious.

However, while the residents' influence on each other is undoubted, it is not clear how far its nature and force depends on the staff. The statistical evidence shows that the staff do set limits to the boys' criminal behaviour since the incidence of this varies with the staff in charge. Nevertheless, most regimes go through bad patches and these may be explained as the results of bad influences among the residents. This explanation would be supported by the opinions of the staff, who often attribute unrest to one particular boy or group of boys, and by other evidence. It sometimes happens that a third of the boys in a hostel are arrested for taking and driving away or a house-breaking offence, and it seems reasonable to think that some, at

any rate, of the boys in the group were led astray by the others. Bullying sometimes seems a sufficient explanation for an absconding[6] and drugs can be passed from one resident to another.

Yet if the residents do contaminate each other, there is surprisingly little statistical evidence of it. As shown in chapter 8, high failure rate regimes do not take more high risk probationers than others. Moreover, an analysis of data from one regime showed that probationers who arrived when there was an above-average number of future failures in the hostel were not more likely to fail than others, although if they did abscond they were likely to do so after a shorter time[7]. Tables 37 and 38 set out the basis for these statements.

Table 37

Relationship of Failure to Number of Future Failures in Hostel on Arrival

Failures in Hostel On Arrival	*Failed*	%	*Succeeded*	%	*Total*	%
0	8	53	7	47	15	100
1	14	29	35	71	49	100
2	15	47	17	53	32	100
3	12	43	16	57	28	100
4	10	43	13	57	23	100
5	6	55	5	45	11	100
6	4	50	4	50	8	100
7	1	100	0	0	1	100
Total	70	42	97	58	167	100

Source: Sub-sample of Main sample.

Table 38

Future Absconders in Residence and Time from Arrival to First Absconding

Future Absconders in Hostel on Boy's Arrival	*Months After Arrival to Absconding* *0 to 2*	%	*2+*	%	*Total*	%
0 to 2	9	28	23	72	32	100
3+	23	77	7	23	30	100
Total	32	52	30	48	62	100

$\chi^2 = 14{\cdot}61$; df=1; $p < {\cdot}001$.

Source: Sub-sample of Main sample.

Clear qualitative evidence for the bad influence of boys on each other is equally hard to obtain. One incident can serve as an example of the difficulty of disentangling cause and effect. The warden of one hostel found that the majority of his residents had been concerned in homosexual practices. The

incident was investigated by two Home Office inspectors, who reported that the trouble seemed to have sprung from one or two residents who had had previous homosexual experience of one kind or another; one boy in particular appeared to have let it be known fairly early that he would be party to practices of all sorts—"He bears the stamp of the future male prostitute". At the same time, there was in the hostel a couple of strong-willed, well-built bullies of low intelligence who had no compunction about taking part in homosexuality and also organising the whole hostel into participation and concealment. The inspectors thought that these two elements, placed together at a time when the warden was away and the assistant warden was weak, formed a situation from which these results could arise.

Should the trouble be traced to the absence of the warden, the weakness of the assistant or the particular combination of boys? If a thermostat goes wrong, the boiler may overheat and blow up and it is a matter of choice whether the cause is attributed to the defective thermostat or to the processes which led to the final explosion. In a similar way, the boys are always influencing one another and the crucial variable in controlling the process seems to be the staff.

For these reasons, changes apparently originating with the assistant wardens or warden and matron seem the most obvious. Chapter 6 gave statistical evidence for the importance of the warden's leave periods and times off for sickness. The most dramatic changes seem to occur as the result of combinations of misfortunes, rather than single events.

At one hostel, for example, an assistant warden was stirring up unrest among the boys and staff, discussing the warden with boys behind his back. At the same time, the hostel took in a number of difficult boys from a particular part of the country, while the residents were upset because of a visit from the police in connection with house-breakings. At this time, the warden fell sick and in the general breakdown of discipline some boys who had been doing well up to that time deteriorated sharply, so that it was finally necessary to close the hostel down.

11.10 Long Term Changes

Long terms changes in a regime often seem to result from similar reasons to short term ones; for example, a warden may become seriously ill or the matron may have a baby and be unable to play such an active part. At one hostel, a marked and fairly long term change had possibly been produced by two assistant wardens whose handling of the boys was defective. The warden and matron of this regime were amazed at the change: "At one time if you caught a boy doing wrong, it was a fair cop. Now a great wall of resentment comes between you."

Two regimes changed in a particularly interesting way since both began with high failure rates and ended with extremely low ones. The first of these has already been described in Regime 3. The second had a slightly higher

overall failure rate, mainly because it began and ended during the period of 1954 to 1963 and its earlier difficulties were included in calculating the failure rate. These changes are described below.

Regime 3

The liaison probation officer gave a vivid description of the change in this regime. Other evidence supported his story, which—except for some minor alterations—can stand as it was given.

"When this warden came to the hostel he immediately started to run it like a unit in the police. He was an intelligent man, as you must be to rise to as high a position as he had, but his discipline was, to say the least, firm. He used to shout and bawl at the boys. Albeit there was an under-current of anxiety which manifested itself every evening. He used to pace about the hostel like a caged beast. Well, after a lot of talking and cajoling we got down to talking about this. I said to him, 'The basis of this attitude is that you are apprehensive that some of the boys won't come in. Well, by the time that you're stalking about, if they're going, they've gone and your doing this won't alter things. You've got to relax, otherwise when the boys come in you'll be like a woman gossiping at the street corner. She sees her boy in the middle of the road and immediately she shouts at him and belts him one, but it's her own guilt makes her do this.' Well, so it went on and he began to relax but he still used to lace into those lads. After he had been at the hostel some time, a relation of his who had been a petty officer came to stay in the hostel and he came to see me. He said to me, 'That boy is doing a wonderful job. He's got these lads just where he wants them. They won't say boo to a goose.' I said, 'He'll learn.' Well, he was doing everything wrong and the reaction was bound to come. There were a variety of things that brought things to a head. They started repairs in the hostel and this was very uncomfortable for every one. Then one day instead of going to work all the lads came to my office. They said that they had to put up with this discomfort and all they got was being bullied from Saturday morning to Sunday night. Well, I rang him up and said: 'Anything happened at the hostel today?' He said, 'I'll say it has. None of the boys has gone to work. I've got all the employers ringing me up.' I said, 'I know—they're all here.' Well, I couldn't have said anything worse to him. Anyway, we all went back to the hostel and talked it out and the boys appreciated it was a matter of mucking in. (The liaison officer here recounted various other incidents, including a disagreement over taking a boy back into the hostel.)

"As time went on he began to realise that there might be something wrong with his methods. Then he began to ask me. Then all of a sudden I realised that here was a real jewel. In fact I couldn't take him any further along the road. I had a pal at the time, a very clever psychiatrist. We had used him. Anyway, I suggested that he came over to the hostel, and he and the warden became very friendly. In fact, in the end he was coming over three or four times a week and after he had seen some of the boys, he would have a beer with the warden. Some of the psychiatrist's

skill and understanding rubbed off on the warden and a radical change took place. The warden, whilst he retained his firm basic discipline, became more understanding. About two years after, the same relation came to spend a week or so in the hostel and he came and saw me. He said, 'I'm worried about that boy. He used to have these boys to a T but now he's too soft.' I said, 'All the time you thought the place was doing so well and the thing was ticking over like a N.A.A.F.I. clock, we had nine boys go to borstal.' You see, the atmosphere had completely changed and it had hit this former petty officer like somebody clubbed him.

"From that time on, I don't think a hostel could go better. The needs of the boys were catered for. The regime was firm and there was understanding. I think we went for some years with no trouble at all and we had some difficult boys."

"What was the matron like?"

"The matron was very good. No one of the warden's calibre can completely change and I think she intuitively realised this. She used to shield the boys from the genuine wrath of her husband."

"Did the warden shout at the boys when the hostel was going well?"

"Oh yes, but he used to shout at them for a purpose. Obviously, you've got to scold boys. If a boy needed a telling off he was able to tell me why."

Regime 6

The previous case study provided an example of a transition from a cold to a warm regime. The following provides an example of a transition from an undisciplined to a disciplined regime.

It was obvious on statistical grounds that this regime had not always run with uniform smoothness, and in fact the absconding and offence rate was nearly twice as high during the beginning of the regime as it was at the end—but impressionistically, the contrast was even stronger. Boys' progress records from the earlier period referred to fights, bullying, frequent lateness, high job turnover, a kangaroo court, direct defiance of staff and even, on one occasion, the refusal of boys to return to the hostel when asked to do so by the court. By contrast, the progress records from the later period made dull but encouraging reading.

The warden took over the hostel at a time when it was almost full. His wife did not join him immediately and for the first three months he ran the hostel on his own and without assistant staff. His first changes were aimed at relaxing the rules left by the strict but highly successful preceding regime, and according to the warden, the boys interpreted this as weakness and took advantage of it.

Whatever the reason, there were a number of abscondings and offences and this was reflected in the very poor opinion which the committee and liaison officer—also a member of the committee—formed of the warden. The Chairman of the committee suggested to the warden that he might be better in a children's home and the liaison officer was equally forth-

right. A probation inspector commented: "The probation officer is very disappointed in the warden and the warden is resentful of the probation officer's interference."

The comments on the regime at this stage contrast sharply with opinions formed at a later date. The children's inspector thought that the warden and matron were very limited in outlook and ability—the latter probably due to inexperience. The warden seemed to him small-minded, having little breadth or depth of understanding or of conviction and unlikely to establish good or easy relationships with either adults or boys. The inspector noted that the warden still manifestly felt insecure and was full of complaints about his treatment by the liaison officer, the chaplain and sundry committee members. The matron had had to take over the cooking on the day of the visit, the cook having failed to turn up, and was depressed. Another visitor to the hostel found the warden "prickly and inwardly very insecure". A probation officer described him as "near" or "mean" and given to running away from trouble.

But the warden had troubles enough to dismay the most stout-hearted. One resident threatened him with a pair of step ladders, and shortly after, another involved him in a wrestling match. The most difficult resident of all threatened the warden with a knife, was taken to court and subsequently returned to the hostel. His prestige rose accordingly and there is a note in the warden's records that "he causes pandemonium and orders the younger boys about, treating them more or less as fags". A student who was in the hostel at the time described how the other residents were terrified of this youth, who was hanging about the hostel and refusing to go to work. "Everyone was on edge." The warden himself remembered this period as a very black one when discipline was non-existent.

The end of these troubles was brought about partly by chance. The hostel was largely closed down for repairs and the reduction in numbers enabled the warden to get rid of his more difficult boys and regain control of the others. In building up his numbers he concentrated on taking in younger boys, whom he preferred, and he was further helped by greatly improved relations between himself and the liaison officer, who resigned from the committee.

Table 39

Improvement in Performance in One Regime

	Absconded or Offended		*Did not Abscond or Offend*		*Total*	
		%		%		%
Admitted up to Shut-down	25	57	19	43	44	100
Admitted after Shut-down	24	28	62	72	86	100
Total	49	38	81	62	130	100

$\chi^2 = 9{\cdot}17$; df=1; $p < {\cdot}01$.

Source: Pilot study.

The turning point can be taken as the time when the hostel was down to its smallest number, and the subsequent improvement is dramatic. Table 39 compares the criminal behaviour of those arriving before and after this partial shut-down.

This improvement could certainly not be completely explained by the admission of less difficult boys, although this may have contributed.

The change was reflected in the opinions of those visiting the hostel. A probation inspector noted that the warden seemed much more confident, happy and unruffled now. He also appeared much happier in his relations with the liaison probation officer, whom he regarded as a help and ally rather than as a critic as formerly. The children's inspector commented that the warden and matron were firmly in control of the hostel and seemed to get a good response from the boys, and at another time he remarked on the improved relations between the warden and the committee. One probation officer connected with the hostel stressed that the boys definitely respected the warden, and the other thought the warden " very good ".

There are, of course, a number of different things that might account for this change. There is the breaking of a bad tradition by partially closing the hostel and removing the difficult boys ; there are the improved relations between the warden and the committee and liaison probation officer ; there is the changed admission policy, by which the warden took younger boys with whom he was happier. All or any of these things could have caused the change. What is more important is that this history, like the one before it, shows that the well-being of the hostel does not depend purely on the personality of the man in charge, at any rate insofar as personality is regarded as some fixed and unalterable thing. But it is noticeable that when things were going wrong, all those concerned blamed the warden and his alleged personal defects. Similarly, the warden was himself insecure and presumably less able to provide decisive leadership. He was thus deprived of support at the precise moment at which he needed it most.

11.11 Summary

Sixteen different regimes have been examined. Of these, five had failure rates of less than 20%, eleven, failure rates of over 40%, and two, one of which was examined twice, showed marked changes over time. It was found that the five low failure rate regimes could probably be fairly described as paternalist. The eleven high failure rate regimes differed sharply from the paternalist pattern. Two showed breakdowns in discipline ; four, difficulties connected with the matron ; and five, breakdowns in warmth. The two examples of marked changes over time could also be interpreted as different sorts of changes towards a more paternalist regime.

NOTES

1. Old Testament words such as " wrath " seem appropriate with this kind of warden. Describing another, a principal probation officer said : " Awe was something the lads experienced."

2. This technique of confronting a person with the consequence of his aggressiveness is recommended by Hollis, F., *Casework : A Psychosocial Therapy*, Random House, New York, 1964, p. 226. Unfortunately it is not known how often the warden used it or what part it played in the success of the regime.

3. This case was a success. The boy stayed out of trouble on leaving the hostel and wrote regularly over a period of two years. In one letter seen by the research worker he told the warden of his engagement and thanked him for " bringing peace to my mind ".

4. It should be noted that identifying details have ben altered and confused. Any attempt to identify a particular regime would almost undoubtedly lead to a wrong identification.

5. At one hostel, for example, the boys had a record club, each boy contributing sixpence a week and voting for the record of his choice. In practice, however, there was almost unanimous agreement since each boy voted for the record chosen by the hostel " leader ". Such leaders are sometimes said to be on the side of the staff, although the staff vary in the degree to which they are willing to make use of this. As one put it : " If you've got a leader in the hostel, nine times out of ten he's a bully."

6. In one case, for example, a particular boy was set on by three others on the day after his arrival at the hostel. He at once absconded home, but was taken back to the hostel where he lasted his period without absconding again.

7. Examination of the distribution of absconders in months shows that in most regimes this departs from the Poisson distribution that would be expected if the times at which the boys absconded were independent. Many boys absconded on the same day as another in their hostel, as did 26% of those who absconded in 1966. There is also some slight evidence in the data that boys may be more likely to abscond on return from leave. The influence of the warden's own leave has already been discussed.

CHAPTER 12

The Intensive Sample: Attitudes, Customs and Failure Rates

12.1 Introduction

The hypothesis that "paternalist" regimes were most likely to have low failure rates was checked against the data collected in the intensive sample.

12.2 The Intensive Sample

The intensive sample contained 16 regimes[1], 15 of whose wardens had taken up post before 1st July 1964, and one in November 1964[2]. All were still in charge in late summer of 1966, when they were interviewed.

The failure rates calculated for each regime were based on 403 boys placed between 1st July 1964 and 30th June 1965. They ranged from 7% to 70% with an overall rate of 41%, which was 7 percentage points higher than that found for the period January 1954 to 30th June 1963. They were related to data from the staff attitude questionnaire and to the permissiveness score.

12.3 Limitations of the Intensive Sample

There are a number of reasons for treating results on the intensive sample with caution.

1. The interpretation of some of the scales in the staff attitude questionnaire is open to doubt. For example, it is not clear that wardens scoring high on the "for authority" scale are necessarily the most authoritarian. (See Chapter 8.)
2. The split half reliabilities of some of the scales on the staff attitude questionnaire are low. (See Appendix 7.)
3. Some of the regimes studied were behaving in an atypical way in the year under review.
4. The number of tests done means that findings significant at the .05 level may be due to chance variation.

By themselves, therefore, the data collected on the intensive sample are not conclusive. They do, however, agree strongly with the impressions gained in the research and, taken together with these impressions, they are of considerable interest.

12.4 Results

The relationships between attitudes and failure rate were first tested by dividing the wardens' scores into two groups, those scoring less than the mid-value on a particular scale being called low scorers and those scoring more, high scorers[3]. The permissiveness score was divided in the same way. Table 40 compares the average failure rates of high and low scorers.

Table 40

Wardens' Attitude Scores, Permissiveness Scores and Average Failure Rates

Scales	*High Score Mean Failure Rate*	*Low Score Mean Failure Rate*
Authority	·39	·42
Strictness	·42	·38
Control	·39	·41
Breaking will	·41	·40
Harshness	·40	·40
Forcing independence	·43	·37
Aggression	·46	·36
Achievement	·42	·39
Withholding affection	·37	·44
Suppression of affect	·44	·35
Equality	·39	·40
Discussing problems	·34	·46
Defensiveness	·45	·35
Authoritarian control	·40	·40
Punitive discipline	·42	·39
Emotional distance	·49	·31
Equalitarian interaction	·37	·43
Custody orientation	·42	·38
Permissiveness	·45	·36

Source: Intensive sample.

The largest difference in Table 40 is that between those scoring high on emotional distance and those scoring low, the high scorers having an average failure rate 18 percentage points greater than the low scorers. The difference between these two averages is also the only one that is significant. ($t=2{\cdot}15$; $df=14$; $p<{\cdot}05$)[4]. This provides some support for the impression that wardens who show warmth are likely to have low failure rates.

A number of sub-scales make up the emotional distance scale and in only one of these—the sub-scale "withholding affection"—did those who score high on the scale have a lower average failure rate than those who scored low. There is an interesting suggestion that attitudes favourable to withholding affection lead to high failure rates if the warden is emotionally distant, but to low failure rates if he favours emotional closeness. The group favouring withdrawal of affection is split evenly between those who favour emotional distance and those who do not. Table 41 sets out the average failure rates of the four groups. There are, of course, four wardens in each group.

Table 41

Withdrawal of Affection, Emotional Distance and Average Failure Rate

Withdrawing Affection	*Emotional Distance*			
	High Scorers %		*Low Scorers* %
High Scorers	52	Failure Rates	22
Low Scorers	46		40

Source: Intensive sample.

Table 41 suggests the hypothesis that withdrawal of affection is an effective sanction, but only if there is an underlying basic warmth. There was, however, no statistically significant relationship and the table is given as a possible guide to future research[5].

So far, the analysis had provided some support for one half of the paternalist hypothesis only. Emotionally distant attitudes were associated with high failure rates, but there was little evidence that strictness was associated with low ones. One reason for this may be that strictness does tend to discourage absconding or offending but that strict wardens also tend to have other qualities which have less good effects. Table 42 provides some evidence for this hypothesis. It gives the intercorrelations of the scales for discussing problems and emotional distance, the rule permissiveness score and failure rate.

Table 42

Correlation Matrix
Permissiveness, Discussing Problems, Emotional Distance and Failure Rate

	Permissiveness	*Discussing Problems*	*Emotional Distance*	*Failure Rate*
Permissiveness	1	·52*	−·41	·32
Discussing Problems ...	·52*	1	−·71**	−·34
Emotional Distance ...	−·41	−·71**	1	·36
Failure Rate	·32	−·34	·36	1

Source: Intensive sample.

*=p<·05; **=p<·01.

Emotional distance, refusal to discuss problems and permissiveness tend to be associated with high failure rates, although the correlations are not significant. However, emotional distance and refusal to discuss problems tend to be associated with lack of permissiveness. The effect of combining warmth and a willingness to discuss problems with strictness can be estimated by holding different variables steady. Table 43 gives the relevant results.

Table 43

Partial Correlations on Failure Rate: Permissiveness, Discussing Problems and Emotional Distance

	Variables Held Constant		
	Permissiveness	*Discussing Problems*	*Emotional Distance*
Permissiveness	—	·62*	·55
Discussing Problems	−·63**	—	−·13
Emotional Distance	·57*	−·13	—

Source: Intensive sample.

*=p<·05; **=p<·01.

If attitudes towards discussing problems and emotional distance are held constant, the correlation of permissiveness on failure rate rises to ·62 and ·55 respectively. Similariy, if permissiveness is held constant, the correlations of

discussing problems and emotional distance on failure rate become −·63 and ·57. This supports the hypothesis that the strict warm hostel is the one most likely to have a low failure rate, but also suggests that strictness and warmth are difficult to combine.

The association of permissiveness and high failure rates may disquiet the liberal-minded. A study of the attitude questionnaire filled in by the 14 matrons suggests one possible explanation for it. None of these matrons' scores was significantly correlated with failure rate, but there was a significant correlation between failure rate and a measure of the difference in attitude between warden and matron. This " attitude difference score " was the size of the difference between the warden's total institutional orientation score and the matron's. Table 44 gives the intercorrelations of the attitude difference score, the permissiveness score, the emotional distance score and failure rate.

Table 44

Correlation Matrix
Permissiveness, Attitude Difference, Emotional Distance and Failure Rate

	Permissiveness	*Attitude Difference*	*Emotional Distance*	*Failure Rate*
Permissiveness	1	·53*	−·46	·32
Attitude Difference	·53*	1	−·05	·57
Emotional Distance ...	−·46	−·05	1	·42
Failure Rate	·32	·57*	·42	1

Source: Intensive sample.

*p<·05.

It can be seen from Table 44 that differences in attitude between warden and matron are related to failure rate, the correlation being ·57. There is also a significant correlation of ·53 between the permissiveness score and the attitude difference score. Table 45 sets out the partial correlations of the attitude difference score, the emotional distance score and permissiveness score on failure rates.

Table 45

Partial Correlations on Failure Rate of Attitude Difference, Emotional Distance and Permissiveness

	Variable Held Constant		
	Permissiveness	*Attitude Difference*	*Emotional Distance.*
Permissiveness	—	·03	·64*
Attitude Difference	·50	—	·65*
Emotional Distance	·67**	·55	—

Source: Intensive sample.

*=p< 05; **=p<·01.

If attitude difference is held constant, the correlation of permissiveness and failure rate vanishes, so it seems that provided the warden and matron

are basically agreed in attitude, it does not matter whether the regime is permissive or not. This basic agreement, however, seems less likely to be reached in a permissive regime. By contrast, the correlation of attitude difference and failure rate remains high, although not significant, even when permissiveness is held constant.

12.5 Results from Principal Component Scores

As already stated, the reliability of some of the scales in the attitude questionnaire is low. In an effort to obtain more reliable scales two component analyses were carried out[6]; one on the various sub-scales in the questionnaire (summary scales were not included) and another on the items in the emotional distance scale.

None of the first three components in Component Analysis 2 was related to failure rate and the components were in any case hard to interpret. The present discussion is confined to Component Analysis 1. Table 46 sets out the relevant results.

Table 46

Component Analysis 1: First 3 Components: Loadings

Scales	*Component* 1	*Component* 2	*Component* 3
Authority	·38	·02	·14
Strictness	·38	—·06	·11
Control	·38	·00	—·12
Will	·30	·02	—·31
Harshness	·24	·10	—·43
Independence	·25	·28	—·31
Aggression	—·13	·52	·28
Achievement	·26	·05	—·16
Withholding affection	·26	—·35	·19
Suppression of affect	·25	·07	·43
Equality	—·26	·18	—·16
Discussing problems	—·25	—·16	—·46
Defensiveness	·01	·63	·09
Variance accounted for	33·2%	12·6%	11·1%
Correlation of wardens' scores and failure rate	·15	·39	·50

Source: Intensive sample.

The first component given in Table 46 clearly represents some factor of "institutional orientation". Its heaviest loadings are on variables representing a concern for maintaining authority and its low correlation with failure rate confirms the impression that, contrary to belief, "institutional orientation" is not of itself a cause of trouble in a hostel.

The second component has its highest loading on defensiveness. Its next highest loading is on favourable attitude to aggression, and this suggests that not all those who say they favour aggression do so in fact. The correlation of ·39 with failure rate is not significant.

The third component has its highest loadings on discussing problems (negative), harshness (negative) and suppression of affect (positive). A

high scorer on this component would be anxious to avoid discussing problems with a probationer, being tough with him, or letting him show his feelings. In short, he would wish to avoid scenes. The component correlates significantly with failure rate ($p=·05$). This fits well with the research worker's impression that the root of a hostel's problem often lay in a warden's desire to keep his emotional distance from the probationer, but that there were different methods of doing this. The warden could keep his distance through rigid, cold discipline or he could avoid the probationers and let them do what they liked".

12.6 Discussion

Despite the reservations given at the beginning of this chapter, the results from the intensive sample are sufficiently in keeping with common sense and with other data to be worth serious consideration. The following interpretation is suggested.

A successful probation hostel regime must satisfy two requirements, that is it must:

(*a*) Allow feelings and problems to come out into the open (hence the correlation of emotional distance and unwillingness to discuss problems with failure rate).

(*b*) See that the boys know where they stand (hence the importance of consistency of attitude between warden and matron and the correlation of permissiveness with failure rate).

As one warden put it, "The problem is to keep them in order without scaring them away."

But the correlations suggest that it is difficult to combine warmth and a willingness to discuss problems with strictness and this in turn suggests a fundamental problem that may affect other methods of treatment as well as hostels. A hostel must attempt to deal with the boys' underlying feelings and may, therefore, aim to encourage the expression of these feelings. This is presumably easier in a permissive regime. On the other hand, a hostel must also try to satisfy the boys' need for security and limits. This may be more difficult in a permissive regime.

Faced with this problem, some wardens may tend toward permissive solutions and others toward strict ones. In extreme forms, these may lead to the breakdowns in discipline or warmth described in the case histories. Both these extreme reactions could be interpreted as devices to avoid scenes, either by ensuring that the hostel runs like clockwork and no scenes arise, or by trying to avoid stepping on the boys' toes. So the interpretation of component 3 as an unwillingness to accept scenes can account for its significant correlation with failure rate.

If this interpretation is correct, a study of the case histories indicates that the problem is not insoluble. It does seem possible to combine a willingness to discuss problems with the imposition of fairly strict limits, if the warden is capable of imposing these limits and also has available the

innate understanding, training or expert advice to enable him to discuss problems with the boys. Such a solution is essentially one of keeping the regime strict but increasing the understanding of the warden.

The correlation of the permissiveness and attitude difference scores suggests an alternative theoretical solution, which would consist of keeping the regime permissive but trying to secure unity of staff attitudes possibly through group discussions. If the staff presented a united and consistent front, they might give the residents the sense of knowing where they stand which may be lacking in some permissive hostels.

Taken with other results, the findings do add force to the overall picture which has been building up. They suggest that hostels likely to have low failure rates are those in which the warden is able to combine emotional warmth, as found, for example, in a willingness to discuss the boys' problems, with a clear definition of what is expected and an ability to control the boys.

NOTES

1. Seventeen wardens were contacted, but one declined to co-operate after a disagreement with the Home Office.

2. In the hostel in which the warden entered in November 1964, the boys entering before that date were not considered.

3. Where a warden's score equalled the median, the division was made into those scoring above the average value and those scoring below.

4. In this chapter, all calculations involving significance tests have been done using the transformation $p' = \text{arc sin } \sqrt{p}$. This helps to equalise the variance.

5. An analysis of variance divided the treatment effect into an emotional distance effect, a withdrawal of affection effect and an interaction effect but the interaction effect was not significant. ($F = 3{\cdot}59$; $df = 1$ and $df = 12$ $p < {\cdot}1$.)

6. These component analyses were done in collaboration with Miss Brenda Chapman of the Home Office Research Unit.

7. But again, individual wardens who scored high on this component were not always those of whom this seemed to be most true. It is unlikely that the questionnaire could be used to make judgments about individuals.

CHAPTER 13

Reconviction Inside and Outside the Hostel

13.1 Introduction

This is the last chapter to give fresh empirical findings. It takes its data from the background sample, and returns to the hostel system as a whole. It gives the overall reconviction rates of the hostels and the different reconviction rates of different types of boy.

The chapter is not an evaluation of hostels, since this would require a comparison with similar boys who received different treatment. However, it is relevant to the overall aims of the hostels, and to the criticisms sometimes expressed that hostel residence is too short to provide security for the homeless, or a permanent lodging for those from very bad homes.

The analysis to be described will examine the time at which hostel probationers are reconvicted, i.e. whether they are reconvicted in the hostel or later when they leave. The way in which this procedure can cast light on the more general characteristics of hostel treatment (over and above the effects of differences between wardens) will become clear as the chapter goes on. It is hoped that it will help to correct a bias in the report, which has so far concentrated on the year in the hostel and the difference between regimes, rather than on the subsequent careers of hostel residents, and the general differences between the outside community and the hostel environment.

13.2 Background Factors Considered

The information available on the background sample covered criminal history, behaviour and work record, experience of institutions, previous history and present home environment. All these areas have been stated by others to be important in predicting adjustment to a probation hostel, although, as shown earlier, opinions differ on the relevance of criminal history and work record. All factors which had been coded in the study were analysed against reconviction, within both one and three years of arrival at the hostel.

13.3 Previous Criminal History

Three factors from the criminal histories of the sample were considered. These were whether or not a boy had taken and driven away, whether he had been convicted (found guilty) before the age of 11, and his number of previous convictions. Taking and driving away was included since it had been found to be significantly associated with failure in one of the pilot studies. Conviction before the age of 11 was included since some have felt that this points against hostel placement. In fact, however, only the number of previous convictions was significantly related to subsequent convictions within either one or three years of arrival at the hostel. Table 47 gives the relevant data for the background sample and Table 48 for the reconviction sample.

Table 47

Reconvictions Related to Previous Convictions

Previous Convictions	1st Year Reconvictions		2nd/3rd year Reconvictions		Success		Total
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	
No record	0	0	0	0	3	100	3
1	35	29	33	39	52	43	120
2	44	36	38	48	41	33	123
3	37	46	25	58	18	23	80
4	27	48	20	69	9	16	56
5+	23	50	13	57	10	22	46
Total	166	39	129	49	133	31	428

Source: Background sample.

NOTE: 1. One boy died and is omitted.
2. All percentages are percentages of those at risk.

Table 48

Reconvictions Related to Previous Convictions

Previous Convictions	1st year Reconvictions		2nd/3rd year Reconvictions		Success		Total	
		%		%		%		%
No record	3	14	0	0	18	86	21	100
1	18	39	11	39	17	37	46	100
2	54	54	20	44	26	26	100	100
3	47	58	19	56	15	19	81	100
4	27	66	6	44	8	20	41	100
5+	33	66	11	65	6	12	50	100
?	2	40	2	67	1	20	5	100
Total	184	54	69	43	91	27	344	100

Source: Reconviction sample.

NOTE: 1. Three boys on whom no criminal record was available left the hostel as the result of an absconding or offence and are considered to have been reconvicted.
2. All percentages are based on those at risk.

Over three years, 68·9% of the background sample and 73·5% of the reconviction sample were known to have been convicted of a Home Office Standard List Offence or breach of probation which resulted in placement in an approved school or borstal. The two samples differ in that a higher proportion of the reconviction sample were reconvicted in the first year, a result of the high failure rate regimes included in that sample. Overall, the two reconviction rates are similar and seem comparable to those of approved schools and borstals, which are intended for more confirmed delinquents. Boys with a higher number of previous convictions are more likely to be reconvicted both in the hostel and out of it.

13.4 Previous Institutionalisation

Cooks[1] and others have held that previous institutional treatment is associated with failure in a probation hostel. Four variables coded in the background sample were considered relevant to this hypothesis. These were whether the boy had ever been in an approved school or borstal or detention centre, in a children's home, in a special school, or in a maladjusted school.

Only eight boys were known to have been in a maladjusted school, and although seven of these were reconvicted within three years, the number was too small for any conclusion to be drawn. Similarly, four of the six who had been in a special school were reconvicted, but again the number was too small for any conclusion.

More interesting are the careers of those who had been in an approved school or borstal or detention centre. There were 39 of these and 44% were reconvicted in the first year as against 39% of the others. The final reconviction rate of 70% was approximately the same as that of the whole sample. This finding should be regarded with caution. Hostel wardens prefer to avoid approved school and borstal boys and they may take only those who have some other compensating factor in their background[2].

As with approved school and borstal boys, hostel staff tend to feel that children's home boys are difficult and they have a stereotype of being either boot-lickers to the staff or trouble-makers among the residents. Experience of a children's home appeared at first sight to be related to reconviction in the expected manner, 48% of those with this experience being reconvicted in the first year as against 38% of the others. Taken over three years the difference narrows to four percentage points, those who had been in a children's home being slightly more likely to be reconvicted during the time that they were in a probation hostel.

13.5 Behaviour

Information on the boys' behaviour covered their behaviour at home, whether they had been judged beyond control or had come voluntarily under the supervision of a probation officer, and whether they had pilfered or had wandered from home. None of these variables was significantly related to reconviction, although the final reconviction rate for wanderers was high—77% over the three years—and the figures for pilferers were suggestive, 44% being reconvicted within one year, and 75% within three.

The relationship of work record to reconviction is more complicated, since, as shown in Appendix 8, it does become an important factor when a boy goes into lodgings. Over the whole sample, however, there is no relationship between reconviction and the boys' general work record as assessed from the court reports, nor between reconviction and whether or not the boy was out of work at the time the condition of residence was made. Again, this may be due to sampling errors or to the fact that the information used was unreliable. It seems unlikely, however, that this can be the whole story. The explanation may be that hostels benefit those with poor work records, or that those who do not have poor records are sent to the hostel for some other equally serious problem, or that the work record is itself a symptom of a variety of causes, some predictive of hostel failure and others not.

880639 E 3

13.6 Unsettled Backgrounds

Cooks found that fairground attendants, hawkers and gipsies did not settle to hostel life.[3] He felt that the reason for this was their previous nomad existence. Other wardens expressed similar opinions in interviews. Homeless boys, boys who had at any time lived in lodgings, boys who had slept rough and boys of no fixed address were all stated by different wardens to be "runners" or high absconding risks. The reason they gave varied, some believing that homeless boys had gained the habit of withdrawing from situations and others that the discomfort and hopelessness of their previous lives had deprived absconding of its terrors. Monger[4] suggests that homeless boys may have difficulty in forming appropriate relationships in the hostel, either withdrawing from human contact or making unduly heavy demands on the staff.

Five factors examined in the research were relevant to the hypothesis that unsettled backgrounds make it difficult for the boys to settle in a probation hostel. These factors were: whether a boy had ever been separated from home for a period of a year or more, not counting time spent in approved schools; whether he had ever been in a children's home; whether he had ever left home and lived on his own, or joined the Services etc. ("home leaver"); whether he was homeless at the time of placement; and whether he had lived with more than one family.

These factors are all related to reconviction in the first year in the expected manner; but only with the variable "lived with more than one family" is the relationship significant, 47% of such boys being reconvicted in the first year as opposed to 35% of the others. ($\chi^2=5{\cdot}08$; df=1; $p<{\cdot}05$.) Taken over three years, however, the difference between the two groups narrows to three percentage points, those who had lived with more than one family being significantly more likely to have their reconviction in their hostel year rather than later. Table 49 sets out the relevant data.

Table 49

Year of Reconviction and Experience of More than One Family

	Year of Reconviction							
	Year 1		*Year 2*		*Year 3*		*Total*	
		%		%		%		%
Lived with more than one family	63	66	25	26	8	8	96	100
Others	99	51	69	36	25	13	193	100
Total	162	56	94	32	33	12	289	100

Source: Background sample.

χ^2 for trend=4·84, df=1; $p<{\cdot}05$

66% of the failures who had lived with more than one family were reconvicted in the first year as opposed to 51% of the others. One possible explanation is that boys who have lived with more than one family may have experienced a number of rejections and may therefore be more likely to test out the hostel on arrival[5]. Case 6 may stand as an example.

Case 6

Case 6 had three previous convictions. For the first, larceny of a pedalcycle, he had been placed on probation for three years. For a second offence, of house-breaking, he was sent to an approved school, and for a further offence of breaking and entering he was placed on probation.

The boy was illegitimate and his original home was very unsatisfactory. His mother died on his return from approved school and his licence had had to be revoked on this account. On licence from approved school, he was placed in lodgings, where his landlord at first competed with the probation service for his supervision and then rejected him. At the time of his arrival at the probation hostel he was aged 17, and had just spent seven weeks in prison on remand.

Despite his poor background, his behaviour does not seem to have caused concern. He left the approved school with a very good report and since that time had held two jobs, at both of which he was well spoken of. The probation officer described him as "an orphan who has lacked adult support and has been greatly disturbed by continual rejection by people he has expected to help him". In summary, the officer wrote: "A longer period in an institution would cause a deterioration or hardening effect. A probation hostel would provide the supervision he needs and equip him for a better start." However, he absconded from the probation hostel and was sentenced to borstal training. At the end of 1964 he had not, as far as is known, been reconvicted.

The hypothesis that the comparatively poor hostel performance of such boys is due to a desire to test out the hostel should be viewed with caution. Boys who have lived with more than one family are significantly less likely to come to the hostel direct from a poor home. It will be shown that boys from poor homes are apparently made less likely to offend by being in a hostel. The good performance of these boys in the hostel will, of course, make it appear that other boys do comparatively badly.

13.7 Unsatisfactory Families

Probation hostels are intended for those whose delinquency is related to their home background. The relationship, however, is varied. Delinquency may be the cause as well as the result of an unsatisfactory home, the connection may be through heredity, or past stress may have produced a personality change which, rather than present stress, is the cause of a boy's offence. These distinctions are important since they may help to explain a boy's response to a hostel. Cases 7 and 8 illustrate some of the points made above.

Case 7

Case 7 had one previous offence—assault with intent to rob—for which he was sentenced to a detention centre. The offence for which he arrived at a probation hostel was indecent assault. At the time he was 16.

880639 E 4

Unlike most, this boy had satisfactory parents. His father was hard-working and conscientious, disappointed at the relationship between himself and his son, and his mother was also described as very concerned. Both parents hoped that he would not be sent away.

The boy was difficult in various ways. He did not get on with his brother or invalid uncle, refused to ride in a car which his father had bought, and indoors he seldom spoke a completed sentence. If he gave his mother a present, he did it in a very abrupt manner. However, it was said that he was trustworthy and often did odd jobs about the house.

At the age of 7 he had been referred to the Child Guidance Clinic with school behaviour problems. He had been enuretic till the age of 9. At present he was stated to be keen on football, and engaged in a body-building course. The only other detail of his behaviour noted was that he kept nude photographs under his pillow.

A possible explanation for his behaviour was his early history. At fifteen months he had been separated from his parents due to the war and had contracted scarlet fever, measles and impetigo. His parents returned six months later.

The boy absconded from the hostel and later committed an offence while at it. However, he lasted out his twelve months, and is not known to have been subsequently reconvicted.

Case 8

Case 8 was placed on probation, with a condition of residence, for breaking and entering. He had two previous convictions: larceny, for which he was placed on probation for one year, and an offence of larceny with taking and driving away, for which he was placed on probation for three years and ordered to attend at an attendance centre. On arrival at the hostel he was aged 17.

His background was unfortunate. His father was away at sea for most of the time and his mother was stated to be severely mentall/ ill. At the time of the offence of breaking and entering he had been missing for one week, but his mother had made no enquiries about him. She was stated to have no interest in the boy whatsoever.

At school he had been amenable to discipline and generally satisfactory, truthful and honest, but " towards the end he appeared to be unco-operative ". As a result of home conditions he was never in, and " mixed with the wrong types in public houses, coffee bars etc." Since leaving school he had had ten jobs and the probation officer described him as " petulant, surly, unhappy, very insecure, really does not know what he wants in life, is certainly not a leader ". This boy lasted out his time in a probation hostel and was reconvicted in his second year away from it.

On comparing these two cases, some interesting features emerge. First, whereas the behaviour of Case 8, might be seen in part as the reaction to an unsatisfactory home, Case 7, whose home is also rather unsatisfactory, appears to have played a part in making it so. This does not mean that

Case 7's early unfortunate history had nothing to do with his present behaviour, but rather that, in assessing the impact of environment, a clear distinction should be made between present and past environment. The second point of interest is that whereas Case 8 did not commit an offence in the hostel, but did so on his return to his original environment, Case 7 offended at the hostel but not subsequently. Are these two cases indicative of any general pattern?

13.8 Definition of Unsatisfactory Family

It was recognised early in the study that delinquency might be a cause as well as the result of an unsatisfactory home and an attempt was made to isolate features of home background that would normally be thought unsatisfactory, but which would not usually be thought to result from a boy's behaviour. The first pilot study covered 131 consecutive cases taken into a 15 to 18 year hostel, and in this study two aspects of the home were particularly considered. These were absence of adequate masculine control, and presence of clear symptoms of social breakdown in other members (unsatisfactory family)[6]. The actual instructions used for coding these two concepts were:

Unsatisfactory Family

A delinquent is coded as having an unsatisfactory family[7] if there are any of the following signs:

(*a*) There is a marital situation leading to actual fights, separation, prolonged non-speaking, etc.

(*b*) Family is referred to as a problem family (children in care for neglect, etc.).

(*c*) There is a mental history in either parent, who is receiving treatment and at home.

(*d*) There is actual malicious or aggressive behaviour from either parent to probationer (e.g. father assaults him, sets traps for him, mother on probation for neglect, having thrown him out, etc. Do not count financial stress).

(*e*) He has a criminal family (any member with criminal conviction). N.B. Avoid counting cases where boy is said to be unhappy at home and no reason is given or it is suggested that unhappiness is the result of his behaviour.

Inadequate Masculine Control

A boy is coded as having inadequate masculine control if his home shows any of the following signs:

(*a*) " Father " is dead, absent, 60 plus, 25 minus (e.g. older brother, etc.), chronic invalid, mentally hospitalised or under treatment, chronically out of work, away at sea or in the Army. " Father " means father or substitute.

(*b*) Probation officer comments on father's indulgence, indifference or ineffectiveness.

(*c*) The boy is out of work and making no efforts, and probation officer comments on lack of push from parents.
N.B. Avoid counting cases where boy is out of control in some sense and none of the above reasons is given.

On the basis of these definitions, the cases were divided into four groups. These were:

Class A1—Those who have an unsatisfactory family but not absence of masculine control.

Class A2—Those who have an unsatisfactory family and absence of masculine control.

Class B—Those who have absence of masculine control but not an unsatisfactory family.

Class C—The remainder.

These classes were then analysed against a criterion[8] which was taken as the commission of an offence or an absconding while at the hostel. Table 50 sets out the results of this analysis.

Table 50

Home Background and Adjustment to Hostel

Class	*Absconded or Offended*	%	*Others*	%	*Total*	%
A1	2	17	10	83	12	100
A2	8	32	17	68	25	100
B	10	24	32	76	42	100
C...	30	59	21	41	51	100
Total	50	38	80	62	130	100

Source: Pilot study.

$\chi^2=14\cdot76$; df=2; $p<\cdot001$
(A1 and A2 Amalgamated).

Classes A1, A2 and B can all be said to have environmental problems and only 25·3% of the boys in these classes absconded or offended as opposed to 59% of the remainder. At the time this analysis was first made, it was felt that it would provide a powerful predictor of success in a hostel. However, the variable "inadequate masculine control" was not significantly related to the criterion used in any of the subsequent pilot studies, nor was a modified version of this variable significantly related to reconviction in the main study[9].

13.9 Subsequent Pilot Studies

The three subsequent pilots[10], however, all showed a consistent relation between the variable "unsatisfactory family" and the criterion. These studies were done on hostels covering different age-groups and with widely differing failure rates, and this gave rise to confidence that the relationship was a real one. Table 51 shows the relationship found between this variable and absconding or committing an offence while at the hostel.

Table 51

Unsatisfactory Family and Adjustment to Hostel

		HOSTEL 2					*HOSTEL 3*					*HOSTEL 4*				
		Absconded or Offended	%	*Others*	%	*Total* %	*Absconded or Offended*	%	*Others*	%	*Total* %	*Absconded or Offended*	%	*Others*	%	*Total* %
Unsatisfactory	family	2	11	17	89	19 100	8	27	22	73	30 100	11	44	14	56	25 100
Other	... ...	20	26	57	74	77 100	21	39	33	61	54 100	23	62	14	38	37 100
Total	... ...	22	23	74	77	96 100	29	35	55	65	84 100	34	55	28	45	62 100

Source: Pilot studies, amalgamating the results by Cochran's procedure.

$z=2\cdot267$ ($p<\cdot02$ one-tailed test).

13.10 Data from Background Sample

Data from the background sample make it possible to examine what happens to boys from unsatisfactory families when they leave the hostel. Table 52 sets out the relevant data. In this table alcoholic parents are included as a criterion of an unsatisfactory family.

Table 52

Unsatisfactory Family and Year of Reconviction

	Year of Reconviction *Year 1*	%	*Year 2*	%	*Year 3*	%	*Not reconvicted*	%	*Total*	%
Unsatisfactory family ...	43	35	28	23	16	13	36	29	123	100
Others	119	41	67	23	17	6	88	30	291	100
Total	162	39	95	23	33	8	124	30	414	100

Source: Background sample.

Considering those reconvicted: χ^2 for trend=4·76; df=1; $p<\cdot05$.

Taken over three years, the reconviction rates of those from unsatisfactory families and the others are almost the same, being 71% and 70% respectively[11]. As can be seen, however, a lower percentage of those from poor families were reconvicted in their first year in the hostel, an equal percentage in their first year away from it and a higher percentage in their second year away from it. The difference between the two trends is significant.

Considering those who survived the hostel period but were reconvicted in years two and three, there was a significant tendency for those from unsatisfactory families to be reconvicted in year three rather than in year two ($\chi^2=3\cdot93$; df=1 ; $p<\cdot05$).

The fact that, taken over three years, the reconviction rates are the same for those from unsatisfactory families as for the others suggests that the former may benefit more from their time in the hostel, but that their resistance is gradually worn away on their return.

These findings are supported when those boys in whose case the probation officer emphasised the importance of removal from home are compared with the remainder.

Table 53

Year of Failure, Removal from Home Group and Others

	Year of Reconviction						*Not*		*Total*	
	Year 1		*Year 2*		*Year 3*		*Reconvicted*			
		%		%		%		%		%
Removal emphasised ...	63	32	51	26	20	10	61	31	195	100
Removal not emphasised	99	45	44	20	13	6	63	29	219	100
Total	162	39	95	23	33	8	124	30	414	100

Source: Background sample.
Considering those reconvicted: χ^2 for trend=8·06; df=1; p<·005.

32% of those whose removal from home is stressed were reconvicted in the first year as opposed to 45% of the others. This difference is significant (χ^2=7·2; df=1; p<·01). Again, however, the final reconviction figures for the two groups are much the same, being 69% for one group and 71% for the other.

There is a highly significant tendency for reconvictions among the removal from home group to take place in years two and three. The table therefore provides evidence that probation officers can pick out those whose delinquencies are particularly connected with their homes, and that the officers' opinion that these boys will do better away from home is justified, at least in the short run.

Theoretically, it still remains possible that the comparatively good performance in the hostel of boys whose removal from home is emphasised is due to something in the hostel that makes the others more likely to fail. It is important to find out whether the first class did better than they would have done if left in their homes, or the second class worse than they would have done if left in their homes. For this, it is necessary to compare both classes with a sample who did not go to hostels. For this purpose, a random sample of probationers which excluded those sent to hostels was used. The sample was aged 17 to 21 and was placed on probation in 1958[12].

The overall reconviction rate of the probation sample was 42·9% over three years[13]. Table 54 compares the percentage reconvicted in the first year, the percentage of first year survivors who were reconvicted in the second year and the percentage of those surviving the first and second year who were reconvicted in the third.

Table 54

Variation in Reconviction Rate by Year

	Reconviction Rate		
	Year 1	*Year 2*	*Year 3*
	%	%	%
Probation sample (n=520)... ...	22·7	15·4	11·4
Background sample A (n=219) ...	45·2	36·7	17·1
Background sample B (n=195) ...	32.3	38·6	24·7

Source: Probation and Background samples.

NOTE 1. Background sample A are those in whose cases removal from home was not emphasised. Background sample B are the remainder.
NOTE 2. All percentages are based on numbers at risk.

The yearly reconviction rate of the probation sample and the hostel sample whose removal from home was not emphasised declined over the three years This decline occurs in almost all samples of offenders, and is partly due to the fact that the worst risks are weeded out earlier. This trend, however, is temporarily reversed in the case of the hostel group whose removal from home was emphasised. In the second year, the reconviction rate of this group rises by six percentage points instead of falling by nine or seven percentage points as does that of the others. Taken with the other findings, this result strongly suggests that those whose removal from home was emphasised were less likely to be reconvicted in the hostel than they would have been if they had remained at home.

13.11 Summary and Discussion

Three groups of findings stand out in this chapter; these are the high reconviction rate, the comparatively poor performance in the hostel of those who have lived with more than one family, and the ability of the hostels to contain those from poor homes. The last of these findings may explain the second.

The high reconviction rate may arise either from the poor quality of the boys sent to the hostels, or the hostels' poor performance with them, or both. At first sight it might seem that the reconviction rate was due to the hostels' poor performance. However, it is becoming clear in as yet unpublished research in the probation project that in some cases probation officers' judgments do predict reconviction better than does the number of previous convictions. Boys sent to probation hostels are all selected for factors such as poor homes and bad work records which are known to be related to probability of reconviction, and it would certainly be impossible to evaluate probation hostels by using base expectancies relying on age and previous convictions. One cannot, therefore, assume that hostel reconviction rates compare badly with, say, those of approved schools. However, the high reconviction rate is unsatisfactory on any assumption since probation hostels are not intended for confirmed delinquents.

Boys who have lived with more than one family do comparatively poorly while in the hostel, and Appendix 8 produces some evidence that they are morely likely to be reconvicted if they return home instead of going to lodgings. This suggests that homeless boys may be unable to tolerate the close personal relations found in a hostel or a family group. Certainly the findings do not support the view expressed in some books on casework that every effort should always be made to effect reconciliations and enable homeless boys to return home. More detailed research on these matters might be of considerable value to probation officers who must make treatment plans for homeless offenders.

The ability of hostels to contain boys from poor homes will come as no surprise to those who have worked in the field. The fact that children from poor backgrounds cause little trouble in reception homes has been noted by Lewis[14] and was stated to be true in maladjusted schools by Jones[15], who also cites evidence from France in support of his view. The existence of

environmental offenders has been raised as a practical problem of after-care for probation hostels by Cooks[16] and Grygier[17], for maladjusted schools by Wills[18] and for approved schools by Williams[19] and Scott[20]. In relation to sending approved school boys to sea, it has recently been discussed by Clarke[21]. It is hoped that the provision of statistical evidence may encourage the search for a solution.

NOTES

1. Cooks, R. A. F., *Home Office Approved Probation Hostels,* Justice of the Peace, 1956.

2. Wardens are wary of those with approved school and borstal experience, not only because they feel that they are likely to fail but also because they feel that they cause difficulty in the hostel. They are said to be institutionally experienced, capable of "ducking out of training" and liable to cause trouble behind the scenes and to become heroes of the other boys.

3. Cooks, R. A. F., op. cit.

4. Monger, M., *Casework in Probation,* London, Butterworths, 1964, p.182.

5. Cf. Stott, D., *Saving Children from Delinquency,* University of London Press, 1952, p. 121.

6. It is not denied that some of the families coded as unsatisfactory on the criteria which follow may have become so as the result of the delinquent concerned. For example, marital discord may arise over a delinquent's behaviour and cease when he is removed. However, such cases seem to be the exception.

7. The word "family" in the definitions given above refers to the family unit with which the probationer was living at the time of the offence resulting in hostel placement. Family unit included relatives, foster parents and friends of the family, but did not include lodgings or hostels. If he was in lodgings or a hostel or on the run at the time of his offence, family referred to the last family unit with which he was living. The situation at home was considered to be the situation as at the time he committed the offence or at the last time he was there. Homeless probationers, that is probationers who had not been living at home for at least a month and who were unable to return to their homes, could not be counted as having an unsatisfactory family or as having inadequate masculine control.

8. This criterion was the one used in all the pilot studies. It has certain advantages from a statistical point of view since it makes the number of unsuccessful cases more nearly equal to the number of successful ones. It was not possible to use it on the main sample due to lack of relevant information.

9. In one regime studied, boys with inadequate masculine control did worse than others, thus suggesting a possible interaction effect.

10. The hostels in the four pilot studies were chosen because they had available sets of records. The details were as follows:

Hostel 1 131 consecutive records. 1 case missing. 15–18 age range.

Hostel 2 96 consecutive records. No cases missing. 15–18 age range.

Hostel 3 84 consecutive records. 5 cases missing. 16–19 age range.

Hostel 4 62 records. Unknown number missing. 16–19 age range.

In each hostel the records were taken from one regime only. There was no reason to suppose that the presence or absence of the attribute "unsatisfactory family" was related to presence or absence of a record and therefore no reason to suppose that the missing cases biased the result. The first two sets of records were coded by J. D. Moffett, a trained probation officer, formerly of Watford Probation Office, and the next two by Erica O'Leary, a research colleague. All coding was done without knowledge of the result.

11. Satisfactory records could not be obtained on 14 boys. In Table 52 as in subsequent ones, these 14 are omitted. This causes reconviction rate to rise slightly.

12. Mrs. Simon's data, Home Office Research Unit.

13. This difference in the reconviction rate between the probation and the hostel sample raises difficulties, if one wishes to compare them. If a group of 100 offenders had a 90% chance of reconviction in any one year, then 90 would be expected to fail in the first year and only 9 in the second. If, on the other hand, the equivalent risk was only 10%, then 10 would be expected to fail in the first year and 9 in the second. This difference in the relative proportion of offenders failing in the first and second year would arise simply from the different levels of risk in the two samples.

14. Lewis, H., *Deprived Children: The Mersham Experiment; A Social and Clinical Study,* Oxford University Press, 1954, p.81.

15. Jones, H., *Reluctant Rebels,* Tavistock Publications, 1960, p.76.

16. Cooks, R. A. F., op. cit.

17. Spencer, J. C. and Grygier, T., "The Probation Hostel in England", *Focus,* November 1952, p.19.

18. Wills, D., *Throw Away Thy Rod,* London, Gollancz Ltd., 1960, p.157.

19. Williams, P. E., "Post-Release Hostel", *Approved School Gazette,* January 1966, p.415.

20. Scott, P. D., "Approved School Success Rates", *British Journal of Criminology,* Vol. 4, No. 6, October 1964.

21. Clarke, R. V. G., "Success Rates of H.M.S. Formidable", *Approved School Gazette,* December 1965, p.369.

CHAPTER 14

Summary and Discussion

14.1 Introduction

The main findings have been given. This chapter summarises the argument and then discusses some of its possible theoretical and practical implications.

14.2 Summary

The research began with a literature survey which highlighted the vital importance of the warden, and the problems of recruiting staff, and selecting the right boys for hostels. Some writers traced these difficulties to uncertainty about the aims behind hostels; no one knew whether they were training institutions or homes, so no one could decide which probationers should be sent to them, how long they should stay, or how much money should be spent on the staff.

The origins of this uncertainty are historical. Probation hostels were first conceived as "homes", but later the Probation Hostel Rules laid down that they were to be training institutions, and this use seems to be foremost in the minds of probation officers and courts. 69% of the reports in the background sample stressed the training that hostels provide, and only 14% the support. Other reasons for recommending hostel placement included the importance of moving the offenders from home (52% of the sample), homelessness (16% of the sample) and poor localities (12% of the sample).

These reasons relate to the boys' backgrounds and characteristics. The residents were younger than the age range of hostels would lead one to expect. Most had already been on probation, but they were unlikely to have as many convictions as a boy entering an approved school, borstal, or detention centre. Their homes were generally bad and sometimes very bad; only 15% could be rated as good. Information on their behaviour was frequently thought to be sketchy, but, even so, 23% were known to have pilfered, 17% to have wandered from home, and 53% to have been very troublesome at home or in the places where they were living. 38% had work records assessed as bad or very bad, and 36% were believed to spend their leisure purposelessly or in bad company.

The boys must have presented the courts with a dilemma. They could not be left at home; their homes were too bad or they themselves too recalcitrant; yet they were too young or too difficult to be placed in lodgings, and they had not committed enough offences to justify approved school or borstal. Hostels provided a solution to this dilemma. They avoided the stigma of approved schools and borstals, removed the boy from home, and provided the desired control.

Hostels are asked by the courts to train some difficult adolescents and this is doubtless partly responsible for the strict discipline found in the hostel system. At 10 of the 16 regimes in the intensive survey the boys could not turn on the television without permission; three-weekly haircuts

were demanded in all but one, and time out was usually limited to three nights a week. A general emphasis on religion, work and the constructive use of leisure was backed by sanctions and sensible advice. However, any general picture of the hostels is misleading, since they vary widely with the wardens in charge, and some wardens are more permissive than others.

The wardens face the stressful task of controlling some 20 heterogeneous probationers, and, for a variety of reasons, they do not always receive adequate support from the committee, probation service and assistant wardens.

The wardens and liaison probation officers differ in training, role, status and responsibility. The warden has responsibility for the hostel as a whole and the probation officer for individual members in it. Conflicts tend to occur over absconders when the warden wishes the liaison officer to take a stronger line to deter others. If there are more abscondings, differences of opinion tend to increase, depriving the warden of support when he needs it most.

Most wardens get on with their committees, but also tend to regard the members as non-professional people not equipped to offer them advice. The committee is often ignorant of what is happening in the hostel and has difficulty in providing the sort of guidance and support that are thought essential in other forms of social work.

The strains on the warden and matron are made worse by lack of holiday and free weekends. They are reluctant to leave the hostel in charge of their assistants—even when they have them. (The average number of abscondings doubled in months when warden or matron were away.) Wardens in the intensive sample rated 53% of their past assistants as unsatisfactory or very unsatisfactory. A further survey showed that assistants were often young and probably inexperienced, and that an estimated 50% left within seven months.

In the face of these strains, the wardens hold attitudes that are similar to those found in other disciplinary institutions, but their reactions vary, and the strains themselves are more severe at some times than others. There are striking variations in the results achieved. Under different wardens, the number of boys leaving as the result of an absconding or offence ranged from 13·5% to 78·5%. These "failure rates" were highly correlated with the proportion reconvicted within one year of entering the hostels. However, with the exception of one regime, the differences in behaviour seemed limited to the period the boys spent in the hostel. The differences were not explained by selection, nor by hostel factors such as age range, area, committee, liaison probation officer, or the policy of the local court. Severe sentences on absconders did not apparently act as a deterrent.

At first sight all depended on the warden's personality. This seemed to determine not only the number of boys failing but also the type of boy most likely to fail.

Under some wardens, older boys were more likely to fail, and under others, younger. Some wardens took back few absconders, of whom most failed: others took back more absconders and had better success with them. But contrary to general belief, the warden did not account for all, and even given

the same warden, the failure rate could change sharply over time. The evidence suggests that in the long run the warden determines the success rate of the hostel; in the short run, the most successful warden may be caught in circumstances he cannot control.

The statistics were supplemented by case studies, and these suggested that successful regimes showed a common pattern; the discipline was strict but the warden was kind, had an understanding of the boys' problems and was well supported by his wife. In unsuccessful regimes, the discipline was ineffective or harsh, or the warden ill-supported by his wife. The one regime which seemed to affect boys after they left was run by a warden who was heavily involved with the boys, was prepared to withdraw his affection and refused to accept a superficial response.

The intensive sample was used to make statistical tests of the hypotheses arising from the case studies. In this sample, wardens with non-permissive regimes were likely to have low failure rates, but were also likely to express the emotionally distant attitudes and unwillingness to discuss problems associated with lack of success. As in the case studies, it was the rather unusual combination of strictness and warmth that seemed most likely to be effective. There was, however, evidence that permissiveness did not cause high failure rates directly but rather through its association with differences in attitude between warden and matron.

These findings suggested the hypothesis that hostel boys need the knowledge that they are liked, and a clear definition of what they must do to keep this liking.

A component analysis of the scores on the staff attitude questionnaire suggested the further hypothesis that this is most likely to be so if the warden is not afraid of emotional confrontations. The warden can avoid these scenes by imposing a cold distant regime or by refusing to stand up to the boys. Both these tactics seem to be associated with high failure rates.

The backgrounds of hostel boys, the common features of hostel treatment and the variations between hostels produce the overall results. At first sight, these are not encouraging. In two large samples, approximately seven out of ten boys were reconvicted within three years of entering the hostel. Their chances of reconviction rose with their number of previous convictions, but the times at which they were likely to be reconvicted varied with their home background. Homeless boys were more likely to be reconvicted while they were in the hostel. Boys from unsatisfactory families were less likely to be reconvicted in the hostels than on return home; it did seem that the hostels contained these boys, providing them with at least one year in which their lives were not jagged and full of stress.

14.3 Theoretical Implications of Research: Importance of Environment

Action to remedy social ills should be based on a sound theory. One must, therefore, examine the theoretical implications of the research before any possible practical applications. As suggested in the first chapter, these theoretical implications are mainly concerned with the effect of the environment on delinquency, and with the problems of running small institutions.

There are great variations in the reconviction rates of boys while they are in different regimes, but similar variations are not found among those who have left the regimes. Boys from poor homes are comparatively less likely to offend in a hostel and comparatively more likely to offend on their return home. These findings are two sides of the same coin; both emphasise the importance of the delinquent's immediate environment or "primary group" rather than his past history. This conclusion is similar to that of Hartshorne and May[1] who reported that cheating, lying and stealing among school classes depended more on the group and the teacher with whom the child found himself than upon any characteristic of the child himself.

If the primary group is so important, the next question to ask is what characteristics of the group tend to encourage or inhibit delinquency. Here again the present research is in keeping with other findings which emphasise the importance of the adults in the group rather than the other members. The McCords[2], for example, have shown that a child's chance of becoming delinquent depends more on his family than his neighbourhood. Similarly, a probationer's chance of failing in a probation hostel depends on the warden and not apparently on the other probationers he finds there[3].

Moreover, there is a striking similarity between the hostels and the families that seem most likely to discourage delinquency. Thus Davies[4] found that easily the most important family factors in the successful avoidance of further trouble are that the father should be "firm but kindly" (or even overstrict), and that there should be mutual warmth and affection between him and his son. He also found that lack of family cohesiveness was highly associated with reconviction. Davies' findings on the family are similar to those of the McCords[5] and Robins[6]. It is not, therefore, surprising that strict but kindly wardens seem likely to achieve the best results or that agreement in attitude between warden and matron is so important.

However, the findings of the present research on the importance of the primary group in causing delinquency are not in conflict with other findings on the importance of personality; rather they suggest a simple method of approaching the diagnosis of delinquents. If a delinquent comes from a home which is disordered for reasons outside his control, he may be regarded as a prima facie "environmental offender", and there are grounds for thinking that he will be less likely to offend away from home and that he may even derive some temporary benefit from being removed. Delinquents from good homes may be suspected of having more serious personality problems[7].

The main justification for a typology of this sort must be its relevance to treatment, and it seems likely that environmental offenders do have different treatment needs. However, it is also important to relate the typology to other treatment typologies, for example the inter-personal maturity classification used in much Californian research or the classification based on Eysenck's model of personality.

However, the present research also suggests a limitation on the current quest for a few simple types of offenders who are best allocated to a few simple types of treatment. The research has suggested that a warden's

performance with absconders or older boys depends on his attitude towards them. Although data are lacking, the research worker's impression was that this finding could be generalised and that some wardens are, for example, particularly good (or bad) at dealing with aggressive, homeless, deprived or long-haired youths. If research confirms this suggestion, it will mean that the matching of client and worker must take account not only of a few underlying variables, but also of the varied prejudices, sympathies, likes and dislikes of each individual officer.

14.4 Theoretical Relevance of Findings on the Hostels as Institutions

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the hostels is their variability. Different wardens have very different success rates, and even given the same warden, the success rate can change sharply over time. These findings are clearly important for administrators, since they imply that the hostels could be more effective than at present. They are, however, even more interesting from a theoretical point of view and may help to correct the sociological theories which give too great a place to the social structure of an institution and the psychological theories which give too great a place to the personalities of those who run them. Both types of theory are dangerous. On the one theory, one can only remedy the defects of an institution by radically altering its nature, and on the other, by removing the man in charge.

The claim that this research should modify some sociological theory might be viewed with scepticism. This scepticism should be lessened if it can be seen that the data had some unusual advantages. The Home Office H1 returns provided a statistical measure of morale which was available for a considerable number of institutions and a period of over nine years. By contrast, many of the best known analyses of prisons and mental hospitals are based on studies of one or two institutions carried out over a comparatively brief period of time. This procedure is often illuminating but always dangerous. In his search for a satisfying theory, the research worker may claim that his observations in one institution are explained by some general principle which in turn implies that all similar places must share the same faults.

Thus many sociological analyses of penal institutions are gloomy; they describe their defects in graphic terms and then go on to show by analysis that they could not be other than they are. Polsky[9], for example, saw "Cottage Six" as a pecking order of roles whose essentially exploiting character would remain whatever the character of those who filled them. The staff had little choice; they could condone the system, or fight it and lose control[9].

No one could study probation hostels and fail to be impressed by the acuteness of some of Polsky's insights. Nevertheless, the present research seems in direct contradiction to his overriding emphasis on inmates rather than staff. The atmosphere of a hostel depends not on the boys but on the staff, and whereas some wardens may collude with the inmate leadership, it seems possible that others may attack it without necessarily losing control.

The relative success of the older boys in a hostel seems to depend on the attitude of the warden towards them and this in turn may reflect his attitude to the inmate leadership.

Support for these findings comes from studies by Jesness, and by Street and his colleagues. Jesness's[10] impression at Fricot ranch was that: "The conclusion drawn by some that a special delinquent subculture exists which acts to sabotage treatment does not seem well established . . . the kind or quality of influence which the subculture exerts depends primarily on the attitudes and actions of the staff." Similarly Street[11] and his colleagues asserted that the behaviour of different types of boy depended on the attitudes of the staff towards them. "Background attributes apparently take on their primary significance through the emphases and interpretations staff personnel give to them, and the staff behaviour towards the inmate that follows from these perceptions." In relation to the present argument, it is important that Jesness was involved with his institution for more than five years, while Street and his colleagues studied more than one institution. One may perhaps expect that studies of one institution over a short period will emphasise the importance of the inmates while research carried out in more than one institution or in the same institution over a long period of time will emphasise the importance of the staff.

Despite sociological theory, social workers, laymen and administrators are often little concerned with the problems of social structure. Their commonsense view is that hostels depend on the personalities of those who run them and that as these personalities vary, so must the hostels. As has been seen, this view is near the truth, but it is none the less a dangerous one; it assumes that the warden can be judged apart from the situation which he faces; that a bad situation must be caused by an inherently bad warden; and that there is probably very little to be done about it. The statistical evidence and case studies presented in the report have shown that this is not so.

A complete theory must avoid the defects of both the extreme sociological position, that all depends on the structure of the institution, and the "psychological view", that all depends on the institution's head. It must take more account of the way in which a leader's personality can change the social situation and yet in its turn be influenced by it. Such a theory might be helped by a study of probation hostels.

Analyses of the hostel situation must begin with the apparent dependence of the hostel on the warden and matron—absconding double in months when the warden or matron is absent. This dependence leads to instability, for the warden may fall sick or leave; his wife may have a baby, tire of the hostel and worry her husband; unreliable assistants or particularly recalcitrant boys may defy him, lower his status and sap his morale. Such accidents may be temporary, but if trouble starts, it is hard to stop. If the warden increases his punishments, he may be seen as harsh; if he lowers them, as weak; if he does neither, as nagging and ineffective. A drop in the morale of one member of the hostel inevitably affects the others. Outsiders seeing absconding increase may blame the warden and make matters worse, or try to help and be suspected as snoopers.

This analysis leaves a place for the warden's personality—since some wardens will respond differently than others to these stresses—but also for other factors such as chance, the relations of the hostel with its environment and the inter-relationships within it. A warden of a hostel that is going through a bad patch may feel threatened, and so withdraw and allow discipline to collapse, or react aggressively and destroy his relationship with the boys. His actions are therefore both the cause and the result of the social situation. An action's meaning also varies with the situation and a decision to ignore a breach of the rules may be seen as weakness in one hostel and kindness in another.

14.5 Long Term Effect of Institutional Training

The observation that the meaning of an action depends on the situation in which it takes place, may help to explain the finding of the research that criminal behaviour seems highly specific to particular situations, and that boys who have learned to work and behave in a law-abiding way at the hostel may often get into trouble on return home. If criminal behaviour means different things in different places, a boy who learns to behave in the hostel may be learning not to stay out of trouble in general, but only to please the warden or to accomplish some other goal which is relevant to the hostel and not to his life outside.

If this analysis is acepted, it further highlights the basic problem of penology, which is that of ensuring that the response the staff are able to achieve with inmates in the institution is carried over on their return to the community. It has often been assumed that this aim is best achieved by permissive treatment since only permissive regimes could allow an inmate to express his true nature and thus make his underlying problems available for treatment. The present research casts some doubt on a blind adherence to permissive methods and an alternative solution may lie in refusing to allow the inmate to compartmentalise his thinking. He must, perhaps, be made to see that his life within the institution is not so different from life outside and that lessons learned during his period of residence can be applied elsewhere. At the moment, penology may be accepting a fallacy similar to that of the educational psychologists who believed that exercising the mind on Latin inevitably fitted it for yet more arduous intellectual tasks. It is no more certain that producing good behaviour in an institution will ensure good behaviour outside.

Obviously it is vital to develop a form of institutional treatment which can be expected to produce lasting personality changes in those exposed to it. Only one regime seemed more able to do this than others. The warden of this regime appeared remarkable for the degree of his involvement, his use of withdrawal of affection and the scope of his demands. One regime cannot serve as the basis for a theory but may provide the basis for hypotheses.

Such a set of hypotheses might be that institutional treatment intended to produce changes in behaviour outside the institution would be effective if:

(*a*) The subject of the resident's attitudes and behaviour at home were specifically brought up and related to his behaviour in the institution

and to the consequences it brought on him (i.e. if it were not enough for the resident to get by by learning to behave well in the institution).

(*b*) Strong disapproval was expressed of the attitudes and behaviour it was desired to change.

(*c*) The client depended on the emotional support of those who expressed the disapproval.

(*d*) The client was offered other ways of maintaining his self-respect and solving his problems, and was given a chance to practice them.

This set of hypotheses must, however, be tested by further research before confidence can be placed in it.

14.6 Practical Implications for Probation Officers

Treatment of delinquents may be aimed at altering their personality so that they are better able to survive a stressful situation, or at altering the situation so that they have fewer problems to survive. Most probation officers will, of course, combine both these goals, but perhaps the main practical implication of the research is to emphasise the vital importance of work on the environment.

The research suggests a problem common to both main methods of dealing with juvenile deliquency, institutional treatment and treatment in the open through probation. Both concentrate their attention on the individual delinquent and so far have paid little attention to the problem of working with the delinquent's social environment and in particular with his family. There seems little reason to think that probation officers relying on individual interviews with probationers apart from their families will be more successful in preventing delinquency than their colleagues who have concentrated on the hostel resident rather than the hostel.

This pessimistic view is supported by other recent research. Robins[12], for example, writes: "That casework methods neither effectively prevent delinquency nor have a 'delayed effect' on adult anti-social behaviour has been attested to by the Washington project and the original Cambridge-Somerville project and its follow-up. Since neither 'soft' individual casework methods nor the 'stern' alternatives of expulsion or institutionalisation seem to prevent the persistence of anti-social patterns in highly anti-social children, we apparently need to develop new techniques".

Clearly, the present research cannot suggest any specific new techniques, but it can point to areas which it might be profitable to explore. The research has produced some evidence that institutional treatment can benefit delinquents from very poor families but that this improvement is likely to be eroded on their return home. One need would, therefore, seem to be to develop techniques for working with the delinquent's family while he is away from it. It may even be necessary to remove the delinquent from a very unsatisfactory family and provide him with a substitute home until such time as he is ready to move out on his own.

Turning to delinquents whom it is not necessary to remove from home, it should be recognised that the probation officers are not always aiming at producing fundamental changes in their clients and they may be content if they can contain them until they grow out of their delinquent phase. Here the research gives no encouragement to those who would contain their clients through permissive methods. Permissive wardens were less able to contain their residents than strict wardens and no more able to produce long-term change. This again is in keeping with research by Robins, the McCords and Zola, and Davies[13] all of whom have shown that, in delinquent samples, discipline which is firm or even over-strict is associated with the avoidance of further trouble.

Probation officers who wish to control their clients face the problem of lack of information. They may not know what their probationers do in their leisure hours, what time they come in, or how they are behaving at work. There are difficulties in finding out and further difficulties in taking action if misbehaviour does come to light. Only those in immediate contact with the probationer can apply the type of firm, consistent control that appears necessary, and this control is most naturally provided by the delinquent's family. This fact is a further argument for working with the family as a whole rather than with the individual delinquent. The pressure of work, the conditions of the probation order and the traditions of the service all combine to make probation officers reluctant to work with the family. The present research suggests that these officers may be cutting themselves off from their best opportunities for constructive work[14].

In a similar way, the reseach suggests that the liaison officer of a hostel should concentrate on being a consultant to the warden and less on the individual residents. Ideally, of course, no conflict between these two roles would occur, but in practice it does and the officer is less likely to solve it successfully if he is over-involved with individual residents. This does not mean that the liaison officer should necessarily agree with the warden—he would not be so helpful to him if he did—only that there must be no doubt of his support.

14.7 Practical Implications for Probation Hostels

The problem of the proper role of the liaison officer is only part of the more general problem of how the staff of probation hostels should be recruited, supported and supervised, and this in turn is part of the yet more general problem of the treatment of residential staff in similar institutions. The research has shown that the system for supervising hostels does not work well. It has not, however, examined the question of whether any other system (for example, closer control by local authorities or the state) would work better. What is necessary is to make a careful analysis of the aims of the hostels and what these imply in terms of the type of boys who should be selected, and the type of staff needed and their requirements for training, support, supervision and career structure. It will probably be found that it is easier to meet these requirements in some systems than in others.

At the moment there are problems in the administration of the system. The small number of hostels means that the central government may be involved with decisions that are of a lower level than is appropriate. It has also tended to place the responsibility for improving the hostels on outside committees. These committees have had no responsibility for carrying out their decisions and no statistical evidence on which to base them. As a result, their recommendations have sometimes been hesitant or inconsistent. It is still uncertain what the hostels are trying to do or whose duty it is to check that they do it. So no one is responsible for collecting routine information on variations between hostels, staff training or turnover, the background characteristics of the boys or their final reconviction rates. Without such routine information it is difficult to evaluate schemes for improving hostels, even where these schemes exist.

The crucial administrative problem is staffing. The original theory that hostels were simple, informal homes implied that the warden and matron must be married and justified a low salary. It is therefore difficult to recruit trained staff who require higher salaries and a career structure.[15] Ambitious assistants who wish to stay in hostels must synchronise their marriage and promotion and there are no higher posts to which a warden can move. It is hard to select the staff since they come from outside the system and there are often no grounds before they take the job for knowing if they can do it. Once in post, the wardens are unlikely to receive more than two weeks' training. They are not subject to supervision in the sense that this is normally understood in social work, and on statistical grounds it seems that the committees have little, if any, affect on their performance. If wardens are unsatisfactory this may not be realised and they may not be helped. It is not possible to move them sideways to jobs for which they are better fitted and it is unpalatable to sack them; they give much to their job, they are usually middle-aged, and if sacked, they lose not only their job but also their house.

Any changes that do take place should be aimed first at the problems of recruiting and supporting staff. This is partly a matter of improving conditions of pay and service and partly of seeing that the staffs' other needs are met. Hostel staff should be in touch with three sorts of people; administrators who will arrange relief staff and negotiate their financial requests, detached experts with whom they can discuss the problems they meet in their job, and friends who will remind them of life outside the hostel. They must also be able to meet each other, undergo training and feel that they are part of a service which the community values. Some progress is being made towards these goals but more remains to be done.

In the long run some basic decisions must be taken. Are hostels to be training institutions, therapeutic hostels such as "Northways"[16], or informal community-based homes in which an environmental offender can stay till he is ready to leave? What type of organisation is appropriate to each of these hostels and which do we want?

NOTES

1. Hartshorne, H. and May, W. A., *Studies in Deceit,* The Macmillan Co., 1928.

2. McCord, W., McCord, J. and Zola, I. K., *Origins of Crime,* Columbia University Press, 1959.

3. Except presumably in so far as these affect the warden.

4. Davies, M., *Probationers in their Social Environment,* Home Office Research Unit Report, H.M.S.O., 1969.

5. McCords and Zola, op. cit.

6. Robins, L. N., *Deviant Children Grown Up,* The Williams and Wilkins Co., Baltimore, 1966.

7. Obviously some boys from poor homes will also have personality problems. This method of diagnosis is, of course, commonplace in casework—see, for example, Hollis, F., *Casework: A Psychosocial Therapy,* Random House, New York, 1966, p. 179. For a criminological statement of it—see Glueck, Sheldon and Eleanor, "Varieties of Delinquent Types", *B.J.C.,* July 1965, p. 237. A classification system essentially the same as that suggested has been used by the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago for selection of cases for teaching. See Ripple, L., Alexander E., and Polemis, B., *Motivation, Capacity and Opportunity,* Social Service Monographs Second Series, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, 1964, p. 23.

8. Polsky, H. W., *Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment,* Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1962.

9. This view of the staff may be grounded on a more general theory of leadership. Homans wrote, ". . . the leader gets his power only by conforming more closely than anyone else to the norms of the group. He is not the most but the least free person within it" (Homans, G. C., *The Human Group,* Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, p. 149.) If so, there is little that the staff leader of a delinquent group can do but conform or go under. The present data may therefore be a partial refutation of Homans' thesis.

10. Jesness, C., *The Fricot Ranch Study,* California Department of the Youth Authority, Research Report 47, 1965, p. 26.

11. Street, D., Vintner, R., Perrow, C., *Organisation for Treatment,* Collier-Macmillan, 1966, p. 220.

12. Robins, op. cit., p. 219.

13. Robins, op. cit., McCords and Zola, op. cit., Davies, op. cit.

14. For a suggestion on how to do this see Thorne, G. L., Tharp, R. G., Wetzel, R. J., "Behaviour Modification Techniques: New Tools for Probation Officers", *Federal Probation,* June 1967. For other suggestions and a very large bibliography see: Satir, V., *Conjoint Family Therapy,* Science and Behaviour Books, Inc., 1967.

15. There was no evidence that wardens who had been trained on Central Training Council Courses or had been probation officers were more successful than others. At the very least, proposals for training must be linked to proposals for career structure and pay. Otherwise those trained for probation hostels will be attracted elsewhere by higher pay.

16. The hostel described by Miller, D., in *Growth to Freedom,* Tavistock Publications, 1964.

APPENDIX 1

Reasons for Turnover among Assistant Staff

The high turnover of assistant wardens is a serious problem and it became one of the aims of the research to determine the reasons for it. Two sets of data could have provided relevant information: the data on age and turnover of assistants (see chapter 6), and the interviews with assistant staff at hostels in the intensive survey.

The data on turnover of assistants could be used to test the hypotheses that the turnover was due to long hours, or difficulties with discipline. If the turnover was due to long hours, one would expect it to be highest in those hostels with an establishment of one assistant only, since in these hostels the number of hours worked is greater. If it were due to difficulties with discipline, one would expect it to be greatest among the younger assistants, and also to be greater in "older" hostels (age range 16-19, 17-21 years), whose residents are said by wardens who have worked in both types of hostel to be more recalcitrant. The only one of these hypotheses supported at the 5% level of statistical significance was that the turnover in "older" hostels would be greater than the turnover in "younger" ones. Table 55 compares the number of assistants leaving in different months in both types of hostel. The figures are estimates as explained in chapter 6.

Table 55

Number of Assistants Leaving in relation to Length of Stay and Age Group of Hostels

Length of Stay Months	*Number Leaving*		
	"Younger" Hostels	*"Older" Hostels*	*Total*
1–3	13	16	29
4–6	14	19	33
7–9	10	12	22
10–12	5	2	7
13–15	2	13	15
16–18	6	2	8
19–21	2	2	4
22+	17	4	21
Total	69	70	139

Source: Assistant warden sample.

Kolomogorov Smirnov one-tailed test $\chi^2 = 8 \cdot 55$; df=2; $p < \cdot 05$.

25% of those in the "younger" hostels were still in post after 21 months as opposed to only 6% of those in the "older" ones; the hypothesis that difficulties in discipline may account for some of the turnover, therefore, receives some support. On the other hand, younger assistants did not have a higher turnover than older ones. Hostels with two assistants did tend to have a lower turnover than those with one, but the differences were not statistically significant.

Chapter 6 showed that hostels have difficulty in recruiting assistants. This in itself is evidence that the job does not compare well with others, and this is confirmed by the steady rate at which assistants leave.

Table 56

Leaving Rate of Assistants

Month	*Number Remaining at Beginning of Month*	*Expected Number Remaining*
1st	139	139
4th	110	104
7th	77	78
10th	55	59
13th	48	44
16th	33	33
19th	25	25
22nd	21	18

Source: Assistant warden sample.

Expected number calculated on formula $E(x)_{n+1} = \cdot 75E(x)_n$.

The expected numbers in Table 56 were calculated on the basis that irrespective of how long they had stayed approximately 25% of a given group of assistant wardens would leave within the next 3 months. This assumption does not hold after the 22nd month because a few exceptional assistants stay for a very long time. The most common month for leaving is the second, but slightly fewer assistants leave in the first 3 months than would be expected. In general, the theoretical and the actual distribution are very similar. This suggests that from the moment they come, assistants are prepared to take up posts more to their liking and these present themselves at a more or less constant rate.

Thus the picture given by the data on turnover was that while there was some evidence that discipline difficulties and possibly long hours were causes of turnover, a more important reason might be that many assistants looked on their position in the hostel as essentially a stop gap or temporary measure while they waited for something better. This picture can be compared with that obtained from interviews.

Assistant wardens were interviewed at 17 hostels intended for the intensive survey. The total establishment of assistants at these hostels was 32 and at the time of the interview three assistants were on leave and one hostel was short on establishment. Two assistants were interviewed but not included in the analysis, one because he had been in post only two days and one because he was a temporary assistant brought in to cover for another who was sick. One assistant was acting as temporary warden and was included. Altogether 27 interviews were included in the analysis.

The assistants may be taken as a representative sample of those who are in post at any one time, but not necessarily of those who enter hostels. If unsatisfactory assistants stay in the hostels for a shorter length of time, then a method of selecting a sample which takes the assistants in a hostel at a certain date gives a greater chance of interviewing long stay satisfactory assistants. But

the data presented earlier suggest that it is to some extent a matter of chance when an assistant leaves, so the bias may not matter as much as might be expected. The numbers are small, but they are probably large enough to cover most of the problems which come up, if not to give an estimate of their frequency.

The interview schedule for assistants is given in appendix 6. It was piloted by Hugh Barr, a trained probation officer formerly attached to the probation research project, who also completed the first 11 interviews. In these interviews a collection of 10 possible problems were given to the assistants and they were asked to sort them into order of severity. Analysis using these cards was confined to 20 cases[1]. As far as possible the interviews were taken down verbatim.

The 27 assistants interviewed were classified into two groups, one of 11 who undertook the job as something essentially desirable in itself and one of 16 who undertook the job either as a stepping stone to other jobs or as a method of finding out whether they were suited to social work. Some assistants in the second group were aiming at a definite profession such as probation or child care, but others were more vague; for example, they might see the hostel as a "transition to social work", or emphasise reasons for leaving their last job rather than for taking their present one. Assistants not included in the second group were automatically placed in the first. Two assistants who hoped to stay in the probation hostel service as wardens were also included in the first group but one who hoped to return to it after training was not. The two groups will be discussed separately.

Those who looked on the job as desirable in itself were older than the others, with an average age of 38 as opposed to 26; significantly more likely to have done paid social work before, six of the 11 having had some such experience as opposed to one of the other 16 (Fisher exact test $p < \cdot 005$); and more likely to be or have been married or to be engaged.

Some hostels are providing married quarters for assistants, so the married assistants were an interesting if very small group. Of the three interviewed, one lived in the town and spent some of his duty nights in the hostel, one went home on his weekends off, his wife living some way away, and one had married quarters in the hostel. They were shorter of money than others since the salary scale is designed for single men living in. One said he would have to move quickly; he could stand a year of training with low salary now, but not later when his wife left work; besides, "although she is not one for keeping up with the Joneses, she deserves a decent standard of living".

Those in the first group who were not married were often philosophical bachelors with few ties and religious or other reasons for wishing to help young people. Some had undertaken poorly paid jobs in the past and were prepared to accept the low salary; two had pensions and one said that he would not have been able to take up the job if he had not. One complained that he could not be seconded for training and another that it was difficult to find out what was going on in other hostels or meet other assistants. Taken as a whole, the group who saw the job as desirable in itself were more concerned with the salary and career prospects than were those who had joined for experience.

One of the latter, who had decided to go into approved school work, put it this way: "The work is marvellous experience. You can see all types of boys and there's the work angle and parents and the probation side."

The second group could again be divided into two: one group of 10 containing those who had joined the hostels with a clear idea of preparing themselves for some other profession, and one of six who had joined to find out about themselves or social work in general (as one assistant put it, as a "tentative poke"). The first group usually lacked the age or educational qualifications for their relevant courses, but one was supporting a relative and felt that he could not afford the course. Some of these assistants were now worried that they were in a blind alley and one expressed his "desperate" need for training, which he felt unlikely to get.

The last 20 assistants interviewed were given a pack of shuffled cards, each containing the name of one problem that might occur in their jobs, and asked to place these in order with the greatest problem first, the second next and so on. Nine of these problems were taken from the list used by Monsky[2] in her survey of the turnover of staff in children's homes, and the problem "career prospects" was added. Two assistants did not attempt the task, saying that they had no problems, two could give only one problem (pay in one case, domestic work in the other) and one only two (pay and career prospects). The analysis was done on the number of first, second and third rankings a problem received. Table 57 sets out the results of this analysis.

Table 57

Assistants' Ordering of Different Problems

Problem	*Ranking*			*Overall Rank*
	Rank 1	*Rank 2*	*Rank 3*	
Pay	5	3	0	1
Friends	3	3	3	2
Career prospects	4	1	1	3
Hours	1	3	3	4
Paper work	1	2	2	5
Domestic work	1	2	1	6
Accommodation	1	1	2	7
Privacy	1	0	2	8
Staff relations	0	1	1	9=
Difficult boys	1	0	0	9=

NOTE. Ranks are based on allotting scores of 3 for 1, 2 for 2 and 1 for 3. Total interviewed 20, not all completing task.

Half the "first mentions" were given to the "conditions of service" factors of pay and career prospects. Of the nine assistants who had originally intended to stay permanently, seven gave a ranking of 1, 2 or 3 to either pay or career prospects; of the other two, one had no complaints at all and the other only complained of domestic work. Of the 11 other assistants, only four gave a ranking of 1, 2 or 3 to either pay or career prospects. Of those, two had found they liked the work and would have liked to have had a chance to become wardens. One had definite plans for leaving, but he too had enjoyed his time

and was only leaving because of the pay. One had no other complaints but felt that he would like some more money. There was therefore some evidence that those who would like to stay are hampered by the poor pay and prospects but that those who have never intended to stay are not.

But Table 57 should be regarded with caution. Both interviewers felt that it was difficult to gain much of an impression of the assistants' relations with other staff or with the boys, and they were reluctant to probe.

The assistants normally agreed that the boys had tried them out when they first came, but it is not easy to admit to anxieties about controlling boys, particularly to an interviewer who is similar in age and to some extent in experience.

Thus, only seven assistants admitted to worries about discipline and one of these spoke of them as a thing of the past. They tended to discuss these problems in a roundabout way, either relating them entirely to the boys, "The boys don't like you. To them you're a sort of screw," or speaking of their youth, "I suppose you thought I was one of the boys." One assistant gave perhaps the clearest statement of the difficult position of the young assistant: "I have to be very careful. I can't shout at them or give them punishments. The other assistant can do that. If I did that they'd probably turn round and laugh at me. Later perhaps, but not yet." He said that when he had gained experience he would move to social work with younger boys as he found this group a "bit of a strain". In his list of problems, however, he placed paper work first and difficult boys sixth, although paper work was not one of his normal duties. Another said that he used to be anxious and worry at night about what the next day would bring, but he also said that he used to keep it to himself and it was only later that he came to appreciate that he was a member of a team. Younger assistants, who probably experience more discipline difficulties than older ones, also scored significantly higher on defensiveness in the attitude questionnaire and this bears out the interviewers' impression that some assistants denied difficulties, either to themselves, or, more probably and reasonably, to the interviewers.

The other difficulties can be dealt with more briefly. It was surprising that paper work attracted any response as a difficulty. Assistants generally do little of it, and its occasional mention in the first three problems may be due to their academic worries. Accommodation varies greatly with the hostel and was rarely mentioned in the interview itself, although lack of a staff sitting-room was brought up at one hostel. Domestic work had taken some assistants by surprise and one in particular felt that it was not in keeping with his professional status. Privacy was a problem for those with girl friends; they found it difficult to bring them into the hostel, and if the girl herself lived in a hostel they were restricted to park benches, cafes, cinemas and other public places. As one assistant put it: "If one was contemplating matrimony, it would be dreadful."

The difficulty in making friends is related to the long hours, for the assistant is usually working when others are free. He is also in the hostel for long periods of the day when little is going on, and some complained of boredom. One interview gives a reasonably typical picture.

"The first three months were dreadful. I had no liking for the town, mainly (because of) its physical characteristics. The people were friendly, different from where I come from. I don't go in to the town much. I spent quite a lot of my time in my quarters reading, listening to records. Then there's a family I was introduced to after my arrival and I have a friend in the town hall. I travel a bit round the local countryside but it's a solitary sort of existence going out by myself most of the time. I've no alternative. I'm quite envious of other people. Occasionally it would be nice to go out for a drink when one wanted to and one can't say to a person, 'I'll meet you for a drink on Thursday afternoon.' It's easy to get into a rut . . . One gets moods. It comes in phases. One's never really at a loose end, but sometimes I wish the boys were in the hostel during the day . . . I enjoy the little occasions that happen; abscondings add spice to it."

Assistants arrive in a strange town and some, even after a long time in the hostel, had no local friends but spent their free time in cinemas, public libraries or walking round the park by themselves. "I've no friends. The boys are no good. You can't say to a boy: 'Come into my room, Nick, and have a natter'." The two assistants may be widely separated in age or experience; they cannot go out together since when one is off duty, the other is usually not. Wardens differ in the degree to which they take assistants into their family: in any case they are in charge and normally much older than the assistant. Before a stranger, at any rate, relations were usually formal, if friendly, and each addressed the other as "Mr".

Unlike new teachers or probation officers, assistant wardens are not able to spend the evening with people unrelated to their work, nor can they select their friends in the hostel and relieve their feelings about bosses or clients by flippant talk, in-jokes or other forms of mutual support. Life may easily appear drear, and incidents such as absconding may serve to relieve the feeling of boredom and the vague resentment. It need not be the acute, easily definable problems that cause the trouble, but simply the fact of being in the hostel: "Last day off I got well away. I went on a mystery tour and for one afternoon I forgot all about the hostel. When I came back I wasn't on duty till four next day, but as soon as I stepped through the door I might as well have been on duty."

So far, the emphasis has been on the problems of assistants, for the purpose of the interviews was to find out why they leave. But the interviews did not give an impression of acute discontent. Some assistants like their job, or parts of it, such as the activities or the relationships with the boys; certainly the interviews alone would not give the impression that the turnover is as great as it is, or that assistants are as unsatisfactory as they are said to be.

The interviews should be regarded with caution, but they suggest that the turnover has different causes. Those who look for permanent posts may find that they are better off in approved schools or remand homes, where they have better pay, status, and chances of promotion, as well as an easier time if they are married. Those who look for experience may find a lack of anything positive in the environment and so feel that they are learning nothing or are in a blind alley.

NOTES

1. Through the fault of the main research worker one card was omitted from the first seven interviews.

2. Monsky, S. F., *Staffing of Local Authority Residential Homes for Children. An inquiry carried out November 1961-January 1962 for the Home Office.* The Government Social Survey, 1963.

880639

APPENDIX 2

Absconding and Criminality

The assumption has been that "failure rate" is a suitable measure of the incidence of delinquency in a hostel. This depends on the assumption that it is reasonable to treat absconding as an offence. Tables 58, 59 and 60 are relevant to whether this assumption is justified. They show that the majority of failures in the main sample were absconders and that absconders in the failure sample were more likely to be reconvicted again than those who left the hostel as a result of a further offence.

Table 61 is added for interest. It gives the reconviction rates for the different forms of treatment given to the failure sample. The period at risk was taken to be three years from date of leaving the hostel for those receiving probation, a fine, or an attendance centre order; three years plus length of sentence for those receiving a detention centre order; four and a half years for those sent to approved school or borstal; and three years plus estimated sentence for those sent to prison.

Table 58

Age Related to Reason for Leaving 15-17, 15-18 Year Group of Hostels

Age of Entry	*Left Recharged*	%	*Left Absconded*	%	*Absconded but Succeeded*	%	*Succeeded*	%	*Left Unsuitable*	%	*Total*	%
15–15.11	139	15	152	16	31	3	608	64	17	2	947	100
15–16.5	71	11	135	20	34	5	414	62	11	2	665	100
16.6–16.11	71	11	134	21	39	6	399	61	12	2	655	100
17–17.11	95	11	206	23	52	6	517	58	21	2	891	100
Total	376	12	627	20	156	5	1,938	61	61	2	3,158	100

Source: Main sample.

Table 59

Age Related to Reason for Leaving 16-19, 17-21 Year Group of Hostels

Age of Entry	*Left Recharged*	%	*Left Absconded*	%	*Absconded but Succeeded*	%	*Succeeded*	%	*Left Unsuitable*	%	*Total*	%
16–16.5	23	17	21	15	5	4	85	62	3	2	137	100
16.5–16.11	25	15	39	24	4	2	92	56	5	3	165	100
17–17.11	56	13	100	23	13	3	256	58	15	3	440	100
18–18.11	50	12	107	26	20	5	225	54	12	3	414	100
19–20.11	10	8	24	18	6	5	88	67	4	3	132	100
Total	164	13	291	23	48	4	746	58	39	3	1,288	100

Source: Main sample.

Table 60

Reconviction Related to Reason for Failure in Hostels

Reason for Failure	*Reconvicted*	%	*Not Reconvicted*	%	*Total*	%
Absconded no offence known	97	71	39	29	136	100
Absconded and offended ...	106	77	32	23	138	100
Offended only	84	63	50	37	134	100
Total	287	70	121	29	408	100

Source: Failure sample.

Table 61

Hostel "Failures": Penalty Received Related to Subsequent Reconviction

Penalty Received	*Number*	%	*Reconviction Rate* %
Probation/Fine	104	26	76
Attendance centre	1	0	100
Approved school	104	26	76
Detention centre	34	8	70
Borstal	140	34	70
Prison	7	2	86
Not known	18	4	0
Total	408	100	70

Source: Failure sample.

880639

APPENDIX 3

Failure Rates and Regionalisation

Probation hostels are not officially regionalised, nor is there any official attempt to ensure that boys go to hostels at any particular distance from their homes. In this, the hostels are different from children's homes and other institutions where an attempt is made to preserve family ties by considering the distance of the institution from the child's home when placing him.

Among the staff and liaison officers, there is some disagreement on the importance of distance from home. Some wardens say that they try to avoid taking boys from long distances since they find that these boys are slower to settle down. Wage-rates, accents, senses of humour, food and dress differ from one part of the country to the other and all such differences are said to add to a boy's difficulties in settling. A further practical point is that home leave may be difficult to arrange where the cost of the fare is very high.

In contrast to this, most wardens try to avoid taking a boy from within 30 miles of his home, thinking either that these boys drift back to their old home haunts and associates and take other hostel boys with them, or that they tend to not take their training seriously and to treat the hostel as a boarding house. The question of the effect of distance from home is therefore of interest.

Three analyses were completed in order to see if boys taken from any particular distance from the hostel tended to have failure rates above or below that of the regime to which they went. The analyses covered the effect of distance from court of origin to hostel as measured in miles, the effect of having a court of origin in the same town or city as the hostel and the effect of having a court of origin in the same region as the hostel. The definition of region was the same as that used in Trends and Regional Comparisons in Probation[1].

It will be noticed that the distance measured is always the distance from court of origin. This is the only distance on which data are available, but examination of case records shows that it is almost always the same as distance from town of origin. For reasons of time, the analysis was restricted to those regimes which took in at least 100 boys between 1st January 1954 and 31st December 1959. Table 63 sets out the relationship of the area of origin of a boy to the area of the hostel to which he went.

Table 62

Area of Origin and Area of Hostel

Hostel Area	*Area of Origin*				
	South	*London*	*Midland and Wales*	*North*	*Total*
South ...	187	89	76	39	391
London ...	68	102	17	49	236
Midland ...	—	—	—	—	—
North ...	175	106	172	412	865
Total ...	430	297	265	500	1,492

Source: Main sample.

As can be seen, there is a marked trend for hostels to regionalise their intake. Boys from the Southern Region make up 29% of the total admission but 48% of the boys in the Southern hostels. The comparable figures for London are 20% and 43% and for the North 34% and 48%. No Midland hostel took 100 boys or more in the period under review, but an analysis of one Midland hostel gave a similar picture.

In order to see whether distance from home does have an effect, it is necessary to allow for the differing regime failure rates by calculating their expected failure rates. This is easily done. If the North, for example, sent 20 boys to Southern hostels, 10 to a regime with a 50% failure rate and 10 to a regime with a 10% failure rate, the expected number of failures would be $10\times\cdot5+10\times\cdot1=6$. If, for example, 20 failed, this would be evidence that boys a long way from home were more likely to fail. This method of calculating expected failure rates was applied to the data in Table 62, and Table 63 sets out the expected number of failures compared with the actual number of failures.

Table 63

Actual Number of Failures Compared with Expected Number Analysis by Area of Hostel and Court of Origin

Hostel Area	*Area of Court of Origin*				
	South	*London*	*Midland and Wales*	*North*	*Total*
South Actual ...	73	43	27	22	165
South Expected ...	78	35	34	18	165
London Actual ...	27	41	8	11	87
London Expected ...	26	39	6	16	87
North Actual ...	54	38	66	137	295
North Expected ...	57	39	60	139	295

Source: Main sample.

As can be seen from Table 63, there is no evidence of any general tendency for distance from home to make any difference to whether or not a boy completes his period in a hostel. This result was confirmed when a similar analysis was completed on distance in miles between the court of origin and the hostel and also when an attempt was made to see whether boys with a local court of origin did worse in a hostel than boys from further away. One regime made a definite policy of taking boys from its local area. This regime took in 78 cases from local courts. The failure rate among these cases was 33%, as opposed to 37% for the other cases. The hypothesis that local cases are more likely to get into trouble than those from far away was not, therefore, confirmed.

The analysis does not answer the question of whether boys taken from local areas may not cause difficulties in other ways and it is said by hostel wardens that they do. For example, it is said that the fact that a local boy can go home causes unrest among the others. Similarly, the analysis does not take into account the possibility that boys taken from a local area may find it easier to adjust when leaving the hostel. The concept of a probation hostel as a place in which boys are supported while they meet and adjust to the families and

880639

jobs they will return to on leaving the hostel is not, however, one which has so far found favour. The analysis does at least remove one objection to such an idea.

NOTE

1. Barr, H. and O'Leary, E., *Trends and Regional Comparisons in Probation*, H.M.S.O., 1966. Two definitions of "London" are used in that study. Here London is defined as the Metropolitan Police District.

APPENDIX 4

Failure Rates and Admission Policy

Should a hostel run down its numbers when a new warden takes over?. Most committees attempt to reduce the numbers in a hostel when a new warden arrives. A full hostel is said to be more difficult to discipline than one with fewer boys, and in addition, there is the fact that the new warden will almost automatically be compared unfavourably with his predecessor. If he is permissive by comparison, he may be thought weak; if he is authoritarian by comparison, he may be thought harsh. On the other hand, a warden who takes over an empty hostel must build up his numbers rapidly. Since those boys who abscond normally do so within three months of arriving, this means that the warden will have a large number of potential absconders in the hostel at the same time. It will also present him with certain practical problems in finding jobs. Inevitably, however, wardens must sometimes bunch their intakes, and wardens have sometimes to take over with full hostels. Can one use these facts to determine the right policy?

The analysis to be described dealt only with those regimes which had started during the period under review and which had taken in at least 40 boys. A disadvantage ratio was calculated which was defined as follows:

$$\text{Disadvantage Ratio} = \frac{\text{failure rate of first 20 intake}}{\text{failure rate of remaining intake}}$$

By defining the disadvantage ratio in this way, it was hoped to overcome the difficulty that different regimes had different failure rates. If a warden has half the failure rate among his first intake that he has among his remaining intake, the disadvantage ratio will be ·5. If he has twice the failure rate among his first 20 intake, the disadvantage ratio will be 2. If wardens taking over full or empty hostels are faced with peculiar difficulties in establishing a tradition, one would expect that such wardens would have a higher average disadvantage ratio than others. Table 64 sets out the disadvantage ratios analysed by numbers in the hostel on the warden's arrival.

Table 64

Disadvantage Ratios and Numbers in Hostel on Warden's Arrival

	Disadvantage Ratios				
Number of residents on warden's arrival	*0–4*	*5–8*	*9–12*	*13–16*	*17–21*
	1·93	1·25	·54	·83	2·26
	1·22	·59	1·44	·67	1·6
	1·83	1·28*	·88	·59	·83
	2·08		·86		1·00
	2·00		2·33		
	·98				
	·80				
Average	1·55	1·04	1·21	·70	1·42

Source: Main sample.

* Took only 39 boys.

The average disadvantage ratio is 1·26, which illustrates the difficulty that wardens can have in establishing a tradition. However, there does not appear to be a definite tendency for any particular admission policy to pay off better than any other.

APPENDIX 5

Methodological Considerations in Background Survey

This survey raises three main methodological questions. These are:

1. How representative was the sample?
2. Is any bias introduced by the use of different types of record and how accurate are the records?
3. How reliable was the coding?

These problems will be discussed in order.

Representativeness

There is no reason to suppose the sample is not representative. The only measure available for comparing the sample with boys taken in other years is the percentage of the sample known to leave as the result of an absconding or an offence. This can be compared with the overall percentage for the intake in the years 1954 to mid-1963 and for the intake in 1964. From neither of these figures does the sample percentage differ by as much as two per cent.

One unusual characteristic of the sample is that older boys in it do significantly better than younger. This finding is not discussed in the text since it is certainly not the effect of age by itself but rather of the better performance of those hostels that took older boys in the year mid-1960 to 1961. Any possible bias that was introduced by this was dealt with by breaking the hostels up into reconviction rate groups and considering the effect of important factors within these three groups.

Problems Connected with Records

Table 66 gives details of the records collected on the sample.

The best source of information was considered to be the current court report. Those boys on whom this report was available were compared against the others in terms of reconviction and it was found that the first year reconviction rate was 42% for this group and 32% for the others. This difference was not significant. The three year reconviction rates were 70% and 68% respectively. The two groups were compared for the incidence of each background factor. The only significant difference found was in the incidence of the reason " recommended on the ground of removal from home ". Fifty-two per cent of those for whom the reports were available were coded as being sent to hostels for this reason but only 35% of the others, and this difference is significant. However, since those on whom probation officer reports were available did relatively worse in hostels than the others, the fact that the removal from home group did better in the hostels cannot be explained on the grounds that they were relatively more likely to have

a probation report. No other significant or remarkable differences were found and there is no reason to think that the use of different sorts of record biases any result claimed.

Table 65

Records Used in Coding Background Study

Records	*Number*
Current court report	315
Current Part A	33
Letter to warden	21
Child care officer report	11
Non-current court report	63
Non-current Part A	1
Remand home report	9
Psychiatrist report	21
Criminal Record Office record	359
Approved school report	1
School report	5
Record of supervision (Part C)	3
Police antecedents	3
Letter from past warden	1
Hostel record	1

Accuracy of Records

Since little difference was found in the information available on those with and without probation reports, this section will be mainly concerned with the accuracy of the probation reports. Typically, these are concerned with the salient factors of a situation and not with the presentation of standard and comprehensive information. For this reason, many research workers would be wary of them. However, their value as research data depends on the use to which they are put and the strength of the claims which are based on them. The accuracy of the information they present also differs between one variable and another, and will therefore be discussed under the relevant sub-groups of variables.

Information on Criminal Record

Information on previous and subsequent convictions was sought both from the Criminal Record Office and the probation offices local to the courts at which the boys were convicted. There is no reason to think that this information is inaccurate in any important respect.

Home Background Information

Most probation reports contain details of the home surroundings, and where a boy is likely to be removed from home, such details are clearly likely to be particularly relevant. The variables that were considered in the coding (marked marital discord etc.) are those which most probation officers consider relevant

and it is not likely that the officers knew of them and omitted them. There is, of course, room for variations in the degree of marital discord that officers would consider important and in some cases marital discord may have been hidden. For these reasons, variables such as marital discord were only coded where it seemed that they were so obvious that anyone must have noticed them.

Background History

It is not certain how accurate the information on background history is. Probably most probation officers would consider it relevant that a probationer had been in a children's home or had left home. However, it is probable that in some cases these facts were not known or were not mentioned and the proportion of probationers to whom they applied is therefore probably underestimated.

Behaviour

It is likely that the information on items falling under this heading is the least accurate. Pilfering and wandering, for example, may have been concealed from the probation officer by the parents, or the officer may not have felt it relevant to mention them. It is just possible, though unlikely, that this fact would account for the relationship that was found between pilfering and maternal deprivation since the officers may have been more inclined to mention pilfering where there was a history of maternal deprivation. Information on the probationer's behaviour outside the home was probably lacking in many cases both to the boy's parents and to the probation officer. An interesting and disappointing fact is the scarcity of the information available on work record, since it was often impossible to discover whether or not the boy was out of work at the time he came before the court. In general, figures derived from a study of the reports would understate the incidence of problems in the sample. For example, it seems certain that at least 24% of the boys pilfered, but the true figure must be some way above this.

Reasons

Probation officer reports are the basis on which the decision is made to place a probationer in a hostel. The data they provide on the reasons for this are therefore particularly good and any problem lies in the reliability of the coding rather than the data on which it is based.

Coding

The decision to code probation reports transferred to the research workers the difficulties that are often faced by field workers asked to describe a complex individual in terms of a few simple research categories. Although the fact that the data were standardised centrally by one person rather than by individuals in the field gave certain advantages, it also raised certain problems, particularly of reliability and validity.

The problem of reliability is essentially that of trying to acquire definitions which leave no doubt as to whether or not a particular category should be applied to an individual. Two different methods of definition were used. These were:

1. The use of lists, i.e. definition by enumeration.
2. The use of open-ended definitions, that is, definitions which left more to the coders' discretion in deciding whether a particular item fell under them or not.

The defect of the first method was that it tended to result in cases being marked as not conforming to a certain definition when it was clearly desirable that they should be marked as conforming to it. For example, the use of a list to define "difficult behaviour" meant that cases where the probationer had clearly been difficult over a long time had to be marked as not showing difficult behaviour if the office was not specific on the nature of this behaviour. On the other hand, the instruction to the coder simply to code a boy as showing difficult behaviour or not was clearly undesirably vague. Neither of the two methods was therefore completely satisfactory.

The actual coding was carried out by Erica O'Leary, a trained psychologist, who coded the last two pilot studies and the main study, discussing doubtful points with the research worker. By the time of the main study, it is probable that the two workers were reasonably agreed on the meaning of the definitions employed. However, it is not claimed that the problem of reliability was completely solved.

Under the definition of validity adopted here, the evidence for the validity of a concept is the fact that objects falling under that concept can be shown to be systematically related to objects falling under other concepts. In this case, therefore, the problem of the validity of the coding is essentially the problem of whether relationships discovered in the data were put there as the result of the coding. For example, the findings that those with poor work records were sent to hostels for training is in part invalidated, since the coder may have been influenced by the poor work record in assessing the reason for placement as "training". Doubts of this sort are particularly relevant in relation to the findings on the environmental offender since it might be felt that knowledge of subsequent results unconsciously influenced the coder in making her classifications. The main safeguard against this was that in both the main study and the pilot study all codings were carried out without a knowledge of the subsequent success or otherwise of the boys whose records were being coded. There is, therefore, no reason to think that the findings on the environmental offender are invalidated in this way.

Summary

In summary, it is not claimed that probation reports provide information that is comparable to that collected in more standard ways. On the other hand,

there is no reason to suppose the information collected cannot be used for the following purposes:

1. To provide an adequate picture of the reasons for which probationers enter hostels and the way in which they are related to background information.
2. To provide a conservative test of the hypothesis that a typical hostel probationer presents severe problems.
3. To provide evidence relevant to the existence of an environmental offender.

In addition, it is claimed that the sample is representative and that the information on reconviction rate is accurate.

APPENDIX 6

Instruments Used in Research

All instruments used in the research are given in full. However, some parts of them were thought unsuitable for use. The interview guide used with hostel wardens was originally intended to produce a variety of scores, but only those finally included in the rule permissiveness score were thought to be satisfactory. The interview was begun in a very free way and the interviewer then checked back to make sure that all the points had been covered.

The "probation hostel research questionnaire" was given to wardens, matrons, and liaison officers. The highest correlation between wardens' ratings and liaison officer's ratings was ·33 (on question 2). The instrument was therefore considered unreliable.

The contents of this appendix are:

1. Coding instructions for background sample.
2. Interview guide used with wardens.
3. Probation hostel research questionnaire.
4. Interview schedule for assistant wardens.
5. Jesness staff attitude questionnaire.
6. HI return.

Coding Instructions for Background Sample

1. *Age on Admittance*

15	5
16	6
17	7
18	8
19	9
20, 21	0

Criminal History

2. *Offence for which Condition of Residence Made.* Ignore offences taken into consideration. If there was more than one charge, code that for which the condition was made. If this does not distinguish, code in order as below.

Breaking and entering with or without larceny, shop-breaking, pavilion-breaking, burglary, sacrilege, possession of house-breaking implements by night	0
Aggravated simple and minor larceny, stealing, receiving, unlawful possession, suspected person, conversion	1
Take and drive away, including larceny of petrol	2
Fraud, forgery, false pretences	3

Any sex offence, including sexual assault	4
Violence against the person, any non-sexual assault, robbery, carrying offensive weapons, attempted suicide, causing an affray, fighting, threatening behaviour, violence against property, malicious or wilful damage, breach of the peace, disorderly or insulting behaviour, drunkenness, offences under the Vagrancy Act, arson and discharging firearms	5
Breaches of probation or amending orders	6
Other (mostly Road Traffic Act offences, e.g. no lights on bicycle, etc.)	7

3. *Pattern of Offences at Time of Condition* (including actual offence for which condition made). Consider categories 0 to 3 above as dishonest offences, categories 5 and 7 as anti-social. Consider all charges including those taken into consideration.

CODE:

0. mixed dishonest, anti-social, sex.
1. mixed dishonest, anti-social.
2. mixed dishonest, sex.
3. dishonest.
4. mixed anti-social, sex.
5. anti-social.
6. sex.

4. *Pattern of Dishonest Offences at Time of Condition.* Combined larceny and fraud under the category of larceny.

0. larceny, house-breaking, T.D.A.
1. larceny, house-breaking.
2. larceny, T.D.A.
3. larceny.
4. T.D.A. house-breaking.
5. T.D.A.
6. house-breaking.
7. anti-social or sex offences only.

NOTE. House-breaking offences during the course of which larceny was committed are to be counted as house-breaking only.

5. *Actual Number of Convictions at Time of Placement.* Count separate dates implying separate bouts of offending. Do not count as separate (a) several charges in the same date; (b) several appearances all related to the same prosecution. Code actual number 1 to 8 (8 equals 8 or more, 9 equals no information).

6. *Age Last Birthday at Date of First Offence.* Code actual number less 10. 0 equals 10 or less. 20 equals X.

Institutionalisation

7. *If ever in Detention Centre, Approved School, Borstal or Prison other than on Remand.* Omit approved school orders repealed in under one month.

1. Yes.
2. No.

8. *Known to have been in a Maladjusted School:*

1. Yes.
2. No.

9. *Known to have been in a Special School:*

1. Yes.
2. No.

Behaviour

10. *Has been Adjudged Beyond Control or been under Voluntary Supervision of Probation Officer.*

0. neither.
1. voluntary supervision.
2. beyond control.

11. *Behaviour Problem.* This refers to behaviour at home and in institutions such as hostels. It includes stealing from home, staying out all night or keeping very late hours, running away from home, leaving home after quarrelling without telling a parent, threatening or assaulting parents, refusing to work or contribute to home where this brings boy into definite conflict with parents, piling up hire purchase and refusing to pay, destructiveness, definite bullying of siblings, definite deceitfulness; all cases where parents have consulted a social worker or psychiatrist over their son's behaviour and it is not said if this was frivolous; all cases such as those involving drink or drugs where son's anti-social behaviour outside the home brings him into conflict with parents. Include cases in which it is clear that the son has been extremely difficult but it is not specified how.

0. no evidence.
1. evidence other than wandering.
2. evidence of wandering.

12. *Pilfering.*

0. no evidence.
1. has stolen in small amounts (less than £2 from home or house in which he was staying; necessary that stealing should be alone).

13. *Bad Behaviour in Institution.*

0. no evidence.
1. evidence of poor behaviour other than absconding.
2. evidence of absconding.

14. *Social Problems.*

0. no evidence.
1. officer emphasises area, companions or activities of probationer.

15. *Work Problem.*

3. definitely bad work record (over six jobs; out of work for six months; very strong emphasis in report).
2. emphasis on bad record.
1. no mention as good or bad.
0. mentioned as good.
C. not applicable (straight from school).

16. *Out of Work at Time of Offence.*

0. definitely not.
1. not known.
2. definitely yes.

Background History.

17. *Homeless.* Probationer had not lived at home for at least a month and either he was unwilling to return to his parents or they are unwilling to have him. There should be no relations with whom he had lived and to whom he was willing to return or permanent friends in the same class.

1. yes.
2. no.

18. *Home Leaver.* Has left home and worked at sea, in the Services or in a fair. Appears to have moved round the country, holding different jobs, has made a definite attempt to live on his own and has done so.

1. yes
2. no

19. *Has Lived with More than One Family* (i.e. has not always definitely been domiciled with one parent or his or her natural successor)

1. yes
2. no

20. *Has Never been Separated from Home for More than One Year* (except as the result of placement in an approved school)

0. yes
1. no

21. *Family with whom Last Living*

1. father and mother
2. father/step-mother
3. father alone
4. mother/step-father

5. mother alone
6. foster or adoptive parents
7. female relative or female foster parent
8. male and female relatives
9. grandparent(s)
X. other

22. *Inadequate Masculine Control.* (*a*) Father or substitute, 25 or less, 60 or over, chronic invalid/disabled or undergoing mental treatment, chronically out of work, away at sea or in the Army or dead; or (*b*) the boy was perpetually out of work and no parent was prepared to push him.

1. yes
2. no

23. *Unsatisfactory Family.* Family means family unit with whom last living. It includes relatives but not landladies, etc. Living implies that it was intended to be a permanent arrangement. A family is said to be unsatisfactory if (*a*) there was a marital situation leading to actual fights, prolonged non-speaking, either leaving home or consulting social worker (not simply "tension"); (*b*) family was generally considered a problem family (children in care for neglect, etc.); (*c*) there was a mental history in either parent who was receiving treatment at home; (*d*) there was actual malicious behaviour from either parent towards the probationer (father assaults him, sets traps for him, mother on probation for neglect, etc.); (*e*) other members had criminal convictions; (*f*) either parent was an alcoholic.

1. yes
2. no

24. *Marital Discord*

1. yes
2. no

25. *Criminal Family*

1. yes
2. no

26. *Presumptive Mother Problem.* Has a malicious mother, no mother, step-mother who is not specifically said to be kind to him, over-protective mother.

1. yes
2. no

27. *Presumptive Father Problem.* Boy is said to resent father strongly. Include step-father cases where this is not specifically denied to be a problem.

1. yes
2. no

28. *Global Assessment*

1. actively stressful home
2. indifferent, neglectful; no discipline in home

3. tension, conflict, black sheep
4. good
5. not applicable, lodgings, homeless, etc.
6. not known

Reason Inferred for Placement

29. *Removal from Home*

1. yes
2. no

30. *Removal from Environment*

1. yes
2. no

31. *Homelessness*

1. yes
2. no

32. *Discipline, Standards, Training, Work*

1. yes
2. no

33. *Interest, Support, Care, Understanding*

1. yes
2. no

34. *Other* (i.e. reason cannot be inferred from above but other reason given)

1. yes
2. no

35. *Not Applicable* (i.e. no report)

1. yes
2. no

36. *Not Inferrable*

1. yes
2. no

37. *Hostel Result*

1. success
2. absconded but successful
3. offended but successful
4. absconded and offended but successful
5. left absconded
6. left recharged
7. left unsuitable
8. left absconded and recharged

38. *Final Result*

1. complete success
2. minor failure (conviction resulting in fine or discharge only)
3. any other conviction
4. non-standard-list conviction resulting in approved school or borstal.

Interview Guide used with Wardens in Intensive Survey

1. *General Account*

2. *Warden*
   Previous relevant experience
   Last job

3. *Matron*
   Previous relevant experience
   Last job

4. *Conditions for Permission to Change Work*	Yes	No	D/K
Can't get on with foreman or workmates	1	2	3
Accused of stealing	1	2	3
Offer of job with more pay	1	2	3
Finds work heavy but physically capable	1	2	3
General attitude on work			

5. *Type of Dress Allowed*	Yes	No	N/A
14" trouser bottoms	1	2	3
Pointed shoes	1	2	3
Jeans to go out	1	2	3
Three-weekly haircuts	1	2	3
Buckle belts	1	2	3
Special hostel clothing	1	2	3
No lapels on jackets	1	2	3

6. *Leisure*	Yes	No	D/K
More than three boys not on standard programme	1	2	3
No places in town out of bounds	1	2	3
Private houses out of bounds without permission	1	2	3

7. *Hostel Customs*	Yes	No	N/A
Use TV without permission	1	2	3
Use wireless without permission	1	2	3
Use dormitories without permission	1	2	3
Use games equipment without permission	1	2	3
Use showers without permission	1	2	3
Use more than one room on free evenings	1	2	3
Allowed photographs outside lockers	1	2	3
Allowed pinups			

8. *Time*
   Time out on Saturday
   Time out on Sunday
   Normal number allowed out on privilege night
   Time expected in on privilege night

9. *Routine*	Yes	No	N/A
Fixed routine in morning	1	2	3
Fixed routine on returning	1	2	3

10. *Spoiling*	Yes	No	D/K
Boys' food fads allowed	1	2	3
Boys given individual assistance with mending	1	2	3
Enuretics not to wash own sheets	1	2	3
Boys request help with letter writing	1	2	3

11. *Relation with Probation Service*	Yes	No	D/K
Did probation service stand in at weekends?	1	2	3
Was there consultation over admission?	1	2	3
Did probation service stand in over leaves?	1	2	3
Has probation service complained to Home Office?	1	2	3
Were there continual differences over court proceedings?	1	2	3
Did warden complain to his committee?	1	2	3
Did warden speak well of his probation officer to committee?	1	2	3

12. *Supervision*	Yes	No	D/K
Regularly allowed to look for work on own	1	2	3
Washing and teeth cleaning checked daily	1	2	3
As far as possible supervised on outside visits, etc.	1	2	3
Letters censored	1	2	3
More than four allowed in rooms unsupervised	1	2	3

13. *Paternalism*	Yes	No	D/K
Advice on girl friends if not asked	1	2	3
All boys have home leave if possible	1	2	3
Pocket money not all at once	1	2	3
Shoes inspected for holes	1	2	3
Boys required to write home at set times	1	2	3

14. *Distance Warden*	Yes	No	D/K
Eat with boys at all evening meals	1	2	3
Eat with boys at some evening meals/Sunday lunch	1	2	3
Sit with boys regularly on hostel nights	1	2	3
Go camping with boys	1	2	3
Go to theatre, etc., with boys	1	2	3
Other particular recreational event	1	2	3

880639 G

	Yes	No	D/K
15. *Distance Matron*			
Eat with boys at all evening meals	1	2	3
Eat with boys at some meals	1	2	3
Sit with boys regularly on hostel nights	1	2	3
Other recreational participation	1	2	3
Go on expeditions with boys	1	2	3
Welcome boys in kitchen	1	2	3

	Yes	No	D/K
16. *Correct behaviour*			
Dumb insolence always corrected	1	2	3
Apologies for accidental slamming of door	1	2	3
Expect boys to stand up if talking to warden standing up	1	2	3
Any swearing in hearing of warden sharply reprimanded	1	2	3

17. *Punishment*

Usual punishment for 30 minutes lateness

Usual punishment for absconding

Probation Hostel Research Questionnaire

Hostel .....

Warden .....

Respondent .....

Official position .....

Ref. No. .....

Introduction

In this questionnaire we are asking you to describe the methods used by the warden and matron in the above hostel. We would like to emphasise that this information will be completely confidential to the research staff, and will not be used in any way that could identify an individual hostel, or member of staff. In the case of serving wardens and matrons the information will only be collected with their permission.

In order to allow for differences of judgment we are trying to get this questionnaire filled in independently by different people. We would therefore ask you not to discuss it.

This questionnaire represents an attempt to discover some of the important ways in which hostels may differ from each other. If, as seems likely, different methods are suitable to different types of boy, understanding such differences is an essential step towards further progress, and your assistance will be very helpful to this end.

Instructions

In this questionnaire we describe a series of imaginary wardens and matrons with contrasting methods. We call these wardens A, B, C, etc. and ask you to indicate how closely the methods of the real warden of the above hostel resemble in spirit, though not necessarily in detail, those of one or other of the imaginary wardens we have contrasted. We do this also for matrons and in both cases we use a scale as shown below.

Warden Smith (say)

Warden A : : : : : : Warden B

If you feel that Mr. Smith's methods correspond very closely to those of one or other of the imaginary wardens described you would tick as follows, the tick being closest to the warden resembled

Warden Smith

Warden A : ✓ : : : : : Warden B

or

Warden Smith

Warden A : : : : : ✓ : Warden B

If you feel that Mr. Smith's methods correspond fairly closely to one or other of the methods described, you would tick as follows:

Warden Smith

Warden A : : ✓ : : : : Warden B

or

Warden Smith

Warden A : : : : ✓ : : Warden B

If you feel that Mr. Smith's methods represent almost exactly a middle path you would tick as follows:

Warden Smith

Warden A : : : ✓ : : : Warden B

Please put one tick only in each scale, and please ensure that you do tick each scale. Under each scale we have placed a space for any comments, doubts or qualifications which you may wish to raise. Please feel free to use them.

Part 1: Warden

1. Warden A is a warden who feels that he should be with the boys as much as he possibly can. He eats with them at the same table, sits with them in the evenings, goes on expeditions with them, takes part in all supervisory duties that involve contact with them, and in many of the training programme events.

Warden B feels that a warden loses effectiveness by being too much with the boys. He does not eat with them and as far as possible uses his assistants for supervisory duties His main contacts with the boys are in his office and at fixed times.

A mid-point might be represented by a warden who relied on normal supervisory duties to bring him into contact with the boys but did not go out of his way to encourage other contacts.

Please tick as described above:

Warden

Warden A: : : : : Warden B

Comments:

2. Warden C is a warden who believes that the standard of behaviour demanded in the hostel must be very clearly defined and enforced at all times This applies in small matters as well as in big. Any slipping in dress, language, or respect will immediately be brought home to the boy who commits it.

Warden D has fe les and is prepared to discuss infringements of them and give the boys the benefi the doubt. He feels that it is better for the atmosphere of the hostel to let the occasional slammed door or swear word pass without comment.

A mid-point might be a warden who strictly enforced rules on obvious breaches of discipline such as lateness but did not concern himself with less blatant matters such as a particular boy's untidiness.

Please tick as described above:

Warden

Warden C: : : : : Warden D

Comments:

3. Warden E believes that it is important to use any opportunity to deal with a boy's problems, attitudes and behaviour whether or not these are immediately relevant to his behaviour in the hostel. As a matter of course he will try to arrange family reconciliations, have personal interviews or discussions with the boy on his attitudes or religious beliefs and involve himself in the boy's resettlement.

Warden F believes that in general it is dangerous and uncalled for to raise issues outside the boy's adjustment to the hostel. He will discourage visits from parents or direct discussion of a boy's problems between himself and the boy. His contacts with the boys will be mainly as a group.

A mid-point between these two positions might be a warden who was quite willing to deal with personal problems if they were directly referred to him but preferred not to take the initiative in raising them.

Please tick as above:

Warden

Warden E: : : : : Warden F

Comments:

4. Warden H believes that firm punishment tends to prevent further trouble both with the culprit and with other boys. He may deprive a boy of privileges

for four weeks for breaches of hostel discipline such as 30 minutes lateness (at night) and use punishments of similar strictness.

Warden I makes no use of any punishment at all except for major offences such as absconding.

A mid-position might be a warden who generally punished half hour lateness with one week's gating.

Please tick as above:

Warden

Warden H: : : : : Warden I

Comments:

Part 2: Matron

5. Matron A spends as much time as possible with the boys. She sits with them, goes shopping with them, and allows them to hang around in the kitchen when she is there.

Matron B concentrates more on the administrative side of her work. She does not allow the boys in the kitchen unless they have specific tasks to do and does not eat with the boys. She feels that this encourages a better and more respectful attitude among the boys.

A mid-point might be a matron who relied on her official duties for her contacts with the boys and neither actively sought them out nor discouraged them.

Please tick as above:

Matron

Matron A: : : : : Matron B

Comments:

6. Matron C believes strongly in keeping the boys up to the mark in the performance of their hostel duties. Many of her contacts with the boys are in connection with their cleaning duties and she feels that this is an important part of their training.

Matron D does not believe that such duties are of great importance and as far as possible she tries to see that the boys do not perform them. Where they do perform them she is not very meticulous in checking them.

A mid-point might be a matron who did not believe that cleaning duties had any particularly good effect on the boys but did not go out of her way to see that they had as few as possible.

Please tick as above:

Matron

Matron C: : : : : Matron D

Comments:

7. Matron E is prepared to spoil the boys a bit even when their demands are inconsiderate. She will get them late dinners with inadequate notice, cater for their food fads and give them extra blankets if they complain of the cold.

Matron F feels that to spoil the boys may give rise to a dependent relationship which is not helpful when the boys return home. She discourages requests for sympathy and is very quick to spot any signs of swinging the lead if a boy says he is ill. Although underneath she may be fond of the boys, she does not feel that it is a good thing to show this too much.

A mid-position might be a matron who will give sympathy if asked, but feels it is better not to encourage such demands among the boys.

Matron

Matron E : : : : : : Matron F

Comments:

Schedule for Interview with Hostel Assistant Wardens

Name Hostel Age

Number of months in hostel

Last job—duration—residential:

1. How did you come to apply for this job?

   Who told you, advert, etc.?

   What interested you? (Effects of previous job—institutional?—family background, attitudes, beliefs.)

   How did you view the job? (Stepping stone, something to try, permanent post, etc.)

   How long did you anticipate staying?

2. How did you actually find it when you got here?

   Same/different from expected. How?

   How did you find conditions at work? What good/bad?

   (Probe: hours, discipline, etc.)

   What kind of relationship with boys? Why?

   Discipline.

   What kind of relationship with other staff?

3. What are your present plans?

   If leaving: Why? When? Any plans? If vacancy tomorrow?

   If staying: Why? What is likely to affect when you leave?

4. Card sort.

5. What hours of duty last week?

   What hours of duty for previous three weekends?

6. Use of leisure: At/away from hostel.

   If away: Where? Entertainments, organisations, pursuits.

   Relationships outside of hostel: peers, girls, parents, others.

7. Jesness.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This is a questionnaire which was devised to cover the opinions of residential staff working in America. Each hostel will receive four copies of it and we should be very grateful if the warden, the matron and the two assistant wardens could fill it in independently, and then return it to us in the stamped addressed envelopes provided. It is very important to us that they do not discuss the questionnaire before completing it, although of course we should be very willing for them to do this afterwards.

We should like to emphasise that this is not a test in which there are right and wrong answers, and it is not in any sense intended to catch the staff out. The answers will be completely confidential to the research staff.

We hope that staff already know that in no sense do they *have* to fill in this questionnaire. By doing so, however, they will be helping us in our efforts towards understanding hostels, and we hope that all staff will in fact complete it. Such co-operation will be greatly appreciated.

One final point. This is the first time that this questionnaire has been used in England. Any comments you have on any aspect of it will be welcome.

Staff Opinion Survey

On the following pages are 143 items designed to determine staff opinion on a number of issues, some of which are specific to this setting and others which are more general. There are, of course, no right or wrong answers to the statements. As a matter of fact, there is considerable disagreement about most of the issues which are raised.

Please make your opinion known on each item, even though there may be a few on which you feel in doubt, or others where you might wish to qualify your answer. It is better to respond to the items quickly and spontaneously rather than to deliberate over the answers for very long. To indicate your response, merely circle the position on the six-point scale which most closely reflects your reaction to the statement. Please fill in the information requested below.

NAME .....

DATE .....

AGE .....

HOSTEL .....

880639 G 4

—3 Disagree very much
—2 Disagree pretty much
—1 Disagree a little
1 Agree a little
2 Agree pretty much
3 Agree very much

1. Boys should be allowed to gripe about hostel rules.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

2. A good staff member should shelter the boys from life's little difficulties.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

3. Some children are so bad that they must be taught to fear adults for their own good.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

4. Punishing a boy immediately for getting into mischief is the best way to stop it.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

5. It is much easier to interact and play with boys than it is to maintain good control.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

6. Staff should adjust to boys somewhat, rather than always expecting the boys to adjust to them.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

7. Boys who are trouble makers have most likely been spanked too much.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

8. There are so many things a boy has to learn in life that there is no excuse for his sitting around with time on his hands.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

9. A boy should be taught to avoid fighting except in extreme instances.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

10. A boy will be grateful later on, for strict training now.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

11. The idea of permissiveness has no place in the rehabilitation of the kind of boys we have here.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

12. Working alone and without help is often a very satisfying experience for a boy.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

13. A boy who can keep calm on the surface no matter what happens, will do well in life.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

14. The boys should be taught to enjoy what they have and not expect to get much more.
3 —2 —1 1 2 3

15. Individual counselling should have priority over recreational activities.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

16. Boys must often be taught to do certain things by just being left on their own.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

17. Staff should ask for the boys' opinions and take them into account when something which directly concerns them is being decided.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

18. A staff member should do his best to avoid disappointments for the boys in his care.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

19. It is frequently necessary to drive the mischief out of a child before he will behave.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

20. If children refuse to obey they should be spanked for it.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

21. It is better to trick a boy into doing something he doesn't want to do, rath that insist on his doing it.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

22. Sometimes it is necessary for a warden to stand up to his committee in order to to get his rights.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

23. Staff must earn the respect of their boys by the way they act.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

24. Physical punishment makes a child fear adults and this is the worst thing that can happen to a child.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

25. Boys who don't try hard for success will feel later on that they missed out on things.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

26. A boy who makes a mess should clean it up himself.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

27. Boys should be allowed to see the matron whenever they want to.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

28. A boy should be taught to come to the hostel staff rather than to fight when he is in trouble.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

29. There is nothing that upsets a person more than a bunch of noisy kids.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

30. Strict discipline develops a fine, strong character.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

31. It is the staff's duty to see to it that the boys do what they know is best.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

32. Too much affection will make a boy a softie.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

33. Most of the problems a boy has will go away by themselves if they are left alone.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

34. A boy should be taught never to depend on others for anything he can do himself.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

35. A boy should never be allowed to curse the staff.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

36. A boy will do better if he learns that showing hurt feelings just makes things worse.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

37. A boy should not be pampered by help from staff with chores.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

38. A boy has a right to his own point of view and should be allowed to express it.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

39. A boy should be protected from jobs which might be too tiring or hard for him.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

40. A wise staff member will teach a boy early just who is boss.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

41. Spanking a boy immediately when he is cross and nagging is better than letting him get into the habit of acting like that.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

42. Boys this age are too immature to profit from talking about their problems.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

43. What children don't know won't hurt them.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

44. A boy who loses a comb or some such article should be taught a lesson by letting him go without it for a time.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

45. In recreation it is much more important for these boys to enjoy themselves than it is for them to learn skills.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

46. Boys too often are asked to do all the compromising and adjusting.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

47. Spanking a child makes it impossible for him to love and respect his parents.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

48. It is good for a boy to have lots of attention.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

49. There is no good excuse for one boy hitting another.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

CONTINUED

2 OF 3

50. There is no excusing someone who upsets the confidence a child has in the hostel staff's way of doing things.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

51. It is no wonder men reach their boiling point when as soon as they come to work they run right into problems.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

52. The boys here can learn more and benefit from organised, structured games than from free play.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

53. Children who are held to firm rules grow up to be the best adults.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

54. There always must be a boss and in the hostel that person should be the warden.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

55. Boys who are taught never to be satisfied with what they have done are the ones who get ahead.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

56. Most of these boys have too much confidence, rather than too little.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

57. It is poor policy to encourage boys to pester you with all their little upsets.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

58. Boys should be trained to be independent by leaving them entirely alone to do their own work.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

59. The boys' ideas should be seriously considered in making hostel decisions.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

60. Many boys need some of the natural meanness taken out of them by force.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

61. If you aren't careful from the start, most of the boys will think they can get away with anything.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

62. Military drill is helpful in teaching self-control.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

63. A wise parent will hesitate before whipping a child to teach him to change his ways.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

64. There are some things which just can't be settled by a mild discussion.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

65. As much as is reasonable, a staff member should try to treat a boy as an equal with himself.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

66. Most good staff members would never even consider striking a boy for bad behaviour.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

67. If the boys know the staff like them and are always for them, they do what they are told without a fuss.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

68. Boys should all be encouraged to learn to box.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

69. Being permissive with these kids is like asking for trouble.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

70. It's best for the boys if they never get started wondering whether the staff's views are right or not.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

71. There will be times when any staff member gets to the point where he feels he can't stand his group a moment longer.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

72. Most children should have stricter discipline than they get.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

73. The hostel in which the structure is clear and the limits tight is best for everyone.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

74. If wardens and assistant wardens have fun with the boys in their care the boys are more apt to take their advice.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

75. "Matter of fact" treatment of boys is better than letting them see how you feel about things.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

76. Staff who allow the boys to get the idea that other people will often help them just encourage them to become failures.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

77. When a boy is in trouble he ought to know he won't be punished for talking about it with the hostel staff.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

78. It is sometimes necessary for a parent to break the child's will.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

79. Boys who are always breaking rules will remember them after a good whipping.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

80. With these boys a wise staff member will establish firm control before trying to act friendly.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

81. There is no reason for hostel staff to have their own way all the time, any more than for the boys to have their own way all the time.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

82. Spanking a child should be avoided by all means because it may break the child's spirit.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

83. The best way to get a boy to behave is to make him feel he is wanted and needed.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

84. It is very bad policy to let a boy begin to have doubts about what the hostel staff have told him.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

85. A man may need to blow his top at the boys, once in a while, just to clear the air a bit.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

86. Boys are actually happier under strict training.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

87. The trouble with giving attention to boys' problems is that they usually want to take advantage of you.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

88. Boys in a hostel must be taught to jump to an order immediately.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

89. The best attitude for a boy to learn is to take things as they are.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

90. When in doubt about interfering, it is best to tell a boy to fight his own battles.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

91. Group punishment never needs to be used with boys this age.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

92. The boys should be encouraged to express their opinions about anything which involves them.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

93. It is actually easier to run a well-controlled, disciplined hostel than it is to form close relationships with the boys.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

94. Many children, like horses, must be broken in order to be trained.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

95. Children who lie to staff should be punished so that they will stop it.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

96. Trying to be completely honest with the boys here is just doing things the hard way.

—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

97. The biggest problem in a hostel is maintaining control.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

98. Wardens should treat the boys with as much consideration and respect as they show to other staff.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

99. Only a cruel person would use physical punishment on a boy.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

100. Group pressure should never be used for control, even though a boy is way out of line.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

101. One of the main goals of treatment in an institution like this is to teach boys to respect authority.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

102. Most of the boys could benefit from much more sympathy than they are given.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

103. A person who thinks he can maintain control of a group without strict limits will soon learn differently.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

104. Hostel staffs who are soft with the boys will never be respected by them.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

105. Boys should be taught to hit back if someone their size hits them.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

106. A boy should never question the orders of hostel staff.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

107. Strict discipline is essential for the training of children.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

108. Hostel staff who give their boys a lot of affection without being careful about it may find that the boys don't mature as they should.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

109. Staff members who start a boy talking about his worries don't realize it is usually better to just leave well enough alone.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

110. You should never let a boy get the idea that what he is doing is good enough, because then he won't try harder.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

111. Hostels that have problems in control are usually those in which the boys don't know their place.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

112. A person can be very helpful to a boy by teaching him how to keep from showing it when he is boiling inside.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

113. A boy who grows up with the idea he will have to do almost everything for himself gets much farther in life.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

114. Hostel life is better if the warden makes the boys feel they are free to say what they are thinking about anything.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

115. Staff should try to prevent most of the difficulties which make a boy unhappy.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

116. If a boy isn't really trying, he should not be rewarded.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

117. A good spanking now and then never hurt any child.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

118. A boy deserves to be punished when he talks back to his parents.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

119. A boy who cheeks a staff member should never be allowed to get away with it.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

120. It actually seems that a knowledge of psychological theory is of very little help in dealing with groups of boys.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

121. If you aren't firm with a group of boys they will almost always tend to get out of control.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

122. A boy who never learns to fight will never really mature.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

123. It seems rather silly to give a home leave to a boy who has not worked hard for it.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

124. Boys like the ones here are too often treated with kid gloves in ways that do not do them any good.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

125. A good child doesn't fight with other children.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

126. Parents should respect the wishes of children just as much as they expect children to respect their wishes.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

127. A boy's trust in the warden should be safeguarded better by not having so many people with different ideas talking to him.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

128. Boys should be allowed to disagree with staff if they feel their own ideas are better.
—3 —2 —1 1 2 3

129. Firm enforcement of rules never really hurts a child.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

130. The ideal hostel is one in which it is clear to all that the warden is in charge, and not the boys.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

131. Staff should be playful rather than dignified with the boys.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

132. Tender treatment of boys should be kept within limits, if the boys are to develop properly.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

133. It would be a mistake to allow a boy to disagree with a staff member in the presence of other boys.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

134. To keep from getting into trouble, a boy should have a healthy fear of adults.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

135. A good spanking is often the only way to convince children you mean it when you tell them something.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

136. Boys have a right to an explanation when the staff asks them to do something.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

137. It is better for a boy to be a little too ready to fight than to be unwilling.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

138. It is natural for a staff member to blow his top when the boys are demanding and selfish.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

139. Staff members who enjoy playing games with their boys usually have more trouble with them.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

140. If you let the boys talk about their troubles, they end up complaining even more.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

141. In dealing with these boys, its best to leave theory alone and face the many problems with common sense.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

142. It is best to reserve the use of praise for those times when a boy really tries his best.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

143. A staff member who wants to maintain discipline will have a much easier time if he avoids playing with the boys.

−3 −2 −1 1 2 3

(949041/14) Form H1

HOME OFFICE

NAME OF APPROVED PROBATION HOSTEL OR HOME.....

RETURN FOR THE MONTH ENDED.....

I. NUMBER OF RESIDENTS ON LAST DAY OF THE MONTH

(*a*) Probation cases	
(*b*) Supervision cases	
(*c*) Other residents	
(*d*) Total	

II. VACANCIES

(*e*) Places promised	
(*f*) Existing vacancies not already promised	
(*g*) Places not already promised which are likely to become available in the next 6 weeks	

III. PARTICULARS OF RESIDENTS ADMITTED DURING THE MONTH (*Insert "nil" if appropriate. Include in Part V readmissions after absconding*)

Name (surname first in block letters)	Date of birth	Type of case: (*a*), (*b*) or (*c*) in item 1 above	Date of admission	Period of residence prescribed (months)	Name of Court	Date of court order
					(If not under supervision of a probation officer, give instead name of placing authority)	

IV. PARTICULARS OF RESIDENTS WHOSE PERIOD OF RESIDENCE HAS BEEN EXTENDED DURING THE MONTH (*Insert "nil" if appropriate*)

Name (surname first in block letters)	Type of case: (*a*), (*b*) or (*c*) in item 1 above	Date to which period has been extended
I. By the court		
II. With the authority of the Secretary of State (Rule 10. Approved Probation Hostel and Home Rules, 1949)		

V. PARTICULARS OF RESIDENTS OTHER THAN ABSCONDERS WHO LEFT DURING THE MONTH (*Insert "nil" if appropriate*)

Name (Surname first in block letters)	Type of case: (*a*), (*b*) or (*c*) in item 1 overleaf	Date of leaving	Circumstances: (e.g., period expired; re-charged; residence requirement cancelled by court for good progress; entered H.M. forces).	Destination: e.g. home, lodgings, army, approved school, etc.

VI. PARTICULARS OF RESIDENTS WHO ABSCONDED, OR RETURNED FROM ABSCONDING, DURING THE MONTH (*For the purposes of this return residents absent for less than 24 hours without leave should not be recorded as absconders*) (*Insert "nil" if appropriate*)

Name (Surname first in block letters)	Type of case: (*a*), (*b*) or (*c*) in item 1 overleaf	Whether absconded or returned	Date

I certify that the information given above records all changes during the month.
REMARKS (*if any*)

Date..... *Signed*.....
Warden

THIS RETURN SHOULD BE COMPLETED TO SHOW THE POSITION ON THE LAST DAY OF EACH MONTH AND SHOULD BE DESPATCHED TO THE HOME OFFICE ON THAT DAY

APPENDIX 7

Further Data on Staff Attitude Questionnaire

This appendix is designed for those who may wish to use the staff attitude questionnaire in further research. Tables are based on replies from the 16 wardens and 29 assistant wardens only. Table 66 gives the split half reliabilities of the scales and summary scales, and compares them with the test retest correlations obtained by Jesness on 49 supervisors at Fricot ranch. Jesness measured this stability over a two year period. Table 67 gives the intercorrelations between the 13 subscales. Jesness[1] gives a similar table and also includes the summary scales and a shortened version of the California F test.

Table 66

Split Half Reliabilities of Scales in Staff Attitude Questionnaire Compared with Test-Retest Stability Found in Fricot Ranch Study

	Split-Half Correlations (n=45)	*Test-Retest Correlations* (n=49)
For Authority	·71	·78
For Strictness	·58	·73
For Control	·45	·35
For Breaking the Will	·22	·32
For Harshness	·59	·48
For Forcing Independence	·52	·62
For Aggression	·15	·41
For Achievement	·34	·73
Withholding Affection	·23	·46
Suppression of Affection...	·17	·58
For Equality	·69	·65
For Discussing Problems	·20	·67
Defensiveness	·31	·41
Authoritarian Control	·78	·73
Punitive Discipline	·69	·55
Emotional Distance	·35	·67
Equalitarian Interaction	·58	·73
Custody Orientation	·86	·78

Source: Intensive sample.

NOTE: These are " raw " correlation coefficients.

Table 67

Inter-correlation Matrix for Scales on Staff Attitude Questionnaire

	Authority	Strictness	Control	Breaking Will	Harshness	Independence
Authority	1·000	0·637	0·469	0·419	0·278	0·407
Strictness	0·637	1·000	0·615	0·424	0·237	0·224
Control	0·469	0·615	1·000	0·452	0·278	0·518
Breaking Will	0·419	0·424	0·452	1·000	0·501	0·372
Harshness	0·278	0·237	0·278	0·501	1·000	0·442
Forcing Independence ...	0·407	0·224	0·518	0·372	0·442	1·000
Aggression	−0·191	−0·219	−0·236	−0·103	−0·075	−0·157
Achievement	0·333	0·449	0·444	0·369	0·321	0·114
Withholding Affection ...	0·409	0·443	0·366	0·160	0·146	0·108
Suppression of Affection...	0·566	0·400	0·176	0·212	0·078	0·129
Equality	−0·275	−0·423	−0·522	−0·218	−0·201	−0·073
Discussing Problems ...	−0·383	−0·326	−0·320	−0·141	−0·139	−0·227
Defensiveness	−0·008	0·015	0·021	0·161	−0·122	0·222

Aggression	Achievement	Withholding Affection	Suppression of Affect	Equality	Discussing Problems	Defensiveness
−0·191	0·333	0·409	0·566	−0·275	−0·383	−0·008
−0·219	0·449	0·443	0·400	−0·423	−0·326	0·015
−0·236	0·444	0·366	0·176	−0·522	−0·320	0·021
−0·103	0·369	0·160	0·212	−0·218	−0·141	0·161
−0·075	0·321	0·146	0·078	−0·201	−0·139	−0·122
−0·157	0·114	0·108	0·129	−0·073	−0·227	0·222
1·000	−0·112	−0·350	−0·023	0·054	−0·135	0·390
−0·112	1·000	0·073	0·214	−0·220	−0·140	−0·002
−0·350	0·073	1·000	0·322	−0·311	−0·234	−0·170
−0·023	0·214	0·322	1·000	−0·071	−0·436	0·042
0·054	−0·220	−0·311	−0·071	1·000	0·461	0·210
−0·135	−0·140	−0·234	−0·436	0·461	1·000	−0·104
0·390	−0·002	−0·170	0·042	0·210	−0·104	1·000

Source: Intensive sample, $n=45$.

1. Jesness, C. F., *The Fricot Ranch Study*, California Department of Youth Authority Research Report 47, 1965.

APPENDIX 8

Background Factors affecting Success in Lodgings

The findings on the importance of home environment raise the problem of disposal on leaving the hostel. Should a boy from a poor home be returned to his home or should he be placed in lodgings? This problem has been discussed in relation to a junior approved school by Craft[1], who found on following up 60 boys that those who returned home were significantly more likely to be reconvicted or recommitted than those who went into logings. He suggested that a possible explanation was that the boys who returned home often went to the schools in the neighbourhoods from which they were convicted and were at a disadvantage compared with the "lodgings group".

"It is clear that despite the impressive quality of care, years of training and careful consideration as to discharge placement, the youths still retained a personality fault sufficient to permit a relapse into delinquency of stress and if, as one was often bound, they were placed back into the very family environment which had at least contributed to the faulty development, then one might not be surprised at the frequency of relapse". Craft also noted that two of the five reconvictions and one of the two recommittals that occurred among those going into lodgings took place shortly after the boys concerned had returned home.

Hostel wardens and liaison officers, however, are not generally enthusiastic that a boy should enter lodgings on leaving the hostel: the practice may make it more difficult to find a job for the boy's successor in the hostel and if repeated may lead to the formation of a colony of hostel boys, who are thought likely to exert a bad influence. In addition, wardens feel that although boys are often eager to go into lodgings, they are ill-equipped to deal with the problems that these present. They fail to get themselves up in the morning, to manage their laundry or to feed themselves properly; they miss the noise, company and comfort of the hostel and antagonise their landladies; in the end they commit further offences or drift back to their former towns. This, at any rate, appears to be the general impression, but some wardens encourage their boys to find lodgings if they feel that their homes are unsatisfactory.

By use of the H1 hostel returns it was possible to distinguish those boys who went into lodgings from the others. Little is known about the destinations of these others, some of whom may have gone into lodgings in their home town, joined relatives or taken work away from home. However, an unsystematic reading of hostel records strongly suggests that most of these boys do in fact go home. Table 68 gives the destination of the background sample, excluding those who left the hostel as the result of an absconding or offence.

19% of those on whom the returns had been completed were known to go into lodgings. Do these boys do better or worse than the others? In examining this question, all boys who committed an offence before leaving the hostel were omitted (whether or not they left as a result) as were those who left as the result of an absconding. Those whose destination was not known were assumed not

Table 68

Destination on Leaving Hostel

		%
Lodgings	57	19·2
Others	228	76·8
Not known	12	4
Total	297	100

Source: Background sample.

to have gone into lodgings. These decisions left 247 boys, 53 of whom were known to go into lodgings on leaving the hostel. Table 69 compares the subsequent careers of the two groups.

Table 69

Destination Related to Reconviction

	Reconvicted	%	*Not Reconvicted*	%	*Total*
Lodgings	21	40	32	60	53
Elsewhere	113	58	81	42	194
Total	134	54	113	46	247

Source: Background sample.

$\chi^2 = 5 \cdot 82$; df=1; $p < \cdot 05$

So probationers in the background sample who went into lodgings were significantly less likely to be reconvicted than those going elsewhere. This finding seemed to be of importance and was therefore checked on the reconviction sample. In this second analysis all those reconvicted in the first year were omitted. Table 70 sets out the results.

Table 70

Destination Related to Reconviction

	Reconvicted	%	*Not Reconvicted*	%	*Total*
Lodgings	26	53	23	47	49
Elsewhere	43	39	68	61	111
Total	69	43	91	57	160

Source: Reconviction sample.

$\chi^2 = 2 \cdot 84$; df=1; N.S.

In contrast to the background sample, those members of the reconviction sample who went into lodgings were more likely to be reconvicted than those going elsewhere. This difference in interactions between the two groups is significant (χ^2 for difference in interaction=8·23 ; df=1 ; p<·01). There is no obvious explanation for the difference, which casts some doubt on the validity of the further analyses done on the background sample. Some of these analyses, however, were suggestive and are given below.

One factor which showed an interesting relationship to success was work record. For the purposes of analysis this was dichotomised into poor or bad on the one hand, and good or no information on the other. Boys who had entered the hostel straight from school and therefore had no work record were omitted from the analysis. Table 71 sets out the relationships obtained.

Table 71

Work Record and Post-hostel Residence in relation to Subsequent Reconvictions

	Lodgings						*Others*					
Work Record	*Reconvicted*		*Not Reconvicted*		*Total*		*Reconvicted*		*Not Reconvicted*		*Total*	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
Bad or poor ...	12	67	6	33	18	100	43	57	33	43	76	100
Good or N/K	9	27	24	73	33	100	67	60	44	40	111	100
Total	21	41	30	59	51	100	110	59	77	41	187	100

Source: Background sample.

Corrected[2] χ^2=5·93; df=1; p<·05 Corrected χ^2=·10; df=1; N.S.

67% of those who went into lodgings with bad or poor work records were reconvicted as against 27% of those with good work records or no mention of their work records. On the other hand, those with bad or poor work records did slightly better than the others if they went home. On these data, the hypothesis that the relationship of work record to reconviction is the same in lodgings as it is at home would be rejected (χ^2 for difference in interaction=7·11 ; df=1 ; p<·01). This, perhaps, is not a surprising result, since failure to draw wages is a less serious matter where the most likely result is a family row than it is where the most likely result is ejection from lodgings. Nevertheless, it is not a result which was predicted and this finding should therefore be viewed with caution.

It was felt likely that those whose removal from home had been particularly stressed in the reports would also do better in lodgings. In fact, however, only 14 of these boys appeared to be placed in lodgings as opposed to 104 who went elsewhere. Of these 14, eight failed, as did 58 of the remaining 104. The reconviction rate among those in this group who went into lodgings was therefore virtually the same as the reconviction rate of those who presumably went home and although the numbers were small, there was clearly no evidence that lodgings were a particularly satisfactory solution for this group.

One interesting finding related to those who had left home at some time before they entered the probation hostel. Not surprisingly, members of this group were

likely to go into lodgings, providing 43% of those known to do so as against 16% of the others. Those "home leavers", however, who entered lodgings did significantly better than those who did not. Table 72 sets out the relationship of destination and reconviction in this group.

Table 72

Destination related to Reconviction among Home Leavers

Destination	*Reconvicted*	%	*Not Reconvicted*	%	*Total*
Lodgings	9	41	13	59	22
Elsewhere	23	74	8	26	31
Total	32	60	21	40	53

Source: Background sample.

Corrected χ^2=4·65; df=1; p<·05

41% of the home leavers who went into lodgings were reconvicted, as opposed to 74% of those who went elsewhere. This finding could be given a variety of interpretations ; for example, some boys might signify their dissatisfaction with their homes by leaving them and committing offences on their return, or those who go into lodgings may be more stable than those who go elsewhere.

Before leaving these findings one warning should be repeated. The results were not expected and must be checked on further samples before confidence can be placed in them.

NOTES

1. Craft, M., *Ten Studies into Psychopathic Personality*, John Wright and Son, 1965, pp. 91-92.

2. As the numbers are small, Yates' correction has been applied to these χ^2 although this has not been the general practice elsewhere in the report.

APPENDIX 9

Recent Developments—An Account by the Probation and After-Care Department of the Home Office

Since the survey on which the Report is based was undertaken there have been developments in a number of directions which, while not necessarily invalidating any of the general conclusions reached, alter the picture of the hostels which it portrays.

1. *Staff Salaries and Hours of Duty*

Salaries have been substantially improved. The salary scales for wardens and matrons are now identical with those of housemasters and matrons of approved schools. A separate scale has been introduced for deputy wardens which substantially overlaps the wardens' scale, while the assistant wardens' scale has also been similarly improved. Together, the salary scales for assistant, deputy and warden now also span the probation officers' scale—and indeed are more favourable at the wardens' maximum. It has been agreed that hours of duty should be reduced to 45 a week and that all staff should have one and a half days off duty each week with, where possible, a long weekend each month. Some progress has already been made towards this goal by the alteration of duty rotas, the employment of part-time relief staff and the employment of clerical staff to relieve the supervisory staff of some of the burdens of accounting and administration.

2. *Accommodation*

The general standard of accommodation for staff has been much improved in the last few years. Almost all of the hostels now provide a self-contained three bedroom unit with lounge/dining room, kitchen and bathroom for the warden and a similar two bedroom unit for the deputy. The newer hostels include self-catering facilities for the assistant warden and, in some cases, a separate sitting room and bedroom. The remaining hostels will be brought up to this standard as opportunity offers.

3. *Training for Staff*

Wherever possible wardens are now appointed sufficiently far in advance to enable them to take the 12 months Residential Child Care Course arranged by the Central Training Council in Child Care. All newly appointed wardens are additionally given a one month familiarisation placement with an experienced warden and a month's placement with the probation service to learn something of the background to their work.

Existing wardens are encouraged to take the full residential child care training and several have now done so. Staff of all grades are additionally encouraged to take the day release or the three months residential courses being arranged by local authorities for their residential child care staff, and the possibility of providing joint training for staffs of probation and after care hostels is being

explored. Nearly half of the wardens of boys' hostels now possess a recognised qualification or are in process of acquiring one.

Regular day conferences of wardens, liaison probation officers and members of managing committees are being held on a regional basis at roughly four-monthly intervals. These are doing much to improve relationships between wardens and liaison officers and the understanding of managing committees as to their role. They are also helping to secure more uniformity of practice. Longer, residential conferences are now being introduced to enable participants to explore problems at greater depth than is generally possible in one day.

4. *Hostel Regimes*

Hostels have been encouraged to develop more permissive and outward-looking regimes, partly through the training now being provided, and in particular through the regional group conferences, which are always attended by Home Office representatives, and partly through the selection of wardens. It is now generally the practice to invite a Home Office inspector to attend selection committee meetings when the appointment of a new warden is being considered.

Specifically, the aim has been to reduce the number and variety of compulsory chores residents are expected to undertake to a level commensurate with the fact that they are paying for their board and lodging at a rate not very different from what they would pay in lodgings or an ordinary hostel. Leisure activities are being directed away from the regimented hostel-centred basis towards community participation on an individual basis in the light of individual needs and responsibilities. Uniform "hostel dress" has been discouraged in favour of individual purchase as required, with reasonable freedom of choice. In the older age group hostels, residents are allowed increasing freedom to handle and dispose of their earnings—ultimately merely paying over to the staff their maintenance charge. This is usually coupled with a greater measure of freedom to come and go as the resident pleases and to participate in any remaining hostel-organised activities on a voluntary basis.

The more widespread introduction of regular staff meetings, usually attended by the liaison probation officer, and in a number of cases assisted by a consultant psychiatrist, has encouraged staff to think more deeply about the problems presented by the residents and has helped them to meet these problems in a constructive way.

5. *Children and Young Persons Act 1969*

When the Bill comes into effect it will no longer be possible for the courts to make probation or supervision orders with a requirement of residence in a probation hostel in the case of young persons under 17 years of age. This reduction in the age range covered by the probation hostels will produce more homogeneous groups, but since the groups will be older and are unlikely to respond to a highly structured regime, progress towards more open and permissive organisations will be accelerated. The reduction in the number of places required for the older groups will mean that hostels will not be able to be as selective as they have been in the past when demand for places exceeded supply and greater risks will have to be accepted.

Titles already published for the Home Office Research and Statistics Department

Studies in the causes of Delinquency and the Treatment of offenders

1. Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training
by Dr Hermann Mannheim and Leslie T. Wilkins. 21s. 0d. (23s. 0d.) Re-issued

2. Time Spent Awaiting Trial
by Evelyn Gibson. 4s. 6d. (4s. 10d.)

3. Delinquent Generations
by Leslie T. Wilkins. 2s. 6d. (2s. 10d.)

4. Murder
by Evelyn Gibson and S. Klein. 4s. (4s. 4d.)

5. Persistent Criminals
by W. H. Hammond and Edna Chayen. 25s. (26s. 8d.)

6. Some Statistical and other Numerical Techniques for Classifying Individuals
by P. Macnaughton-Smith. 3s. 6d. (3s. 10d.)

7. Probation Research. A Preliminary Report
by S. Folkard, K. Lyon, M. M. Carver, and E. O'Leary. 4s. 6d. (5s.)

8. Trends and Regional Comparisons in Probation (England and Wales)
by Hugh Barr and E. O'Leary. 5s. (5s. 4d.)

9. Probation Research. A Survey of Group Work in the Probation Service
by H. Barr. 8s. (8s. 8d.)

10. Types of Delinquency and Home Background. A Validation Study of Hewitt and Jenkins' Hypothesis
by Elizabeth Field. 2s. 9d. (3s. 1d.)

11. Studies of Female Offenders
by Nancy Goodman and Jean Price. 6s. (6s. 6d.)

12. The Use of the Jesness Inventory on a Sample of British Probationers
by Martin Davies. 2s. 3d. (2s. 7d.)

13. The Jesness Inventory : Application to Approved School Boys
by Joy Mott. 3s. 6d. (3s. 10d.)

Home Office Research Studies

1. Workloads in Children's Departments
by Eleanor Grey. 7s. 6d. (8s.)

2. Probationers in their Social Environment
by Martin Davies. 17s. 6d. (18s. 6d.)

3. Murder 1957 to 1968
by Evelyn Gibson and S. Klein. 12s. (12s. 6d.)

4. Firearms in Crime
by A. D. Weatherhead and B. M. Robinson. 6s. 0d. (0d. 0d.)

5. Financial Penalties and Probation
by Martin Davies. 6s. 0d, (0s. 0d.)

Prices in brackets include postage.

HMSO

Government publications can be purchased from the Government Bookshops at the addresses listed on cover page iv (post orders to PO. Box 569. London SE1), or through booksellers.

(880639) Dd 501113 K20 12/70 St.S.

END