

*‘GIRLS WILL BE GIRLS’ APPROVED
SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS IN ENGLAND,
1933-1973*

Jessamy Rose Carlson

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Department of Sociology, University of Essex

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NOTE (i)

The title of this thesis is inspired by a pamphlet published by the Women's Research & Resources Centre in their series 'Explorations in Feminism'. Casburn's work 'Girls will be girls: sexism and juvenile justice in a London borough' was based on a twelve-week observation undertaken in the late 1970s in an unspecified English juvenile court of two hundred and six cases, of which thirty-eight involved girls.

NOTE (ii)

The names of all the children discussed in this thesis have been changed to protect their identity. Potentially identifying details of their lives and experience have been amended in order to preserve their anonymity, and names assigned through the use of a random name generator. No individual should be able to recognise themselves in this thesis, and any such identification will be purely coincidental.

NOTE (iii)

In recent years it has become clear that women are not only understudied but often conspicuously absent from scientific studies and from research data. Criado Perez observed that "seeing men as the human default is fundamental to the structure of human society. It's an old habit and it runs deep... In the fourth century BC Aristotle was already baldly articulating male default as unarguable fact." (2019, p.1) This is also reflective of the contemporary and indeed, the current, legal framework. In legal language, the default is always male. And in a legally directed framework of operations, in which the majority population is male, both in terms of perpetrator and recipient, it is perhaps little surprise that the presence much less the voice of women and girls is all but forgotten. As Criado

Perez noted, “in short, because men go without saying, it matters when women literally can’t get said at all.” (2019, p.5) The language we use matters.

In a similar vein, a sentence in *The Brooke Serious Case Review into Child Sexual Exploitation [Bristol Safeguarding Children Board]* (2015) stood out as pertinent in approaching terminology on this topic.

“Throughout the report the term child is used rather than young person. Whilst we acknowledge that many teenagers prefer not to be described as children, we have accepted the view of Louise Casey, expressed following the Rotherham inquiry into CSE: “It is therefore important that professionals working in [this] field... refer to anyone under 18 as a child so their status is never overlooked.” (BSCB, 2015, p.2)

For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the following terms:

- Children, meaning boys and girls under the age of fourteen years, as set out in the Children & Young Persons Act (1933). When I say children, I will be referring to both boys and girls. I will broadly refer to those committed to the approved schools as children, and when discussing children in the approved schools, it should be assumed that I mean girls as well as boys.
- Young people, meaning boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen years of age, as set out in the Children & Young Persons Act (1933).

ABSTRACT

This thesis comprises a detailed study of approved schools for girls, which operated in England and Wales between 1933-1973. Through original archival research, it examines the transition of provision for girls and young women “in trouble” from the large scale post-Victorian reformatories to the therapeutic Community Homes for Education and shows the emergence of a “diagnostic shift” in the provision of state care for children in the secure estate. Around half a million children passed through these schools over forty years. Alongside evidence drawn from extant school records, it examines contemporary professional publications, Historic Hansard and papers in the Home Office archives to evidence the influence of professionals on the policy and practice of the approved schools. The combination of these strands of work allows a detailed study of an institution largely absent from the broader historical, sociological, and criminological discourses on mid to late twentieth century youth custody and state welfare.

This research reveals a more nuanced understanding of the role approved schools played in the state care of children and young people in need of care, protection, or control during this period. It evidences gendered use of care or protection orders throughout, weighted towards young women, since between sixty and seventy-five percent of girls within the schools overall were the subject of such orders in comparison to less than five percent of boys. It shows that younger girls were routinely committed to the schools for offences under the Education Act, suggesting this legislation was used to police child and family behaviours. It also demonstrates that larceny was the dominant crime for which the remaining girls were committed to the schools. Finally, it demonstrates a marked change from the 1930s approaches to reform as rescue through to the framing of behaviour as a variety of mental health disorders by the 1970s.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In the summer of 2005, I was working in the modern records unit of an English county council, undertaking some pre-course experience before I undertook my postgraduate qualification in archive administration, when I first came across records from a girls' approved school. I had been asked to weed – or thin out - some files, and inevitably, ended up reading them as I went along. These files dated from around the mid-twentieth century and I was genuinely shocked by the contents and moved by some of the letters back to the staff from former students. Years later, as the child sexual exploitation scandals from Rotherham and Rochdale, Oxford and Derby, Telford and others began to seep into the public domain, the language used to describe these children sounded very familiar.

Eventually, I felt that I had to study this, to look more closely at these schools and determine what if anything might be drawn from their records. Now, as the most recent review of state care for children, in the shape of the final report of the Independent Review of Children's Social Care (2022) has been published, and as the Ministry of Justice plan to open a new secure school as part of the youth justice estate, it has never been more prescient to be examining these largely overlooked institutions. Since the 1970s, secure homes, secure training centres and young offenders' institutions have made up the secure estate for children and young people. Now secure schools are back on the policy table in a new way after an arguable fifty-year absence from the landscape of state care for children.

1.II RESEARCH PROBLEM

This thesis examines the approved schools for girls in England between the Children & Young Persons Acts in 1933 and 1969, up to their eventual closure or transition into community homes for education in 1973. In reconstructing and reshaping the understanding of girls in approved schools, it explores the nuances of juvenile delinquency and female deviance against a backdrop of the burgeoning welfare state, and its associated bureaucracy. It will contribute to interdisciplinary understandings of girls' delinquency and welfare in Britain between 1933-1973, considering the complex and contested role of juvenile institutions within children's and family social welfare systems. It will also highlight the complexities and contradictions extant within the production, archiving and accessing of social care records, both institutional and individual. It will divide key questions into those addressed from an institutional perspective, and – where possible - from the perspective of an individual child within the approved schools.

The central question asks how approved schools fit within existing historical, sociological, and criminological understandings of responses to juvenile delinquency in the mid twentieth century, and what can be learnt from an in-depth study of these schools about how discourses of juvenile delinquency changed across this period. It will examine how girls who were sent to approved schools were represented in policy and other debates in their contemporary society, and analyse the extent to which approved schools encouraged, discouraged, and shaped discourses of girls' delinquency, and the forms that this took. Finally, it will consider how the records of approved schools have been positioned within the wider archival framework, and what are the implications and realities of this in practice for researchers.

Through offering an administrative history of approved schools for girls, distinct from the provision for boys, this thesis will examine how these institutions fitted into the broader frameworks of social care and welfare in mid-twentieth century England and Wales. It will also consider which organisations managed and funded approved schools, and to whom such organisations were accountable. It will determine how approved schools developed from their predecessor bodies, the reformatory and industrial schools, considering how this might have shaped the experience of children in the care of these organisations. It will examine the extent to which approved schools positioned themselves as providers of care, control, and education, how this was weighted in day-to-day life in the approved schools and explore how this is reflected in contemporary understanding of the role of these institutions, particularly with regard to their own record keeping practices. Through the analysis of language used, and practices undertaken, it will identify markers of progressive social reform within the schools and the staff who worked in them.

It will consider – where sources allow - the trajectory of a child committed to the approved schools, and what factors might lead to the admittance of a child to an approved school, considering the gendered experience of mid-twentieth century English juvenile justice. It will also consider how contemporary constructions of morality were applied to girls through the courts, and how this notion of “moral welfare” permeated and informed the policing of girls’ behaviour in this period. In order to fully understand what being committed to an approved school might mean for a child, this thesis will examine what day to day life in an approved school was like, and determine what regimes, activities, training, and support was available in an approved school during this period. It will also consider what the anticipated outcomes for girls were at the end of their time in an approved school,

and how the licensing system was used to monitor girls once their time at the school was concluded.

It will examine how professionals interacting with girls in approved schools thought about and discussed their charges in professional literature, and how this discourse influences public perceptions of girls in approved schools. More broadly, this thesis will examine how approved schools featured in public and political discourse and contemporary policy on juvenile justice and child protection. It will set out how, by whom and to what effect girls who attended approved schools are represented as victims and/or offenders, and how this might be connected with criminological theories of incarceration and care of the period studied. The thesis will explore the extent to which approved schools encouraged or discouraged new discourses of juvenile victimization, and what forms these discourses took, considering how far girls were blamed for their situations, and how far these discourses rested upon ideas of victim proneness or victim culpability.

This thesis will examine what shaped and defined the journeys of girls into and out of approved schools. In order to do this, it will examine how historians might recover these experiences, when confronted with increasingly risk averse record keeping practices which fundamentally restrict legitimate research into the history of social care provision in the twentieth century. It will set out the extent to which the voice of the child is present within the documentation of their time in an approved school, and the politics of considering this personal and individual history. It will examine how the experiences of girls in approved schools might be framed within a broader experience of contemporary social care and welfare institutions and services, both before and after their time at an approved school. It will seek to uncover, as far as possible, their documented personal experiences of this journey within approved schools and allied institutions and services. It will examine how

girls represent and narrate their own agency, choices, behaviours, and victimhood in the context of admission to approved schools and consider to extent to which adverse childhood experiences may have been identified, measured, and uncovered during this period.

Using contemporary judicial statistics and other relevant data, it will examine how the courts dealt with young people using care or protection orders (care or control orders after 1963), and furthermore, it will consider how this protectionist approach was used to police the behaviour of girls and young women during this period through the means of welfare, rather than through criminal justice. This research will position the care or protection order within the wider long term sexualisation of girls' delinquency and examine what the experience of girls in approved schools during this period can contribute to our understanding of the gendered structure of the juvenile courts. It will examine how this sexualisation simultaneously reveals and refutes the victimisation of girls and young women and their experiences of both sex and child sexual exploitation.

1.III. APPROVED SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND 1933-1973ⁱ

Approved schools institutions for girls (and boys) operated throughout England, and also Wales and Scotland, between 1933 and 1973. Schools operating in Wales and Scotland do not form any part of the archival sources for this thesis, although it may be assumed that observations made here about the English schools very likely have much in common with their Scottish and Welsh counterparts. Approved schools were:

“residential establishments approved by the Secretary of State under section 79 of the Children & Young Persons Act, 1933, for children and young persons whom the courts [considered] to need not only removal from home, but also a fairly long period of residential training.” (Mumford, 1961, p. 67; *Handbook*, 1962, s. 1; CMND 2051, 1963, p. iii))

This research shows that seventy-two approved schools for girls operated throughout this period, although only ten operated for the duration of the period. There is no central list of schools which operated across this period, and the details have been drawn together from various archival sources, set out in Appendix A. Ten schools for girls operated for upwards of thirty years, and a third of the schools had previously operated as either an industrial or reformatory schoolⁱⁱ in the years preceding the Children & Young Person’s Act (1933), carrying over buildings, staff and in some cases, children, from their predecessor bodies. Industrial schools became junior approved schools, and reformatory schools became senior approved schools, reflecting the contemporary expectations of the children the schools anticipated they would deal with, and how to best utilise the skills and experience of the staff within them. Industrial and reformatory schools had developed over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and became more common after the introduction of the Poor Law Act in 1834. When the 1908 Children’s Act came into force, children could then be committed to these schools following an appearance in the juvenile court, whether for their own care or protection, or because they had been convicted of a crime. (See

Gelsthorpe & Worrall, 2009, and Cox 2013) This research suggests that between 400,000 and 600,000 children passed through the approved schools during their period of operation, and of these children, around ninety percent were boys (see Ch 4.). As a result, the experiences of boys dominated the policy discourses surrounding the approved schools. By 1961, there were one hundred and seventeen approved schools operating in England and Wales, eighty-two for boys, and thirty-five for girls. A 7:3 ratio of schools, while girls made up between ten and fifteen percent of the children in approved schools. The schools were arranged as follows:

	Number of schools	Type of school	Age on admission
Boys	4	Classifying	Up to 17th birthday
	24	Senior	Between 15th and 17th birthday
	27	Intermediate	Between 13th and 15th birthday
	14	Junior (Secondary)	From 10 1/2 years, up to 13th birthday
	9	Junior (combined Primary & Secondary)	Up to 13th birthday
	4	Junior (Primary)	Up to 10 1/2 years
Girls	1	Classifying	Between 14th and 17th birthday
	22	Senior	Between 15th and 17th birthday
	5	Intermediate	Between 14th and 16th birthday
	1	Intermediate/Junior	Up to 16th birthday
	6	Junior	Up to 15th birthday

Table 1.1 Types of Approved Schools (*Handbook*, 1961, s. 5)

One quarter of approved schools for girls in England and Wales were run by or affiliated to the Roman Catholic church. Indeed, the Home Office continued to divide their statistics into Catholic and non-Catholic children until well into the 1960s. (BN 29/1855, 1961) Local authorities ran almost a third of the approved schools for girls, although a proportion of these were co-run with other organisations, usually of a religious nature, but also with other

charitable organisations such as Barnardo's. Religious organisations ran or co-ran over half of the approved schools for girls in England and Wales.

Organisation which ran / administered the school	Number of approved schools	%
Local authority	16	22%
Local authority co-run with a private organisation	5	7%
Private (unspecified)	12	17%
Church of England/Anglican	8	12%
Roman Catholic	18	25%
Salvation Army	4	6%
Other religious organisation	2	3%
Secular charitable organisation	2	3%
Unknown	5	7%
Total	72	100%

Table 1.2 Approved Schools for Girls in England & Wales 1933-73 (See Appendix A)

A number of English local authorities ran their own schools from the outset. London County Council is a prime example of this, managing a number of schools inside and outside the capital during this period as part of its broader network of social welfare institutions. Other authorities did not have a council-run approved school within their area but might have a privately run institution (albeit one that received a considerable public contribution). Any local authority in England or Wales which saw a child from their area committed to an approved school contributed to their upkeep while resident there, and all juvenile courts were empowered to send children to such schools. (London Gazette, 6 October 1933, p. 6421) Prior to the introduction of the Children's Act in 1948, judges in the juvenile courts were empowered to select the approved school to which a child was committed, as part of the Approved School Order for that child.

The Children & Young Persons Act (1948) introduced classifying schools to the process. These were a small number of approved schools - two for girls and four for boys - which assessed children and young people who were the subject of approved school orders

to determine which approved school would be most suitable for them in the long term. The classifying schools were fixed, based on the geographical location of the court dealing with the child. However, there was no classifying school for girls under the age of fourteen, and both the Magdalen Hospital School and the Shaw School only dealt with girls who were not Catholic. It is not entirely clear from contemporary guidance how judges dealt with Catholic girls, or with the under fourteens but it is assumed that such girls were sent directly to other approved schools. (Mumford, 1961, pp. 74-6).

Approved schools for girls were initially divided into junior schools, for girls between the ages of ten and thirteen and senior schools, for girls between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Under the terms of the 1933 Act, industrial schools became junior approved schools and reformatory schools became senior approved schools for girls. After the Criminal Justice Act (1948) the arrangement schools for girls were overhauled to align more closely to the provision for boys, where the schools were arranged in a tripartite structure. This also allowed the division by age to map across to the mandatory school ages which had come into place after the Education Act (1944) Thereafter junior schools took girls between the ages of ten and thirteen, intermediate schools took girls between the age of thirteen and sixteen, and senior schools took girls between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. Some approved hostels for girls also existed, although these only took girls over the age of sixteen, as part of a longer period of committal, and these were generally used to house girls at the end of their period of training or during a period of licensed supervision. All approved schools were single sex institutions, at least on paper. This research suggests, however, that, sometimes, mixed sibling groups were committed to the same approved school in an attempt to keep the children together away from their home, where they were the subject of care or protection proceedings.

All children sent to an approved school were committed through the juvenile courts. It was not possible to place any child in such a school without undertaking such a process, or through purely private arrangements. Most children committed to an approved school had appeared in the juvenile court on more than one occasion, and admissions registers suggest that most children committed to the schools had been under the supervision of their local juvenile court for some time prior to their admission to a school. There were a number of circumstances which might lead a child to become the subject of an approved school order. Mumford's *Guide to Juvenile Court Law* identified two types of cases coming before the juvenile courts: firstly, offences, and secondly, care or protection, beyond control and refractory juveniles, and truants from school. (5th edn., 1961)

A court may commit a child or young person to an approved school if they have been:

- A. Found guilty of an offence punishable in the case of an adult by imprisonment (1933, C&YPA, s. 57)
- B. Found to be in need of care or protection (care or control after 1963) (1933, C&YPA, s. 62.1)
- C. A victim of an offence mentioned in the first schedule to the act e.g., cruelty, sexual assault &c. (1933, C&YPA, s.63)
- D. Beyond the control of parents (1933, C&YPA, s.64)
- E. Refractory while in the care of a local authority (1933, C&YPA, s.65)
- F. Brought before the court by a probation officer while under supervision (1933, C&YPA, s. 66)
- G. Brought before the court by a local authority to whose care as a "fit person" they had been committed (1933, C&YPA, s.84)
- H. An absconded from the care of a fit person (1933, C&YPA, s. 85)
- Or I. A truant from an ordinary school (the Education Act, 1944, s. 40.3)

In addition, the Secretary of State was empowered by section 58 of the 1933 Act to order the detention in an approved school of a person under the age of eighteen who is undergoing detention in a Borstal institution, a child or young person who is convicted of one of the crimes referred to in section 53 of the 1933 Act, and ordered to be detained, or a

young person who has been ordered to be imprisoned and has been pardoned on condition of their agreeing to undergo training in a school. (*Handbook*, 1961, s. 6)

Mumford's guidance then set out three levels of treatment:

- i. Mild, where little or no punishment is needed, or where nominal advice, guidance and supervision would be sufficient.
- ii. Medium, where more discipline is required coupled with the necessity to change environment for a while.
- iii. Drastic, where prolonged discipline is necessary and/or change of environment is essential for a long period.

Approved school orders were only granted if drastic measures were determined to be required and could be imposed on a child of any age up to and including seventeen.

Section 44 of the Children's Act 1933 specified that "a child under the age of ten may not be committed to an approved school unless for any reasons the court is satisfied that he cannot be dealt with otherwise" but this thesis suggests this did happen on a frequent basis, particularly at the Princess Mary Village Homes (hereafter PMVH). Amongst older children, it was possible to send a child aged sixteen or over straight to a Borstal, but this was unusual for girls, not least as the only Borstal which admitted girls in England and Wales was Aylesbury. (See also Gelsthorpe & Worrall, 2009) If Aylesbury was not in a position to accept a child, and she could not remain at her approved school, the only other option available was to send her to the nearest women's prison. This was rare, but there is evidence of girls from Gisburne House being sent to HMP Holloway for this reason, noted in records by the presence of 'yellow papers'. This practice continued, albeit for a small number of girls, until well into the 1970s. The Eleventh (Short) Report did acknowledge that while it was far from ideal that girls should end up in HMP Holloway,

“it would be uneconomic use of scarce resources to consider providing more remand centres for girls, who, in accordance with the principles of the 1969 Act and [this] report, ought not to be in prison at all. (CMND 6494, 1975, S.16)

The second route was through a care or protection order (prior to 1963) or a care or control order (after 1963). Contemporary statistics in the Home Office records, reported at intervals in Hansard and after 1963, in annual reports by the Children’s Department, suggest that only around a third of girls committed to approved schools had criminal convictions (See Chapter 4). The remaining children were committed under care orders, or because of offences under the Education Act. However, since the school leaving age for much of this period was fourteen, and after 1944, fifteen, this only applies to the younger children. Any girl committed to a senior approved school who had not been convicted of a crime was there under a care order of some description, while amongst the younger children, the group was split between those under a care order and those who had been committed for offences under the Education Act, which was normally persistent truancy. Prior to 1948, the judge in the juvenile court would determine which school a girl should be committed to, and a girl would travel there directly from the court. Thereafter, classifying schools were set up, to which most children were sent. Like the approved schools, these were single sex institutions, and a child might stay at the classifying schools for as little as a few days or as long as six months, while undergoing assessments to determine which school would be most suitable to meet her needs. Children were determined to either be “London girls” or “non-London girls” for the purposes of the Home Office circulars. (BN 29/442 Appendix to HOC 1/1966)

Initially girls aged fourteen or older were sent to either the Shaw School or the Magdalen School. When the Shaw School closed, the Moss Classifying School took over its responsibilities. By 1968, after the closure of the Magdalen Classifying School, provision for

the classification of girls aged fourteen or over who [were] committed to approved schools was split between Horfield Lodge and Middlesex Lodge, both of which took girls were resident in the southern half of England and Wales, while the Moss Classifying School in Sheffield continued to take girls aged fourteen or over who lived in the northern half of England and Wales (except girls from Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire). Girls aged fifteen or older, and who came from any of the London Boroughs, or Kent, Surrey and Sussex were assessed at Cumberlow Lodge. (BN 29/442, HOC 130/68 D1)

An approved school order comprised two parts: the first determined residence in an approved school (or other equivalent establishment), and the second comprised a period of aftercare, i.e., supervision by either the school at which they had most recently been resident, or by the probation service, or in some cases both. The licensing period which came into force when a child left the school, having either reached the age at which the approved school order ceased to apply, or having achieved certain conditions based on behaviour or treatment over a pre-determined period of time. Unlike the first part of the approved school order, which was flexible in terms of duration, licensing was a fixed period of three years, and in the event that a child was re-committed to an approved school, began again upon her release.

The approved schools continued in operation until 1973, when the community homes created by the Children's Act 1969 came into formal existence. (s. 36 and s.39). Approved schools were officially "discontinued" in Section 46.1 of the same act. As in the aftermath of the 1933 Act, a number of the approved schools did transition into community homes including the Princess Mary Villages Homes, but by no means all. Approved school orders became null and void, and all approved school orders still in place became care

orders, making the child or young person in question the responsibility of the relevant local authority, based on which court had issued the original order.

The 1960s saw a number of significant changes made to the legislation surrounding the care of children, in the Children & Young Persons Acts in 1963 and 1969, which enacted reforms of the treatment of children and young people appearing in juvenile courts. The 1963 Act is notable for raising the age of criminal responsibility from eight to ten, but it also emphasised the importance of care and protection of children, developing the framework of care and building on the original ethos of the 1933 Act. The 1963 Act instigated in law the move away from legislated power for the state to act in *loco parentis* for children in trouble, instead actively requiring local authorities to “[diminish] the need to receive children into or keep them in care.” (s.1) For the first time since the 1933 Act, parents were unable to bring their child directly before the courts themselves. (s. 3.1) Instead, parents or guardians were now required by law to engage with the local authority in order to bring a child before the juvenile court for being ‘beyond control’, thus enabling a local authority to intervene before a child potentially ended up in court, providing parents or guardians with help and support, and reducing the number of children committed to the courts for status offences. The 1963 Act also extended the powers of the juvenile court to order parents or guardians to enter a recognizance to ‘exercise proper care and guardianship’ of their children. (Section 6.1.a) The 1963 Act also repositioned care or protection orders as care, protection, or control orders.

In the aftermath of this legislative shift, there followed a tightening up on procedure and practice by the Children’s Department at the Home Office. In a file titled ‘Allocation to approved schools after committal’ Home Office staff discussed changes to arrangements which saw the assigning of children to approved schools.

A Home Office official noted that:

“it has proved impossible to trace the origin of the present practice but the papers in 867973/3 suggest that it was being followed as long ago as 1942, since the first enclosure to a circular letter issued on December 2nd of that year sets out the procedure...” (TNA, BN 29/442, f. 0v)

It is clear from this file that the Home Office did not always have a sense of exactly how their policies translated in practice, and certainly that some of the officials were wary of this set up. A subsequent minute noted that “it is clear that the present somewhat haphazard arrangement cannot be allowed to continue.” (ibid, f. 5)

The 1969 Act reduced the powers of juvenile courts to make orders, coming down in favour of care orders and supervision by probation officers and social workers, and its legislative impact was further curtailed by the change in government during the time that the Act was being implemented. (Gelsthorpe & Morris, 1994; Gelsthorpe & Worrall, 2009). The new Conservative administration did not subscribe to the same approach to children in trouble as their Labour predecessors, and the proposed reforms were not all acted upon. This resulted in a piece of legislation which operated on the basis that return to a child’s birth family was the common goal of all associated agencies but failed to consider that there might be significant risk to a child in doing so. This legislation was contentious in its time, and by the late 1970s was already under review. Despite the medicalised language perpetuated in and around the approved schools, by 1975, a review of the 1969 Act included evidence from the Royal College of Psychiatrists that

“the vast majority of delinquents showed no evidence of psychiatric disorders while the Justice Clerks’ Society suggested that “the Act has deliberately confused the distinctions between the functions of the [juvenile] court, the police, and the local authority, and that there was no acceptance of the very real distinction between a child in need of protection and a juvenile offender, concluding that the Act operated against the interests of [children and young people]. (Hyland, 1993, p. 86)

The Eleventh Report identified that the Act has “been much criticised for what is seen as a loss of control over juvenile offenders represented by the former approved school order, for

which the care order, as administered by local authorities, is felt by many magistrates and other to be an inadequate substitution.” (CMND 6494, 1975 S.6) By the mid 1970s, girls’ CHEs were characterised as having

“many residents who had been involved in delinquency, mainly theft. The main characteristics of the girls, however, was the frequent changes in their life circumstances in terms of carers and home bases, and their resulting emotional disturbance. This... was often linked with sexual promiscuity, which in turn tended to reinforce the poor self-image many had of themselves.” (Hyland, 1993, p. 107)

The name of the institution may have changed, but it would appear that the children committed to their care remained broadly the same across the twentieth century. The peak occupancy of the CHEs was in 1973, when 7,100 children were in residence. This then declined across the 1980s and by 1990, only 1149 children were resident in a CHE, against a background of growing hostility to the concept of institutional care. (Hyland, 1993, pp. 117-8) CHEs began to close down in numbers across the 1980s, and after the Children & Young Persons’ Act (1989) abolished the power of a court to make a care order in respect of a child who had committed an offence. (Hyland, 1993, p. 140) By the time Hyland published his work on the development and decline of schools for young offenders in 1993, “the decline of the CHE system [was] now not far from being a complete collapse.” Hyland noted that “its demise [brought] to an end an era in which it had been thought both humane and expedient to place some delinquent children in a setting which offered residential care and education.” (1993, p. 172)

1.IV METHODOLOGY

This thesis is the result of extensive historical research, drawing on relatively under-utilised original archival material, in order to explore how and why the conceptions of criminality

and female juvenile delinquency and their reform change through the mid-twentieth century, in effect, “laying bare the manner in which crime is constructed and reconstructed through time” (Yeomans et al, 2020, p. 247), using the Approved Schools as the context in which to explore this. Yeomans et al noted that “historical research exercises a major influence over some parts of the [criminological] field, though what this means for history and criminology more broadly remains unclear.” (2020, pp. 244-5) While their intent was not, perhaps, to affirm this lack of clarity, but rather challenge it, it nonetheless strikes a chord. They also observed that “there is a growing output of theoretical scholarship on the value of historical research and associated methodologies to criminology.” (ibid, p. 245)

This thesis separates out the lines of enquiry concerning the children committed to the approved schools, and the institutions themselves. In order to do this, three distinct sets of archival records were consulted. Some of these are available to the general public and others required negotiation for privileged access on account of the closure period they are currently held under. These records include those of policy and practice, in the shape of Home Office and Children’s Department files held at The National Archives, and in the Approved Schools Gazette, held at the British Library, in addition to the records of three schools: Gisburne House Junior Approved School for Girls (hereafter Gisburne House), the records of which are held at London Metropolitan Archives; the Princess Mary Village Homes (hereafter PMVH), the records of which are held at Surrey History Centre, and the Burford House Senior Approved School, later Approved Hostel for Girls, held at the National Museum for Justice in Nottingham.

Approved Schools sat at the centre of the youth justice system for upwards of forty years. It is inconceivable that these institutions have not influenced current policy and practice in dealing with children and young people, yet limited work has taken place on

these institutions. (Cox, 2003; Wills, 2006; Gelsthorpe & Worrall, 2009) This archival research contributes to our understanding of historic practice within the youth justice system, which in turn must be taken into account if the history of youth justice, and its reform, in England and Wales are to be properly understood and contextualised. As Goldson suggests, this...

“longitudinal excavation and analysis of youth justice reform not only enables us to situate and to understand the present but – if those with power care to heed – it might even serve as a basis for crafting policy into the future.’ (2020, p. 317)

The data gathered for this thesis brings together two strands of research. Firstly, it draws upon archival material which was created in the course of daily life of a selected group of approved schools, and which is preserved and accessed in several local authority archive services across the country. It also draws on material in the Julius Carlebach Archive, held privately at the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cambridge. (See also Gelsthorpe & Worrall, 2009) Archival research is the primary way to investigate these institutions, to determine the shape and scale of the operation of the institution and to set out the particulars of the children in their care. This kind of history is impossible without the type of original archival material, recorded in the moment and stored in the archives in perpetuity. These archives provide valuable and unique insight into the lives and experiences of these children and the trajectory that they followed before and immediately after their committal.

It is clear that much material created in the day to day running of the schools was not retained. Records show that advice was sought from the Home Office by various schools on this subject, and a note from May 1964 states that:

“The question of the preservation of approved school records was settled by *Approved School Bulletin* no. 85, paragraph 7. Extracts of this Bulletin and the policy considerations which gave rise to it are on file CHN 60.482/2/1 attached. We hold that approved school records are not public records. Equally, presumably, the

disposal of their records is for a local authority to decided, except where there is a statutory requirement to keep them.” (BN 29/56, f. 6)

The file went on to propose that admission and discharge registers should be kept for fifty years, and daily registers and logbooks (including punishment books) should be kept for ten years. Individual case records were to be kept for twenty years from the date when the boy ceases to be in care. As a historian, this file is somewhat disheartening but goes some way to explaining the level of survival of approved school records. It was eventually agreed that logbooks should be retained permanently, but it is clear that it was already too late for the records of some schools. Additional material held by The National Archives which relates to the approved schools is also included. This ranges from statistics gathered from the approved schools on a monthly basis by the Home Office, to correspondence between the Home Office, the Department for Education and members of parliament concerning individual cases, and inspections of particular schools, both routine and as a result of concerns raised. It also includes publicity material relating to the approved schools, including photographs and details of the regimes run in the institutions, as well as potential trajectories for children under supervision.

Secondly it draws on published material, including the *Approved Schools Gazette*, the monthly journal of the Association of Managers, Headmasters and Headmistresses of Approved Schools, and *Historic Hansard*, the official record of debates and correspondence in the Houses of Parliament in the United Kingdom. The secondary material provides a different perspective to the archival material. In examining the contents of the Approved Schools Gazette, it is possible to trace the themes and trends in professional discourse amongst the staff who worked in the approved schools, through both close reading and digital textual analysis. Through close text analysis, it will examine how professionals

interacting with girls in approved schools thought about and discussed their charges in professional literature, and how this discourse influences public perceptions of girls in approved schools. The Approved School Gazettes were read in their entirety. The series, held in printed form, is held by the British Library. It is a virtually complete run of magazines. Details of the content's pages were documented in a spreadsheet, and keywords included. Relevant articles were then read fully and annotated. Such articles were identified by title and ranged from details of activities in the schools to considerations of particular issues, usually tied to boys' schools, since the words 'girl' and 'girls' appeared relatively infrequently. Several issues might go by between uses of this word. It will also consider some of the material published on girls' and children's' delinquency between the 1930s and the 1970s, by authors including Carlebach, Richardson, and Cowie, Cowie & Slater.

Historic Hansard provides a further perspective - it merges evidence presented to and by government officials with representations of the lives and experiences of real people, voiced through their Member of Parliament, alongside the views and opinions of the elected (and unelected) elite. This juxtaposition of opinion, hearsay and facts presents a fascinating insight into the representation and understanding of the approved school system in contemporary society. Because *Historic Hansard* exists in a digital format, it is possible to run keyword searches to identify relevant debates and questions in the Houses of Parliament during this period. Keywords and phrases included 'approved schools AND girl*', 'delinquent AND girl', 'juvenile AND prostit*' and "teenage AND girl", and variants of these keywords, restricted to the time period of this thesis, 1933-1973. These searches revealed almost one hundred debates in the Houses of Parliament, predominantly in the House of Commons, which then underwent further qualitative analysis. These secondary sources provide insight into the narratives and discourse of some of the professions who

played key roles in the lives of children committed to approved schools. The views expressed and ideas disseminated in these fora were publicised and repeated in the contemporary newspapers, rippling out into wider society, so that the examples perpetuated therein became embedded. They contribute to our understanding of how approved schools came to be remembered and identified.

There is limited consistency in terms of documents which survive from an Approved School. Approved Schools were free to request a cessation of their license from the Home Office at any stage between 1933 and 1973, and the Home Office were in a position to withdraw any such license in the same time period, were a school deemed to be in sufficient difficulties. Schools closed for a variety of reasons, and the retention of their records were a matter for a variety of organisations who ran these institutions. Some Approved Schools were run by local authorities, and others were run by local or national religious and/or charitable organisations. Where they survive, the archives of these organisations are now maintained in a variety of archival collections, ranging from university libraries to local authority archives services, to charitable bodies who maintain their own historic collections to museums.

Initial findings from this archival research suggest that where material does survive, this usually consists of a variety of registers, from admissions to discharge to after-care documents, and often, some associated correspondence has survived in addition. Such correspondence has usually been weeded at some stage since the collection was deposited with the archive service and may have either been weeded at the point of deposit or may have arrived in its current condition. In some instances, an entire set of registers survives, while in others, survival is patchier. In addition to the surviving records of the schools themselves, there is comparable and related extant material about the schools, specifically

and in general, as well as concerning some of the children in their care, in a number of series of records held by The National Archives in the Home Office series (HO), the Children's Division series (BN) and the Metropolitan Police series (MEPO). There are also some surviving records of approved schools themselves in the collections of The National Archives, which is problematic because, unlike, for example, a local authority archive, This is usually because records were sent to the former Public Record Office, rather than to a local authority record office, or because material was used in investigations into the school. The National Archives does not operate any form of privileged access scheme, and it is not possible to consult any of this closed material. Amongst the material held at The National Archives, there are extensive statistical collections, collated by the Home Office Research Unit, a variety of contemporary reports (published and unpublished) and a range of other potentially useful sets of records therein.

All approved schools used a variety of bound ledgers and other formats of official and unofficial paperwork to document and record day-to-day life within their walls, and the surviving records for each school were accessed in predominantly local authority archive services. Some of these types of paperwork were supplied centrally by the Home Office and others were created by the schools themselves. Surviving records include material relating to admission and discharge, to the experiences of a given child prior to their committal to the school, to the day-to-day administration of the school and to the monitoring of a given child after they had left the school on license. It is important to note that within these types of records, the voice or voices of any given child or children are notable by their absence. The purpose of this material and the use of it neither accounted for nor sought to include what a child might have to say on any subject. In contrast the Julius Carlebach Archive contains a significant cache of transcripts and interviews of children

committed to approved schools in the 1960s and is a rare source for the voices of such children. However, it should be noted that Carlebach's published work dealt exclusively with children over the age of fifteen and a key tenet of this thesis is the observation that the experiences of the older children in the approved school system dominate our understanding and conceptualisation of the approved schools in this period, so while this is an incredibly important source it must not be seen as wholly representative of the children committed to approved schools in this period. It is a partial picture, but it is also the only picture we have, and the best must be made of it.

The approved schools were, despite the small scale of studies about them, a significant part of the juvenile justice system in the mid twentieth century, a mid-point between the reformatory and industrial schools of the Victorian and Edwardian eras and the more enlightened community homes of the later twentieth century. The span of their existence surely has a part to play in our understanding of twentieth century approaches to juvenile justice and the care and welfare of children. There is a rich seam of material available for the approved schools, if one knows where to look, and how to pursue channels of access. It is critically important to ensure that access to such material is managed properly, and above all, that the lives and experiences of the children committed to these schools are anonymised. This is a basic tenet of ethical research, although it would be considerably more helpful were all archive services aware that such rigor can and should be followed in archival research of this kind.

It is clear from efforts to determine and agree access to collections of approved schools in the course of this research that there is almost no commonality in access protocols between archive services, and a wide range of expectations and understanding of doctoral research practice and protocols. (See Carlson, forthcoming) There is no problem at

all with archive services requiring clear and detailed information from students wishing to research in collections of potentially sensitive material; however, it would also be beneficial if archives having some degree of consistency between them in terms of requirements.

The advantage of researching this topic as an archivist is that it is possible to consider the various places records might have ended up with a broader perspective than might otherwise be possible, to know to ask for records to be searched for in both the modern records store as well as the archive, and to be in a position to judge whether to push for staff to go back to re-check a decision. There is privilege within privileged access through the merits of one's own professional experience, and contacts. It is critical that access to these records remains in place. The role these schools and institutions played in contemporary society has potential to inform our understanding of their legacy, which in turn has influences the systems which have followed the schools in terms of providing care to teenagers in 'trouble' subsequently. As scandal after scandal breaking relating to children's social care in the latter half of the twentieth century, it is more important than ever that a full picture of the schools and their reach and impact be properly understood, and without proper access to the records, this cannot be achieved.

All children committed to an approved school came to that institution as the result of a hearing in a juvenile court, and usually after a series of such hearings. (See Bradley, 2009) This thesis does not include reference to the records of juvenile courts, however. This is in part because it is a history of the approved schools and therefore, the focus on record sources must be upon the records of such schools, but it is also because the children in approved schools could come from almost anywhere in England and Wales. At PMVH in Addlestone, Surrey, for example, Children came from as far afield as Kingston-Upon-Hull,

Taunton, and Monmouthshire, as well as from across the home counties and almost every borough in London. The life course tracing for such a group of children would be prohibitively onerous, and while a great deal of information might be gathered about their circumstances, lives and outcomes, subjects well worthy of study, such information would tell us very little about their time in the approved schools. Since the purpose of this thesis is to understand better the approved schools themselves, this avenue of enquiry has been set to one side.

In order to understand how these archival sources have come to be retained it is important to contextualise the passage of the collections into the recordkeeping institutions where they are now held. Approved schools are complicated. They simultaneously acted as a place of safety for children deemed to be in need of "care or protection", as a reformatory-esque institution for children at the extreme end of the sanctions available to the juvenile courts, and finally as a place of education and training. (Cox, 2013) There were many reasons why a child might be committed or transferred to an approved school, and different schools operated in different ways. They were run by different types of organisations, had different ages of children within their care, and provided various routes for children to progress along.

A child might only be in the care of an approved school for a matter of hours before being transferred to, for example, foster care, as often happened to children under the age of ten. At the opposite end, a child might spend upwards of six years resident in an approved school before being released for a period under license of up to 3 years. This complicated and varied *modus operandi* has resulted in approved school records being stored in, and defined by, an equally complex range of recordkeeping frameworks. The vast majority of approved school records are at present closed records, regardless of which

authority they are held by. It is only possible to access these records as a postgraduate researcher after negotiation with the relevant authorities. Although access to these records was requested under one piece of legislation the approaches and processes applied by the different authorities has varied extensively. Some consider these records (as a collective whole) to be school records. Others identify them as records of social care institutions. One might argue that approved schools sit somewhere between the two. However, this is unhelpful in terms of negotiating access. Both types of records are subject to stricter governance in terms of access by academic researchers as a result of either or both definitions, in comparison to other types of record of similar age.

Each school has had to be approached with a fresh mindset in terms of documentation and recording since different types of records survive for each school. The terms of the ethics review under which this thesis has been completed dictates specifically that information which might allow a child to be identified cannot be recorded. Therefore, it has not been possible to take photographs of much (if any) of this material as part of the research process. However, during the limited opening hours which were in place during the Covid pandemic, photographs were taken of some records to speed up the process, and then transcribed and deleted. All data gathered from original archival material has been done so manually, unless previously determined otherwise. That is to say it has been read in person in a record office or archive and entered into a spreadsheet. Once material is gathered together it is then possible to begin quantitative and qualitative methods of examining it in order to analyse the data, but this is a lengthy process.

There is some commonality between some of the material held and relating to the individual schools. However, this research has demonstrated that none of the schools had exactly the same systems or methods or approaches to documenting the care and

experiences of the children committed to their institutions. For example, all of the schools have some surviving documentation which explains the circumstances under which children were committed to their school, usually in the form of formal admissions registers or other reports. Some schools have a variety of surviving registers while others do not. For Burford House, for example, this type of information survives only in the monthly reports by the warden to the management committee in the form of typed minutes. At PMVH, on the other hand, this type of information is documented in formal admission registers complete with a reference number which allowed and allows children to be identified across a number of different documents. Gisburne House also used an alpha numeric reference system across document series to identify children, which has been helpful in the context of research which requires anonymity of subject. It is relatively easy to identify the children within the records, especially if they re-enter the school at a later date.

When records are deposited, or acquired, by an archive, it is normal practice to agree the terms of such a deposit with the individual acting on behalf of the organisation who created the records, regardless of the age of the records in question. With records like approved school records, they are also subject to additional legislation in order to protect the identity and welfare of the individuals named within them. In this instance, the records are subject to the *Data Protection Act* (1998), and more recently the *General Data Protection Regulations* (2018). These records are considered to be closed to general access. Nonetheless, there is a historic concept of 'privileged access' for some researchers engaging in academic research, subject to terms of discretion and anonymity. Otherwise, such records are generally closed for 100 years beyond the birthdate of the youngest person mentioned in the records, in order to prevent personal and potentially distressing material being accessed by the general public. Archivists are obliged to consider the public interest of

any request to access such material. That is to say, they must assess whether the public interest in the research outweighs the rights and expectations of the individuals mentioned therein and make a decision accordingly. However, this process is contested and problematic, not least as there is no definition within relevant guidance which defines a public interest, nor indeed, what historical research constitutes. (See Carlson, forthcoming)

Terms under which the material can be seen might be set out, such as requiring anonymity of the individuals named, for example. In the course of negotiating access to records of the approved schools in different local authority archives, it quickly became clear that where archive staff were empowered by the depositor to facilitate access to the records, the likelihood of my being able to do so increased dramatically. Access in principle to the records of five different approved schools was negotiated, all subject to slightly different requirements, and unanimous in their requirement for anonymity for the children whose experiences were under examination. The records which survive for each approved school vary in terms of what has survived. Each of the collections contains a variety of admission, discharge and/or licensing registers. None of the schools have a complete run of any of documentation however, but each have a combination of registers which have allowed comprehensive sampling across the period, specifically, every five years between 1933 and 1973, or for the duration of the operation of the school. Gisburne House, for example, closed in 1956, while the PMVH operated for the duration of the period. All of the schools have additional documentation which complete their collections, which includes some or all of the following: official correspondence, scrapbooks, newspaper cuttings, official prospectuses, official circulars, reports, and memoranda.

Approved School	Extant material	Covering dates
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Gisburne House Approved School for Girls	<p>LCC/CH/D/GIS/01/001-8 General correspondence, including entertainments & social activities, and sex instruction.</p> <p>LCC/CH/D/GIS/02/001-005 Minutes of the management committee, and presented papers</p> <p>LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/002-010 Admissions, discharge, after care and licensing registers</p> <p>LCC/CH/D/GIS/04/001-015 Wardens' and Medical Officer reports, logbooks, diaries, punishment books, record of girls' absconding</p>	1933-1956
Princess Mary Village Homes for Girls	<p>2591/1/4-13, 30-32, 34-35 Minute Books & reports</p> <p>2591/3/4-26 Registers of Cases, and Licensing Registers</p> <p>2591/4/1-21 Administration records (including correspondence)</p>	1933-1973
Burford House Approved School (later Approved Hostel) for Girls	Minutes of Manager's Meetings (incorporating Warden's Reports)	1933-1960

Table 1.3 Extant records in archives for the selected schools.

The creation of each dataset for each school is entirely new work. Each of the schools have appeared in a handful of academic studies previously but the majority of the work predates this course of study. They have never been compared with each other, rather used as examples in their own right. In addition, where there is some overlap, for example, with the work of Wills on Burford House, this is mitigated by the fact that Wills focuses on the broader social and political environments in which the schools operated, rather than experiences of the individual children themselves. Other scholars have examined some of the records of PMVH, but their work is exclusively focused on the earlier years of the school operations.ⁱⁱⁱ Gisburne House has not appeared in any substantial research so far as it is possible to determine. Each school has been sampled every five years from 1933 onwards.

By using a consistent period in time, this research allows the mapping of the experiences of an entire cohort of girls across the country in a way that has not been undertaken before. It allows new oversight of patterns of conviction, of offences, of age and of geography for girls in this period. This will also allow comparison against the national statistics documented in the records of the Home Office during this period and allow the identification of patterns and commonalities amongst this cohort, which may reveal a new understanding of the experiences of girls in the care of both the juvenile court and the approved schools in this period.

The diplomatic structure of the information recorded about the children committed to the care of Gisburne House has shaped the data that is recorded, and as different sources have emerged, additional fields have been added to the original data sheet. These fields were shaped by the structure of the registers which make up the majority of the surviving records for the school and predominantly cover data which can be assessed through quantitative methods. This type of information might include the duration of a child's time committed to a particular school, the reason they were committed to the school, the court they had come through, information which allows a full picture of the sample to be developed, which in turn provides evidence on which to examine what being committed to an approved school might mean for a child. This thesis will examine what shaped and defined the journeys of girls into and out of approved schools, and it is critical to have this quantitative data to evidence this. It will seek to uncover, as far as possible, their documented personal experiences of this journey within approved schools and allied institutions and services, drawing on both the quantitative and qualitative data extracted from the historic records. This thesis will examine what day to day life in an approved school was like, and determine what regimes, activities, training, and support was available in an approved

school during this period, therefore it is essential to have this data extracted from the manuscript sources and presented in a form which can be analysed. Such data will also allow for determining the anticipated outcomes for girls were at the end of their time in an approved school, and how the licensing system was used to monitor girls once their time at the school was concluded.

This mix of original source material allows for a great deal of both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Information pertaining to each child has been entered manually into a comprehensive spreadsheet documenting a variety of detail, from the child's entry into the school (sometimes including information recorded about prior experience in other institutions) to the point at which the child left the care of the school and sometimes upwards of three years on license, supervision, or probation afterwards. As well as information which allows the gathering of statistical information, there is usually a great deal of commentary of the progress (or lack thereof) of the child or young person in question which has great potential for close text analysis. One of the frustrations of this type of research is that collections of records like this are rarely complete. This is certainly true for Gisburne House and Burford House, for which only a small percentage of what must have been the original corpus of administrative material has survived. The records for PMVH are remarkably complete in terms of the administrative function of the institution. Gisburne House and the PMVH records are housed in the respective archives of the nearest local authority, while the scant records surviving for Burford House are housed in the archives of the National Museum of Justice, an institution some distance from the original school. It is important to note here that even where a collection of administrative records is complete, or as near to complete as possible, that there are still gaps. There is value in this type of records, but they only tell one side of the story, and the absence of the voice of the child is

significant. It is also next to impossible to locate the child's perspective in this kind of data. There is almost no insight into their perspectives on their trajectory through the system. Snippets can be gleaned from reported remarks but there is really very limited opportunity to locate the authentic voice of a child in these records.

The archives of the sociologist Julius Carlebach, held privately in the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cambridge provide an alternative perspective. Amongst the papers held in this collection are a series of interviews undertaken with a group of teenage girls who had been committed to an approved school. While recorded interviews with professionals are by no means perfect in their presentation, these transcripts are nonetheless a valuable and useful addition to the corpus of archive material on which this thesis is based.

Digital methods were also utilised for other primary sources. Hansard is the formal record of all proceedings in the Houses of Parliament, and for clarity. Historic Hansard is a fully searchable web version of the same, served directly with data from Parliament and maintained by the University of Huddersfield. This is an invaluable resource, not least because it is fully keyword searchable, but because results can be restricted to very specific date ranges. Keyword searches were carried out within the dataset, restricted to 1932-1974, Searches included:

1. - "approved school AND girls"
2. - "juvenile delinquency AND girls"
3. - "crime AND girls"

This revealed around one hundred debates in this period in which some combination of these words were used. The results included key pieces of legislation such as the Children & Young Persons' Acts in 1933, 1948, 1963 and 1969 respectively, and other examples of

discussion and debate concerning the Approved Schools specifically, as well as examples of the stories of individual children and young people committed to the approved schools. The same search terms were applied to Command papers. Command papers are parliamentary papers presented to Parliament, nominally the command of the Sovereign (hence 'command' papers) but in practice, by a government minister. There are a variety of types of command papers, including state papers, white papers, reports of Royal Commissions and other committees, statistics, and annual reports of government bodies, for example. The search revealed around twenty pivotal reports in the sphere of care for children and young people in England and Wales during this period, including the Monckton Report (1945) and the Ingleby Report (1960).

Keyword analysis, drawn from both digital methodologies and from close reading of these records provides opportunities to examine the extent to which the language of care and protection evolved during this period, and will allow for the tracing of terms of use over the period of time of this thesis, some forty years. One of the opportunities this type of archival research presents is to draw out new dialogues of families engaging with the state, across a sustained period, to contextualise the experience of the children in the approved schools and developing the understanding of how approved schools fitted into the broader frameworks of social care and welfare in mid-twentieth century England and Wales.

Approved schools played a significant role in the juvenile justice and welfare systems during the twentieth century, yet they are studied very little. The girls' schools in particular have been the subject of research by only a handful of scholars yet the approved schools have inevitably shaped the institutional care structures which have developed since their closure in 1973.

In order to understand how we have come to the present set up of institutional care for teenagers, it is important to consider what the previous provision was, and what can be observed and learnt from its successes and failures. Without a basic awareness of how children were dealt with in the past, it is not possible to understand how and why the system that currently exists does so. In 2018, forty-five years after the last Approved School for girls closed its doors, the Children's Commissioner published a report *Voices from the Insight*, which set out to give voice to some of the "girls, under the age of 18 who are held in secure residential units, serving time for criminal acts they have committed." At the time of the publication, thirty girls under the age of 18 were in custody, and it is impossible to overlook the overlap between girls in Approved Schools and in Secure Training Centres.

Close reading of the archive material also allowed a fuller understanding of what being committed to an approved school might mean for a child and set out what day to day life in an approved school was like, and determine what regimes, activities, training, and support was available in an approved school during this period. Understanding the day-to-day realities of the lives of the children in these schools will provide insight into how these schools actually functioned, and to dissect the approaches they took to provide training, education, and care for the children in their charge. Little is known about the actualities of daily life in the approved schools. Proposals and plans are detailed in Home Office documents and intentions are set and discussed in professional correspondence and publications, but it is recognised that planning and implementation are two very different beasts. Developing knowledge of the realities of these institutions will inform our understanding of the effectiveness of these institutions, and their place in the wider social welfare and educational framework. Such close reading of original archival material will also

allow the use of language to be examined. Forty years is a sufficient period of time over which to consider patterns of use, and examining records sampled across this period should allow more insight to be gained into a range of linguistic patterns. This will in turn facilitate analysis of any shift in description of the children in the care in the school, and pinpoint shifts in legal terminology, and consider the extent to which these changed over time. Commonalities with predecessor systems such as the reformatory and industrial schools might be determined through qualitative analysis of these records, and the extent to which their reach pervaded the approved schools may be identified. It may also be possible to consider the extent to which such attitudes and approaches remain within the broader social welfare system in this period.

Such changes in language give insight into contemporary constructions of morality, a subject particularly relevant to the experiences and outcomes of children, girls, and young women, and improve our understanding of how these institutions fitted into, reflected and shaped contemporary opinion and awareness of “teenagers in trouble”. It will also provide insight into any changes in languages concerning the behaviour, family background and experiences of the children, and any suggestion of their vulnerability, examine how their agency is determined in these documents, and give insight into the extent to which these children were considered responsible for the circumstances and situations they found themselves in. By tracing the linguistic shift in this period, alongside the position of these institutions within the broader social welfare institutions it will be possible to better understand their role in the broader juvenile justice system and that legacy in contemporary society. So many scandals have broken in recent years concerning children’s social care, it is plausible that this work might grant greater insight into a system which is simultaneously understudied and over-represented in current affairs. This qualitative study will also provide

evidence to assess the developing discourses in these care-giving institutions concerning the children themselves, collectively and singularly, tracing the scale and extent of shifts in description and identification of children in the records over time, in the context of physical description, daily background, rationale for committal and behaviour while in the care of the schools. It will seek to identify where and when notions of vulnerability, victimisation and agency emerge within these records.

1.V RESEARCHING IN THE POST ROTHERHAM LANDSCAPE

This doctoral research commenced in the autumn of 2017, eighteen months after the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse was established as a statutory inquiry in England and Wales, in the aftermath of numerous social care scandals, including the Serious Case Reviews and related criminal proceedings which took place in Rotherham, Rochdale, Derby, Aylesbury, Oxford, Bristol and other locations. This offers a sobering context for this historical investigation of juvenile institutions, and this research has been undertaken during a period in which there has been a new interest in the history of children's institutions. Public interest in these events has grown, alongside an awareness of an individual's right to their own records of their time in the care of the state. Many people have exercised their right to access their own records, and then used the evidence within them to support their allegations of abuse while in the care of the state. However, the abuse of girls and young women, both in care, and in society more generally is complicated by the fact that girls were often seen as complicit in their experiences, and not victims.

The Independent Inquiry was convened to consider the growing evidence of institutional failures to protect children from child sexual abuse and exploitation, and to make recommendations to ensure the best possible protection for children in future. The

overarching inquiry, at the time of writing, has published eight reports and there are currently ten investigations in progress. Five investigations have now been completed. The most relevant of these to this work are *Children in Custodial Institutions*, currently on hold pending criminal proceedings, and *Child Sexual Abuse in Residential Schools* which, at the time of writing, is currently underway. This thesis does not consider sexual abuse within institutions as a prominent theme, as little surviving evidence was found in the records consulted to make such a theme possible. However, the inquiry's findings indicate that it was likely that abuse was present in (some) approved schools and allied institutions. In comparison to other childcare institutions, very few allegations of historic sexual abuse have been made against the staff of approved schools, and with one exception, only in boys' schools. A number of girls committed to Duncroft Approved School, a classifying school in Staines are now known to have been sexually and/or indecently assaulted by Sir Jimmy Savile (Halliday, 2015) during the 1970s. Allegations of cruelty and neglect have been made concerning at least one of the schools used as an example, which cannot be ignored. It is, of course, possible that other allegations concerning physical and/or sexual abuse may have been made concerning these schools, which are not at present in the public domain.

It is possible that committing a girl to an approved school during this period resulted in that child being exposed to or experiencing abuse and/or exploitation in and outside of an institution which was intended to keep her safe. It is also possible that a girl might display sexual behaviour learnt or knowledge acquired in the approved school from other girls, a concern which was certainly expressed in contemporary professional discourse and in Parliament. In 1963, the MP for South Shields, James Ede remarked that

"I do not want to see girls—especially those who have committed no offences and have had no findings of guilt recorded against them—drifting in some way into approved

schools and becoming associated with girls who are there because they have been before the courts and have had findings of guilt recorded against them and have been sent to the approved schools for that reason.” (HC Deb 27 February 1963 vol 672 c1294)

Thirty years after the approved school system was introduced, this statement appears to echo the concerns raised at their inception about the mixing of the “depraved and the deprived”. It may also mark the shifting contemporary attitudes towards the approved schools which emerged in the early 1960s, and which instigated the shift away from the approved school model and towards the community home model of care. (Bailey, 1987; Bradley, 2009; Cox 2013)

Since the Rotherham scandal hit the headlines in 2011, a number of comparable cases have been revealed across the country. The Serious Case Review into the safeguarding of children in the care of Oxfordshire County Council between 2004 and 2012 raises a number of points which have a resonance with some of the experiences of some of the girls in the Approved Schools considered in this thesis.

“The girls ... were seen as very difficult girls making bad choices. This, and that most of their families were seen as also having many problems, deflected attention from who was drawing them away from their homes - their own or in Care. The language used by professionals was one which saw the girls as the source not the victims of their extreme behaviour, and they received much less sympathy as a result. They were often in Care for their own protection, and frequent episodes of going missing were again put in the context of them being extremely difficult children.” (OSCB: SCR, 2015, p. 6)

This rhetoric of difficult girls making bad choices reverberates through history. The Oxfordshire review goes on to specify that *“the law around consent was not properly understood... A professional tolerance to knowing young teenagers were having sex with adults seems to have developed.”* (OSCB: SCR, 2015, p. 6)

It is important to note that some considerable time has elapsed between the period covered in this research and the period covered by that review, and that the concept

of safeguarding is a very modern one. Safeguards for children and other vulnerable people have been discussed in government papers since *Caring for People* (1989, CMD 849) but safeguarding, used as a verb, first appears in *Modernising Social Services - promoting independence, improving protection, raising standards* (1998, CMD 6149, p. 52). However, some of the issues identified in these recent reports have clear resonance in terms of the approaches to, and attitudes towards, children in care for their own protection, despite the passage of time. This is the commonality between these identified reports and this thesis. The assigning of agency to children incapable in the eyes of the law, then and now, of giving consent to such activity occurs across the period that this thesis covers and comes up in more recent examples. In 2013, Robert Colover, a barrister, was investigated by the Director of Public Prosecutions after a case in which he described a thirteen-year-old victim of sexual abuse as 'predatory'. (Baksi, 2013) The judge in the case, Nigel Peters QC, went on to take the barrister's description of the victim as 'sexually experienced' into account in his sentencing remarks, which, once reported, led to a further investigation by the Office for Judicial Complaints. In the case identified in Chapter 4 at Gisburne House, for example, it is clear that not only did the staff accept that the children in their care were having sex with adults, despite clearly being under the age of consent, the children in question were blamed and punished for this. Such a response is reflective of this period in history: documenting the longevity of such views in institutional childcare evidences conclusions drawn in this thesis. The more recent scandals in failure to care and protect children are appalling and abhorrent but their roots are entrenched in a system of institutional care which has viewed girls as partly responsible for their own fate since at least the 1930s, and arguably, before that. This is not a new phenomenon, but – as this thesis suggests - it is worth analysing it further in the context

of the approved schools in order to better understand how their place in society shaped and directed contemporary attitudes to children in the twentieth century.

1.VI. STRUCTURE OF THESIS

This thesis examines approved schools for girls in England for the duration of the period that they operated, between the Children & Young Persons Acts of 1933 and 1969, and for the following four years during which time, approved schools were transitioned into community homes for education. Approved schools were so called because they were approved by the Home Office to have children and young people committed into their care on a full time, residential basis after at least one, and sometimes many, appearances before the juvenile court, regardless of the rationale for that child or young person's committal.

The first chapter sets out the research questions central to this study and identifies the areas of work undertaken in order to answer them. It includes a contextual administrative history of the approved schools, and a discussion of the legislative framework in which they operated. It thereby introduces the schools, the records from which sample data was taken, and an explanation for the selection of three particular schools. Thereafter it presents the approved schools which comprise the sample institutions and sets out the methodological approaches adopted in order to identify and capture the data within surviving records. Finally, it discusses some of the challenges of accessing and presenting details from closed records in historical study, considering the implications of the contemporary record keeping practice for the study of these institutions, positioned against a backdrop of privileged access and missing material. The second chapter reviews the extant academic studies in the fields of history, sociology, and criminology, pivotal to understanding the approved schools, the period of time in which they operated, and arguments advanced around them. It also considers how recent criminal proceedings relating to the care of girls in the secure estate, past and present,

influence this field of research, and explores previous work on the policing of the behaviour of girls in the twentieth century.

The third chapter examines professional and policy discourses around the approved schools, drawn from the archives of the Home Office and the Children's Department, and from the Approved School's Gazette, the monthly journal of the approved school's staff association. These two sources provide key insight into the operational world of the approved schools, demonstrating the dominance of boys in discussions about these institutions. It also provides insight into the ideas and practices which influenced the staff in the schools, such as the emergence of new kinds of medico-legal terminology, culminating in a distinct diagnostic shift in the approach to the children resident in the schools.

The fourth chapter comprises quantitative analysis of the data extracted from the records of the schools themselves. A sample was formed of pupils who were admitted to the school every five years from 1933 until, and including, 1973, totalling around five hundred girls and young women. This chapter considers key learnings from this data, including the range of ages of those admitted to the schools, the reason given for the committal order and the associated split between criminal and non-criminal rationales for committal. It also gives an overview of the length of committal periods and short-term post-committal outcomes.

The fifth chapter builds on the insights revealed in Chapter Four and then positions the girls in the sample against existing discourse about girls in the juvenile justice system in this period, and evidences more nuanced findings, including evidence of much younger children appearing in the schools, and the dominance of larceny amongst criminal convictions within the school populations. This chapter also examines how care or protection, later care or control orders were utilised by the juvenile courts in this period. Finally, it examines the

impact of absconding from the schools, and how the reporting of such behaviour fed into contemporary constructs of moral welfare. The sixth chapter draws upon a number of reports which were completed during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Some of these were published, including Richardson's *Adolescent Girls in Approved Schools* and Cowie, Cowie & Slater's *Delinquency in Girls*, while others were found amongst the private papers of Julius Carlebach, and within Home Office archives. In considering these sources, it considers the girls as objects of research, and of policy. These reports represent a collection of knowledges about delinquency and demonstrate how approaches to the care of girls and young women in approved schools had become diagnostic and defined in a way which seems entirely distinct from the 1930s, but which echoes the medicalisation of women's deviance as madness in the nineteenth century.

The final chapter considers evidence of broad continuity and limited change in the practice and ethos of the approved schools during their period of operation. It outlines the contribution that this thesis makes to different academic fields in positioning distinctions from the populations of the approved schools, from the presence of younger children to the way that the Education Act (1944) was utilised to police the behaviour of 'problem families', even before the term came into common parlance. This has resonance within the shifting wider landscape of state care for children in the twentieth century. This thesis also suggests that when change came, it did so rapidly, building on years of work in the Houses of Parliament and in the Home Office, reaching an apogee in the form of the Children & Young Persons Act in 1969. The move to create community homes for education was a distinct break from the approved schools, and the reformatory and industrial schools from which they evolved. Finally, this thesis argues that despite some change in some areas of policy and practice, behaviour by girls deemed to be

sexually 'promiscuous' continued to act as barrier to, or brake on, progressive developments. Approved schools for girls arguably perpetuated attitudes and language associated with late nineteenth century moral codes throughout their twentieth century existence, despite some elements of progressive practice that emerged during the period they operated.

CHAPTER 2 : POSITIONING THE APPROVED SCHOOLS IN EXISTING LITERATURE

This chapter examines existing academic work, across the fields of history, sociology, and criminology, which are pivotal to understanding the approved schools, the period of time in which they operated, and arguments advanced around them. It draws upon three key fields of work pertinent to the study.

The first part will consider literature which has examined girls in institutional care within historical, sociological, and criminological studies, and the experience of girls in the juvenile courts. It will reference a broader strand of work on the history of the welfare state and how its various components operated and interacted during this period of history. In comparing and contrasting previous studies of girls in institutional care in the mid twentieth century, for example, it will illuminate the gap in the literature that this study seeks to fill. Alongside this, it will show how approved schools fit into the studies of state and/or institutional care for children and young people and more specifically, in relation to girls and young women in custody, including work which frames itself as feminist criminology. This turn leads to a necessary examination of work which examines the criminological views of such children and young people, and how these girls fit into the discourse around women in the penal system, historically and in the contemporary period, drawing on work including feminist criminology.

The second part will explore studies of the broader policing of the behaviours of girls in the mid twentieth century in the United Kingdom, considering how the concept of 'morality' was applied to girls, and the history of this social construction. In examining how concerns about 'moral welfare' manifested in contemporary society, it will draw upon work on the sexual agency of teenagers in the mid twentieth century and identify work on modern

perspectives on historical approaches to the sexual abuse and/or exploitation of children and young people. It will consider the impact of the generational cycle of moral panics across this period, and key influences in youth culture in this period. In unpicking existing studies of contemporary girlhood, it will draw out key works on the lives and experiences of young people in Britain in this period, contextualising work on the contemporary youth justice system, and the interplay between culture and establishment.

In the final part, it will examine literature concerning the contribution of historical research to criminology, and specifically, the challenges of researching amongst social care archives, including identifying professional discourse amongst social workers, record keepers and academics concerning how social care archives are used. It will also consider how historians, sociologists and criminologists have framed the voice of children in studies about them, or the lack thereof.

2.II. HISTORIES OF GIRLS IN INSTITUTIONAL CARE

Literature on the care for children by the state in England in the twentieth century comprises a variety of types of work, and this review considers work which covers the broader frameworks, in order to contextualise the approved schools against them in the later part of this piece. Key scholars include Hendrick (2003), Hyland (1999), Lambert (2017, 2018, 2019a) and Goldson (2019, 2020), who in turn build on earlier historical studies of juvenile justice such as that by Bailey (1987, 2019) and Radzinowicz (1986). Studies of youth justice in England and the institutions associated with this system in the 20th century fall into two broad camps. First, there are a number of studies which examine institutional care for children prior to (and sometimes including) the Second World War, as well as studies which draw on the records of the juvenile courts in the same time period. Secondly, as socially oriented criminology, as opposed to more established administrative criminology, began to emerge as a discipline in its own right [from the 1960s on], a new style of studies of children and young people began to appear.

The approved schools operated for the latter half of what Bailey terms “the long arc of the rehabilitative ideal” (2019), and the practices of the schools would appear to align with Bailey’s positioning of the “rehabilitative ideal reaching its apogee in the aftermath of the Criminal Justice Act (1948)” (2019, p. 297). Bailey determines that this ideal was further endorsed in the 1959 White Paper *Penal Practice in a Changing Society*, deflecting any attempt at progressive action and in turn, reaching its zenith in the 1960s. (2019, p. 377) This is reflected too in the practices of the approved schools. Alongside this, the Children & Young Person’s Act 1969 was framed by Ford as “the most influential act affecting the law relating to children of the post-war period.” (1975, p. 11). Ford considered that the change in emphasis

between the 1933 and 1969 Acts, which bookend this period of study, was striking. “In 1933, the main emphasis lay on removing the child from undesirable or unfavourable surroundings. In 1969 the emphasis is on keeping the child in the community where possible and working with the child in that context.” (Ford, 1975, p. 13) Ford viewed the 1969 Act as the natural successor to the 1933 Act, framing it as the next step in “a further, even more fundamental break with the past”. (ibid.)

It is perhaps more complicated than this assertion by Ford suggests. There were clearly some shifts between these two formative pieces of legislation, but Bailey’s rehabilitative arc had instead morphed into something more akin to a diagnostic bridge back to the nineteenth century, connected intrinsically to a period when deviance was framed as madness, where children⁴ committed to the approved schools were first ‘classified’ into one category or another of medico-legal framework before transferring to the most appropriate schools. Almost every child committed to the approved schools sampled here had some kind of ‘diagnosis’ attached to them after 1948, even if many of the terms utilised would not be recognised today as any kind of medical complaint. There was still an expectation of significant state intervention in the life of a child, and their family, in the aftermath (and sometimes beforehand) of an appearance before the court, whether that be in terms of institutional care or social services.

Hendrick positions the Children & Young Persons Act (1933) as a turning point in perspectives on juvenile delinquency in the twentieth century. (2003, p. 113), arguing for the influence in particular of Burt’s work on delinquency in the late 1920s which stressed both family relationships and the home environment as key contributory factors in the passage of a child into crime. This in turn reflects the report of the Departmental Committee on the

Treatment of Young Offenders in 1927, which emphasised how the “tendency [of a child] to commit offences [was] only an outcome of the conditions of neglect.” (1927, p. 964; Hendrick, 2003, pp. 113-4) In Goldson’s view, in terms of youth justice, the 1940s through to the late 1970s saw “variants of welfarism underpin policy and practice”, before a shift into “ostensibly progressive ‘justice’ imperatives reached a level of primary during the 1980s up until 1992.” (2020, p. 318) The approved schools were located at the intersection of twentieth century policies targeting children in need of care and those in need of correction. The *Curtis Report* in 1946 observed that there was no single centralised authority responsible for ‘deprived children’, and that instead, some five different authorities collectively had oversight of such a child. (Hendrick, 2003, p. 133)

This divide between public assistance committees, welfare officers, foster care, children’s homes, and approved schools, in addition to education authorities and juvenile courts, resulted in a complicated framework of care for children by the state, and this is reflected in the literature which can draw extensively on one aspect of this provision. As Goldman puts it, in the aftermath of the Second World War “the vertical integrational of social work/welfare and criminal/youth justice... gave rise to diversified forms of intervention, increasingly dispersed technologies of control and substantial net-widening.” (2020, p. 328) Packman, in turn, traces developments in childcare policy in the mid twentieth century but approaches the subject in the aftermath of the Maria Colwell enquiry. (1975) Packman positions her work specifically in terms of identifying lessons for social workers in examining how policy had manifested in practice, but her conclusions do not touch upon approved schools themselves. Finally, Younghusband’s work crosses this operation period, and resulted in two key volumes on the history of social work in England and Wales published. (1978a & b)

Although Younghusband did not intend to present a history of social services per se, the resulting texts nonetheless comprise a thorough insight into mid-century social work practice and reflection on the structures within which social work operated.

Younghusband's work is sufficiently broad to provide insightful background to the range of services available, but even she acknowledges the scale and variety of need and work in this period. Drawing on unpublished sources from the Home Office on *Training in Childcare*, Younghusband notes that "tutors arranged [multiple] periods of practical work to give students 'a variety of experience in different kinds of [children's] home... though it was not possible for each student to see every kind of home,'" (1978a, p. 90) a key reflection on the scale and variety of state care for children in this period. Clearly framed around the relevant legislation, White Papers and government reports, her examination of "training for childcare" provides concise oversight of the existing provision. (1978, pp. 80-97) Younghusband also draws together the various strands of activity in this professional sphere resulting not only from the Children's Act (1948) but the Criminal Justice Act of the same year, and the Education Act (1944).

The approved schools operated for a significant period of time, and the schools did not operate in isolation, forming part of a jigsaw of provision of care which underwent limited change for the vast majority of the twentieth century, only undergoing widespread reform from the 1970s onward. Around ten percent of cases appearing in the juvenile courts resulted in a committal to an approved school, and a child might encounter a range of voluntary organisations related to social work which operated alongside the schools. This might include the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Dr Barnardo's, and the Marriage Guidance Council. Amongst the youngest children in the approved schools, this

thesis demonstrates that around a third of them were committed after proceedings resulting from the Education Act, suggesting that the Education Act was utilised to intervene in family life regularly.

In Lambert's work in historicising the discourses on families in trouble, he "narrates the rise, fall, and rise of concern about 'problem' and 'troubled' families in England in the context of anxieties about child and family welfare, and the appropriate response of the state." (2019a, p. 82), concluding that "the state has been omnipresent but overlooked in framing child welfare in the welfare state." (p. 88) This aligns with Younghusband's contemporary observations on the Children's Act (1948), in which she noted that "The first section of the act was "an extremely broad one, deliberately designed to set practically no limits on the circumstances under which the local authority may assume the care of a child. (1949, p. 65)

Lambert argues that "'problem families' represented a common behavioural signifier for a range of professional and service interests in the new social democratic welfare state, each responding to families in contact with many different branches, largely due to material poverty." (Lambert, 2019a, p. 84) In the approved schools this manifests through proceedings under the Education Act. This context to the operations of the juvenile courts is particularly pertinent when considering the contemporary and ongoing discussions about the links between poverty and delinquency in professional and government circles. Indeed, Lambert argues that "the approved schools are further iteration of successive government's "gendered, behavioural interventionist" approach to 'problem families', against a backdrop of increasingly liberal social attitudes. (p. 87)

There are two key studies which draw upon approved schools for girls. Cox, whose pivotal work *Bad Girls in Britain: Gender, Justice and Welfare 1900-1950* centred around their predecessor institutions – industrial and reformatory schools prior to and immediately after the Children & Young Persons Act (1933), and that of Wills (2006) whose unpublished work examines approved schools for boys and girls against the permissive shift in contemporary society between 1950 and 1970.

There are some studies of girls' institutions during, and immediately after, the tenure of the approved schools, and these are examined more closely in Chapter Five. Cowie, Cowie & Slater published in 1968, presenting work on the delinquent girls passing through the Magdalen Classifying Schools which Radzinowicz framed as a "topic [which] has been so persistently neglected." (1986, p. viii) Cowie et al considered work they positioned as early studies on which their criminological studies could build, drawing on work largely from the United States (Fernald, Hayes & Dawley, 1920; Bingham, 1923; Burt, 1927; Healey & Bronner, 1926; Lumpkin, 1932; Sheldon & Glueck, 1934; Merrill, 1947) and Scandinavia (Ahnsjø, 1941 and Otterström, 1946). They concluded that "the focus is much more on the delinquent boy than the delinquent girl" (1968, p. 23), and drew attention to the emphasis placed on poverty, overcrowding and "the economic disadvantages of the homes from which delinquents came." (ibid, p. 24) In examining studies from the 1950s, Cowie et al observed a subtle shift in emphasis in terms of the difference between boys and girls. (Epps, 1951; Atcheson & Williams, 1954; Lewis, 1954; Gibbens, 1957; Nye, 1958; Wilson, 1962, Schofield, 1965, and Robins, 1966). They drew a number of conclusions, many of which reiterated the dominance of boys in both the studies of and in the institutions within the juvenile justice system. Their work considered whether genetic factors influenced delinquency, and how environment

might have a predisposing effect. (1968, p. 47) While this work provides useful insight into contemporary views of children in the care of the schools, and the influences on contemporary practitioners, its focus on the classifying school which only took girls over the age of fourteen only gives a limited view. None of these studies offer a comprehensive account of the post-war development of these institutions, their day-to-day running, or their place within wider policy and public debates about how best to define and meet the needs of girls who had broken the law or girls who were deemed to require care and protection.

Gelsthorpe's work, beginning in the late 1980s, was heralded as the 'modern successor to Cowie, Cowie & Slater' (Gregory, 1990, p. 381), who had published some twenty years earlier and positioned as professional reflections on contemporary experience, rather than a historical piece. Gelsthorpe is the first such scholar to build on that legacy, and the first to reflect on the provision for children in secure schools through a feminist lens. Gelsthorpe argued that "female offenders have always been thought of in different ways from male offenders, as less delinquent, less dangerous, and less involved in criminal subcultures.... [that] because there are fewer female offenders than male offenders... there has been a tendency to view female criminality in terms of individual characteristics and only peripherally in terms of social forces and influences" (1989, p. ix) Gelsthorpe's work draws exclusively on the experiences of older girls in the system, particularly those committed to borstals, which perpetuates discourses around sex and agency, and overlooks younger girls, any mention of larceny and the nuance that these experiences contribute to our understanding of juvenile justice in this period.

Gelsthorpe also considered the idea that "girls are more likely to end up in care, as opposed to the criminal justice system, even when they have committed offences." (ibid, pp.

xi-xii, and Casburn, 1979) Gelsthorpe argued that it was misleading to separate those in need of care or protection, under any of its guises, since they were dealt with by the same people, in the same place, often under the same dispositions as those charged with offending, since her work argued that the dichotomy between punishment and welfare was a false one, and represented an extension and transformation of judicial power. (ibid, p. xii; Donzelot, 1980; Hudson, 1983) This is a critical observation. At least two thirds of the girls in the approved schools were committed, without being convicted of a criminal offence, and were nevertheless treated and regarded in the same terms by the world around them. The approved schools were not set up with the expectation that the children committed to them would achieve (m)any qualifications, and so a girl might well be removed from her home and school at a critical period in her education, disrupting her chance at passing exams at school or acquiring qualifications. Committal to an approved school, regardless of the rationale, had a significant impact on the opportunities a girl might then have in the aftermath, and for those committed under care, protection, control, or truancy proceedings, should they go on to run away from the school, for example, might then be convicted of what we would now recognise as 'status offences'.

There is a notable gap in mid twentieth century, and in joining the gap between the pre- and inter-war periods to the latter third of the twentieth century, which seems curious given the structure of legislation relating to the children in this period of time. There is a succession of legislation relating to the care of children in the twentieth century and a number of high-profile reports and White Papers around which work could have been developed. Existing work rarely covers the period as whole, choosing to either focus before the Second World War, or pick up the topic in the 1970s. Works, broadly speaking, either fall into the

former, historical discourse, or the latter, criminological, sometimes historic criminology, discourse.

Hendrick noted that the Children & Young Persons Act (1933) “did not radically alter daily life in institutions.” (2003, p. 122) and a more contemporary voice, Carlebach observed that “[approved schools] do not appear to have changed very much since the turbulent days of the 1920s.” (1970, p. 95) The other work in the historical field to consider the approved schools was Jim Hyland’s *Yesterday’s Answers*, which is positioned as “the first time that the full 150 years of this residential service for young offenders and troubled children [had been] traced in detail.” (1993, p. ix) While certainly amongst the first studies to join up the historic past with contemporary practice, others do exist. Rather, this is reflective of the lack of synchronization between the different disciplines. Social work history, per se, that is, the study of historic institutions by social work practitioners seems entirely distinct from history of such institutions undertaken by others.

In addition to this institutional absence from the broader discourse, the experience of girls, and especially those under the age of fifteen in juvenile justice after the 1933 Act, up to and including the Second World War and beyond to the 1969 is a limited topic within the academy at present. Cox is one of the few, if not the only, published scholars who touch upon the Approved Schools within the broader context of early twentieth century juvenile justice, though Bradley examines some of these experiences through the lens of juvenile court records.(2012) Industrial and reformatory, and latterly, borstal schools have all been the subject of various scholars but approved schools are conspicuous by their absence. Cox has shown how changes within early twentieth century juvenile justice helped to create a system full of ambiguities, a reflection further on the complicated framework which had developed in

this period. Cox argues that the 1933 Children and Young Persons Act “extended children’s right to protection while extending the possibilities for their regulation; it tried to make room for certain of the new freedoms claimed by modern girls while trying to make sure that these freedoms did not threaten wider social order.” (2013, p. 168) In addition, she argues that “the creation of child-centred facilities and the development of protective legislation brought more delinquent and neglected girls through the judicial system.” (ibid, p. 163) As later chapters of this thesis will show, the early editions of the *Approved Schools Gazette* contain much discussion about the rapidly increasing demand for places in the Approved Schools, which goes some way to confirming Cox’s hypothesis.

Wills observes that “it is surprising that the subject of juvenile crime [during the 1950s and 1960s] has received no sustained historical attention, either by historians of crime or in broader post-war histories of Britain. While there have been a number of surveys of juvenile justice policy, and several studies of particular ‘moral panics’ about particular youth subcultures, there has been little consideration of the broader history of juvenile justice during this period. (Wills, 2006, p.1). As Wills suggests, there are other studies more closely focused on the juvenile courts, notably work by Jackson (2006, 2008 and 2011), which also examines youth culture and the policing of the behaviour of children and young people in England and Scotland, and by Bradley who examines the London juvenile court between 1909 and 1953. (2009, 2012) Bradley points to a lack of theoretical analysis in the histories of the juvenile justice system put forward by Radzinowicz and Hood (1987). As Bradley identifies, Behlmer, Bailey and Hendrick all present studies which place the juvenile courts within an emerging discourse around protecting children and young people from harm. This theme of rehabilitating the delinquent young through careful and considerate techniques was also

examined by Bailey, who explored the processes of the acceptance of this view by policy makers at the Home Office. (1987) Bradley argues that our understanding of the development of juvenile justice to the Second World War is located within a narrative of nineteenth century middle- and upper-class anxieties about the working classes and their ability to parent their children effectively, and this certainly has resonance with the views recorded and expressed in the archival material relating to the Approved Schools. (2009, p. 43)

The other major work here is Bailey's *Delinquency & Citizenship: Reclaiming the Young Offender 1914-1948*, which assess the early part of this period of study. Bailey notes that "what emerges is the creation of policy by administrators who were guided by personal experiences of voluntary social work amongst working-class lads." (1987, p. 173) Bailey touches on the experiences of young women, i.e., those aged sixteen to eighteen but does not extend his analysis to children since his work focuses more on borstal than either the industrial, reformatory, or approved schools. It is not until the advent of the Second World War that Bailey considers younger children, in response to the increase in juvenile delinquency during that period, primarily attributed to the disruption of domestic life amidst evacuation, absent fathers through war service and working mothers. Even here, the brief analysis extends only to the introduction of the classifying schools in the late 1940s, rather than any considered analysis of the approved schools since the bulk of Bailey's focus is upon 'young people' rather than children.

Outside of the approved schools themselves, the study of delinquent girls has been pursued quite extensively in modern criminological and sociological research, and it is generally considered that the exploration of the experience of girls in the face of a system set up

ostensively to deal with boys is one worth pursuing, not least, in order to balance out the academic discourse on delinquency. In 1989, Bergsmann noted that “girls in the juvenile justice system were considered “the forgotten few”, and in 2001, Chesney-Lind & Okamoto observed that “historically, female juvenile delinquency has been “ignored, trivialised, or denied” (p. 3). It is clear from the statistics concerning the movement of children through the Approved Schools that girls represent a small proportion of the population, usually around ten per cent.

The approved schools were born out of a system set up to deal with boys. The Approved Schools have not been the subject of much scholarship in the broader field of juvenile justice or that of children’s social care in the mid twentieth century. Notably Cox (2012) and Wills (2005) have published on them, although Cox’s work on “*Bad Girls*” finishes in 1950, and Wills’ focuses almost exclusively on the boys’ approved schools in the article in question. Hyland (1999) has published on the schools in the broader operational context of social welfare in the twentieth century, which provides a useful piece for this work to sit alongside and build upon, but again draws largely on the experience of the boys. In the contemporary discourse, with the professional publications associated with operations of the Approved Schools, it becomes very clear, very quickly, that the majority of theory and practice reflects upon the experiences of the boys’ schools. This is perhaps inevitable. Upwards of ninety percent of the Approved Schools operating at any given point between 1933 and 1973 were established for boys, and there were significantly higher numbers of boys going through the juvenile court system.

Girls were, and always had been, and continue to be in the minority and this is reflected in the academic discourse. Where studies exist of juvenile crime in the twentieth century, the focus is largely upon the boys. As Gelsthorpe observes, “criminology in all its

guises has ignored women to a large extent. The construction, production and dissemination of criminological knowledge has been dominated by men and men's discourse." (2002, p. 8) Gelsthorpe notes that "theories of criminality have been developed from male subjects and validated on male subjects. Whilst there is nothing intrinsically wrong with this, the problem is that these theories have been extended generally to include all offenders. It was simply assumed that the theories would apply to women." (2003, p. 8)

Cox argues, "as girls represented a far smaller proportion of the juveniles brought into the system, their presence alone acted as a distraction, a disruption." The system was set up for boys, and girls were more complicated, and certainly this view is demonstrated within contemporary studies which will be examined in subsequent chapters. This disruption was accentuated if the girls were found to be sexually active, pregnant, suffering from a venereal disease, a victim of sexual abuse, "simple" or "vulnerable", or a combination of any or all of the above; (ibid, p. 164) critically, this is where the utility of care or protection, later, care or control orders, is of particular relevance. Chesney-Lind & Shelden observe that "the central but neglected element in the enforcement of girls' place, and ultimately women's place has been the juvenile justice system." (2014, p. 8) Considering this from the view of a historian, it might be countered, that the juvenile justice system in the United Kingdom has been the focus of studies of 'delinquent' girls in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and contrary to Chesney-Lind and Shelden's suggestion, it is the institutions outside of the courts which have not been explored within academic discourse and are in need of further work.

2.II THE POLICING OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF GIRLS

There are two frameworks within which the policing of girls' behaviour has been examined in the academic discourse, and inevitably, they are intertwined. In the first instance, there is the framing of girls' behaviour in terms of the broader defining and upholding of morality, as a motivation for the policing of girls' behaviour. Key scholars here include Cook (2004), Bates (2015) and Jackson (2000). In the second instance, there is examination of the literal policing, the courses through which girls might have their behaviour examined, controlled, and reformed. The notion of the 'policing of girls' behaviour' has been examined at length in historians' accounts of women and girls in reformatories and prisons, and in their explorations of the history of teenagers and youth cultures more broadly. There is a good deal of work on the more general field of delinquent teenage girls in the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early part of the twentieth century, and key scholars in this field include Shore (2000), Jackson & Bartie (2000), and Bradley (2009, 2012).

Approved Schools sat at the centre of the "twin 'welfare' and 'justice' approaches ... seen in legislative innovations such as the passing of the Children Act (1948) which empowered local authorities to take children into care, and the Criminal Justice Act of the same year which set up attendance centres and detention centres. (Worrall & Hoy, 2005; Cox, 2013; Cox & Godfrey, 2020, p. 272) Goldson positions the post-war period as the point at which "the inherent tensions between caring/welfare objectives and controlling/penal priorities resurface... [changes to youth justice legislation were] consistent with the welfare-based protectionist reforms that characterised post-war reconstruction and the development of the welfare state." (2020, p. 320) The mechanisms open to the juvenile courts reflect this duality

of purpose, with an eye to both reform and care. Care and protection orders present a further challenge in discourses around the Approved Schools, and Cox begins to unpack this additional perspective on juvenile justice in her work on “the presentation of girls whose moral development was deemed to be at risk” (2013). A care or protection order could be made for a girl on the grounds of concerns regarding moral development or welfare by magistrates, and under the terms of that order, such a girl could be sent to an Approved School. Indeed, statistics from the Home Office in the 1960s suggest that upwards of forty per cent of girls admitted to Approved Schools were there under care or protection orders, in contrast to boys where care or protection orders were granted, on average, in fewer than five percent of boys sent to an Approved School. Cox compares the experience of girls to boys in this respect, observing the general sentiment which seems to have been applied to boys.

Girls in trouble were often considered problematic because they contravened a socio-moral code of behaviour rather than the law. Yet, boys engaging in the sort of behaviour which might see a girl brought before the court were considered less of an issue. Boys will be boys. Shore (2000) has argued that [the] characterisation [of the young offender in the nineteenth century] was implicitly, and often explicitly, gendered so this is clearly not a new issue. Cox also points to contemporary “presumptions about and expectations of a girl’s innocence and purity in a jurisdictional context, rolled into the language and setting of a court, at best a fiercely conservative institution.” (ibid, p. 168) This gendered expectation of behaviour was deeply rooted in society in this period, and moral welfare is a prevalent concept in women’s history during this period. Jackson and Bartie draw attention to the gendered framing of court appearance, noting that “half of all proceedings involving girls were unrelated to the commission of any ‘criminal’ offence whatsoever... Only 10.5 per cent of

property offences heard in the Manchester Juvenile Court involved girls across the period.” (2014, pp. 56-7) This is not unique to their work, and the issue of this gendered approach is raised in earlier work, such as that of Cox. However, it is interesting to see it raised in a study which considers both boys and girls in this period. Wills considered ‘understandings of social change during [1950-1970], and... put forward a new account of the intellectual, political, and social roots of the ‘permissive revolution’ of the 1960s’. (Wills, 2006 p. ii) Wills did consider the gendered approaches to children in the care of these schools but focussed predominantly on older children, and like so many others, boys in her work. Wills suggests that “the 1960s saw a significant drop in the committal to Approved Schools of 14–16-year-old girls found to be in ‘need of care and protection’ or ‘beyond control’ - in other words, those committed because of their perceived wayward sexual behaviour rather than because of a criminal conviction. By contrast, the proportion of older girls institutionalised as a result of a criminal conviction rose significantly over the 1960s, which is an interesting shift change since the beginning of this period. This suggests a transformation in understandings of female ‘psychological disturbance’, but not a shift away from the gendered policing of the behaviour of girls and young women. Although there was a particular emphasis in the 1960s on the pathological origins of delinquency in girls, this pathology was increasingly conceived in criminal terms, rather than entering on purely ‘moral’ transgressions. (Wills, 2006, p. 101-2) Gelsthorpe observes that

“many [taking] a historical route [start] from the premise that one can only understand contemporary policy developments by reference to previous developments. Implicit in some of these accounts is the idea that juvenile justice policy essentially reflects ideological struggles in penal theory.” (2002, p. 45)

Certainly, this is a trend which can be observed throughout the academic discourse on this topic. In that wake, Bailey argues that “by the 1920s there existed a widely held view of the

causes and cures of juvenile delinquency, a perspective which borrowed extensively from the insights of practical social work with children, and which guided so many of the policy changes of the inter-war period.” (1987, p. 8) Gelsthorpe suggests that

“ideological struggles on the penal front are relevant, as are struggles relating to moral education and responsibility, but that these dilemmas are shaped or mediated by historical, social, and political specificities. [Her] route... is partly historical but mainly political. [Her] argument is that whilst we may be able to understand the shape and direction of juvenile justice by reading political agendas as reflective of broad theoretical and moral education dilemmas, it is a social and political backcloth which best explains choices in the development of policy.” (2002, pp. 45-6)

There is a further aspect to this field study which must be addressed, particularly in the aftermath of the scandals associated with both state childcare institutions and with the policing of the behaviour of teenage girls, and that is where work on the abuse of these children fits into this field of work. Against a context of the policing of the behaviour of teenage girls, there is also the much discussed and contested subject of the agency of a teenage girl in the circumstances she might find herself, and how the state deals with this. Records of the approved schools examined in this thesis suggest that girls who absconded, for example, were all but expected to utilise sexual activity to survive. All girls returning after absconding were subjected to intimate examination and testing for venereal disease, and the phrase “juvenile prostitution” often crops up in records concerning this scenario. The accusation of juvenile prostitution levelled at teenage girls might arguably be framed as a mechanism to police the sexual behaviour of teenage girls, but it also masks the exploitation of vulnerable young women. The extant literature acknowledges that the sexual abuse of children occurred in this period, and that channels were in place to deal with both the offender and victims of such abuse. However, whilst this did exist, the predominant narratives around children, and especially young people, and sexual activity were framed within a

medico-moral framework which focussed on the sexual agency of teenage girls in particular. For example, as Jackson observes, the 1946 report *The Problem Girl* drew on a significant and extant medico-moral framework, which ignored its own admission that girls aged 13-17 were as likely to be brought before the juvenile court for stealing as for being in need of protection and focussed entirely on 'sexual delinquency.' (2014, p. 119) And as Cook has shown, 'the 'easy ones', the girls with whom the 'local lads' could have sexual intercourse, were treated with contempt and unkindness' (2004), and this judgement of the behaviour of young women is certainly recognised within relevant literature.

In any study of childhood in the twentieth century, Jackson's work is a critical voice. In the last twenty years, she has written a number of articles and books which explore a variety of issues in the history of the care of children throughout England and Scotland (refs). Her work, however, has not addressed approved schools in detail as institutions. Jackson argues that "historical work on twentieth century juvenile crimes has often focused on custodial institutions (including the regimes of industrial and approved schools) and on persistent offenders rather than the types of low-level or marginal activity that brought most young people into contact with the law. Where historians of the twentieth century have adopted a more anthropological approach to juvenile offending, this has often been in relation to violence in order to expose the construction of 'moral panic.'" (2011, p. 90) Jackson's approach to juvenile justice is relevant here, as is her analysis of criminal justice statistics. Jackson has begun to unpack the documentation of the policing of young people, and more recently, examine evidence of the sexual crimes committed against children and young people. In her work on crimes committed by young people, Jackson identifies important trends around the behaviour of young people within and outside of the juvenile justice system.

Her work drawing on juvenile court records is extensive and draws out a number of key points. For example, Jackson and Bartie draw attention to the

“patterns of property crime in the twentieth century [which] are shaped by age, gender and social geography... as well as by social class and economic circumstances” and these influences can clearly be seen amongst other elements of the juvenile courts, including those of care and protection orders.” (2011, p. 88)

Jackson is one of the few historians who does touch upon the criminal offences for which girls tended to be convicted of, widening the discourse around the juvenile courts, pointing to the increasing number of convictions of girls for shoplifting in the 1940s and 1950s. (2011, pp. 89-90) Jackson has also made a significant contribution to the field of the history of the abuse and exploitation of children, framing the complexities and difficulties of identifying the history of the sexual abuse of children, drawing on court records from London and West Yorkshire in particular to unpack the central theme. Jackson’s work excels in identifying relevant archival sources and drawing fascinating scholarship from her findings. She also sets a tone that this thesis can only aspire to in terms of presentation of archival study. One of Jackson’s key points is “that the ambiguities and complexities surrounding sexual abuse were related to Victorian constructions of gender difference, childhood, sexuality and social class.” (2000, p. 4) This thesis will argue that those same constructions not only occur throughout the interwar period but remain recognisable throughout the duration of the 1933 Act and beyond. Jackson’s setting out of the legal framework of the prosecution of abuse in this period is particularly helpful, not least because it is one of the first texts to do so. This formative study pre-dates this thesis but sets the lie of the jurisdictional land before the First World War. Given that the language and, one might argue, the attitudes continued and perhaps continue to pervade the institutions charged with the care and welfare of vulnerable young people, this is especially helpful.

Jackson also addresses the balance of childhood innocence with agency, and questions the variation over when childhood begins and ends. This is both interesting and relevant but needs to be set alongside the legal determination in this period that, in the first instance, a child is under the age of fourteen and a young person is aged between fourteen and eighteen, and in the second instance, that sexual activity with an individual under the age of sixteen is illegal, even if that individual consents. The law does not recognise that consent and has not done so since 1885. Bates reflects upon “the idea that a lower age of puberty should lead to changes in sexual consent law” (2015) and unpacks discussions across the twentieth century concerning the legality and appropriateness of sexual activity by and amongst teenagers. Bates suggests that “many of the factors that shaped sexual consent law in 1885 are no longer social concerns, while new ones (such as teenage pregnancy and ‘paedophilia’) have become priorities.” In considering this perspective in the light of the period of study for this thesis, Bates sows some seeds in determining social concerns in the period covered here. Bates identifies teenage pregnancy as a contemporary social concern, but in the 1950s and 1960s, teenage pregnancy occupied a dual position in society. For an unmarried teenager, pregnancy was considered a problem. Pre-marital sex was frowned upon throughout the mid-twentieth century, and care or protection orders were often based around the sexual activity of teenage girls, actual, perceived, or possible. Yet, simultaneously, a third of all women marrying in the 1960s, for example, were under the age of 20, and with motherhood held up as the ideal, a married teenager who was pregnant was not only acceptable but almost encouraged. Delap also notes that ‘these concerns [mainly about working-class girls and women] meant that the sexual abuse of boys was not prioritised, and abuse of middle-class children was rarely perceived.’ (2015) The prevalence of working-class

children in institutions such as Approved Schools has previously been observed in academic scholarship, not least by Jackson who notes that ‘juvenile courts [were] viewed as an institution that dealt with working class boys... reinforced by other forms of national evidence’ (2014, p. 57)

Approved schools were technically licensed to receive girls from the age of ten years old, but occasionally girls as young as five years old might be admitted. Such children might be victims rather than perpetrators of crimes. The 1933 Act laid out a lengthy list of the circumstances in which a child might be termed in need of care or protection, and these behaviours might include incest, rape, and behaviours that we would now recognise as sexual exploitation and/or child abuse. (See also Bradley, 2009) Jackson again, has written on these topics, looking explicitly at cases of sexual abuse in London between 1870 and 1914 (1999, p. 222-37) and more broadly at the Salvation Army’s work with sexually abused girls in Edwardian England (2000, pp. 107-27), as has Delap who demonstrates that “sexual abuse was well recognised as a moral and physical danger to children by voluntary and statutory social workers in the early to mid-twentieth century, often described by them as incest, perversion or ‘moral danger’” (2015; Cox, 2013, pp. 115-118). In the same piece, Delap argues that “welfare workers, both public and philanthropic, were often primarily interested in concerns understood as involving mainly working-class girls and women, such as prostitution, unmarried pregnancy, and venereal disease”, a point which certainly has resonance in terms of the Approved Schools for girls. Jackson, whose early work focuses on nineteenth century welfare work with young women, has more recently shifted to examine young people and youth cultures in post-Second World War England and Scotland.

There are clear parallels between this thesis and Jackson's work, but the two diverge in their focuses as well as their sources. Jackson and Bartie's work in *Policing Youth; Britain 1945-70* draws extensively on Juvenile Court Registers (2014, p. 53), sources which sit separate to the Approved School records, but which inevitably co-exist and overlap within the broader sphere of reference. Unlike a number of studies referenced here, Jackson and Bartie examine both boys and girls and their experiences, and particularly examine the comparative rates of crime and conviction. Since it is broadly acknowledged, not least by Jackson, that a significant proportion of girls went through the courts without so much as a criminal case against them, the gap in examining the care or protection activities of the courts remains.

Cook has demonstrated that in the first part of the twentieth century, it was commonly believed that 'sexual knowledge was something from which children and young people, especially girls, must be protected' (2004, p. 169), and this particular desire to protect girls is a theme which inevitably ripples throughout this topic of study. As identified by Cocks & Houlbrook, amongst others, Clement shows that "prostitution has often been defined by male authorities who decided that a wide variety of what they saw as 'promiscuous' sexual behaviour on the part of women was equivalent to full-time prostitution." (2006, p. 15) This framing certainly has resonance in light of the role of care or protection orders and the extensive reliance of this provision upon notions of promiscuity or concerns regarding 'moral development'. Horn also reflects that "as always, it was female morality that gave rise to the most serious concern in the juvenile courts'. (2010, p. 204) However, the juvenile courts also provided space for protecting children under other terms, alongside the Education Act (1918) and through the mechanism of the Children & Young Person's Act (1933). Although this was not explicitly framed in terms of moral development, children were removed from their

families, often en-masse, for persistent truancy. Where parents consistently failed to ensure their children attended school on a regular basis, the juvenile courts were empowered to remove these children to ensure education. This policing of families played out through the juvenile courts, but the presence of these children in the approved schools is little discussed.

The second aspect of the policing of the behaviour of girls is a wider, cultural framework. This work on the latter part of the twentieth century on the broader field of 'girlhood' examines the world in which approved schools were operating but does not necessarily cover juvenile justice. These explore other spaces in which to consider the social and political backdrop to these institutions and the children in their care. Key scholars include Lambert (2019, 2020), Langhamer (2021), McRobbie (1995), Tinkler (1995) and to some extent, Tisdall (2022). Their work gives insight into developments in youth institutions, child welfare policy and youth culture, and how girls' behaviour was framed in these contexts.

Cox (2013) and Moore & Reynolds (2002) both observe the generational cycle of moral panic with regards to the behaviour particularly of girls and young women, each generation considered to be slightly more 'forward', more liberal, more dangerous in their freedoms and their behaviours than the previous. Jackson points to further observations by historians who have shown that the 1950s and 1960s saw their own range of moral panics across the contemporary press. Concerns about juvenile violence were paramount, yet in Manchester and Dundee offences against the person constituted fewer than 5% in this period. Most offences committed by boys and girls were property offences (over 70% for boys) - girls increasingly convicted for shoplifting and boys convicted for breaking and entering, sometimes opportunistic crimes. (Jackson & Bartie, 2011, pp. 89-90) Cox reminds us that "successive generations of girls in England and Wales have been cast as posing an ever-new

threat to social order requiring ever new restraints” (2013, p.2) and that “the modern girl has registered a cultural presence and posed a social threat since at least the early nineteenth century (ibid. p.3) while Moore & Reynolds (2018, p. 131) point to Egan & Hawkes who trace its roots as far back as the eighteenth century, noting that the “legacy of pathological constructions of working class sexuality... especially... in terms of contagion and pollution” (2008, pp. 191). Bates also notes that “late Victorian England was characterised by high profile anxieties about juvenile prostitution and legal changes in the age of sexual consent, both of which linked the subjects of sexual crime and venereal disease transmission” (2013, p. 39). Mahood observes that “the sexuality of both girls and boys was perceived as a dangerous force. But unlike girls, boys were not often placed in residential schools for perceived precocious sexual activity and there was no equivalent to a Magdalene asylum for them” (1995, p. 112). This cyclical pattern, revolving through the passage of time, with such intent focus on girls and young women, is of key relevance to the Approved Schools and the basis on which they operated.

The use of the term ‘concern’ with regard to ‘moral development’ may be supposed to mask a range of behaviours both perpetuated and experienced by (predominantly) teenage girls, and this has been identified in the work of several scholars. Cocks and Houlbrook observe concerns for the moral welfare of girls identified by Clement are confronted by Jackson, when she demonstrates that ‘anxiety surrounding childhood sexuality is not merely a contemporary concern.’ (2006, p. 15). In Jackson’s later work, she observes that ‘teenage sexual ‘precocity’ was seen as a social problem because it was connected, in the minds of its critics, with increased incidence of venereal disease, a rising tide of... illegitimacy and cycles of poor parenting’. (2014, p. 117) Jackson also reinforces the point that “female delinquency

continued to be stereotyped in sexual terms as it had been in the Victorian era.... girls were constructed as 'deviant' for engaging in 'promiscuity' outside marriage." Terms such as 'problem girl', 'good time girl' 'amateur prostitutes' and 'wayward girls', Jackson notes, had no male equivalent, a point previously raised by Cox amongst others, but is worth reiterating in this context. Smith's work on delinquency and welfare in London between 1939-1949, focussing on the juvenile courts in London, points to the fact that "the majority of girls [charged in the Metropolitan Juvenile Courts] were placed under care-and-protection orders (sic)" and that "such orders increased almost five-fold during the war." (2013, p. 72) Although all of this work discusses girls, it is important to note that, without exception, teenagers are the focus of this scholarship. The position of younger girls is notably absent from the scholarship.

Shore's work provides a useful context to the broader landscape of children in institutions in the twentieth century in the sense that the roots of practice and approach in the twentieth century can be seen in nineteenth century practice and approach. There are clearly commonalities between the two historical periods. For example, Shore notes that "although the proportion of female to male juvenile offenders was low, many girls were tried summarily or through other informal methods" (2000) which is certainly a familiar concept to the historian of twentieth century juvenile justice. As Shore (2002) has argued, Victorian preoccupations with morality ensured that for girls, delinquency and sexuality were closely linked with each other. Shore also noted that "the female played a peripheral role [in nineteenth century juvenile crime] and was remarked upon more often as being a source of sexual corruption" (2000). Bailey's work sits alongside Cox's work, steering more towards the generic "young offender", providing relevant context in understanding the origins and intent

of the 1932 and 1933 reforms in the Children and Young Persons Act. Bailey argues that “a gradual shift in approach to the explanation of juvenile delinquency took place in the 1920s” and certainly this perspective is useful context for this study and gives a broader sense of how the legislation developed between the two acts in 1908 and 1933. Bailey demonstrates that “the terms of reference of the committee [for the 1933 Act] were extremely wide: to look into the treatment of young offenders under twenty-one years of age and of young people who, as a result of poor surrounding, were in need of “protection and training” and to report what changes in existing law or its administration were needed. Such breadth reflected contemporary thinking about the causes of juvenile delinquency and the related advocacy of reclamation or reformation as a main objective in dealing with young offenders.” (1989, p. 21) This split responsibility is a theme which resonated throughout the juvenile justice system and consequently the Approved Schools during this period.

Indeed, throughout a significant proportion of the twentieth century, juvenile justice has trodden a fine line between ‘welfare’ and ‘crime’ particularly when dealing with girls and young women. (See Cox, 2013, Chapt. 5) Gelsthorpe and Worrall observe that “it cannot be assumed that ‘welfare’ has been a uniformly benign intervention. On the contrary, it is clear that girls have tended to experience both the advantages and disadvantages of ‘welfarism’ to a greater extent than boys, and that this has reflected broader social and political concerns to ‘police’ girls in social life and to reinforce gender stereotypes.” (2009, p. 211)

The broader sphere of reference here is of course the field of work on youth cultures which has emerged in academic work in the last thirty years or so. There are a number of scholars whose work provides useful insight here, from Langhamer’s work on schoolgirls, and on leisure in the interwar period, viewed through the lens of the Mass Observation Archive, to

Tinkler's work, constructing 'girlhood' through popular magazines in the first half of the twentieth century, to Tisdall's work which covers a variety of angles on childhood in the twentieth century, to Todd's works on young women, work and leisure in the interwar period and the mid twentieth century.

Tinkler's work centres on magazines for young unmarried women, girls still at school and those young working women in 'factories, mills and commerce' (1995, p.1), engaging with what these sources can tell us about the cultural construction of adolescent girlhood in the first half of the twentieth century. Her work illustrates how these popular magazines reiterated 'the formation of an adult woman's identity and the successful fulfilment of her 'natural' roles as wife and mother', (p. 3) negotiating shifts in "moral guidance that fused the old with the new." (p. 6) Tinkler's work is not just only significant in terms of the subject that she covers, but in the way that she goes about her studies. Tinkler is arguably a founder of the field of girlhood studies. Tinkler's work is framed carefully against the social classifications used by the Registrar General in 1951, which clarified 'middle' and 'working' class meant in socio-economic terms. This is a helpful position to have adopted, and one which is clearcut, however, little to no account is given to the differences which manifest between the rural and urban experience of such lives. This is common across such studies however and is not something which Tinkler alone should be held to account. Tinkler also draws insightful attention to contemporary attitudes to marriages and motherhood, the expected fate and anticipated feature of the majority of girls, regardless of social class. (p. 35) Although training did develop for approved schoolgirls, moving away from domestic service and into basic administrative and retail skills, the undertone to the anticipatory trajectory for approved schoolgirls was always marriage. Tinkler points to a Mass Observation study from 1949, for

example, which suggest sixty eight percent of the girls surveyed were looking forward to being married, and that forty percent of those over sixteen “wanted nothing more than marriage.” (ibid.) Her conclusions draw attention to how the presentation of a ‘modern girl’ embodied a dialogue with past idealisations of girlhood and femininity... the product of past attentions to culturally manage gender and social change”, something which can be identified in the workings of the approved schools throughout this period. (Tinkler, 1995, p. 187)

Tisdall in turn reflects on the expectations of young women in this period in terms of their future lives, drawing on different source material to Tinkler, but arguably comparable. “Getting married and having children was seen as a mandatory rite of passage by the vast majority of white working-class female adolescents in this period.” (2022, p. 502) Tisdall observed that ‘the central preoccupation of female [adolescent] interviewees [was] to get married and have children’. (2022, p. 502) To some extent, this continuity was unsurprising, as the images of adult womanhood that these girls were consuming remained the same across both decades, a reflection comparable to Tinkler’s, some thirty years previously. In a similar vein, McRobbie’s study of *Jackie* magazine, conducted in 1977, deduced that its contents had remained virtually identical since it had started publishing in 1964, with a focus on finding a boyfriend, getting married and having a baby. (Tisdall, 2022, p. 502; McRobbie, 1981) Todd’s work is pertinent here too, since it positions the teenager as employee, and considers the short-lived affluence of some working-class teenagers in the aftermath of the Second World War and how this has shaped historical and sociological understandings of youth in this period. (2007, p. 58) Todd determines that “examining youth in the twentieth century requires consideration of the interplay between their employment, their family responsibilities, yet also their dependence on - and frequently affection for - their parents”

(2007, p. 59) but gives no consideration to those who did not or could not fit within this framework. Todd's work on youth cultures does not expand on those who bucked convention, or whose lives became entwined with the juvenile justice system, but it does not facilitate an understanding of the roles teenagers and young people might play in their family, something that was potentially compromised by an appearance at the juvenile court, and more so if that individual was then committed into the care of the state. Todd's observation that "the mid-twentieth century provides an interesting disjuncture between the modern representation of youth as a period of protection and supervision and the economic importance of sons and daughters for many working-class families" is pertinent to the experience of the juvenile court but makes no acknowledgement of this perspective. (2007, p. 83) Todd's earlier work on young women and leisure in the interwar period positions the "young female leisure consumer in interwar England", drawing out gendered and generations divisions in access to both leisure time and spending money. (2005, p. 709) Todd's thorough work, centred on the changing employment and earnings patterns, and their access to leisure, presents useful context for this study, but no overlap. It does present useful insight when considering moral panics and realities in this period, and how this resonates within the juvenile courts and the approved schools. These works, while not contributing directly to the topic at hand, provide key insight into the wider world in which the approved schools operated, framing out societal, parental, and personal expectations of the spaces and places which girls and young women occupied and how these shifted or remained constant during this period of time.

2.III HISTORICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO STUDIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S EXPERIENCES OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE

The remaining area of work which touches upon the approved schools is rooted in or inspired by experiences of social work practice and professional archival practice. The subject of the study of access to care records has only become a scholarly concern since the 1990s and has received some attention in the recordkeeping academy in addition. In the aftermath of the *Access to Personal Files Act* (1987), now replaced by the *Data Protection Act* (1998) and subsequently the *General Data Protection Regulation* (2018), individuals gained the right to see information recorded in their social work record, which had previously been denied to them. Simultaneously a growing demand for access to adoption files was also being acknowledged within the wider social work profession and is reflected as such in contemporary professional literature, particularly within the publications of the British Association of Social Work and other equivalent organisations. Hoyle (2018) brings an otherwise unrepresented element to the discussion, in the context of records of individuals who experienced sexual abuse during their time in social and who wish to now access records from that point in time, which may be very recent. Whilst Hoyle's work draws almost exclusively on the experiences of individuals after the timeframe in which this thesis is rooted, nonetheless, the observations made around access to personal records resonate throughout the twentieth century.

In the summer of 1995, *Barnardo's Children*, a documentary which revealed the extent of care records remaining in the care of the organisation was aired, and there was a massive upsurge in enquiries to the charity from adults seeking information about themselves from their time in care. This sparked reflections on the learning from this experience, which formed critical foundation stones in the body of scholarly work in this area of research. Although Pugh

and Schofield (1999) cite a small number of works in this field, much of the work is aimed at a professional social work audience and the lines of enquiry are practical and pragmatic, rather than reflective and scholarly, which is important to bear in mind when trying to conceive of the broader picture in this field of research. In 2006, Goddard acknowledged that 'research and services in this field [of children in care] lag far behind those in relation to those adults who were adopted as children' and although there has been a degree of publication since, it remains a comparatively under explored area of discourse. Goddard's article 'reports the early results of the first national survey of all local authorities (and some voluntary providers) in the UK on their access to records practice and procedures with respect to former care adults' (2006, p. 112).

There has been a considerable body of work in recent years in the professional press of the record keeping professions, in particular in the UK and in Australia. The Memory – Identity – Rights in Records - Access (MIRRA) project is one particular example of such work and had led to output including Hoyle's article which particular explores the ethics and impacts of dealing with records detailing child sexual abuse in case files where the individual is still alive (2017). This thesis is concerned with historic institutions, and although it is feasible that girls who were in Approved Schools during the late 1950s and 1960s are still alive, there is no intention of developing an oral history element to this piece of work. Goddard defines research into the receipt of records of social care by the data subject as 'a major and un-researched area of significant interaction between public policy and personal life at its most profound.' (2006, p. 117) While this thesis will not extend to this theme, this notion is extant in the professional consciousness of those administering access to the records central to this thesis, and therefore it is worth taking into consideration.

In the midst of the work on records of social care, a complementary thread of work has sprung up around the notion of silence in the archives. This work has drawn explicit attention to what is not retained in archival collections, consciously or unconsciously, be that on a community, ancestral or individual level. Whilst the idea of gaps in collections has been acknowledged, at least informally amongst archival professionals for as long as the theory of archival practice has been under discussion, discourse on the subject of absence or silence within the archives only began to emerge around the turn of the century. As Jackson observes, “the historical ‘retrieval’ of young people requires a refocusing on subjectivity and experience, as well as a careful questioning of primary sources, research methods and organising categories” (2006, p. 231). Jimerson was a prominent voice in the American professional press, and his article (2006) on the role of the archivist and how that work might be synchronised with or motivated by social justice. This in turn led to a certain degree of response in writing in various archival journals, which rather than unpicking the problematic assertion that archival practice should be motivated by a particular agenda, began to explore the concept of archival silence through the practice of curating community collections. The notion of archival silence is also explored by Johnson, Thomas et al (2017) who consider silences or gaps in archives, ranging from details of individuals’ lives to records of state oppression or of intelligence operations. Johnson notes that “there are clearly cases where voices are hard to find, and the historical trail fragile and almost erased.” (2017, p.105) The voice of the child is notably absent from the sources which will inform this thesis and it is important to acknowledge this absence. In this instance it is not that the source has been destroyed, necessarily, but more that it was never created. In the longer term, it might be possible for future research to engage with girls who were committed to Approved Schools,

who are now adults, but this is not the purpose of this thesis. Whilst this thesis seeks to further enhance understanding of the role that the Approved Schools played in contemporary juvenile justice and society, and the impact that it had, it is important to note that Johnson's point that "stories and histories can therefore never be fully reproduced from archival research." (2017, p. 109) The study will be as complete as can be revealed from the sources made available.

These scholars present sound arguments, and their work is clearly based in archival and documentary evidence. However much of the work, framed within the broader legislative structures does not extend to these schools, or only does so for part of the period defined and so it is limited in the sense of comparative timeframe. This thesis will examine what can be drawn from their work and applied to the children within these schools and assess the extent to which comparisons can be drawn between the institutions which have been studied previously. It will build on historical work which has examined the Approved Schools to any degree, namely Cox, Wills and Hyland, and further the field of study by drawing on new examples of schools, studied for longer periods, and focussing on the younger children whose voices and experiences have been drowned out by the older, noisier young people. What is clear is that a variety of scholars have addressed aspects of juvenile justice, and that this work maps across to the approved schools, from Bailey's arc of the 'rehabilitative ideal' (2019) to Gelsthorpe's observations concerning girls' experiences of both the advantages and disadvantages of 'welfarism' to a greater extent than boys, and how that this has reflected broader social and political concerns to 'police' girls in social life and to reinforce gender stereotypes." (2009, p. 211). This tracing of social policing of girls' behaviour in this period, as identified in historic work by Shore, Cox, Cook and Jackson, can also be seen during the

operation of the approved schools, and can be set against this backdrop for further examination. This is also an opportunity to locate approved schools in the broader contexts of twentieth century youth crime, particularly with the experience of girls in mind, and enrich it through the lens of the younger children present in the juvenile justice system during this period.

2.VI THE MEANING OF 'CARE'

There is one final point to reflect on here. While, as a historian, it may seem straightforward to position the approved schools as institutions of state care, because they acted in this capacity, in loco parentis, for the children committed to them, the schools occupy a more complicated position within and outside the state welfare structure in this period. Children who were committed to these schools may not have considered the time they spent there as such. Even if a child was committed to an approved school under a care order, they may not consider themselves to be care-experienced or define that period of their upbringing to have been “in care”. There is no oral history testimony which gives any answers upon which nuances of this history can be drawn but given the potentially brief stay a child might have in an approved school; many may not have seen this period as having been “in care”. This phrase is often attached to periods of a childhood spent away from the family home, in the care of the state, potentially with limited contact with close family, but it is more commonly associated with time spent in a children’s home. Nonetheless, it has relevance here too. This is particularly significant in the positioning of the records of approved schools within the context of the record keeping of these institutions. In contemporary archives, many archivists and other recordkeeping authorities do consider these institutions to have been providers of social care, and their records are therefore subject to the stricter regulations of social services records rather than the regulations applied to school records, for example. Arguably, approved schools operated in duality: simultaneously jurisdictional and educational in purpose. This duality in provision of care is compounded by an almost total lack of understanding of the operational realities of these schools, and blanket provisions applied to their records. This not only presents complications for anyone wishing to study the schools

from an institutional perspective, but also for anyone searching for records of their own time in the care of an approved school.

The study of access to care records has only become a scholarly concern within the last three decades. In the aftermath of the *Access to Personal Files Act* (1987), and subsequently the *Data Protection Act* (1998), now encompassed within the *General Data Protection Regulations* (2018), individuals gained the right to see information recorded in their social work records, which had previously been denied to them, as well as access to their adoption files. Simultaneously, this growing demand for access to adoption files, has also being acknowledged by the social work profession and is reflected as such in contemporary professional literature. The experience of adults receiving previously unavailable information about their time in care, for example, and reflections from those involved in the facilitation of this access were critical foundation stones in the academic discourse in this field of research. In 1999, Pugh & Schofield published one of the earliest pieces of work in this field, drawing on a research project they had led to gain more insight into interest in these types of records, and they cited a small number of works in this area. (Day, 1979; Haimes & Timms, 1985; Walby & Symons, 1990) Much of the work is intended for a professional social work audience and neither speaks to a general interest or to a recordkeeping profession audience. Instead, it speaks to practice dilemmas for social work professionals dealing with such files, when they refer to children who were not adopted, but whose care experience was more fragmented.

Goddard (2006) acknowledged that ‘research and services in this field [of children in care] lag far behind those in relation to those adults who were adopted as children’ and although there has been a degree of publication since, it remains a comparatively under explored area of discourse. Goddard’s article ‘reports the early results of the first national

survey of all local authorities (and some voluntary providers) in the UK on their access to records practice and procedures with respect to former care adults.” Hoyle brings a further unrepresented angle to the discussion, in the context of examining the records of individuals who experienced or were exposed to sexual abuse during their time in social care institutions. (2017, 2018) Whilst Hoyle’s work draws almost exclusively on the experiences of individuals after the timeframe of this study, her observations on access to the records of children in care resonate throughout the twentieth century. There has been a considerable body of work in recent years in the professional press of the record keeping professions, in particular in the UK and in Australia. The MIRRA project is one particular example of such work and had led to output including Hoyle’s article which particular explores the ethics and impacts of dealing with records detailing child sexual abuse in case files where the individual is still alive.

Goddard defines research into the receipt of records of social care by the data subject as ‘a major and un-researched area of significant interaction between public policy and personal life at its most profound.’ While this thesis will not extend much further to this area, this notion is extant in the professional consciousness of those administering access to the records central to this thesis, and therefore it is worth taking into consideration.

In the midst of the work on records of social care, a complementary thread of work has sprung up around the notion of silence in the archives. This work draws explicit attention to what is not retained in archival collections, consciously or unconsciously, be that on a community, ancestral or individual level. Whilst the idea of gaps in collections has been acknowledged, at least informally amongst archival professionals for as long as the theory of archival practice has been under discussion, discourse on the subject of absence or silence

within the archives only began to emerge around the turn of the century. Building in turn on Jimerson's work led to a certain degree of response in writing across various archival journals, which rather than unpicking the problematic assertion that archival practice should be motivated by a particular agenda, began to explore the concept of archival silence through the practice of curating community collections. Caswell is a notable voice in this discussion. The notion of archival silence is also explored by Johnson, Thomas et al. (2017)

There are two types of archival silence here. In the first instance, there are the records which are literally lost, for the location of the records of many approved schools are missing. It is not possible to trace any archival record of a number of schools within archival collections, and for the children and young people committed to those schools, there is no trace of their time in the schools or the experiences they may have had there. There was limited expectation of any of the schools which closed prior to the 1960s to make permanent arrangements for the records they had created, and since almost all the record keeping legislation concerning the records of children in care came into force after the approved schools were dissolved in 1973, it was not always possible to apply such legislation retrospectively. There are more records surviving for schools which closed in and around the 1960s and 1970s, but even these are not necessarily complete. In the second instance, it must be considered that the records kept by the schools did not document the experiences or views on the children in the school in any capacity. Where records do remain, the child's view of their personal experiences of an approved school, and/or any allied institutions/services is wholly absent from the records.

The records of a child's time in an approved school are also likely to be spread across a variety of collections, not only in the school collections, where they survive, but also

within records of a juvenile court, and potentially within the records of a social services department, or within the records of a local education authority. The documentation of social care makes up a significant proportion of collections held in local authority collections. It is difficult to ascertain exactly what the percentages of holdings would be exactly because the records of a child's interactions with the social care system are likely to be held in more than one series within a collection and may be held across multiple information systems within an authority, with material found in both archival and information management systems. This complexity is further developed if a child's care was undertaken by an institution outside of the local authority, such as a religious community as further records may be held by these organisations in addition.

The records of approved schools, and that of a child's experience within them are likely to be scattered more than those of an average child in care. This is in part because children in approved schools were not technically considered to be in formal care of the state because they were able to return to their families at the end of their time in the school, and partly because of the nature of the pathway a child might have followed prior to committal to an approved school. Approved school records are only accessible under very strict conditions, as would be expected of such potentially sensitive material pertaining to children. However, it is unlikely that the records of a child's time in an approved school would tell them the full story. Additional material is likely to be found amongst the records of the juvenile courts, also held in local authority collections, and may also be found in the collections of organisations who performed social work functions prior to the establishment of the National Health Service in 1948, in the form of the correspondence and administrative records of charities. There are in addition some secondary sources such as the professional literature of the

Magistrates and the Approved School staff. Unlike court records for adults, the hearings in the juveniles courts were subject to very strict restrictions on reporting, and it is therefore unlikely that extensive material will be included in contemporary court reporting.

The documentation of a child's experience of care is a subject which has come under more scrutiny recently, particularly amongst record keeping professionals and has some relevance here. Though, as Cox observes:

“the words of those subject to social policing and the words of young women in general feature too rarely in historical studies. Taken together, this has meant that the more personal experiences of girls involved in juvenile justice and child welfare processes have received little attention.” (2013, p. 107)

The record of a child in an approved school is not created by or for that individual, and they may have limited or no understanding of what may have been recorded about them. A case file documents an experience recorded in the voice of others but may not be considered representative by the individual themselves. It may also be incomplete. The case file of a child in an approved school may cross reference with other material, held in other organisations, and it may not be straightforward to piece together the paper trail of such a child. In the eyes of some organisations, attendance at an approved school rendered a child within the social care system of that authority, and in others, approved school records are not considered part of a formal social care setting. Consistency between local authorities, in particular, is mixed in terms of how approved schools are viewed and this can present challenges in terms of gaining access to material.

The provenance and nature of these records allows limited room for the views of the subject of them. They are administrative records kept by the school, for the process of keeping track of a child during their time in the school, and in the immediate aftermath. They

were not intended to take into account what the child in question thought of their time in the school, and these views were never sought. It is only in professional studies late in the day of the approved schools, by personnel employed within the schools such as Carlebach (1973) and Richardson (1967) that the voices of the children in the schools are documented at all, and even here, this appearance is tightly constrained by the nature of the studies being undertaken. The identification of the voices of delinquent girls in the discourse around and records of Approved Schools could be critical to this thesis but tracing them in the extant records is difficult and heavily caveated where they do survive. Bearing in mind the perceived lack of voice of the children in the situations which lead to a spell in an approved school, it is likely that these silences can be seen in the context of broader silences in archives, not least those more broadly of women in history, particularly working-class women. Delap identifies that “the testimony of children from ‘respectable’ homes was [considered] more credible and likely to be heard than those from ‘rough’ or disordered backgrounds”.

What do contemporary notions of protection of young women, and expectations of their behaviour tell us? How can we map this to wider social progress? The voices of the children in the approved schools may be more difficult to determine, but the voices of the numerous adults with whom they would have interacted are far better documented. From opinions voiced on the matters of delinquent youth in the Houses of Parliament to policy papers issued through the Stationary Office to the extensive volumes of the *Approved Schools Gazette*. Their voices also dictate the contents of almost all Approved School records, as well as the pro forma of many of the routine types of records found for these children, such as admissions papers, court transcripts and summaries of treatment (e.g., by doctors, psychologists, and psychiatrists.) In 2006, Goddard acknowledged that ‘research and services in this field [of

children in care] lag far behind those in relation to those adults who were adopted as children' and although there has been a degree of publication since, it remains a comparatively under explored area of discourse. However, beyond acknowledging this, there is limited capacity here to improve or develop this area of work.

CHAPTER 3: THE NATIONAL PICTURE - POLICY AND INSIGHT

In addition to the original archival sources for the schools, there are several key sources for identifying contemporary discourses about the Approved Schools, which can be drawn upon to understand better the policies and practices of the schools, and the attitudes and perspectives of the staff working there, and of those engaged in the policymaking which affected the schools, during the time in which they operated. These include the Approved Schools Gazette, Historic Hansard and files pertaining to the Approved Schools in the Home Office series, held at The National Archives.

The approved schools came under the auspices of the Home Office during their entire period of operation. The Children's Branch at the Home Office was created in 1924, and existed until 1949, when in the aftermath of the Children's Act, 1948, it was re-named the Children's Department. As the schools transitioned into community homes for education in the early 1970s, responsibility for these institutions moved across to the Children's Division in the Department for Health & Social Security. Responsibility for the application of the various acts relating to children such as the Children & Young Persons Acts (1908, 1933) and the Children's Act (1948). Annual statistics were not published by the department until after the Children & Young Person's Act, 1963. Surviving records relating to their operation, policy and practice are therefore held at The National Archives in Kew.

Different approaches were required to analyse these sources, owing to the differing nature of the survival of their records in the public domain. The Approved Schools Gazette (hereafter the Gazette) is held at the British Library in printed form. Historic Hansard is provided as a freely accessible online resource, and the Home Office files are original archival documents.⁵ All three sources cover the entire operational period of the schools, and

each offers a different perspective on these institutions. Close reading of all of these sources was undertaken, informed by keyword searching where possible. This methodology is discussed in more detail in the introductory chapter. Hansard provides insight into the bigger picture, illustrating how policy was discussed and shaped in a parliamentary setting, while the Home Office records frame how the policy was set, and how it was assessed. The Gazette, created for and by its members, offers insight into how staff of the schools discussed issues of interest and concern amongst themselves. These professional and political views allow insight not only into how these schools were supposed to operate, but how they did operate and how their work and outcomes were observed and discussed. Across these sources, it is possible to trace changes in language and shifts in approach across this period and gain greater insight into the approved schools across this period.

4.1 HOME OFFICE RECORDS

This section will consider the types of archival material that survives within the wider Home Office records, and which are open, or which have been opened, and address what can be deduced about different aspects of the school from this material. It will examine what can be learnt about policy, practice, and research and consider what information survives about the day-to-day life in the schools. Records pertaining to the Approved Schools within Home Office collections are in several sections, with BN 28, BN 29, BN 61, BN 62, and HO 349 forming the bulk of the collections. As one might expect with such a prolonged iteration, approved schools appear in the file level descriptions of several series of records, and as a result a degree of judicious selection was required to select relevant files. In order to do this, a dataset was created from keyword searches run through Discovery, The National Archives' catalogue and the list assessed for relevance. This brought the records of the Children's Department to the fore, and it is on these records that much of this work is based.

The BN 28 series comprises case papers and files of the Children's Department and its successor bodies on the care and protection of a representative selection of individual children, some of whom were at approved schools. Because these files are largely centred on individual children, as opposed to broader issues of policy and practice, they have not been central to this thesis. The sister series, BN 29, includes Home Office and Department of Health & Social Security policy files on a range of issues, including but not limited to children-in-care, after-care arrangements, the Standing Advisory Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, and papers on legislation, specifically in preparation for the Children & Young Persons Bill in 1968 and Act in 1969. There are around three thousand files in this series, and just over three hundred of them explicitly refer to Approved Schools in the file level description. However,

not all of these are open documents, and a number became the subject of requests under the Freedom of Information Act in order to access them. In most instances, it transpired that redactions were required because individuals named in the files were still believed to be alive. BN 29 has a less intuitive system in terms of the arrangement of the series, but it contains a variety of material, ranging from preparation for reports and White Papers, to internal discussions prior to the submission of written answers in Parliament, to correspondence with staff at individual approved schools, and projections for statistics. They were compiled on an ad hoc basis across this period, and only gathered officially from 1963 onwards.

Amongst the files, a variety of papers from the Association also survive, along with specific guidance including regular monthly circulars known as the *Approved Schools Bulletin* which appear in intermittent collections such as BN 62/509 which comprises most of the bulletins issued between 1940 and 1952, and again in BN 29/2610 which comprises the Home Office *Circulars to Approved Schools* between 1970-73. This latter document was actually a full review of all the circulars issues since 1940, ensuring that items had either been resolved or reiterated. Later in the series, there is reference to Richardson's work on the approved schools (BN 29/?) and a similar study undertaken in the Children's Department at Sheffield City Council in 1966. (BN 29/1823). There is also some useful material held in BN 62, which covers surviving inspection reports for various juvenile institutions including remand homes and approved schools. This will be considered in the latter part of this section.

The titles of documents within BN 29 can give useful insight into how the Home Office summarised their activities. In the series, BN 29, the file level description is based on the names given to the files at the point of creations, and the numerical codes have no particular significance so far as it is possible to tell. The series examined here are those solely

concerned with the approved schools and do not reflect the full breadth of work undertaken in the Children's Department. Some files are so specific as to refer to one school or indeed, to the circumstances of one child, while others cover a variety of topics dealt with which were selected for their significance at the point of disposal, as well as a great deal of correspondence and policy concerning the approved schools at every level.

Other insights revealed include preparation for meeting anticipated future needs in the schools. By 1962 it had become necessary to create an accommodation committee which went through existing provision, current demand, and plans for future developments within the approved schools on a regular basis. (BN 29/577) In 1964, meetings took place between the Home Office and the Catholic Child Welfare Council, which appears to have wielded a remarkable amount of influence. Notes from the Approved Schools Central Advisory Committee meeting in May 1962 documented plans to provide two more senior schools for boys, in the Dioceses of Salford and Birmingham, with a third possible senior school in the North East, in addition to two more intermediate schools and two more junior schools, plus an additional junior or intermediate school for Roman Catholic boys, as required. The Committee was also considering providing a Catholic Classifying School at this point in time, all for boys. The previous section had noted the approval of two new senior schools for non-Catholic boys, with plans for a third in the offing. Three new junior schools for non-Catholic boys were also planned, along with another intermediate, which is to say that in the early 1960s, there was more proposed provision for Catholic boys than for anyone else, which seems extraordinary.

Section 13 noted plans in place for one senior school for Catholic girls in the north of England, in addition to plans to expand some of the existing girls' schools for non-Catholic girls, which would provide a further sixty senior places, twenty-three intermediate place and

thirteen junior places before 1964. New schools for girls in Bristol, Leeds, Lancashire, and London would provide a further one hundred and eighty-six places, of which one hundred and fifty were for senior girls. The new girls' school in Lancashire was determined to be for pregnant girls specifically, and it was intended that all these spaces would be available before the end of 1964. (BN 29/56, Minutes #107, May 1962)

Approved schools had always had girls committed to them for a variety of reasons, and discussions within the Home Office in the final years of the operation of the schools acknowledged the conflict that this could create in the implementation of policy.

"Children at approved schools are in a sort of halfway position between children in care and children who have to be sent to closed institutions like borstal and detention centres.... It would surely be most undesirable for two Bills to go before Parliament at the same time, one of which push approved school children into the field of childcare and another which pointed in the opposite direction, lumping them in with the inmates of borstal and detention centres." (BN 29/1, 1968, f. 1v)

This general trend of thought underpins many of the reports and correspondence within the department from the early 1960s. A memo from the Home Office Research Unit in 1961 to Miss Nunn, one of the senior staff who worked with the Approved Schools observed that:

"I have not attempted a projection for girls. More than half of the girls in Approved Schools are "care or protection" cases, and the trend in these is not closely related either to population or to crime-rates. There is a recent tendency to commit fewer girls and to keep them a shorter time, so that there is not likely to be an accommodation problem." (BN 29/1855, 'Approved School Populations' 28th April 1961)

A report titled *Disenfranchisement of Children in Approved Schools : Legislation* covers the question on whether "the disqualification on voting by "a convicted criminal during the time that he is detained in a Penal Institution" should be extended to cover children detained in approved schools." (BN 29/1) This had arisen in determining the final details of the

Representation of the People Act in 1969. While broadly speaking, this would not have affected a large number of children as few eighteen-year-olds were in the care of the approved schools, the file nonetheless sets out the thought process behind the decision made, exploring the issue at hand in some depth. At the end of this document, an additional note observes that “for children in approved schools to be specifically regarded as in the same category as convicted criminals would be to run counter to the whole trend of Home Office policy on the treatment of children in trouble.” (BN 29/1 f.1r) The Home Office objected to this proposal for a number of reasons, primarily on the basis that

“not all children committed to approved schools have been found guilty of an offence... A proportion of those in boys’ schools and a majority of those in girls’ schools will have been found to be in need of care, protection, or control in civil proceedings. It would be undesirable, from a childcare point of view, to distinguish between these two categories in respect of voting rights or in any other way.” (ibid)

This note, written in 1968, is representative of the way in which the Home Office had moved away from positioning approved schools as centres of rehabilitation to focussing on their role in the “treatment of offenders”, in a subtle but distinctive shift in language which can be detected across this period, and very notably by the end of the period. This seems to fit with Bailey’s arguments around the cementing of the rehabilitative ideal by 1970, a move away from the rhetoric of corporal punishment. (2019, p. 33)

Other comparable files include BN 29/500 which details discussions within the Children’s Department about pregnant girls in the care of an approved school who were entitled to National Health Service benefits. The Ministry of Pensions & National Insurance were clear that they were obliged to pay maternity grants in particular to the girl direct, unless she asked for them to pay it to the school manager, and that a girl would have to be willing to hand over any such monies. (Bampton to Beck, 1963, f. 5) The Ministry were at pains

to point out too that they understood that “the majority of girls in approved schools are there as being in need of care or protection, rather than as a result of any criminal offences”, reiterating this emerging cross-government narrative concerning approved schoolgirls.

This more progressive approach manifests in other areas of approved school policy. Preparatory papers for the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders’ review of regulations on corporal punishment in 1960 include the statement from the Association which concludes

“Arguments for the re-introduction of judicial corporal punishment appear to us to be weak on facts on history, and strong on emotion and current prejudice... we hope that judicial corporal punishment will not be re-introduced as we would regard this as a leap into the past quite inconsistent with the work in which we are engaged in Approved Schools.” (BN 29/1722)

The report *‘Girls’ Approved Schools – present & future’* is the first which explicitly demonstrates the medicalised shift which emerges across the period of the operation of the approved schools. (BN 29/949, 1970) Section IV begins by noting that “all girls committed by the courts for approved school training may be disturbed and difficult to a varying degree”. (ibid, #69) This construction of difficult girls would have been just as recognisable to those engaged in the approved schools in the 1930s, but what follows demonstrates a distinctive shift from the early days of the operation of the schools to their operation within a fully diagnostic framework.

“An attempt has been made to make groups in terms of presenting behaviour and implied management and treatment needs. Consecutive admissions to the Magdalen Classifying School revealed the following major groups:

i.	Mental illness	1%
ii.	Psychopathic disorder	7%
iii.	Antisocial disorder	18%
iv.	Character disorder	14%

v.	Neurotic illness	20%
vi.	Emotional disturbance	
	a. Inadequate personality	21%
	b. Sub normality	3%
vii.	Reactive disorder	16%

One hundred percent of the girls sent to the Magdalen school were left with a diagnosis attached to their file. Quite what was meant by some of these is not wholly clear but particular types of behaviour were tallied alongside some of these diagnoses, and it is evident that Home Office were of the view that an approved school was not necessarily the right place for a girl to end up. Section V of the report set out “special behaviour problems presented by difficult approved schoolgirls and current problems in management.” This included ‘abnormally dangerous and bizarre behaviour’ which, while rare in the approved school populations, was defined as developing into either schizophrenia or psychiatric depressive illness. (#73) Abnormally aggressive or seriously irresponsible behaviour was allied to psychopathic disorders, highlighting the difficulties that such behaviour presented given the lack of treatment option available anywhere within the National Health Service, much less within the approved schools. (#74) Girls demonstrating anti-social or anti-authority behaviour were positioned as seriously disruptive, but most likely to persistently abscond and subsequently “drift into prostitution, drug taking and criminal fringe activity”. (#75) The report noted that persistent absconding might have “a variety of reasons underlying this pattern of behaviour”, and like drug-taking, “may be symptomatic of general disturbance in all areas of personality.” (#76-77) The report determined that “psychiatric supervision or participation is the way in which the majority of girls can best be helped” but recognised that a “variety of levels of treatment” might be required within a given school. (#85-87) The report went so far as to actively encourage the “continuing development of schools as therapeutic

communities”, a concept which did not even exist when the approved schools came into existence in 1933, and which is still being advocated as a desirable development yet to be achieved at the time of writing. (1970, #90) Despite the relatively modern, diagnostic language and progressive allusions to therapeutic communities within the report, the language reverts to type quickly, describing the intake cohorts of the thirty-three extant approved schools for girls as “varied; dull; very dull; highly difficult”.

This rhetoric of “difficult girls” is pervasive in the Home Office files, even amongst the most progressive pieces of work. It was the framing to which it naturally retreated. In notes of a file concerning provision for girls in need of the type of secure care which approved schools were simply not in a position to provide, the phrase is used so frequently the entire file has been named “Problem of dealing with very difficult girls within the approved school system.” (BN 29/1721, 1966) The contents are more insightful than the title might suggest and consider the options available and how best to implement a wide range of care to meet a wide range of needs, in line with the increasing level of diagnostic framing and treatments discussed in the Home Office and delivered in the approved schools.

Other examples of language identified in both the Gazette and in Hansard appear throughout in these Home Office files, hardly a surprise given the intermeshing of the voices who feature within these sources. A file of photographs of children committed to the schools, dated to 1960, lists the contents as depicting “inmates engaged in various activities”, a hark back to the days of the Poor Law in its use of terminology while a further file from 1964 detailing an award for “interesting writing emanating from inmates of approved schools.” Such terms appear antiquated in a way that sits at odds to the Home Office’s other more progressive actions. (BN 29/956 and 1592)

The language used is revealing in other ways. There is a sense that the Children's Department perceived some of the teaching staff in the approved schools with barely disguised disdain. In papers prepared for the Advisory Council on the Treatment of Offenders in June 1960, one official describes members of the North Western Branch of the Association "as pretty savage... particularly the man or woman who considers that the "cat"⁶ should be used on boys aged 10." (BN 29/1722) While many might have agreed with this assessment in private, it is unusual to see it documented quite so openly.

In addition to the Home Officer Circulars and the Approved School Bulletins archived in these collections, insight into day-to-day practicalities often emerged in meetings between representatives of the Approved Schools and the Home Office. In the aftermath of the Royal College of Physician's report on "Smoking and Health", lengthy discussions were had about how, with this knowledge in mind, smoking amongst approved school children might be dealt with. One of the Headmistresses, a Miss Horrox, reported that her way of reducing smoking in her school was "to permit it where girls had the written permission of their parents, with the result that most girls ceased to be interested." (BN 29/56, Minutes #107.32) Miss Horrox doubtless understood that smoking as an act of teenage rebellion lost its allure once parental consent had been procured.

There is an emerging appetite for research within the Home Office after the Second World War, manifesting in the creation of the Home Office Research Unit in 1957. This is discussed at more length in Chapter 6. Researching in and on the approved schools became prevalent across the latter half of this period. One file details a "cytogenetic study" at Red Bank [Approved School] by Dr. Walker of Liverpool University. (BN 29/483) It had become clear that

the headmaster at the school was permitting genetic tests to be undertaken after blood tests on boys, framed to parents as part of routine medical tests, which of course, it was no such thing. The Home Office wrote to the headmaster in 1971, informing him that this practice was “dangerously disingenuous” and the participation of a sample of the boys in testing for genetic abnormalities was not acceptable. (ibid.) Dr Walker had previously undertaken research at Greystone Health School in Liverpool, something the Home Office had apparently agreed to, and it was only after an article about the Red Bank boys appeared in the press that the Home Office changed their stance on this. In the initial correspondence about this in 1969, the headmaster had openly admitted he intended not to “draw too much attention to the matter” by framing the tests as routine to parents. Dr Lepine, in the Children’s Department did not object to this, writing that “the consent forms... seems fine: this gives the parents an opportunity to enquire into the nature of the blood tests should they so wish.” This was official sanction that the headmaster could misrepresent annual medical checks for the children to their parents. In principle, it transpires, the Home Office was not opposed to cytogenetic testing on vulnerable children in their care. In the end, Walker discontinued his research on the Red Bank boys, not because of the press coverage of his work, or because he reconsidered the ethics of the situation. Rather, a change in senior staff at Red Bank, and changes brought in under the Children’s Act (1969) meant he was obliged to gain further permissions from the thirty-eight local authorities who had boys resident in the school, and sufficient number of them refused permission for his work to continue. He moved his attention onto the population of Styal prison instead.

While the surviving records of the schools themselves give little sense of the day-to-day routines, the Home Office archives provide a great deal of insight through the records of inspections of the schools throughout this period. Some of these are still closed, but others were released after requests under the FOI Act as mentioned previously. These closures remain in place because the reports regularly reference the circumstances of girls or young women in the care of the school, including details of treatment and background. In the reports on Longfords Approved School for Girls, based just outside Stroud, for example, the daily timetable is included in the formal documentation retained in the file. (BN 62/2030, 1971, Appendix B) It sets out the particulars of chores undertaken by the girls as part of the morning routine, as well as the classes the girls took in domestic science, art, sculpture, laundry, and needlework. Time is also allocated for counselling sessions, hospital appointments and volunteering opportunities in the local community such as Meals on Wheels and local playgroups. Most of the girls, even by 1973, were above the school leaving age and the curriculum reflects the skills that it was considered would be most useful to them. Visiting teachers attended the school, across the week to provide sessions in typewriting, pottery and also in marriage guidance. Lessons, and breaks, were timetabled across the day in the week and the girls were allowed to spend more time at leisure, be that reading, knitting or other courses of entertainment.

Other files give insight into ambitions for the schools and ideals in practice. Over the course of this period, in some ways, little changes. Girls sent to the schools were not expected to go on to achieve great things, but the lives they are anticipated to lead in the aftermath of their time at the school does shift slightly. When the approved schools opened in 1933, the expectation around work still focussed upon domestic service, and allied skills such

as work in other institutions, with a broader undertone that the most realistic outcome for most of the girls in the school was to marry and run a home. By the end of this period, there had been a small shift, in line with the mainstream education approach, that children should be supported to achieve some form of qualifications if possible. Girls under the mandatory school age might still attend a local school, allowing her to take O Levels, for example, but this was not possible for all girls at the school.

BN 29/949 comprises a report of a working party on girls at present in approved school and the facilities needed for their care in the final years of the operation of the schools. This report notes that

“girls received into Approved Schools are a highly selected minority representing one end of the range of (severe) behaviour difficulties arising during adolescence and inevitably they present great difficulties to any authority attempting to provide care, training, education, and treatment for them.” (1970, #25, p. 4)

Again, this report is centred around the older girls in the schools, naturally enough as they make up the majority of the population, but this perpetuates the difficulties in situating younger girls and their experiences in the schools. This report highlights areas of best practice, providing useful insight into opportunities potentially available to girls committed to the schools, from being able to take their CSE and GCE examinations, through to training in shorthand and typing, to the school who created a professionally staffed canteen which allowed them not only to offer specific vocational training but capacity to offer girls employment too. (38-41, p. 6)

The Home Office files offer insight into all levels of working within and across the approved schools, from broad approaches to individual cases. The files capture a sense of impending change, emerging from the early 1960s onwards, while also demonstrating a consistent

rhetoric across the period of 'difficult girls' whose place in the system is complex and complicated. The Home Office clearly, and increasingly, understood that the girls needed a different approach to the boys who dominated the discussions, but never quite managed to reconcile how care and protection should best be managed.

3.II THE APPROVED SCHOOLS GAZETTE

The Approved Schools Gazette (hereafter the Gazette) was the in-house journal of the Association of Headmasters, Headmistresses & Matrons of Approved Schools (hereafter the Association). This was the professional body for senior staff working in the schools. The Association had existed prior to 1933, acting on behalf of senior staff in the Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and continued to exist after 1973, acting on behalf of senior staff in the Community Homes for Education. The Community Homes Gazette ceased publication in 1975. Issued on a regular basis, and monthly after the mid 1940s, the Gazette acted as a channel for several lines of communication. It was a platform for information sharing amongst members, for communicating concerns or approaches to forthcoming changes in legislation, regulation, and practice, and for the publication of opinion pieces and particulars of innovation in practice. Regulatory notices issued by the Home Office often appeared, and republished articles (with permission) which the editorial team considered would be of use or interest to its members. In order to make sense of the corpus of the Gazette, a photograph of the contents page of every edition of the Gazette was taken, and the particulars entered into a spreadsheet. By assessing the contents page of every volume, a list of proposed relevant articles was created, based on the appearance of certain keywords (e.g., girls) in the title. Some other articles were picked up as likely to be of interest from this read through, usually because they referred to some aspect of practice or demonstrated opinion on a relevant

subject (such as changes to proposed learning). The contents of this list were then returned to, and photographed in full, after which relevant quotes were extracted for use.

The Approved Schools Gazette provides a critical source to inform our understanding of the day-to-day operations of the approved schools. As the principal mechanism for communication between its members, reading the Gazette provides insight into the trials and tribulations of the profession, allows the reader to develop a sense of the influences on contemporary policy and practice – be that specific instructions from the Home Office, or through a consideration of the theories of emerging sociologists and educational psychologists, as well as creating a forum for sharing ideas, concerns or making proposals for change. The monograph series which accompanied the Gazette regularly shared a summary of discussions at the annual conference as well as providing a platform for intensive discussion of single issues.

The Gazette is also a source which, uniquely, allows examination of the views of professionals in the field of the children with whose care they were entrusted, on an individual and collective level, and in turn allows a comparison of their views with those presented in other sources, both public and private. It provides a critical source for understanding the routines of the schools, the outcomes and expectations of the children and the rationale behind decisions made about daily life in the schools. Through close reading, it is also possible to draw on the Gazette as evidence of the gendered experience of the contemporary social welfare system, and its associated bodies. It provides unique insight into the language used by the professionals at the core of the schools and facilitates our understanding of this key group of personalities for the duration of the operation of the approved schools.

The Gazette is both a primary and a secondary source, in the sense that it is both by and for the profession whose ideals, concerns and ephemera graced its pages. It is a published journal, and therefore from one perspective it is a secondary source, but the unique content and context of its publication renders it on a par with the other archival sources. Certainly, for the purposes of this thesis, the analysis of the corpus of the Gazette has been approached as though it were a primary source, read across the forty- year strong volumes, and considering the contents from a thematic as well as a practical perspective. The Gazette positioned itself, certainly by the later years of its duration as “[playing] its part in promoting good publicity for our training methods which it is constantly seeking to improve” though the editor conceded that the “circulation [was] largely among readers who are already well-informed responsible members of the public.” (Anon, ASG v. 61.2, pp. 59-60)

The duration of the Gazette, both pre- and post-dating the operational period of the approved schools, in addition to publication throughout this period, renders it a useful source for enquiry into the views and opinions of the members of the Association, who can reasonably be assumed to represent the majority voice in the profession. The majority of senior staff working in the schools appear to be members. As the lone professional publication for staff working in the Approved Schools, there can be little doubt that the Gazette influenced and informed policy and practice in the schools. Not only does it demonstrate how the profession prepared and anticipated operational change and shifts in policy, but it also gives insight into professional discourse and allows us to identify the transition between policy and practice which were included in this professional space. The methodology employed to examine this source is set out in the introduction.

This section will consider what the Gazette reveals about the reception and implementation of Home Office guidance across this period. It will examine what influences were highlighted to the members of the Gazette, its principal audience, and examine the language used to discuss and describe the children in the care of the schools during this period. Significant trends include a global view on how children in trouble were dealt with, extensive discussions around and dialogue with the Home Office about practice within the schools, and evidence that girls (and women) retained minority status within the schools across this period. The Gazette was published on a monthly basis across this entire period. The Gazette's structure was fairly consistent in terms of its contents throughout this period. Almost every edition comprised 'monthly notes', any formal notices, or amendments to circulars from the Home Office, articles perceived to be of use or interest to members, details of publications received and so on. In addition to more formal reflections on policy, it was not unusual to find letters from members, and occasionally, poetry or song composed and sent in. Advertisements for vacancies in schools formed a significant proportion of each issue, along with advertisements for equipment and clothing deemed suitable for either members or the children with whose care they were tasked. At least one volume, sometimes a special edition per year, included lengthy summaries of the annual conferences, along with a short series of monographs, papers thought to be of particular use and interest to readers of the Gazette.

The Gazette often reprinted articles and reports which the editorial board considered might be of use or interest to its members. Sources ranged from the *Daily Mail* to the *Observer*, to articles from parallel professional publications such as *The Magistrate*, and also included annual reports on juvenile crime and delinquency in particular cities, such as Manchester, Liverpool, and Glasgow, invoking discussion as to what could be drawn from such

reports. The Gazette also included work from the United States, Nigeria, India, and Australia, amongst others, apparently in an attempt to compare, contrast and learn from professional practice in other countries. In one volume, the Gazette included not one but two articles on reformatory schools abroad, in America and New Zealand respectively. (ASG 61.4, pp. 179-183) The United States dominated this area of discourse, usually with reference to Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York, which will be little surprise to historians of juvenile crime.

The Gazette also provided an opportunity for readers to reflect their own knowledge and experience back to the wider readership. For example, in 1970, the headteacher of the Kingswood Schools in Bristol wrote regarding plans for co-educational schools to be introduced, noting that “If [this] has been quoted accurately, [it] is approximately 120 years out of date, as this school was started in the late 1840s as a vocational establishment... the task of reforming boys and girls together was beyond [Mary Carpenter] and her colleagues. She therefore arranged for all the girls to leave Kingswood, subsequently founding the Red Lodge Reformatory for girls which in its turn lasted for only about a decade, It would seem that girls have always been more difficult than boys!” (CSG, v. 64.1, p. 10)

It is possible to track, for example, the extent to which the methodologies and approaches used in some of the more experimental schools (such as the Cotswold School) in this period featured amongst the pages of the Gazette, and certainly the appearance of articles by the likes of David Wills, Julius Carlebach and others demonstrate the influences individuals might have within the page of the Gazette. As the concept of educational psychology developed from the 1930s, for example, it is also possible to determine how their approaches moved from radical to mainstream, across this period of time. It is also possible to identify the influences of other organisations upon the staff. In 1963, for example, Mary

Crowder wrote an article, recommending a summer school on the subject of 'The Personal Needs of Young People' which was run by the education department of the National Marriage Guidance Council. She recommended it to her colleagues reflecting that

"the tutors... [spoke] excellently on their various subjects, but that she and a small number of colleagues from the wider approved schools "were all surprised to find out how little was known about [their] work amongst the other professions generally."
(ASG 57.2, pp. 55-6)

As is perhaps inevitable in a professional setting there is a great deal of assumed knowledge and experience amongst the readership.

The place in which the girls (or rather, the staff who worked in the girls' schools) are most likely to be represented in within the supplementary material published alongside the Gazette, such as conference proceedings and other special reports, as opposed to the routine business covered in the monthly volume. The proceedings of the 1937 conference, as published in the Gazette, for example, reveals differing concerns between the staff of two groups of girls' schools. When questioned about the present classification of Approved Schools, staff from junior schools were concerned with "the wide age range [from eight, and under up to fourteen], but also the sexually precocious girls who are now numerous in the junior schools." (AHHMAS:GC, *Report (1937)*, p. 27) Opinion appeared divided between those who felt the age range within the junior schools encouraged "a sense of responsibility in the older girls", while others felt that "the transfer of obviously unsuitable older girls...to senior schools" would result in some relief. After discussion, the group realised that, were the girls' schools to adopt the tri-partite structure of the schools for the boys, the vast majority of them would have to become intermediate schools. "The headmistresses agreed that they would rather keep their schools as they were at present than face a school which contained only girls

of the emotional, unstable, adolescent age.” (ibid, p. 27) The group did acknowledge that “the lack of vacancies in senior schools” made this problematic but were also keen to articulate that an “observation school was needed for unstable girls... for whom special skilled individual attention seemed necessary.” (ibid, p. 28) The staff of senior schools agreed that “an observation centre should be used as a clearing house... prior to committal.” (ibid, p. 24)

Editorial pieces might blithely refer to children, but the undertone throughout is that when the Gazette discusses ‘children’ it actually means ‘boys’. It is possible to read an entire run of volumes without a single mention of girls, although this did improve a little by the late 1960s, towards at the end of the schools’ duration. It is perhaps natural that as the minority group in the Approved Schools – girls represented at most fifteen percent and usually more like ten percent of the Approved Schools population throughout this period – that girls rarely appear in the pages. In 1967, an article titled ‘Girls’ Schools’ observed that “anyone reading the *Gazette* might be in doubt if approved schools trained any girls, so little about them appears in our columns.” (Anon) Where girls do appear, the articles are often about activities they have undertaken, deemed worthy of celebration such as a holiday to the coast, or to mark an occasion such as a visit by a local dignitary. Between 1933 and 1946, twelve articles referring specifically to girls appeared across one hundred and twenty or so volumes, which boys were referred to explicitly in almost every volume. This ratio is in place across this entire period.

Inevitably, the Gazette was dominated by the experiences of boys, and of the male staff in their Approved Schools, and in line with that, their teachers, and associated staff. For every girl in an Approved School, there were nine boys. Reports concerning the sporting achievements of the children committed to each school were regularly reported on, for

example, and certainly cricket (played exclusively by boys at this point in time) received more page space than the subject of girls across this time frame. A report on new classrooms opened in 1965 at the Avalon School, which was run by the Salvation Army, saw the Under Secretary of State at the Home Office observe that “little was heard of girls’ approved schools in contrast to boys’, which fact he attributed to “the great ingenuity of the female for keeping out of trouble”. (ASG 58.11, p. 473) The odd report on the successes of the girls does creep through, and this is most common in the latter volumes of the Gazette, notably after the election of the first female president of the Association in the mid 1960s. In 1963, a short article acknowledged the considerable gardening prowess of the staff and girls at Greenacres School, who had entered the Bath Chrysanthemum & Flower show, and brought home a veritable wealth of prizes. Their accomplishments included a Special Award for Best Exhibit in Display, and the group was warmly congratulated.

This default male cut across the generations too - it was not only children who were presumed to be male. In 1935, for example, the introductory notes to the June volume observed that “it is highly desirable from every point of view that all Headships should go to the men who have been trained in the work.” (ASG, vol. 29.4 p. 46) In the same volume, a discussion piece titled *School Problems under the New Act* set out the challenges facing Junior Approved Schools. (Ibid, pp. 49-50) However, the article entirely failed to account for the fact that prior to 1948, the tripartite system detailed therein only applied to the boys’ schools. Intermediate Approved Schools for girls did not exist until 1948, and while perhaps some common points could be drawn out from the article by staff working in girls’ schools, the article completely ignores their existence.

Although the experiences of the girls in their own voices, the occasional short report or piece of creative writing notwithstanding, are notably absent from the body of the main Gazette, the reports of the Association Conference present a more balanced tone. This is in part because when small groups for discussion at the conference were established, those attending were organised according to the school they were employed in; Junior and Senior, for girls (prior to 1948) and latterly Junior, Intermediate and Senior. Approved schools for boys had always been organised thus. The reports can be somewhat curtailed since they are only summary representations of the full proceedings, but they provide particularly useful insight into the perceptions of the challenges faced by the different schools from the perspectives of the senior leadership teams of the girls' schools. It is worth noting that matrons of girls' schools appear to have been omitted from the early conferences since the frontispiece identifies specifically that those matrons in attendance were all employed at schools for boys. This is one such indication of the priority assigned to the experience and understanding of the boys. Indeed, there are occasionally indications that the presence of woman at all was barely tolerated by some of the staff of the boys' schools. In 1937, the conference proceedings noted that "Captain Janvrin stated that the woman matron at the Akbar Nautical School was responsible for the surgery and the health of the boys. For routine matters he preferred men, and they accordingly had a chef and four male matrons...he saw no need for any extension of the woman matron's duties." (AHHMAS:GC, *Report (1937)*, p. 4) Dr Norris however took the view that "very great benefit was to be derived from the influence of a good woman [in an Approved School for boys]" (ibid, p. 5) while the chairman of the session concluded that "he hoped that the fullest use would be made of the services of Matrons in all schools." (ibid) It was very common for an article or supplement to begin by discussing the

Approved Schools in the broadest terms, but quickly refer solely to the experience of boys.

The supplement to volume 36.2 of the Gazette in 1942, titled *The Approved Schools in War Time* begins by setting the stage, contextualising the schools, their purpose and extent.

However, by the third page, the mention of girls vanishes, and all the examples and scenarios listed are those of boys, and at length, the article concludes that “the keenest protagonists of the schools are the boys themselves and their parents.” (Johnstone, ASG 36.2(s), p. 16) I think Johnstone probably means proponents, but this is a classic example of an author failing to allow girls adequate, or indeed, any space in the discourse.

It is not really until the 1960s that ‘boys’ and ‘girls’ becomes standard phrasing for the Gazette, some sixty years since publication had begun. It took the appointment of a female president (Miss Margaret Callaghan, headmistress of the Rowley Hall Approved School for girls, appointed in 1966) to ensure that the presence of girls became a more common feature of the Gazette and certainly in the latter years of the Gazette, the representation of girls did markedly increase. Nonetheless, the Gazette remains a key source for this field of work. All manner of contributions to the Gazette reinforces the impression that Approved Schools were solely populated by boys. This can be seen from the earliest editions. In 1934, for example, a template letter to be sent to parents after their son had arrived an approved school was published, which while useful no doubt to staff in approved schools for boys, would have had to be completely reworked to make any sense to the parents or guardians of girls. (ASG v. 27.8 pp. 119-121)

Amongst the staff of the senior schools, the diverse range of girls’ schools were clearly considered an asset. The staff considered that the classification of girls should be determined

‘not so much by the character of the girl – moral or immoral, very bad or not so bad, etc., but by her temperament.’ (ibid, p. 24) In this example at least, it is clear that the Home Office did listen to the views expressed by the headmistresses of the girls’ schools, and by the mid 1940s, Miss Warner, an inspector from the Children’s Branch was reporting to a special conference of exclusively girls’ schools staff that the Home Office was considering introducing “a scheme for classifying children according to their ability, characteristics and the sort of training they needed.” (ASG v. 38.2, 1944, p. 34) Initially, two schools were established for classifying girls, one in the North (Aycliffe) and one in the South (the Magdalen school). Miss Warner also introduced a hitherto unforeseen glimmer of feminism when she proposed developing the training for girls beyond domestic subjects, observing that

“we get a little tired of being told to be quiet and run away and play with our dolls. Maybe we have been too good and too quiet, and possibly it is time that we begin to think of things other than domestic work... Is there more than we could do in trade training?” (ibid, pp. 34-5)

Curiously, there are no further mentions of changes to the curriculum for girls in its own right in the Gazette, though it is clear from the occasional article on the girls schools that provision did widen out. While schools were not always able to provide the training in house for a girl’s choice of career, where possible, schools were able to support girls going to college on day release, for example, or to take up apprenticeships with dressmakers or in local market gardens. The issue of training is one which takes up a good deal of discussion amongst the approved schools during and in the aftermath of the Second World War, in line with contemporary discussions around the Education Act (1944) which set out a clearer route for study for children and provision for those more interested in vocational or trade qualifications. While some girls did return home to take up work or training, under license and

by arrangement with their parents or another suitable fit person, others could be sent to any reasonable premises to further the beginnings of their careers.

The Gazette provides an insight into new developments within the approved schools. London County Council (hereafter the LCC) could often be identified as being at the forefront of innovation. Details of future training, and emerging formalisation of training occur across this period, in part because the Association was in a position to support and develop training in response to the requests and requirements of its members. Towards the end of this period, in 1963, the LCC partnered with the Home Office Central Training Council in Child Care to provide a course of training for housemasters and housemistresses in Approved Schools and other residential settings. In its first years, twelve students were selected for the year long course, and a practical period followed six weeks full time study at North Western Polytechnic in North London, reflective of the professionalisation of the work in approved schools during the latter part of this period. (ASG 57.2, pp. 68-71) The course focussed on ‘the practical problems of working with young people’, and after the theoretical study, students began an individual project on their special interest in voluntary social work, alongside working as members of residential staff in Approved Schools and Remand Homes. In the description of the course, particular attention was paid to the importance of ‘establishing constructive contact with young people, developing relationships of trust and confidence. (ibid, p. 69). This shift in language reflects the shifts in approach to working with children across this period.

Occasionally issues deemed only pertinent to girls do emerge. In a letter to the Gazette, details of the Home Office Children’s Department’s position on a proposed increase to pro-rotta allowances for senior girls in order to allow the purchase of cosmetics. The

Department declined the proposal on the grounds that responsibility they “felt it would not be right, in fixing the allowances for what may be the last year of the present system, to disturb the previous pattern”. The letter to the Gazette also revealed that boys already received higher allowances for pocket money than the other children, even girls of the same age. M. Russell, the official penning the letter was keen to emphasise, however, that the Department did not see “any objection to senior girls being allowed to use cosmetics and helped to exercise skill and moderation in their purchase and application.” (Russell, CSG v. 65.12 (1972 pp. 701-2) No explanation is given for why the Home Office determined that the older boys should be given more money than girls of the same age.

During the 1960s, it is possible to detect a change in tone and approach, especially where discussion of children and young people is concerned. The emergence of the discussions of adolescents, and specifically, teenagers, seems to bring together previously separate lines of discussion. The full text of a lecture given by Dr. Nigel Walker, for example, was published in the February volume in 1964, which examined the broad topic of adolescent maladjustment, which not only summarised remarks as pertaining to boys and girls but went so far as to single out the young women as a topic in their own right. In addition, it addressed the notion of the teenager, a heretofore unmentioned concept. (ASG 57.11, p. 420) It also addressed a point which had been raised by a number of headmistresses in their time, namely that of the preparation of the young women in their care for marriage. The average age of marriage had dropped from the 1940s onwards, and by the 1960s, upwards of a third of women marrying for the first time were aged 20 or younger, and approved schoolgirls were widely acknowledged to marry young. Indeed, it was alleged in the House of Lords during one debate

that girls would marry in order to avoid their licensing period. It is certainly true that marriage did cause aftercare by the schools to cease. A married woman, even if she was sixteen or seventeen years old, became the responsibility of her husband.

In a summary of the Kilbrandon Report in 1965, Wilson, the headmaster of the Loaningdale School in Lanarkshire, concluded that “Approved Schools in Scotland, and in England and Wales are changing and changing fast.” (ASG 58.10, pp. 411-419) This is perhaps true of the schools in the 1960s, but the schools had remained much the same since their inauguration in the 1930s. Earlier in the same volume, Mary Brown, headmistress of the Northenden Road Girls’ School in Sale, had congratulated herself that “surprisingly, in the late forties our methods were astonishingly up to date.” (ibid, p. 399) If they were ‘up to date’ in the 1940s in terms of their methods, the same could not be said of the attitudes perpetuated by the Gazette amongst its pages. The Gazette perpetuated stereotypes throughout its duration. In 1943, it reported that “a ninety-year- old mansion, set amid green lawns and terraces near Warrington which shortly become a new type of school for ‘naughty girls’.” (Anon, ASG 37.7, p. 209)

In the final years of the Gazette, occasionally even the voices of the girls themselves crept into publication. In 1967, one girl wrote in the Gazette that, upon arriving at the school to which she had been committed,

“the first thing they did when introduced to the staff was to take me out to the nearest town and buy me new clothes and things I would need for my stay at the School. This cheered me up, and after a few weeks I was settling down.” (ASG 61.1, p. 36)

She wrote about catching up with her schoolwork which she had missed in her previous schooling, and going out to work, of looking forward to a new start in life, concluding that she

would “never forget her time... and the friends [she had] made who have given [her] the change [she] needed.”

In the aftermath of the Second World War, and in anticipation of the forthcoming Children’s Act (1948), an article titled “Training for Staff of Girls’ Approved Schools” was published, setting out the ‘vexed question of training for work in girls’ Approved Schools’. Seeking the views of other headmistresses in girls’ schools in the hopes that “a practical plan may emerge’. As work in domestic service had faded out, historically the route for many girls at the approved schools and their forebears, the industrial and reformatory schools, The concept of re-education had merged at the forefront of the agenda of the Home Office Children’s Branch, which had oversight of the Approved Schools, and the headmistress pleaded for “careful consideration of the greater difficulties of re-education and [looked] forward to plans for training those who are to undertake this delicate and difficult task.” (ASG 37.12, pp. 371-2)

In the Conference Report, printed in the first volume of 1946, the full text of the discussion regarding after-care was published, which included a section contributed by Miss Custance, the headmistress at Rowley School in Stafford. She set out the workload necessitated in the extant after-care system, including her habit of ‘keeping up regular correspondence [with girls not on license], making a point of answering each letter by return of post’ (ASG v. 29.9, p. 140) Miss Custance detailed her experience that

‘it is easy enough to look after the girls and give them the CARE they need when they are in school; it is when a girl goes out on license and is exposed to temptation that she is in need of PROTECTION, and it is sometimes impossible to leave the ninety-nine and go after the one.’ (ibid, p. 141)

Comments following seem equally balanced between headmasters and headmistresses, but no consensus was agreed. Aftercare, and the complexities and challenges that the scale of

aftercare presented staff of the approved schools continued to be discussed by staff within the pages of the Gazette.

The Gazette provides an unparalleled source of intelligence into the discussions and opinions of the staff working in the schools across this period. It also allows analysis of the use of language throughout, through which a sense of continuity or change can be determined. While in some ways, there are shifts in approach evidenced in the articles of the Gazette, there is also evidence of continuity. One example of this longevity is the use of the term “contagion”, which, despite its associations with Victorian morality, still comes up in use in the Gazette in the 1970s.

There are other turns of phrase which continue in use across this period.

In 1971, a letter from the headteacher at the Essex Home School was published in the Gazette, observing that “for many years Approved Schools have been used as the ‘dumping ground’ for the refractory, maladjusted child.” (Knight, ASG 64.10, pp. 564-5) Earlier, in 1965, Davies Jones had mused that

“the difficulties posed for the Approved Schools by the existence of a delinquent sub-culture have become intensified in recent years... the schools often face a well-established and deeply entrenched culture system among the children. Mr Durand’s “hardcore” and Ingleby’s “unruly subversive boys” are a reminder of the consequences.” (ASG, 58.11, p. 454)

Close reading of the Gazette suggests evidence of an institution which saw limited systemic changes and operated in much the same way in the 1960s and early 1970s as it had at its inception in 1933. In an address to the Approved Schools Conference in 1964, Davies Jones observed that “the hand of the nineteenth century has perhaps lain heavily on our service.” (ASG 58.11, p. 451) He went on to observe that “some of the language we use in this field

creates its own problems.” (ibid, p. 455) and he was certainly not wrong about this. In an article in one of the early volumes in this period, a short article titled ‘Backward Children in Approved Schools’ refers to the “the large number of children in the Schools who are of subnormal mentality”. (J.D.J., ASG 28.3 (1934), p. 30) the author goes on to question whether there was a “large number of very backward children in the schools” and cited the results of IQ tests undertaken on the children [boys] entering the unnamed school at which they were employed, between 1919-1933, to test the theory. This reveals that around fifty three percent of the boys entering the school were recorded with an IQ below eighty-six, the point determined as average amongst the contemporary population, and of those, some sixteen percent were classified as having an IQ of seventy or below which was termed “biologically defective, or dull & backward”. The keyword however here is “subnormal”. The phrase “educationally subnormal” continued to be used throughout this period, and continued well into the 1980s and 1990s, by which time it was clear that its application often had racial undertones, though no such indication is really discussed in the context of the Approved Schools until the tail end of the 1960s and the early 1970s. Bernard Coward wrote about this in 1971, in his expose of what he termed “the ESN schools.” In the aftermath of Steve McQueen’s film *Education*, part of the Small Axe series broadcast on the BBC in 2020, this scandal was brought once again to public attention.

The Gazette was also an exchange for information between schools, and able to highlight innovative work or practice as they so chose. As research crept higher up the Home Office’s agenda, discussion of such initiatives began to appear in the Gazette too. In 1963, the assistant director of the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust wrote to the Gazette to draw the attention of readers to two forthcoming studies, examining girls in the approved schools. The

first, which the Trust had funded, was a grant to June Gilbert, a student who had been a housemistress at the Magdalen Classifying School. Gilbert proposed to examine case papers of girls who had been committed to the school, in order to better understand the delinquent behaviour of girls, as the Trust noted that '[much] work concentrated on the needs of boys [and] little comparable study has been made of girls.' (Longman, ASG 57.2, pp. 59-61) The same letter also acknowledged the grant by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to Helen Richardson, formerly headmistress of the Shaw Classifying School which was subsequently published under the same title. Richardson's study was not published until 1969, by which time the Children & Young Person's Act of the same year had come into force, signally the demise of the approved schools. Her report is discussed in Chapter Six.

When change began to manifest in the pages of the Gazette, it was late in the 1960s. As the professionals engaging with the approved schools came from an increasingly diverse range of fields, and as their contributions began to appear in the Gazette, there is a shift in the way in which children are discussed. An article by Masud Hoghugh, the senior educational psychologist at the Aycliffe Classifying School, observed that

"juvenile offenders are rarely problem children; they are children who have to make sense of problem adults and often fail to do so. If we took the necessary preventative and remedial measures at the right time, they would not turn into problem children. This applies as much to a problem child in an approved school as to one in an ordinary school." (ASG 60.9, p. 358)

It is largely in the inclusion of material written by specialists outside of the approved schools in which changes in approach can be documented. There are a number of commonalities across these three sources. In the first instance we see a use of language which harks back to systems and institutions which preceded the approved schools, whether than be the use of "in-mates" in a Poor Law style description or through the use of "contamination" in a way that

seems almost Victorian in its approach. At the same time as these linguistic anachronisms, a distinct shift in approach can be determined not only in approach to reform, but in the recognition and subsequent identification of diagnostic terms which become everyday parlance in the Home Office by the end of this period. These old and new languages sit alongside each other in many respects until the newer vocabulary becomes fully integrated into the parlance of the institutions charged with the care of these children.

Alongside this, there is a diagnostic shift which can be clearly identified across sources in this period, alongside an aspiration towards a more therapeutic approach to general practice in the approved schools and successor bodies, building on the developments which came about through what Bradley frames as the ‘administrative turn’ prior to the Children & Young Person’s Act (1933) Treatment of offenders transitions into a much broader framework of diagnosis, assessment, and medicalisation, within which children in trouble are positioned.

3.III HISTORIC HANSARD

Hansard offers a very specific view on the Approved Schools. It documents the voices of those most heavily engaged in politics, across a period of time when members of Parliament were becoming increasingly accessible to their constituents, and in the day-to-day processes of policymaking, Hansard acts as an additional source for understanding how legislation and regulation came into place, in wider society of course, but also specifically in this context, in the approved schools. The digital methodology used for this source is outlined in the introductory chapter, and the keywords used for these searches are included in Appendix E. Searching Hansard revealed over a hundred debates in both Houses which included words

such as “juvenile AND crime”, and “approved school*”. The types of debates which include these terms fall into two broad categories: firstly, in debates about juvenile justice and the systems and institutions which were part of it, as part of the enactment of legislation, and secondly where the particulars of individuals are raised in parliament to draw attention to their plight or circumstances. Both types of discussion allow changes in language, tone, and approach to be traced and examined.

These voices in Parliament often spoke from a place of privilege, especially where the House of Lords was concerned. There were clearly a range of opinions and perspectives within this spectrum of privilege, especially as the Labour party rose through the ranks. However, the safety and security of the lives of Members of Parliament were often a world apart from the lives of their constituents. At the end of the nineteenth century, the House of Lords was comprised of hereditary peers, representative peers for Scotland and Ireland, bishops, and lords of appeal. Despite a variety of proposed bills in the aftermath of the Rosebery Report in 1907, the Parliament Act, which dealt with the powers of the Lords did not come into law until 1949, almost halfway through this period of study. The House of Lords was not subsequently reformed until 1999, and many proposed changes have come and gone during its tenure. The Lords represented the ruling elite, a far cry from the poverty, deprivation and hardship experienced by many children passing through the approved schools. However, there is considerable evidence within Hansard that politicians regularly drew the attention of the Government to the wider views on how policy debated there played out in the real world.

Within the debates and answers identified in the course of these searches, the vast majority were heard in the Commons. Over seventy of the debates identified were heard

there, as opposed to ten which were heard in the Lords. A further twenty-one written answers were also given in the Houses relating to juvenile justice in some capacity in this period. Ten of the debates related to specific legislation, the majority of which related to the Children & Young Person's Act, 1933. Fifteen reports are specifically titled 'approved schools', although one specifically refers to boys. 'Delinquency' is the keyword which appeared most often, in the titles of over twenty individual debates. Although a handful of cases are listed in their own right in Hansard, in referring to individual cases, where examples of cases are given, these are often in broader discussions within the House.

It is a routine and important part of parliamentary business for proposed legislation to be scrutinised, and for amendments to be proposed by individual or groups of MPs. In 1938, for example, William Mackenzie, Baron Amulree KC brought the Children & Young Persons Bill before the House of Lords, in order to "improve the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, and the Education Act, 1921, in a variety of ways in regard to proceedings before juvenile courts." (HL Deb 14 June 1938 vol 109 cc 918-24) He set out in fair detail how the 1933 Act played out in practice, explaining for example, how supervision orders might be more effective if it were possible to attach conditions such as curfews to them, in the way that conditions could be attached to a probation order. Mackenzie also detailed how the juvenile courts could draw on multiple pieces of legislation within their regular work, demonstrating how the truancy sections of the Education Act (1921) could be enforced, for example. Mackenzie spoke of drawing on experience of the juvenile courts: as a barrister, he evidently had a solid understanding of the court system though it is not evident whether he actually

served as a magistrate in the juvenile courts himself. It is interesting to note such evidenced based policy making at such an early date, as Mackenzie noted that

“experience has shown the need of the amendments proposed in this Bill, and it is certain that the passage of the Bill into law will add to the flexibility of the powers which the juvenile courts at present possess and will therefore enable them still more effectively to discharge the duties imposed upon them by Parliament.” (ibid, c923)

In addition to discussions concerning legislation and policy, MPs could and did utilise their position to draw attention to policies, practices, and incidents of concern within the spaces of the broader juvenile justice system, including the approved schools. Hansard is therefore a documentary space in which the experiences of individuals is documented, albeit in brief. It also gives us a sense of the topics which were brought to members of parliament. The purpose of a Member of Parliament is that they should represent the people by whom they were elected, and it is evident from the records in Hansard that MPs did raise the cases of individuals in the House. This allows the tracing of discourses around children and young people within the juvenile justice system, and the identification of trends and emerging concerns. In this regard, Hansard occupies a contradictory position. The details of cases going through the juvenile courts were heavily restricted in terms of reporting. The requirement to protect the identity of a child or young person was enshrined in law, and carefully guarded, with rare exceptions when a judge might name (usually) an older child, after conviction for a serious criminal offence, often with a hefty custodial sentence attached. However, Hansard was under no such restrictions and MPs were perfectly able to name young people and give details of their circumstances in Parliament without fear of reprisal.

In October 1953, Woodrow Wyatt, then MP for Aston, Birmingham asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he would make a statement regarding

the removal of a fourteen-year-old girl from the Hollymoor Mental Hospital to the Shaw Classifying School. Questions on the same issue were also raised by Sir Martin Lindsay, the MP for Solihull, Henry Usborne, the MP for Acocks Green, Birmingham and Donald Chapman, the MP for Northfield, Birmingham, in a crossbench approach. (HC Deb 22 October 1953 vol 518 cc282-7W) The child in question had appeared before a Shropshire juvenile court a year earlier and was determined to be in need of care or protection and was the subject of an approved school order until September 1955. In October 1952, she had still not been placed in an approved school and after two “outbursts of violent and hysterical behaviour” in the remand home she was removed to Hollymoor Mental Hospital for psychiatric assessment. Her father’s consent for this as sought and obtained. By January 1953, the consultant psychiatrist informed the Home Office that the child was “much more settled” but expressed the view that the girl was unfit to be sent to an ordinary approved school. It became clear over the next few months that the only thing the various authorities could agree on was that this child was a “difficult case”. By September 1953, arrangements were made for her to be transferred to the Shaw Classifying School in Warrington (one of two such schools for girls), against her father’s wishes. The Home Office brought forward her transfer to the Shaw Classifying School, which not only prohibited her father from removing her but also meant her was unable to attend the court case.

When challenged on this series of events, Sir Maxwell Fyfe, the Lord Chancellor, “[regretted] that the notice given to [her parents] was not sufficient to enable them to attend the court had they so desired.” However, he reported that “the Home Office acted throughout with the girl’s best interest in view...” he concluded that “this case illustrates the necessity for an inquiry into the methods of certification of patients suffering from mental troubles on the

lines of the Royal Commission which the Prime Minister announced today is to be set up.” The passive observer may make their own decisions about the rights and wrongs of this case, but it seems extraordinary timing that the Home Office should defend its own actions in one breath and announce a Royal Commission into those exact protocols in the next. This example can be read as evidence of a new kind of discussion not only of the rights of child, but the rights of their parents in such a scenario.

There were further instances of increasing distaste for the imprisonment of children emerging within Hansard during this period. In 1954, for example, Peggy Herbison, the MP for Lanarkshire North drew the attention of the House of Commons to the plight of teenage girls being admitted to HMP Holloway. This is also discussed in Chapter Five, with regard to the children committed to Gisburne House. Herbison asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department (the precursor to the Home Office) to set out:

“the longest period spent by a Borstal girl in Holloway Prison for the purposes of psychiatric treatment, and what steps are taken to transfer a girl back to Borstal or elsewhere for treatment, respectively, if she appears to be making no progress.”

The Home Secretary replied that “in the last three years, the longest period spent by a Borstal girl in Holloway for the purpose of psychiatric treatment was one year, but the average period is very much less.” (HC Deb 09 December 1954 vol 535 cc 1089-90) Herbison’s response is interesting that she does not just invoke her own constituents, or the views of her party, but of the country as a whole.

“Is the Minister aware that many people in the country feel that it is very wrong indeed that any Borstal girl should spend any time in Holloway Prison, and is not the disclosure that one of these girls spent a year in Holloway Prison... very shocking... indeed?” (ibid)

Lloyd George replied that he “fully [sympathised] with what the hon. Lady has said with regard to Holloway” but acknowledged that “it would be difficult to have a special place for such a few cases.”

By 1955, Frank Hayman, the MP for Falmouth & Camborne, was asking questions about the detention rooms in the Senior Approved Schools and the extent to which they were used. The Home Secretary reported that some three detention rooms were at the school which dealt with “especially difficult senior girls”. Between October 1954 and the end of March 1955, the rooms were used on fifty-one occasions, for periods varying thirty minutes and thirty-six hours, but informed the House that the use of such rooms was under review as part of the Approved School rules. (HC Deb 5 May 1955 vol 540 cc158-9) Punishment books were not prioritised for permanent preservation amongst approved school records, so Hansard provides unique insight into these practices. There is no sense of how many children were put into those rooms, nor the timeline in which this punishment was played out. It is not always straightforward to unpick exactly how schools operated, since the approved schools are notorious for having few records survive, and certainly no building plans are known of in the archives consulted. Hansard provides very useful context and often information which does not survive in any other domain. These examples are all part of an emerging line of questioning the way that children are treated in the juvenile justice system from the early 1950s onwards which crystallises in the run up to the Children & Young Persons Act, 1963 and subsequently, the 1969 Act of the same name.

By 1960, Alice Bacon MP, later Baroness Bacon of Normanton, raised the topic of children on remand in the House of Commons on a similar line to Herbison some five years

prior. Alan Brown, then MP for Tottenham had enquired whether the Home Office was aware that

“a little girl of fourteen, guilty of a breach of probation in that she played truant from school, is incarcerated in Ward 4 of Holloway Prison Hospital, and is in the company of adult prisoners awaiting trial on such grave charges as murder and attempted murder?” Bacon went on to enquire whether “the right hon Gentleman [Vosper] [is] aware that the country is appalled that children of this age can be imprisoned?” (HC Deb 17 March 1960 vol 619 cc1452-3)

Vosper countered that “My right hon. Friend has really no authority to comment on the decision of the court.” Samuel Silverman, the MP for Nelson & Colne, replied: “If the right hon. Gentleman thinks that this was a proper action to take, will he bear in mind that he is virtually alone in the country in that opinion?” Vosper pivoted to the conclusion that “The real solution of the matter lies, of course, in the provision of remand and observation centres.” A matter which, of course, the government was well placed to present some solutions to.

In 1961, for example, preparation for the forthcoming Criminal Justice Bill were under discussion, with attention drawn to the Second Schedule which set out the parameters for the supervision of persons released from approved schools. (HC Deb 12 April 1961 vol 638 cc408-12) David Wietzman, the MP for Stoke Newington & Hackney North, sought revision so that a period of supervision could run from the date of any release, rather than the date of the original release, which would have meant that a headmaster could oversee supervision of a child if they had been recalled. This change, and a further alternative wording proposed by Wietzman were both rejected by David Renton, then the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Home Office. Renton observed that “the indefinite prolongation of compulsory supervision by making it possible for the two- year period to start running afresh, perhaps twice, or even three time in a rare care, is contrary to whole spirit of the after-care provisions

of the Bill.” There is no indication in the records as to whether this was taken any further. As an aside, this framing of readmission as ‘rare’ is interesting. Reviewing the data for the PMVH, for example, showing that almost one in five girls licensed or released from the homes were readmitted at least once. One child was readmitted four times before she was licensed to the satisfaction of the school authorities, and this is discussed further in Chapters 4 and 5.

In the same debate, Bacon questioned the Under Secretary, observing that “if a young person coming from an approved school has been released two or three times, which shows that that person has been back to the school two or three times, surely that is exactly the kind of person for whom there should be a longer period of compulsory supervision.” No response was documented, and the amendment negatived. Bacon regularly contributed to debates around the imprisonment of children and young people. Two years later, Bacon took up details of the Children & Young Persons Act (1963) debating, at 2.30am no less, with Mervyn Pike, then MP for Melton and later Baroness Pike of Melton. The conversation had turned to ‘refractory children’, and exactly what that meant. Bacon observed that:

“it was not so much the choice of the word we objected to as the whole system of committing children to approved schools in this way—children who had not committed any crime, who had not done wrong, but just children who were just stubborn or awkward, or in the care of the children's committee.” (HC Deb 15 July 1963 vol 681 c263)

When the bill reached the Upper House, Lord Stonham was drawn to propose an amendment to the Criminal Justice Bill, reducing the amount of time “that a boy who is to be removed from one approved school to another may be detained in a police station... from forty-eight to twenty-four. He remarked that “quite apart from the natural feeling that a boy should not be kept in a police station for as long as 48 hours, is that this 48-hour margin may well be

exploited by inefficient managers, because it will be encouragement to them to have unruly boys carted off to police cells.” (HL Deb 13 June 1961 vol 232 c138)

The debate on the forthcoming act in 1963 brought out several useful points, marking a shift change in general approached to children in trouble since the previous acts in 1948 and 1933. Amongst others, Bacon clearly felt strongly about this, and she was not alone.

“There are many other reasons, but we are dealing with children who are particularly unfortunate, children who are deprived, and children who have had one upheaval already in their lives. Even normal children can become refractory, stubborn, or awkward, but we are dealing with children who have not been living a normal home life, and it is for that reason they are in the care of the children's authority... it is not reasonable to commit to an approved school children who have done no wrong but are, in the terms of the Bill, refractory.” (ibid, cc264-5)

Harriet Slater, MP for Stoke-on-Trent North raised an example from her own constituency, where one girl “became one of the most refractory children we have ever had to deal with.”

Slater cited this case as a warning against the extension of powers, explaining that:

“if somebody, because she was under the care of the local authority, had had the power to send her to an approved school because she was awkward—she was indeed refractory—I shudder to think what would have happened to her in later life. She could have gone either the way of her parents or she could have improved, as she did. Because we did not use that kind of power, we saved that girl's future.” (ibid, c267).

Slater suggests that not being sent to an approved school gave this girl a future. By being retained in a mainstream school, a grammar school no less, being given the opportunity to sit exams, to be able to go on to have a responsible job, she was ‘saved’. In this discussion, approved schools are positioned the opposite of grammar schools, the opposite of opportunity. This suggests an alignment with Gelsthorpe’s perspective, that “the dichotomy between punishment and welfare was a false one and represented an extension of judicial power.” (1979, p. xii) This remark further represents a shift in approaches to children in trouble, and the institutions charged with their care.

Pike positioned her response in the following terms.

“We are anxious never to tie down too closely the people working in this field. As far as possible we want to give them the widest scope to find new ways in preventing delinquency... [This] is a reserve power. It is not an automatic power. All these children who come before courts do not automatically go to approved schools. Having looked at the problem, having looked at the child, and having looked at the alternatives—the alternatives are opening up the whole time; I sincerely believe that the number of children in this category will decrease as the Bill comes into operation and new channels are open to us.” [HC Deb 12 April 1961 vol 638, c266]

Pike’s optimism of development and progress within the framework of juvenile justice appears to build upon earlier critiques from across the benches and speaks to a shift away from more traditional views and approaches to the incarceration and rehabilitation of children in trouble.

This growing movement against the incarceration of children manifested more broadly. In 1964, Bessie Braddock, the MP for Liverpool Exchange asked Pike (in her capacity as the Joint Under Secretary of State for the Home Department) whether she was aware that:

“many magistrates, myself included, when they sit in juvenile courts are informed by the clerk of the court before even the case starts that there are no vacancies in remand homes. Is she aware that the magistrates are left in the position, when there is no place of security, despite the fact that they do not want children to be sent to prison, of having to send them there in many cases in order to avoid difficulties?” (HC Deb 04 June 1964 vol 695 cc1233-4)

Not only is this change recorded amongst politicians, but, though Hansard, such views are documented at the very grass roots of the justice system, amongst the magistrates. Hansard is not, however, entirely a bastion of reform. It also provides evidence for a great deal of continuity, particularly in terms of how girls and young women are discussed and described. This next section will explore this.

Much like the Gazette, Hansard reflects a variety of contemporary views about the approved schools, and in particular about the girls' schools. Some of those quoted in Hansard perpetuate language and assumptions about the children in the approved schools which is not always helpful to the debate, in addition to promoting approaches which were more retrospective than forward looking. In 1944, Lord Southwood observed that:

“Experience has proved that birching is neither deterrent nor reformatory. I know there are many people who say, “I got thrashings from my father and my schoolmaster when I was a boy. It did me no harm: in fact, it did me good.” That may, or may not, be so; I cannot say.” [HL Deb 29 March 1944, vol. 131, c. 330]

Harsh treatment comes up across this period. In 1964, in a discussion about the provision of new places in the Approved Schools, Cyril Osborne, the MP for Louth enquired “Why should delinquent boys get better treatment than lads who behave themselves? Why should we build palaces for these scoundrels? Why cannot we treat them more harshly?” In a decidedly more pragmatic contribution, Pike replied that she “[did] not think they get better treatment, but I believe that the treatment we give is in the best interests of society as a whole.” (HC Deb 23 January 1964 vol 687 cc1243-4) Later that year, Harold Gurden, MP for Selly Oak muted that:

“Whatever else we may say about the Victorians, their discipline was certainly effective. At least, the delinquency figures were better than they are now. We are told that all that is in the past, and that we now have a new morality, with free expression for children, and that we have to study the psychology of the child. I am not so sure.” [HC Deb 27 April 1964 vol 694 cc36]

While in some discussions in Parliament, there was a move towards changing the way such children were dealt with, this was by no means universal. In 1961, the Earl of Iddesleigh observed to the House of Lords that he was...

“much more concerned at the girls' approved schools than I am at the boys' approved schools—I am very doubtful indeed whether we are right in applying to girls in trouble

anything like the same treatment as to boys who are in trouble—especially as in the girls' approved schools, young prostitutes have to associate with wild girls of quite different background.” (HL Deb 01 May 1961 vol 230 cc1082-170)

Later in the debate, one Lord would chastise another for uttering sentiments better fitted to the eighteenth or nineteenth century, and this is certainly in line with that, as were Gurden's remarks above. This language of prostitution emerged in subsequent debates, and in 1961, Lord Stonham observed that “wayward thieves, et cetera, ought to be kept away from relatively hardened prostitutes.” [HL Deb 16 Mar 1961, vol. 231 c.486] Baroness Wootton of Abinger brought another perspective to the discussions around children in trouble, or in need of care or protection when she observed that:

Fundamentally, this is a Bill for other people's children; this is not the procedure which your Lordships contemplate for your own children... Perhaps I ought to say that in my long experience I have seen descendants of your Lordships' House in the courts, but this was extremely exceptional. Mostly, those of us who are more favoured socially have other means of dealing with these problems. [HL Deb 20 November 1962 vol 244 c.821]

Hansard presents a source which shows a range of views regarding children within the approved schools and the wider juvenile justice system, across the period of this thesis. It contrasts a growing move against the incarceration of children, and a more sympathetic perspective on how children might be dealt with. Across a number of discussions, there is a shift in the characterisation of the children in the approved schools, but at the same time, there remains a casting of the girls as wild, wayward, and difficult, a vocabulary that never really goes away across this period.

CHAPTER 4: “CIRCUMSTANCES” HOW, WHY, AND WHEN CHILDREN WERE COMMITTED TO APPROVED SCHOOLS

This chapter examines quantitative evidence drawn from the datasets compiled through original archival research in collections relating to Gisburne House, PMVH, and Burford House as discussed in Chapter 1. It examines the headlines drawn from the data and sets out cases studies which are representative of the findings. The archival sources comprise a variety of information about each child, including the circumstances which led to their arriving at the school and some records are more detailed than others: Five key pieces of information can be identified about almost all the girls in the years sampled as part of this research. Who are the children, and where do they come from? Why are they the subject of an approved school order? How long did they stay at the school? What happened after they left the school?

This chapter will set out the information which has been gathered under each of these headings, and, where possible, compare this to national statistics in this period. The sample data sets comprise a total of five hundred and seventy-four children and young women, who were committed to Gisburne, PMVH and Burford over the course of 1933-1973. As discussed in Chapter 1, information about every child committed to the schools in every fifth year across this period was documented. The table below sets out the size and shape of the sampled years. The number given in each year represents the number of children and young women admitted to the school that year, and who are included in the sample data. For context, girls made up around nine percent of children appearing before the juvenile courts in this period of time. (See Appendix E)

School/ Sample Year	1 9 3 3	1 9 3 8	1 9 4 3	1 9 4 8	1 9 5 3	1 9 5 8	1 9 6 3	1 9 6 8	1 9 7 3	T o t a l
Gisburne House Approved Sch.	14	23	40	36	8	School closed in 1956				111
PMVH	43	49	45	35	39	45	41	30	35	365
Burford House	Operating elsewhere					49	School become a hostel		49	98

Table 4.1: Details of sample data years for each school

4.1 THE ORIGIN OF CHILDREN COMMITTED TO THE SCHOOLS

All of the schools whose records have been used here are based in the Southeast of England, and both Gisburne and PMVH had a strong working relationship with the London County Council. Burford was also based in London, but the admissions record for the school do not survive in the same way that they do for the other two schools. The majority of girls in the schools examined here were committed in London courts, and/or gave a London address in their admission records. At Gisburne House, sixty-five percent of the children committed to the school came from the inner and outer boroughs of London, with a further twenty percent coming from the home counties.⁷ The girls who came from further afield were from as distant as Lincolnshire and Staffordshire, although for four percent of the Gisburne girls, no details of origin are included, usually in the aftermath of a transfer from another approved school.

At PMVH, the majority of the girls also come from within the home counties, comprising sixty-two percent of the children accepted in the school. Of this, twenty-one percent of girls at

PMVH came from Middlesex, fifteen percent from Essex and twelve percent from Kent. Only one percent came from London, though inevitably, there was some overlap between the northern boroughs and Middlesex, the southern and western boroughs with Surrey, and the eastern boroughs with Essex. It seems likely that there are London girls hidden in plain sight therein. PMVH had children committed from as far afield as Derbyshire, Glamorgan, Monmouthshire, and Gloucestershire. PMVH was able to accommodate a larger number of children, and also accepted younger children in a way that the other schools considered here did not, which may explain the expanded catchment area that the school had. A variety of information was recorded about each child as she arrived at an approved school, and there is some commonality in terms of what was recorded as the Home Office did issue standard registers and other documents. However, the guidance in terms of what should be kept by the school varied across this period, and as a result, survival of records from the schools is mixed. This is addressed in the introduction.

Prior to 1948, any girl arriving at an Approved School was most likely to have come straight from the Juvenile Court which had committed her, as in the early part of this period judges were free to send children to whichever approved school they chose. Contemporary commentary in both the Gazette and the Home Office archives suggest that some judges in the juvenile circuits routinely sent children to the same small cluster of approved schools, regardless of how practical or appropriate this might be for the child in question. After 1948, when Classifying Schools were introduced, children were committed to a classifying school first for a period of assessment which might last anything between a week and six months, and then transferred to an Approved School. However, there were no classifying schools for children under the age of 14 initially, and only one such school opened which only dealt with

boys. For girls who were fourteen or older at the time they became the subject of an approved school order, and who were not Roman Catholic, only two such schools existed at any one time: the Magdalen Classifying School and the Shaw Classifying School which had opened in the mid 1940s. When the Shaw closed down, it was replaced by the Moss Classifying School. Research undertaken on girls in both the Magdalen and the Moss schools will be considered in Chapter 6.

4.II AGE OF THE CHILDREN COMMITTED INTO THE SCHOOLS

Approved schools were intended to take children between the ages of ten and eighteen, with the understanding that approved hostels were able to take children from the age of fifteen after a certain period in an approved school if they had behaved well and if the management board at the approved school were minded to agree the transfer. Children who were younger than ten were usually fostered out to local foster parents, but sometimes remained in the school, depending on how young they were. Very small children, those under the age of six, and usually the subject of care or protection orders in the aftermath of neglect, for example, were usually fostered straight out, and may only have entered the school 'on paper'. Children nearer the age of ten might stay in the school. At PMVH, for example, the nature of the set up – in individual houses rather than one large institutional building, it was possible to incorporate an eight or a nine-year-old into the mix of children in the school.

PMVH was by far the largest junior approved school in England and Wales and took the majority of the younger children committed to approved schools in the London courts. Although based in Surrey, PMVH had a long-established working relationship with London County Council, to the extent that for the early part of this data sample, LCC children were

entered into a different register to the main register and used an entirely distinct alpha numeric reference code system for the duration of operation. Unlike all the other LCC schools, however, the records are retained at the Surrey History Centre rather than the London Metropolitan Archives. This is probably because the school was run by an independent charitable body, and LCC was the principal client rather than responsible for its day-to-day administration. In addition, as identified in the first part of this chapter, the boundaries of the outer London boroughs, and the neighbouring counties often overlapped.

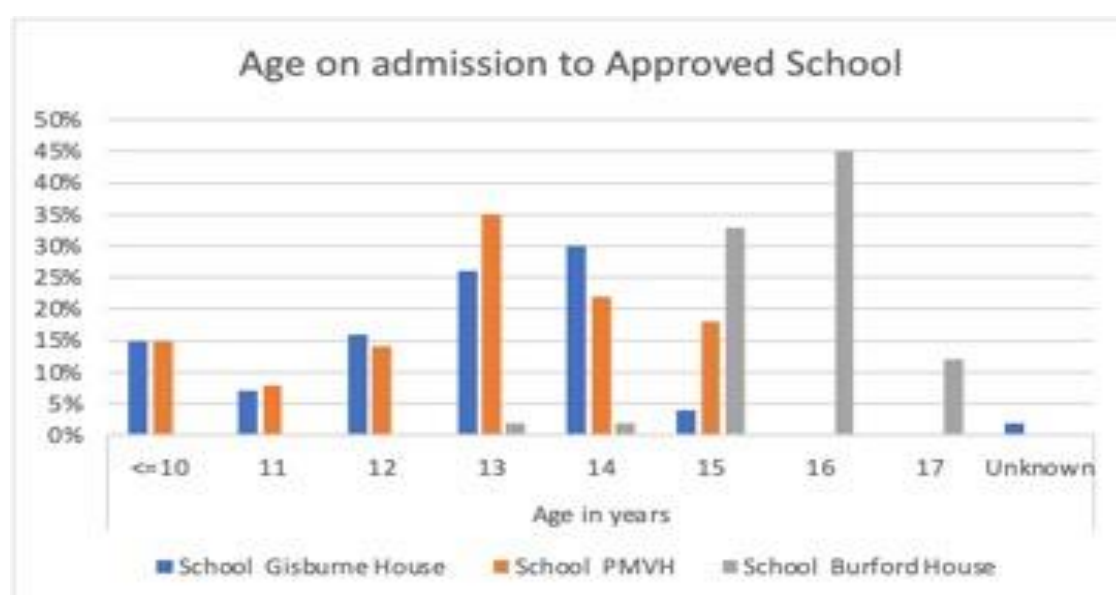


Figure 4a. Age of girls on admission to the specified Approved Schools for girls

A similar approach was taken within the records of Gisburne House. Over the twenty-year period sampled (1933-53), fifteen percent of the girls at Gisburne House were ten years old, or younger. Seven percent were 11 years old, , sixteen percent were 12 years old, twenty six percent were 13 years old, thirty percent were 14 years old, and four percent were 15 years old. Age could not be determined for the remaining two percent. Despite being a junior approved school, the average age of a girl at the point she was committed to Gisburne House was fifteen years and two months, which is arguably much closer to being an intermediate

school in practice. In the sample year at Burford House, 1953, four percent of the girls committed to the hostel were 13 or 14 years old. Thirty three percent were 15 years old; forty five percent were 16 years old, and twelve percent were 17 years old. The average age of a girl committed to Burford House was fifteen years and eleven months. Over the forty-year period, fifteen percent of the children committed to the PMVH were ten years old, or younger. Eight percent were eleven years, and fourteen percent were twelve. Thirty five percent of the girls committed were thirteen years old and twenty two percent were fourteen years old. Eighteen percent were fifteen years, or older. The average age of a girl committed to the PMVH was twelve years and eleven months. The average age of admission to an approved school, based on this data was just over fourteen years, which fits with previous work examining other schools. The children at PMVH were notably younger, however, in comparison to those committed to Gisburne House, for example.

The sheer scale of the operation at PMVH, alongside the solid position they found themselves in in terms of their patronage allowed the schools to operate in ways that other approved schools appear not to have done. PMVH continued taking children under the age of ten long after the 1948 Children's Act, for example. In 1958, Mary [PMVH229] was committed to the school until her fifteenth birthday in 1964. Mary was only eight years old at the time, sent to PMVH under a Care or Protection Order from a city in the West Country. She was actually licensed in August 1961, but was subsequently readmitted a year later, and then released again just before Christmas in 1963, having spent the best part of six years in the care of PMVH.

PMVH was one of the earliest homes model of institutional care in England and Wales, and as an independent charity, appears to have been allowed to run the school on

more progressive lines than other institutions. For example, PMVH not only allowed sibling groups to be sent to the school but was even willing to allow boys to be included in the group in order to avoid splitting families up. This latter approach was very unusual, as approved schools were strictly single sex institutions, and this approach seems much more in keeping with contemporary practices in attempting to keep siblings together, and in recognising the significance of keeping children together where possible.

In October 1933, two boys were admitted in short successions. John [PMVH031], a five-year-old from London was committed with his four-year-old sister Lynda [PMVH032], under a care or protection order which had been granted on the grounds that they were living with their single mother “in a house used by prostitutes for the purposes of prostitution.” Both children were transferred away from PMVH in March 1938. John was sent to Mile Oak School, while Lynda was sent to Gisburne House where she was reunited with her older sister Annette [GH018]. Two days after John arrived, James, a little boy from the south coast was committed to the school, aged six and a half years old. He was committed for being beyond the control of his parents and stayed at PMVH until the summer of 1937 when he was transferred to the Essex Home School. Thomas [PMVH081(B)], a seven-year-old from a town in Cheshire, arrived at the school in 1938 and was transferred to a boys’ school in the spring of 1940 after his tenth birthday. The subject of a care or protection order, he spent eighteen months at the school in total, and his order determined that he should stay in the care of the state until he was fifteen. Unusually, Thomas’s mother was listed as unknown, and only his father is listed. This may be the root cause of his order, since children in the care of a single father were sometimes taken away from their parent under such orders; single fathers were held to a higher standard of care than a single mother might otherwise have been.

In August 1943, three sisters aged twelve, nine and eight respectively arrived at PMVH, having been committed to the school by a juvenile court in South Wales for non-compliance with a school attendance order. Additional research has shown that their oldest sister, a thirteen-year-old, remained at home. With the mandatory school attendance age still only fourteen at this point in time, perhaps the authorities considered their efforts would be wasted on including her under the terms of the order since schooling was very nearly no longer mandatory for her. The oldest of the trio, Eileen [PMVH119] was discharged in June 1946, and both her sisters Bridget and Dorrie [PMVH120 and PMVH121] were discharged in August 1947. Eileen had been in Surrey for almost three years, and Bridget and Dorrie for over four years when they eventually returned home to their parents and two other siblings. There is nothing in their records to suggest their parents were able to visit them while they were at school. Their younger siblings, a brother who was only months old when his sisters were sent to Surrey, along with a sister who was barely three years old, can hardly have known who they were when they returned to Wales. The removal of children under the Education Act, for having broken school attendance orders, was certainly in line with the law, but leads to questions about what was actually going on at home in order to justify the committal of three siblings to a school over one hundred and thirty miles away, for over four years, and the extent to which the Education Act was used to police 'problem families'.

4.II RATIONALE FOR COMMITTAL

The framework for committing a child to an approved school was set out in the introduction. The data sampled here suggests that for children who were 13, or younger, around four in ten

girls were subject to an approved school order after care or protection proceedings. This is true for both PMVH and Gisburne.

Forty-two percent of the girls committed to Gisburne House were the subjects of care or protection orders. A further ten percent of the girls committed to Gisburne House were so for offences under the Education Act, 1921 and thirty seven percent were committed for offences under the Larceny Act (1916). Just under one percent of the girls were committed for offences under the Vagrancy Act, and particulars were not specified for nine percent of the girls committed to the school. In all these unspecified instances, these girls were transferred in from other schools, and the details of the original committal were not recorded in the archival material available.

Sixty-one percent of the girls committed to Burford House were so by a Care or Protection Order. Of these girls, one third were committed specifically for being 'Beyond Control' and five percent were committed owing to their having been 'exposed to moral danger.' In both instances, the girls had been having relationships with married men. No girls were committed for offences under the Education Act, as the school leaving age at this point in time was younger than the average age of the children committed to this institution. Twenty two percent of girls were committed after a conviction for larceny, and a further eight percent were committed after a conviction for another class of theft. Six percent of the girls at Burford House in the sample year were committed after attempting suicide and being sentenced in the juvenile court in relation to this offence.

Forty-eight percent of the girls committed to the PMVH were committed under a care or protection order, a further ten percent were committed for offences against the Education Act and two percent were committed for vagrancy. Thirty seven percent of the girls

committed to the PMVH were committed as the result of a conviction for larceny with a further three percent as a result of a conviction for a different criminal offence. Sixty percent of the girls committed to PMVH were not convicted of a criminal offence. To summarise, fifty three percent of the girls at Gisburne House were committed to the school without having been convicted of a criminal offence. Sixty one percent of the girls committed to Burford House were committed without having been convicted of a criminal offence. Fifty eight percent of the girls at PMVH were committed without having been convicted of a criminal offence.

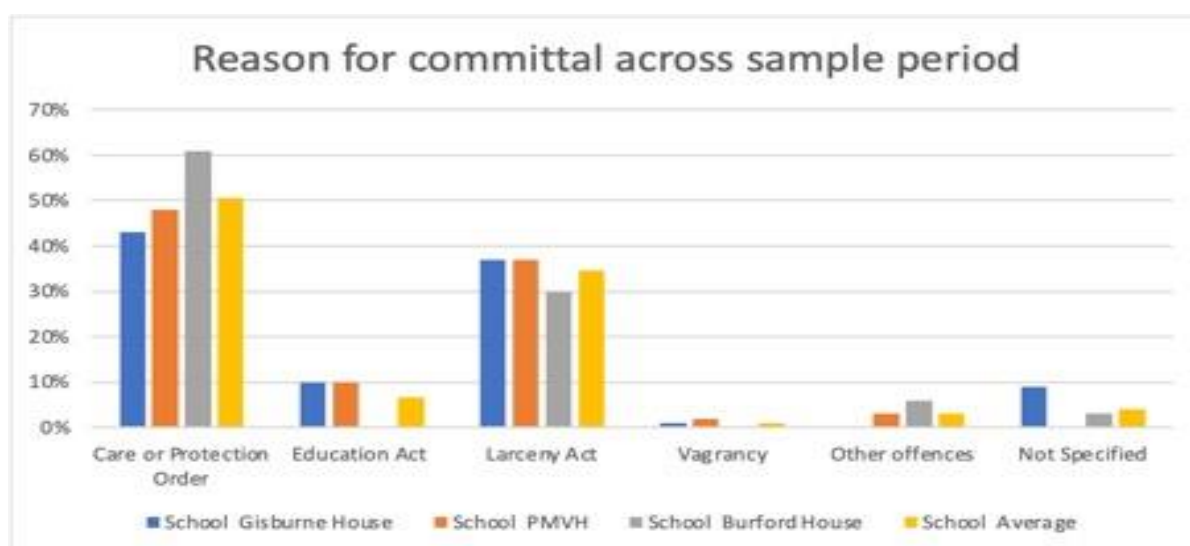


Figure 4b. Rationale for committal to an approved school

Figures discussed within the Home Office suggested that the proportion could be as high as seventy percent of the girls in approved schools, and it seems generally accepted that around two thirds of the girls committed to the approved schools in this period had not been convicted of any criminal offence at the point at which they became the subject of an approved school order.

In contemporary court guidance, such as Mumford's *A Guide to Juvenile Court Law* (1943) and Watson's *The Child & the Magistrate* (1942) reference is made to the differences between boys and girls presenting to the juvenile court. Boys were more likely to be younger, around eleven or twelve years old, and committed to an approved school for minor criminal misdemeanours.

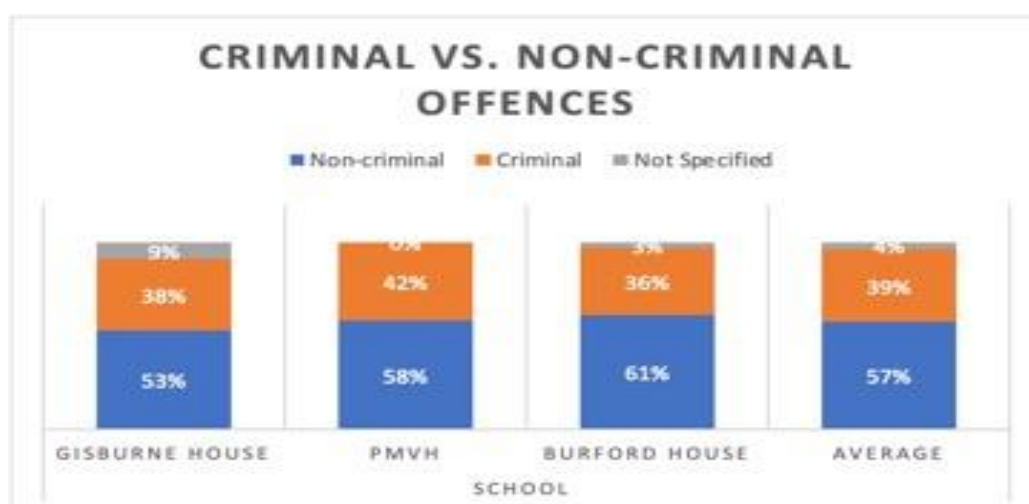


Figure 4c. Proportions of different rationales for committal amongst girls committed to the schools.

Girls, on the other hand, were more likely to be older, usually thirteen or fourteen years old, and much less likely to be committed for a criminal offence. Indeed, the Home Office statistics unit debated whether the data about girls committed to approved schools should be included in the criminal statistics, and this is discussed in Chapter 4. Within this sample, on average, fifty-seven percent of girls committed to these approved schools had not been convicted of criminal offences.

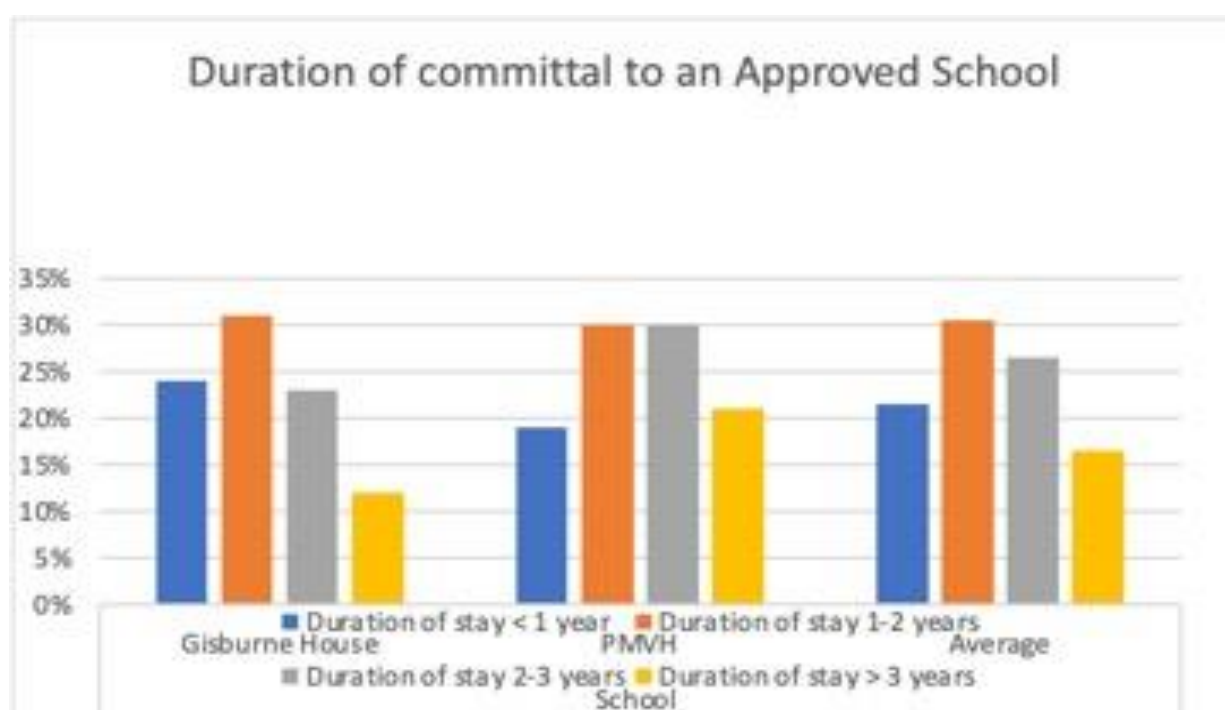
4.IV. DURATION OF COMMITTAL

Approved school orders were usually granted for up to a child's fifteenth, sixteenth or eighteenth birthday, depending on how old they were when they were made the subject of the order, or for three years, whichever was longer. Once released from the school, a child would then be supervised for up to three years after and encouraged to keep in regular touch with her school, and potentially also with a probation officer, or with another specified fit person depending on the terms of her license. The duration of stay discussed here is calculated by determining the start and end dates of a child's committal to the school and determining the duration of that period. Record sources for this data varied between the three schools, with more detail being available for PMVH than either Gisburne or Burford.

The surviving records for the children at Gisburne House are not as comprehensive in their coverage of the children in their care as their counterparts at PMVH, but it is possible to get some sense of how long children remained in the school. The average length of stay at Gisburne House for a girl committed there was one year and seven months. Twenty four percent were committed for less than a year, thirty one percent for between one and two years and twenty three percent were committed for two to three years. Twelve percent of the girls committed to Gisburne House stayed longer than three years. Younger girls were more likely to stay older since committal orders could be put in place until a girl reached a particular age (sometimes fifteen, sometimes sixteen, occasionally eighteen, or for a specific period, whichever was reached sooner.

At PMVH, the average stay over the sample period of forty years was just over two years and two months, though it is worth noting that this reflects the shortening of stays in the years towards the end of the sample period. In the first three years sampled, the length of stay was slightly over three years, but this period of committal slowly reduced over the

passage of time. Nineteen percent of girls committed to PMVH stayed for less than a year, and thirty percent were committed for between one to two years, and the same proportion for two to three years, ten percent were committed for between three and four years. Five percent were committed for between four and five years, and six percent were committed for longer than five years. Eight girls stayed for in excess of six years and a further five girls stayed for in excess of seven years.



4e. Duration of committal to an approved school for girls

There was no consistent data available in the surviving material for Burford House to confirm exactly what the average length of stay was for a girl committed to the school. However, the records suggest that most girls were committed for an initial period of a year which was reviewed at six months to consider progress. If a girl had behaved well during her time at Burford House, she might be released at that point, but it was common for a girl to serve the full term of her committal order.

None of these calculations consider any time a child might have spent or might go on to spend in another approved school. These statistics reflect only the child's time in these institutions, not the whole time she may have been committed for and therefore her total period in the care of the state may well have been longer.

At Gisburne House, twelve of the girls present in the sample data (approximately eleven percent) spent more than four years committed to the school. The longest stay documented within the sample was a girl who was resident at Gisburne for eight years, one month and three weeks. When Alice [GH003] arrived at Gisburne House in 1933, she was nine years old, and the order committed her to the school until her sixteenth birthday. In this instance, Alice was committed under a Care or Protection Order, though the order came about through the 1908 Children's Act. She was committed to the school for having parents of criminal habits. Alice was fostered out until she was twelve, which seems to have been the standard practice at Gisburne House for children under the age of eleven, and then came back to the school thereafter. At Gisburne, it is notable that half of those children staying for longer than four years were fostered out, owing to their age at committal. With two exceptions, Amanda [GH004], who was a month short of her second birthday when she was committed for having been found destitute in 1933, and Constance [GH048] who was thirteen and a half when she was committed for larceny in 1943, the remaining ten girls were all at the younger end of the Approved School spectrum.

Children under the age of ten were not supposed to be sent to Approved Schools at all, and as we see at Gisburne, their approach was to foster out such children. It would appear that the Home Office became more vigilant about this in the aftermath of the 1948 Children's Act since no children under the age of ten were committed to Gisburne House after

that year. The picture is a little more mixed at PMVH, but there are clear parallels with the children committed to Gisburne House. At PMVH, forty of the girls present in the sample data spent in excess of four years committed to the school, and like Gisburne, this is approximately eleven percent of the children committed to the school. The girl who stayed for the longest period from the sample data was at PMVH for nine years, eight months and two weeks. Sarah [PMVH092], then a ten-year-old from the Midlands, was the subject of a care or protection order and was committed to PMVH in 1938. She had only been committed until her fifteenth birthday, under a Care or Protection Order, based in part on her being an illegitimate child, but she remained at PMVH until 1946. She was over twenty years old when she left the Homes, having been resident there for almost all of the time since she was eleven years old. This was very unusual and may reflect the complicated circumstances surrounding her committal to the school. What role the Second World War played in this case is unclear. She may have remained at the school rather than be returned to her mother, and then promptly have been evacuated, but no substantive detail is available to determine this.

4.IV CARE OR PROTECTION ORDERS

Forty-seven girls were sent to Gisburne House over a 20-year period as subjects of care or protection orders under the Children & Young Persons Act (1933) representing approximately forty-three per cent of the sample. Of these, five girls were committed because they were deemed to be “beyond control” and a further sixteen were committed under an unspecified care or protection order. One hundred and seventy-five girls (forty-eight percent) were sent to PMVH under care or protection orders, and sixty one percent of the girls committed to Burford House were so by a Care or Protection Order. Of these girls, one third were

committed specifically for being 'beyond control' and five percent were committed owing to their having been 'exposed to moral danger.' More details about this piece of legislation are discussed in the introduction to this thesis. Not all of the particulars of the care or protection orders (care or control orders after 1963) are specified in the records that survive, and although exposure to moral danger, in whatever guise that might be, was sufficient to see a girl committed to an approved school, there is insufficient information in the records available to determine which of these sections the girls were committed under. One cannot assume that moral welfare was at the centre of these committals without a considerable degree of conjecture. However, moral welfare, or indeed, morality is a term which occurs very little explicitly in the records of Gisburne House, and even less frequently in the records of children committed to PMVH.

The legal framework around committals to approved schools does allow for reference to concerns for moral welfare: yet, within this sample, it is not a common term. References to behaviour are more nuanced, and only a handful of girls in the sample have explicit mention of morality or immorality within the surviving records. Out of one hundred and ten girls, the words 'moral' or 'immoral' appear eleven times in the sample data, only in relation to these three girls. One girl committed to the school under these terms was Constance [GH014], aged twelve who arrived at Gisburne House under a care or protection order in 1933 for "having a parent not exercising proper care or guardianship, and [being] exposed to moral danger." Later in her entry in the admission register, it was noted that "the child is charged with being exposed to moral danger. She was a witness to an indecent assault. As the case was serious, the present charge was brought." Constance, in witnessing a serious sexual assault, found herself brought before the juvenile court and committed to an approved

school, a circumstance in which she had no agency. She spent the best part of three years at the school before being licensed back to her parents, and beginning work apprenticed to a dressmaker. During her period of her supervision, she visited the school regularly and by 1940 had joined the Auxiliary Territorial Service. No further details are mentioned thereafter. In 1938, Cynthia [GH015], aged fourteen was also committed to Gisburne House for “having a parent not exercising proper care or guardianship, and [being] exposed to moral danger.” [GH015] In contrast to Constance, Cynthia had been “found by the police with another girl, accosting men in the street for an immoral purpose. [She had] been missing from home since 10.12.1937. Frequently in the company of immoral women. Report says [she was] quiet, rather languid, [and] always appears tired. Fairly well behaved but needs supervision.” Little more is known about Cynthia since she only spent a month or so at Gisburne.

Several of the Gisburne girls were pregnant before their licensing period was up but this does not seem to have occurred with such frequency at PMVH, although Management Board records suggest that one of the houses was specifically set aside for pregnant girls, and those with babies. It is not clear if this actually manifested however. Catherine [GH013], who had been committed to Gisburne for her own safety in 1933 after her mother turfed her out onto the streets, aged just eleven years old, while her father wanted nothing to do with her. Her parents were determined by the courts as ‘not exercising proper care or guardianship’, and within her papers, her parents are described as ‘indifferent to each other, and to their child’, demonstrating a ‘harsh parental attitude’. It was also noted that ‘at school [Catherine] responded to sympathetic treatment by quiet behaviour and endeavouring to do her work as well as she could.’ When she was fifteen, and licensed out to a position in service, she was ‘found with the employer’s undergardener’ and they ran away together. After police court

proceedings were undertaken, she was put on probation and sent to Shrodel's Approved School, where it became obvious, she was pregnant. She was allowed to leave and marry [Fred] the aforementioned undergardener, and their oldest son was born a few weeks later. She and Fred went on to have some seven children in total, and she appears to have lived happily ever after.

These sources reveal a great deal about the lives and experiences of the girls in its care, but the construction of girls' moral welfare is, if anything, notable by its absence. Without much information concerning the circumstances of a given girl's committal to the school, it is difficult to determine the extent to which concerns about moral welfare influence a girl's pathway through the juvenile justice system. Even where a child, such as Catherine [GH013], did not conform to the contemporary moral codes. What the data within this sample reveals is that girls who were committed to these approved schools were almost as likely to be committed for a criminal offence as they were under a care or protection order: without exception, this was larceny in this sample. This is in stark contrast to the national average, where somewhere between sixty and seventy percent of girls committed to approved schools were under care or protection orders.

The sources which survive for Gisburne House present a variety of information about the girls committed to the school, predominantly relating to their time in the school and their experiences while they are on license once they have left the school, for up to three years afterwards. Some of this information is based in fact - such as the girls' family background, or their age. Other information recorded is subjective, such as staff views on a girl's progress, her behaviour and even her physical appearance.

4V. OUTCOMES AND AFTERCARE

At the end of their committal, and after any period of required licensing, sixteen percent of girls leaving Gisburne House were employed. Thirty four percent of the girls were transferred to another institution, which included other Approved Schools, mother and baby homes, Approved Hostels and occasionally, HMP Holloway. At least ten percent of the girls at Gisburne were married, or became pregnant, and sometimes both, within the terms of their three-year licensing period. There was no information recorded for thirty three percent of the girls at the end of their licensing period in the surviving records from Gisburne House, and around seven percent of the girls were otherwise engaged in a satisfactory manner at the end of their licensing period.

PMVH kept the most thorough records of the three schools sampled, and records show that thirty two percent of their girls were discharged at the end of their committal, and a further six percent were discharged having been previously recalled. A further forty seven percent of the girls committed to their care were licensed, and six percent were recalled and then re-licensed. Eight percent were transferred to other institutions. The particulars are three percent of the girls are unknown, and the records do not state details of the girls' progress once they left the Homes. It is harder to trace the details of the aftercare of these girls and young women, since the after-care notes do not survive in the archives, and to draw any useful conclusions about reoffending rates. However, while it is challenging to determine success rates from these sources given that, based on these statistics, between fifty-four and sixty four percent of the girls committed to these schools had not been convicted of criminal offences (see figure 3c). Discussion of 'reoffending' is complicated, since so many of the girls were not criminals in the first place; their committal to the school was on the grounds of safeguarding their welfare.

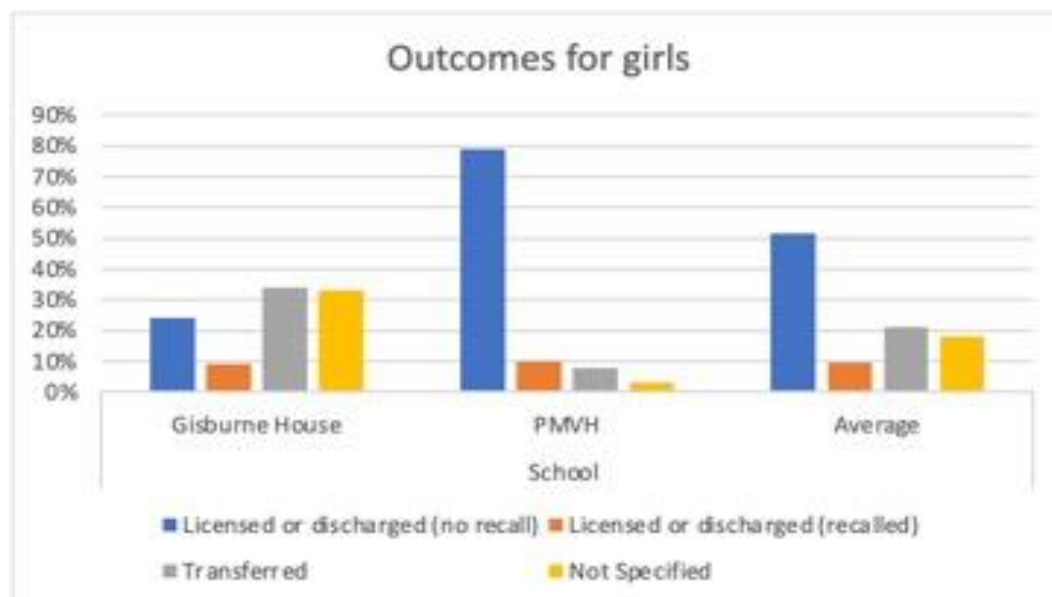


Table 4e: Summary of outcomes for girls leaving the Approved Schools

On average, a typical girl admitted to Gisburne House was thirteen years and six months old when she arrived. The average girl leaving Gisburne House was fifteen years and four months old when she left. Forty percent of girls committed to Gisburne House spent between twelve and twenty-four months at the school. Daphne (GH016) was one such child. She was committed to an approved school, two days before Christmas in 1937, and arrived at Gisburne in the middle of February 1938, at the age of thirteen years and three months. It's not completely clear where she was in the intermediate period, since her committal predates the classifying schools for girls set up later in the 1940s. She was committed to the school for being 'beyond [the] control' of her parents, under the terms of the Children's Act. Although her home was listed being in very good condition, in very good surroundings, her stepfather was noted to be 'in prison for living on his wife's immoral earnings and the couple were noted to be 'neglectful' of Daphne. The National Society for the Protection and Care of Children (NSPCC) had been involved with her case. The notes record that Daphne 'refuses to obey her mother, stays out late at night and has no respect for her mother', as well as having 'full

knowledge of her mother's occupation.' Daphne did not remain at the school to the expiry of her order but transferred to Burford House in order to train as a Children's Nurse at the local technical institute.

Daphne's life after her time at Gisburne is documented in remarkably detailed notes (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/003), covering all her time under supervision. Daphne's time at Burford was cut short when she was evacuated back to Gisburne at the outbreak of war in 1939, and she stayed at Gisburne for another year when she was licensed to her grandmother. Reports on Daphne's life continued on at least a monthly basis, and sometimes more frequently. This level of supervision was the norm for a girl out of license, but why such detailed records of Daphne's aftercare survive is not wholly clear.

During 1940 and 1941, Daphne moved between a variety of jobs, ranging from waitressing in a variety of establishments in and around the Home Counties, to some domestic work which she appeared not to enjoy very much. She continued to keep in touch with the school, in line with the terms of her licensing, and continued to call regularly at the school and to maintain correspondence when she could not visit in person. Almost as soon as Daphne turned eighteen, she joined the Women's Auxiliary Airforce (WAAF) and immediately took to it, remaining in the WAAF until the end of the Second World War. Her period of supervision came to an end in 1943, and no further details of her are documented accordingly.

In summary, this chapter has drawn upon archival data to determine more about the children committed to these approved schools. It has shown that clear parameters were set for the approved schools, and that the population of two junior schools, Gisburne and PMVH, could look very different not only to each other, but to the population of the hostel, Burford. The

archives have also demonstrated that the approved schools could and did bend the rules to provide space to children in need. Children who were younger than the schools were supposed to accept were found a place, as did children who were placed together because as siblings, their relationship with each other was considered more important than whether a little boy really should be in an approved school for girls. The data has also shown that while a significant proportion of the children committed to these schools were the subject of care or protection orders, there was nevertheless an equally significant proportion of children who were committed after a conviction for larceny. Finally, the data has revealed how the Education Act could be used to remove children from their parents if they did not attend school, suggesting a further facet to the evolving discourse around families whose lives lead to a variety of state interventions.

CHAPTER 5: THE LOCAL PICTURE: APPROVED SCHOOL RECORDS

This chapter explores the qualitative data taken from the archival material available for the approved schools discussed in the previous chapter and considers how this fits within the framework of the understanding of girls in youth custody during this period. Examination of these sources will allow conclusions to be drawn about changes and/or continuities, specifically, in constructions of girls' moral welfare in the juvenile justice system in England at this point in time and consider how the perception of a girl's character manifests in the records. The sources which survive for the approved schools records relatively little of the routine of daily life, and what is garnered comes from material held within Home Office files, rather than from the school records themselves. This is discussed in Chapter Three. The nature of the records that survive means that largely records are administrative, restricted to the admission and discharge of children, or to the administration of the school or hostel itself, usually in the guise of either correspondence (Gisburne House and PMVH) or the records of the management board (Burford House). Nonetheless, it is possible to draw information about the children concerned from these sources, and to trace linguistic patterns within the discourse.

Although on the surface, the records retained for Gisburne House and the PMVH appear to be similar, the records relating to PMVH are broadly less detailed than those extant for Gisburne House, with the exception notably of the intake for 1948 and 1963. This is perhaps a reflection on the comparative size of the schools, or possibly, on the staff working at the school in those particular years but may well simply reflect the collections policies of the archives in which the records are kept. It is also important to note that, as set out in the methodology, individual files relating to children were not consulted. The notes at both PMVH

and Gisburne which were collected regarding the circumstances of a girl's admission to the school, and her progress thereafter yield particularly interesting material, revealing ways in which the children, their backgrounds and their behaviour in the school were characterised by the staff as part of their administrative processes. The notes in the admissions and discharge registers from PMVH are at first quite short, but slowly some more individualism surfaces. The details recorded in the registers for Gisburne House are a little less consistent than those for PMVH, and the notes in 1948 are amongst the most detailed, in this middle phase of approved school administration, and those for the 1953 are less verbose. More detail is documented in the notes from 1958 at PMVH, and the notes become fuller and more informative. In addition to forming an administrative record of key dates and decisions, rationale becomes a more routine part of the commentary. There are quite detailed notes on many of the girls in the surviving records for Gisburne House, and although the school operated for a shorter period than PMVH, there is a great deal of detail in the discharge and aftercare registers for the school which can be drawn upon to make conclusions about how the children at Gisburne House. A column titled "circumstances & other particulars" is particularly fruitful in this regard. In the earlier years in the sample of children committed to Gisburne House, this column was taken up with physical descriptions of the girls, though this is not reliably filled in.

In the first part, this chapter will discuss how the children committed to the schools are described. This will allow a fuller understanding of the characterisation of the girls in the care of the schools and will also explore how girls who were committed to approved schools after a conviction for a criminal offence were positioned in comparison to the other girls. In the second part, it will consider what the records of the schools can tell us about what might have lead a child to become the subject of an approved school order and unpick the

particulars across this period. In the third part, it will reflect on how a child's behaviour in the school is documented. One of the issues which seems to have caused particular concern for staff in approved schools for girls was absconding, the recording of and discussion of which allows conclusions to be drawn about the standards of behaviour girls were held to in this time and space. Finally, it will consider how implicit moral codes influence the expectations of the girls and how they might behave.

5.1 CHARACTERISATION OF GIRLS

The sources which survive for Gisburne House and PMVH present a variety of information about the girls committed to the school, predominantly relating to their time in the school and their experiences while they are on license once they have left the school, for up to three years afterwards. Some of this information is based in fact - such as the girls' family background, or their age. Other information recorded is subjective, such as staff views on a girl's progress, her behaviour and even her physical appearance. Most but not all of the entries include the legislation under which a girl was committed to the school. As set out in the previous chapter, the average age of admission to PMVH was twelve years and eleven months, while the average age of admission to Gisburne House was thirteen years and six months. Even though, on paper, Gisburne was technically a junior approved school, the respective ages of the children means that it was to all intents and purposes nearer an intermediate school. Prior to 1948, approved schools for girls operated a different model to those for boys, with schools being either junior (thirteen and younger) or senior (fourteen and older). After 1948, the approved school system for girls mirrored that for boys: junior schools then took girls up to the age of thirteen, intermediate schools took girls from the ages of

thirteen to fifteen and senior schools took girls aged fifteen or older. The rationales for committal for girls at Gisburne House and PMVH are broadly comparable. As previously set out, fifty-three per cent of the girls at Gisburne House were committed under a Care or Protection Order or for offences under the Education Act while at PMVH, fifty eight percent of the girls were thus committed. The majority of the remaining children were committed after a conviction for a larceny offence, usually (and sometimes repeated) shoplifting or petty pilfering.

The most common rationale for committal found within these records were for a child being deemed to be “beyond control [of their parents]” or for being “refractory” [beyond the control of the local authority acting in loco parentis], or because the child’s parents or guardians were “not exercising proper care or guardianship”. The exact specifications of the 1933 Act are set out in the introduction.

Quite often however, the particulars are not recorded, and an entry will simply read “Care or Protection Order”, and there is not always sufficient information in the records available to determine which of these sections the girls were committed under, as there were several options. If all that is documented is “care or protection” it would be unwise to assume that moral welfare was central to every single case. In fact, the phrase “moral welfare” is a term which occurs very rarely in the records of Gisburne House, outside of the records of committal. However, it is also clear that the concept perpetuated the whole operation of approved schools - their central purpose was to provide an environment in which these children could be reformed from their previously lives and turned out, back into society as “satisfactory young citizens” (HC Deb 04 June 1937 vol 324 c1377) Instilling appropriate

morals into the children was a key part of their reform, to ensure that they were able to leave the school and start afresh.

Across this period, the records present an opportunity to try and piece together what is known about each child, and this varies across the period. Fourteen-year-old Anna [PMVH281] was transferred to PMVH from the Magdalen Classifying School in the early summer of 1963. [SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No 164] Anna had been convicted of larceny, and, unusually, had grown up not far away from PMVH. She was committed for three years but was released just under a year after she arrived at the school under license. All the girls' progress was reviewed on a regular basis at PMVH, and Anna's notes show three reviews. In September 1964, after four months at the school, the notes observed that "[Anna was] not licensed. [She] is over-conscious of her half caste features and colour which probably affects her behaviour. Is still light fingered and admits it." Anna is one of only a handful of children in the PMVH sample whose physical appearance is mentioned, and one of a small number of children of mixed heritage who were documented as such at PMVH. In January 1964, a license was refused again as Anna was "still unreliable and implausible, yet an able worker." In March, Anna had clearly turned a corner and she was licensed after a "very good report from work. [She] has tried much harder to be honest." It is not completely clear, but the records suggest that Anna was licensed back to her parents, allowed to go home on account of her good behaviour. The terms of the license would have ensured that had she not behaved well, she would have been recalled to school. In the later years at PMVH, only a small number of girls were recalled to the school. Over the sample period, only ten percent of the girls who left were recalled, and in Anna's intake year, only two of the forty girls (five percent) were recalled to the school.

Nicola, [PMVH242] was admitted to PMVH in August 1958 under a care or protection order for being 'beyond control [of her parents]'. (SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No. 81) The notes also describe her as "a very nice child. Early license inevitable." (SHC 2591/3/15 f. 81) They also note that her father was from Jamaica, along with Karen [PMVH354], a thirteen-year-old from London whose father is noted to be "a black man" while her mother was marked as "single", suggesting that their relationship had broken down. (SHC 2591/3/6 PMVH Register of Committed Case no. 3319) There is no indication as to whether this was a recent development or a longstanding situation. These three girls are the only ones whose racial background is alluded to within the records, and there is no indication that other girls or young women of colour came to these approved schools in this period. This may not be representative of the wider system, but it is difficult to say for certain since statistics around diversity were not kept during this period. Discovery of girls and young women of mixed heritage is coincidental, and it is difficult to say, based on these records, what is any different, this may have made to their experiences in the school.

Joan [PMVH213], a thirteen-year-old who was the subject of an Approved School Order, and who came from the West Country, was the daughter of a (presumably absent) American Soldier. She arrived at Gisburne in 1958, having been convicted of larceny, though her status as an illegitimate child seems to have been a significant factor in her committal. In December 1958 the notes observe that Joan "has settled surprisingly well, but much training yet required." (SHC 2591/3/15 f. 69) Joan continued to make progress but in the first nod to the emotions of the child in this source, her records in early 1960 note that Joan was "obviously feeling insecure [on account of having] no home". Joan was licensed in April 1960 but recalled

in January 1961 and spent another four months at PMVH before being licensed to a “residential situation”, a nod back perhaps to the routine of training girls in industrial schools for domestic service in the previous iteration of PMVH. After her licensing in May 1961, no further records of Joan are made, and it must be concluded that she went on to do well away from the school. This may seem a sweeping assumption, but as a rule, girls who did not do well recur again and again in the records. Those whose records conclude with licensing can reasonably be assumed to have made a go of life.

Thirteen-year-old Constance (GH048) was described as 5’4, of medium build and thick set, with a ‘flabby’ face, blue eyes and large hands and feet” while fourteen-year-old Freda (GH063) fared slightly better, recorded as having a ‘slim oval face, [with] a fresh complexion, dark brown hair, and blue eyes. Their classmate, twelve-year-old Anita (GH064) was recorded as “5’1[with a] thin peaked face, a slightly turned up nose and a pointed chin. [She had] hazel eyes, dark hair [which was] inclined to curl” while thirteen-year-old Lorraine (GH071) was described as possessing a “squarish face, fair complexion, a snub nose... and plentiful, frizzy hair.” It was also noted that she bit her nails. These observations stop as suddenly as they began and are only intermittently applied to the intake in 1948. It is unclear what prompted this shift in recordkeeping.

5.II CIRCUMSTANCES: ADMITTANCE TO THE APPROVED SCHOOLS

The nature of the records which survive for the schools result in a fragmented picture of why and how each child had come to be committed to the school. Trying to grasp the particulars of their lives before, during and after their time in the schools can be complicated.

Iris [PMVH144] was committed first to Ryall’s Court Approved School at the age of nine, and then transferred to PMVH in March 1948. [SHC 2591/3/17 f. 26] She had become

the subject of a care or protection order having been exposed to moral danger, and although she was eventually licensed in June 1951, the notes show that the “impossible” conditions at home were a significant factor in delaying her release. Iris had spent five years in an approved school in total. (SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No. 143) In the notes on another child who arrived at PMVH in 1948, Catherine [PMVH159], an eleven-year-old from East Anglia who had been convicted of larceny, numerous reviews note that she was in need of further training. A certain degree of exasperation emerges in the summer of 1951 when the notes record that Catherine “requires all the training she can receive.” (SHC 2591/3/17 f. 37)

Observations notes in the registers also included observations about the character of girls, and these rarely position the children in a positive light. Kathleen [PMVH220], another fourteen-year-old from London, was admitted to PMVH in the March of 1958 after a conviction for larceny and the notes a year later document her as “a selfish, conceited girl in need of much care and careful handling” while Rosemary [PMVH230], a fifteen-year-old from East Anglia, committed for having failed to attend school, was described as “an unsavoury girl with much to uproot before re-establishment.” (SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No. 75) In turn, Marina [PMVH231] was noted as a “complex character, very emotionally unstable” (ibid, no. 76). Marina was a fifteen-year-old, whose adoption had broken down irretrievably, which in turn had landed her in juvenile court and the subject of a care or protection order. Finally, Judith [PMVH216], a fourteen-year-old from just outside London, was committed to PMVH in 1958 for failing to attend school. (SHC 2591/3/15 f. 71) Judith was described as “an unknown personality, with great depths to untangle” in December 1958. She was licensed a year later, and no further details of

her were recorded. These notions of complexity, of untangling, of uprooting have almost a horticultural sense to them, as those the girls are framed as problems that require carefully unpicking, rather than children in need of support and/or training.

Penelope [PMVH252] was admitted to PMVH earlier in 1958 for being beyond control, aged fourteen. Penelope appears to have struggled to settle in Addlestone, and a review in September 1959 documents her as “unstable, undisciplined, unreliable. Much training required.” (ibid, no. 84) In 1960, Penelope’s progress was noted as “erratic” and that she was “emotionally unstable” while her “home conditions [were] questionable”. Her employers made a good report of her later that summer, and she was licensed in February 1961. The report notes that Penelope was “over conscious of [her]self. Gives way to impulses. Appears to have a persecution mania. Quarrelsome. Nevertheless, license with her own family must be tried.” Despite their reservations, Penelope was licensed in March 1961, and no further note was made of her progress, suggesting that she moved on successfully from her time at PMVH. This notion of a “persecution mania” represents a change in language, as does the recognition of her being ‘emotionally unstable’ and perhaps reflective of the absorption of psychology into mainstream society, and specifically into discourse of the Approved Schools.

There is another strand of critique that surfaces in the notes of this period, Pauline [PMVH234], admitted around the same time as the aforementioned Rosemary and Marina, for failing to attend school, was described as “a coarse naughty girl, needs firm handling and much training.” (ibid, no. 78) Thelma [PMVH265], a fourteen-year-old committed for breaching her probation after being brought before the juvenile courts for failure to attend school, was described as ‘truculent and difficult to manage... mentally backward and lacks understanding.” (SHC 2591/3/16 p. 54) This apparent use of the Education Act to bring girls

into custodial care, when they were beyond the age of mandatory school attendance is curious and begs some questions about how this rationale was pursued given that the girls were no longer subject to it. In 1963, the school leaving age was still 14, and although technically, Thelma's committal was for breaching her probation, she was nonetheless in the school for a status offence.

In the notes in February 1958, Marion is described as "completely irresponsible [and] a weak character", and by April 1959 she was described as "a very wilful naughty girl making little effort'. Marion was licensed in the July of the same year but readmitted within three months. In 1960, she was noted as "an uncoordinated child [with] no sense of responsibility whatever." (SHC 2591/3/15 f. 72) The positioning of these girls as children is also notable, as opposed to young women. In contrast to the older girls, who are regularly positioned in the press as wanton and promiscuous, describing a girl as wilful and naughty infantilises her, reframing her agency and behaviour accordingly.

Finally, these records sometimes give us a glimpse of what has been going on at home, broadening our sense of why these girls have become the subjects of the juvenile court, and subsequently the approved schools. Marion, committed shortly after Judith, was another fourteen-year-old committed to PMVH by a London court. Marion's mother had died in 1947, and she had been sent before the juvenile court by the local authority. This implies that her stepfather had been unable, or unwilling, or perhaps a combination of both, to take care of her.

5.III BEHAVIOUR IN THE SCHOOLS

If we look beyond the specific terms “moral” and “immoral”, it is possible to trace a language of disapproval of behaviour of girls in the school, based on an implicit code reflecting societal expectation of “a nice girl”. A number of the girls in the school have extensive notes concerning their experiences, behaviour and reports compiled by staff in the surviving records. Repeat absconding is a common theme in the life history of a number of girls in the school, and at least thirty-eight of the hundred and ten girls in the sample absconded during their time in the school. One girl, Heather, aged thirteen [GH101] absconded five times within three weeks, and was promptly transferred to another approved school. Most girls were committed to an approved school for three years, with three years licensing to follow. While a girl could be released early if she behaved well and made good progress, the aftercare period appears to have been non-negotiable. There were only two ways to get out of the after-care supervision: first, to get married, which automatically wound up the order, and second, to disappear without trace. Within the sample data group, there were only a couple of examples of each occurring across the schools, though they were all Gisburne girls. The impression from staff is that a good marriage is potentially the most likely outcome for an approved schoolgirl, but in this scenario, it was not held up as desirable at all.

Insolence is a common theme amongst descriptions of the girls in the school in the 1950s. Both Alice (GH086) and Andrea (GH087) were described as insolent in the summer of 1950, alongside Barbara (GH090) and all were attributed with having little control over their tempers. (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/009) In an earlier note against Barbara’s entry, it was recorded that “in a review of work by all staff, we find her unreliable, untruthful, bad tempered and ready to shout if spoken to. [She is] quite unfit for licensing.” Initially, Barbara appear to do well on license but in 1951, her aftercare notes document some worrying behaviour, including

being “found taking the wings off wasps and saying, “I like to see them struggle.” Shortly after, she was taken to a psychiatrist, which seems the appropriate response to a frankly disturbing scenario. Temper comes up in the notes on other girls. Sixteen-year-old Pamela (GH030) had been transferred to Gisburne House in 1938 and there are no details of when or why she was the subject of an approved school order. She was licensed to the matron of a nearby isolation hospital in 1941 and then shortly after recalled to the school having “found it difficult to control her temper and keep to curfew.” LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005 She was found a job at a nearby public school in May 1941 and subsequently absconded from there. Pamela re-appeared in the records in 1944 when her paperwork from HMP Holloway arrived, after a conviction for theft of ration books came through. As the mother of a small baby, she was granted a two-year probation, with a condition of residence.

Rage was also documented in the case of June (GH103), a twelve-year-old admitted to Gisburne in 1953, after being found to be ‘beyond control’. Certainly, her temper flared on more than one occasion during her time at Gisburne House. In the four months following her admission in January 1953, June ‘violently’ attacked another girl at school, and on another day tore all her possessions from school into small pieces, scattering them across the playground. Her behaviour so concerned the staff at Gisburne House that June was taken to the local hospital, and then as her behaviour escalated to a larger hospital. In the July, her approved school order was discharged, and she was transferred to a mental hospital for further treatment as she was deemed ‘quite unfit for any school’ by the authorities. After a stint at the Shaw Classifying School, June was sent to the Northenden Road Approved School in Sale, Cheshire. June was not the only child to spend time in a mental hospital that year, as Denise (GH108) was transferred from Gisburne to the Bethlem and Maudsley Hospitals in 1954, and

then after a nine-month stint there was sent to another mental hospital in the West Country. Thirteen-year-old Thelma (GH107) was also noted to be “most insolent when she cannot get her own way.” She was described as “a difficult girl who resent any discipline, even the ordinary everyday routine, and it was little surprise that she was transferred to another approved school in Wiltshire after at least five instances of absconding from the school.

5.IV MORAL CODES AND EXPECTATIONS

As set out above, exposure to moral danger, in whatever guise that might have been, was sufficient to see a child committed to an approved school, and there are a handful of girls whose entries in the records explicitly document this. Usually, there is a connection to alleged or actual prostitution. Constance [GH014], aged twelve is one such example of this. Constance was committed to Gisburne House under a care or protection order in 1933 for “having a parent not exercising proper care or guardianship, and [being] exposed to moral danger.” Later in her entry in the admission register, it was noted that “the child is charged with being exposed to moral danger [because] she was a witness to an indecent assault. As the case was serious, the present charge was brought.” Constance, in witnessing a crime, found herself brought before the juvenile court and committed to an approved school, a circumstance in which she had no agency. “The child is charged” has clear legal implications, and, explicitly, the language here is significant. It embodies agency on the child. A care or protection order was supposed to be a marker of sanctuary and safety for a child in need. In this case, and presumably in others, what actually occurred was that this child ended up with a criminal record because she had witnessed a serious sexual assault. In “care or protecting” this child , she ended up with a criminal record, and a substantial period in the custody of the state.

In 1938, Cynthia [GH015], aged fourteen was also committed to Gisburne House for “having a parent not exercising proper care or guardianship, and [being] exposed to moral danger.” [GH015] In contrast to Constance, Cynthia had been “found by the police with another girl, accosting men in the street for an immoral purpose. [She had] been missing from home since 10.12.1937. Frequently in the company of immoral women.” This is likely to be a way of describing prostitution or sexual services. The accompanying report described Cynthia

as “quiet, rather languid, [and] always appears tired. Fairly well behaved but needs supervision.” Cynthia only remained at Gisburne for six weeks before she was transferred to another approved school in the Midlands, though the reason for this is not documented in the scant records concerning her time at the school. The third child, Rosemary [GH076], aged thirteen and a half, was committed to Gisburne House in 1943, under a care or protection order for being refractory. Her entries note that she absconded from the school on a regular basis, and in October 1944 she “stole clothing and was handed over to police who brought her back to school about 3am. The following day, presumably in a ‘return to school interview’ Rosemary ‘admitted accepting 10/- from an American soldier for an “immoral purpose”, presumably a way of describing a sexual service, despite her age but said she ran away from him unharmed. She had spent the money on the cinema each day while away and was given extra work as a punishment for her behaviour.” In searching for further information about this report, a file was discovered in the Ministry of Health records which comprised correspondence between the Metropolitan Police and the Children’s Department of the Home Office concerning approved schoolgirls who had absconded and subsequently been arrested by police in the West End of London.

It is clear from these records and from other sources such as the Approved Schools Gazette that above almost all other behaviour in the schools, it was children absconding which created the most amount of drama in day-to-day school life. This is far more apparent in the records of Gisburne House, where repeat absconding is a common theme in the life history of some of the girls committed to the school, and at least 38 of the 110 girls in the sample absconded during their time in the school, representing broadly forty percent. Some girls absconded very quickly after their arrival, and were promptly brought straight back, while

other disappeared for days at a time. One girl, Heather, aged thirteen [GH101] absconded five times within three weeks, and was promptly transferred to another approved school. This is also highlighted in Helen Richardson's work. Absconding was a regular subject for discussion amongst the pages of the Approved Schools Gazette throughout this period but appears to have been far less of a concern for PMVH. Less than five per cent of the girls committed to PMVH have any absconding recorded, in stark contrast to Gisburne where nearly forty percent of girls absconded during their time at the school. At PMVH, absconding was usually a one-off occurrence, while absconding seems to have been a more regular part of school life for Gisburne. This may perhaps reflect the differences between the format of the two schools. Gisburne was made up of one large building, with several large dormitories while the PMVH was made up on multiple smaller houses, with small groups, much easier to have oversight of. A report by a working party from the Girls' Approved Schools Panel published in January 1970 addressed the issues of absconding as follows:

"Persistent absconding may be caused by a variety of reasons, a determination to beat the system, impulsive behaviour, low frustration tolerance of stress, or high anxiety about conflicts at home. If the girl is continually absconding it interferes with management and training, as well as offering opportunity to drift into promiscuity, drug-taking and minor criminal activities. This type of behaviour is difficult to contain in the open conditions of an approved school, without special facilities." (Section 61 in *Girls At Present In Approved Schools And The Facilities Needed For Their Care*, TNA: BN 29/949)

This report was discussed further in Chapter Three. Even as late as 1969, when this report was being compiled, promiscuity is notable as the first concern listed, another example of the continuity of language concerning these children during this period of time. Later in the report, in section 78, the same report observed that some girls demonstrated "compulsive promiscuity and [a] desire for pregnancy. This behaviour in 'very difficult girls', the report

suggested, [sprang] from a variety of social and psychological forces” but that “treatment and inner understanding and controls could help them.” This notion of ‘difficult girls’ is one that consistently appears in records and publications concerning the girls in the schools across this period.

The average age of a child committed to Gisburne and PMVH was sat the younger end of the range, and it is plausible that these younger children were easier to deal with, less independently minded than their older counterparts at Gisburne, or the smaller groupings of children made it easier to have better oversight at PMVH. It may also reflect a difference in the schooling. Girls at Gisburne who were in secondary education were expected to travel independently to the nearby secondary school, while the younger children at PMVH were still educated on site. This period predates any sense of adult to child ratios for the sake of safeguarding, though the schools operated their own protocols when it came to the number of staff to children, and it seems that groups of younger children had more staff allocated to them. This was also a period in which school children were expected to make their own way to and from school much earlier than modern children. From a practical perspective, Gisburne was also closer to Bushey and to the connecting railway line to London, where many of their girls originated from. While PMVH, situated in Addlestone wasn’t any great distance from London, their girls seem to have made less advantage of the ability to disappear into the masses in the capital in the way that their counterparts in Hertfordshire did.

Thirteen-year-old Rosemary (GH076) arrived at Gisburne in November 1943 after becoming the subject of a care or protection order for being beyond the control of her parents. She absconded repeatedly throughout 1944 and during 1945 she appeared in front of no fewer than three juvenile courts. Her story, as documented in these records, is nothing

short of desperately sad. In February 1944 she ran away from school, but afraid to go home and unwilling to return to school, she walked the streets, alone, in the early hours, and was subsequently escorted back to the school by the police. Similar events are documented throughout 1944, and then in May 1945, she was found by police in the wee small hours in Cassiobury Park in Watford, bloodstained, filthy and agitated and returned to the school. Rosemary's case was evidently complex, though it was documented openly that her case was considered 'tiresome' by the staff dealing with her. She was found wandering in Hyde Park again in September 1945, and then she drops off the radar, perhaps because she was homeless, and then in 1948 a final note records that she was committed to Borstal (almost certainly Aylesbury) for larceny. Another child, thirteen-year-old Heather (GH101) absconded from Gisburne no fewer than five times in the three weeks she was resident at the school, and she was promptly transferred to an approved school in Leicestershire.

There seems to have been a working assumption that any girl absconding from an approved school would engage in sexual activity during her time away from the school. Any girl returning from having absconded for a night or more was required to undergo an examination by a female doctor, and to remain in isolation until this had taken place. It is clear that some girls did engage in sexual activity when they absconded, and it is also clear that for some girls, at least at Gisburne House, the purpose of absconding was to engage in sexual activity. In 1943, the presence of the local Royal Air Force base, billets for a unit of American soldiers, proved a lure for several of the girls committed to Gisburne House. Fourteen-year-old Muriel [GH045] was interviewed by police in April 1943 and "admitted to having left her dormitory at night on at least three occasions to consort with, and have sex with men, including American soldiers, in various places." (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005/831) It is significant

that Muriel was under the age of consent yet still regarded as the instigator of, and as an equal party within, the sexual act, despite the fact that she was not only under the legal age of consent, but, in the eyes of the law, still a child. It is also significant that it is in the records of the Ministry of Health that this incident (and others) is noted, and not the War Office. There is nothing surviving within military records available at the time of writing which addresses this issue. In 1942, the report notes, there were five hundred and twenty-eight absconding incidents in Senior Girls' Schools out of a population of around eight hundred. This may seem high, but some of these figures are made up of what the Ministry of Health termed "chronic absconders [who] ran away many times." (TNA, MH 102/895, p. 2)

Muriel and another fourteen-year-old girl, Mavis [GH044] were believed by the staff at Gisburne to be the instigators of a joint effort to abscond, and to take other girls with them. Mavis and Muriel were both found to be missing during a fire drill, late one evening in April 1943, and later returned through a dormitory window. They were both roused the following morning and questioned by the police. Mavis "produced 6/-, proceeds of prostitution with an American soldier. [She] had been absenting herself after staff had retired on three successive nights." (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005)/832) Mavis was "regarded as a ringleader in mass escapade in which eleven girls went out at night." She, Muriel, and another girl were promptly sent to the Shirley Clinic, and subsequently transferred to other approved schools. Some questions might be asked concerning safeguarding and site security, but the blame for this behaviour is laid firmly at the door of the girls themselves. There is nothing to suggest that the schools might wish to consider or improve their ability to safeguard or secure these young women while they were in their care. All agency is firmly laid at the door of these children. Within the files held at The National Archives, it was noted that

“venereal disease is the grave concern of the Home Office in connection with absconders principally because an absconder is likely to acquire the disease either because she has absconded with the object of finding sexual excitement to because she is driven to immorality as the easiest means of finding maintenance while at large.” (MH 102/895 p. 2)

In the same file is a letter between Dorothy Pete, Superintendent of the Metropolitan Police Women’s Office, and Miss Good at the Children’s Branch of the Home Office which observes:

“I don’t think... one should regard every Approved School absconder who is arrested in the West End as there for the purpose of immoral relations with service men! A number, no doubt, go there simply to be in the centre of things, and to see what other girls have talked about... of course, some of the absconders are most definitely potential prostitutes.” (Ibid, p. 12)

In the same file, a memo to Mr Blake Odgers on April 19th, 1943, observed that

“such girls, who were often suffering from venereal disease, after absconding , made their way to the West End of London, and frequented undesirable cafes where they could strike up acquaintance with American soldiers who had plenty of money. These American soldiers passed the girls onto their friends, and in a very short time any one girl could be responsible for infecting a considerable number of people.” (Ibid, p. 14)

In these sources the agency is solely the girl’s. There is no indication that any of the men in this scenario are at fault, despite the fact that they are not only engaging in sex with children but paying for it and then procuring these same children for other men. This is arguably problematic behaviour, in the eyes of the law, yet the implicit fault identified here is by the girls.

In May 1945, another girl, seventeen-year-old Olive [GH047] absconded from Gisburne during the VE Day celebrations, held in Cassiobury Park in Watford. Olive failed to return to the school that evening and upon her return the following day, admitted that “she had spent the night and had sex with an American soldier.” (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005/834) Olive was at least above the age of consent, unlike the other girls. Fifteen-year-old Elsie [GH069] was another girl who frequently absconded, and during one period away from the school,

Elsie was found in the public air raid shelter on the Gray's Inn Road with a black Canadian soldier. (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005/856) Lorraine [GH071], another fifteen-year-old, frequently absconded, and while initially she appeared simply to want to go home, she later confessed to her mother that she had slept with a soldier during her most recent absconding.

(LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005/858) Her mother reported this to the school, and Lorraine was subsequently transferred to the Shirley [Remand Home in Shepherd's Bush] for "prolonged" treatment for gonorrhoea. In 1943, a report to the Children's Department on absconders and venereal disease reported that "at the end of [1942], we had in the approved schools eighty-three cases of gonorrhoea, fourteen cases of syphilis and nineteen cases of gonorrhoea and syphilis." (MH 102/895 p. 5) Treatment for gonorrhoea, if treated promptly, became non-infectious within a few days, but treatment normally continued for three months with a further six months of observation and further treatment as required.

Pregnancy is another concern which underpins many of the discussions within the records, particularly those around absconding. There are a number of reasons why staff might be concerned about a girl or young women with regard to pregnancy, not least of which was how they and their baby might be cared for. This is a period of time in which the birth of a child outside of marriage was still considered problematic by many in society, and in which mother-and-baby homes were still a core constituent of the welfare state. Access to reliable birth control was beyond the reach of all of these girls – not until the late 1960s did the pill become available, for example, and few girls would have had the means or opportunity to access any other form of available contraception, and any sexual activity came with the risk of venereal disease, a subject which did exercise approved school staff. There was also the concern about what the future might hold for a teenage mother, and for her child.

Despite the common age range at PMVH and Gisburne House, there is almost no mention of pregnancy amongst the records at PMVH. Only one case could be traced. Susan [PMVH262] was just fifteen when she was admitted to PMVH under a care or protection order in January 1963, following assessment in the Magdalen Classifying School. (SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No. 154). Her previous pregnancy is not mentioned in her admission notes, but six months after she arrived in Addlestone, an entry observes that “this girl had a baby before coming here. [She is] very withdrawn and is agreeable but difficult to understand.” Susan absconded a couple of times for short periods, something which was attributed to her general low mood, but was eventually transferred to Burford House while it was operating as an approved hostel, and then finally released in November 1964. She can only have been fourteen when her baby was born, and although the particulars are not set out in the records, it is very likely that her child was adopted, regardless of her views on the subject. Susan can only have been fourteen when her child was born, well below the age of consent but there is no information regarding how her case panned out, particularly as to whether any prosecution was commenced against the father of Susan’s child.

At Gisburne House, however, there were several examples of girls who either became pregnant while in the care of the school, or in the immediate aftermath. Fiona [GH020], for example, was “pregnant with the child of a married man” by the time she was eighteen. (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/003/728) while Cynthia [GH062] “was pregnant by a man who did not wish to marry her” at seventeen and a half. (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005/849) Betty [GH056] “had an illegitimate baby with a married man in 1949. The baby boy was adopted at two weeks old” while Brenda (GH085) was noted to have had an illegitimate child in 1953 shortly after she left

the school, and although it is not clear from the notes whether she kept her child, she ended up remanded to HMP Holloway and then Borstal twice in the following years, so it seems unlikely. (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005/963 and LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/005/843)) There were others too at Gisburne. Catherine [GH062] who became pregnant by a married man a few months after she was licensed by a married man who broke off the relationship, and whose baby was subsequently adopted. Barbara [GH090] who was committed to Gisburne House in June 1948 for being beyond control when she was just thirteen years old. After a fairly dubious span of teenage years, Barbara found herself, at the age of eighteen, charged with larceny and placed on probation, and sent to a Mother and Baby home.

It was also noted that one girl, Beverly [GH095], fourteen and a half at the point of her committal, had already had an abortion before she arrived at the school. (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/006/973 It seems very unlikely that this can have been a legal abortion, given that this was 1953. Her age, fourteen or possibly younger, would not have been sufficient reason for a legal abortion, and there is nothing in her notes to suggest that a pregnancy had come about as the result of incest, which might, possibly, have allowed for a legal abortion. It is far more likely that this was a backstreet abortion, and equally likely that this information was brought to the attention of the school as evidence of the extent to which her behaviour was beyond control.

These examples record and evidence behaviour, which was clearly concerning to the school, to the families of the girls and even to society at large. (Cox, 2003, p. 4, Gelsthorpe & Worrall, 2009, p. 213) However, the examples also show us that these experiences were not representative of most girls committed to an approved school. The contemporary press coverage of girls in approved schools frames them as “aggressive and violent” (The Times,

7th March 1969), as “precocious and incorrigible” (Sunday Post, 3rd March 1946), but this is not representative in the sample shown here. While the details of the events listed above are shocking, it should also be borne in mind that these girls are only five in total, though as many as eleven girls were involved with one mass exodus. That represents less than five percent of the sample and can hardly be considered to be representative. Yet, if the contemporary discourse, in newspapers, in parliament and presumably therefore government, and in the professional publications of the Approved School staff are to be believed, such behaviour was far more widespread. The evidence from this sample would suggest that such reports were overstated. When the Newcastle Evening Chronicle described approved schoolgirls as “wayward girls, disturbed girls... ordinary, lonely, sad girls”, perhaps it was nearer the mark. (13th October 1970).

5.V MORAL WELFARE

The records from the schools do reveal a great deal about the lives and experiences of the girls in its care, but the construction of girls’ moral welfare can be traced in several ways. Girls and young women in this period had to negotiate, and were subject to, moral codes, by their parents, by their schools, in the workplace, in society at large. (Houghton, 1957; Young, 1960; Shore, 2002; Cox, 2003; Gelsthorpe & Worrall, 2009) Without access to predecessor records, such as juvenile court records, it is impossible to say for certain whether the girls engaging in some of this activity had been exposed to it for the first time in the school, or whether they were perpetuating behaviours they had previously demonstrated. It is possible that some girls were influenced by others and saw behaviours they had not previously seen whilst in the approved school. The extent to which the school (and this school specifically) was able to care

for and protect the girls must be called into question, for at least some of the girls. Moral welfare, as a legal concept, appears so infrequently in the sample that it is difficult to make viable conclusions. What can be identified in the surviving sources for Gisburne House is more subtle. The behaviour and experiences of girls and young women during their committal and licensing periods is documented in such a way that it is possible to determine expected moral behaviours, and any transgressions from this can also be identified. However, notes on any given girl can vary in length and detail and are highly subjective as a source.

Jeanette (GH026) was thirteen when she was committed to Gisburne House for being beyond control. Jeanette is noted to have been a clever girl, who was good at all her subjects, especially history. The fourth of eight children, Jeanette's mother brought her before the juvenile court because she was "increasingly difficult at home, defied her curfew and kept late hours. There was no actual record of dishonesty, but her mother suspected it and constantly worried at Jeanette, leading to friction between her and her siblings."

(LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/003/734) Jeanette was initially licensed back to her parents in south London to take up employment at the Army & Navy Stores in Victoria. Initially she did well, for about three months, until early 1941 when her sister phoned the school to report her missing and at the end of February 1941 Jeanette was picked up in Hyde Park. A member of staff came across her on a visit to the Shirley Remand Home the following October where she was being treated for venereal disease, and later that month her yellow papers arrived, denoting Jeanette's arrival at HMP Holloway. Her notes conclude in October 1941 when she was sent to Borstal, presumably Aylesbury.

Some girls have behaviour documented in their register entries which might be identified as 'immoral' against the expectations and norms of the time, but the terminology

used to describe their behaviour is not couched in this specific language. This may mask the extent and influence of “concerns regarding moral welfare” within this approved school. It also only references, with any consistency, behaviour once the girl had arrived in the school, rather than her experiences beforehand. If we look beyond the specific terms “moral” and “immoral”, it is nonetheless possible to trace a language of disapproval of behaviour of girls in the school, based on an implicit code reflecting societal expectation of “a nice girl”. A number of the girls at Gisburne House have extensive notes concerning their experiences, behaviour and reports compiled by staff in the surviving records. It is perhaps inevitable that the girls whose entries include the most detailed notes are the ones whose behaviour caused the most drama in the day-to-day life of the school, and girls who kept their heads down and got on quietly have barely any particulars in the records that survive about them. There are other remarks in the records which suggest a tone of judgement. Nancy (GH057) was committed for larceny in 1943 at the age of thirteen, and very few remarks are recorded about her time at the school, nor what happened to her after she left Gisburne in 1944 to keep house for her parents. What is recorded is that upon arrival she was “poor, unkempt” and “a grubby little girl.” (LCC/CH?D?GIS/03/006/844)

There are other girls who receive a great deal of scrutiny as to their attitudes and behaviours. The notes on the children in the sample years between 1933 and 1943 are brief and circumspect, usually simply recording a date of license or discharge, occasionally noting details of a sibling also committed to the school, but from the 1948 sample onwards, more detailed notes begin to appear. This is, most likely, a response to the changes in practice in the Approved Schools which came about as a result of the 1948 Children’s Act. Centrally issued registers became more commonly used after the act, for example. Initially, the notes

are still quite brief. Agnes [PMVH139] aged ten years was the first child committed to PMVH in 1948. An illegitimate child, she had been adopted as a small child but came before the Juvenile Courts and was made the subject of a care or protection order for being uncontrollable by her adoptive parents. (SHC 2591/3/17 f. 24) Agnes had been transferred to PMVH from Sheppard's House, a short-lived approved school which only existed between 1944-7. She was one of the youngest children committed to PMVH across the sample, one of only six children aged ten or younger in her sample year. Across the sample years, younger children do appear at PMVH, more in the earlier years, and after 1958, the youngest children in each sample year are either eleven or twelve and form a minority amongst those committed to PMVH. Agnes was considered for license in the spring of 1950, and this was refused. Later in 1950 her adoptive father made an application to the Home Office to have Agnes returned to them. This was refused, though the details are not documented in these sources, and although she was considered for license twice in 1951, again, this was refused. The rationale for this refusal is not documented, and Agnes was transferred to Gisburne House in the spring of 1952. (SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No. 138) Carolyn [PMVH 158] was described as "lazy and unstable", two years after she had arrived at PMVH. It's not clear what prompted the shift change in her behaviour, but something must have changed because she was licensed and then released at the end of 1950. There was no further report of her, which suggests her licensing period was completed satisfactorily. (SHC 2591/3/17 f. 36) If 1963 marked the dawn of emotional awareness in the notes relating to the children committed to the school, then 1948 was the "unstable" intake. The term is used in the notes of a third of the girls committed to the school that year.

The relationships girls had were often the subject of discussion in their notes.

Unsuitable boyfriends are plentiful, and relationships with married men appear amongst the notes of several of the girls at Gisburne House. Muriel (GH072) is one girl whose time at the school stands out amongst her contemporaries. She was committed to Gisburne in 1943 on account of being refractory. Her notes reveal that her father died soon after she arrived but little else is recorded, except for one incident in which a note was found in another girl's locker and that Muriel had been "misconducting herself with the same girl."

(LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/006) Muriel was sent to solitary confinement, and the Secretary of State was notified, a most unusual occurrence. She was transferred to Cumberlow Lodge within a couple of months, and nothing more is recorded about her. This suggests that Muriel and the other girl (un-named) had some kind of relationship, but the extent to which this developed beyond the writing of notes is unclear. What is clear is the very visceral reaction from the staff at the school who segregated Muriel from the other girls immediately, and for the duration of her time remaining at Gisburne. There are no other comparable incidents mentioned elsewhere in any of the records sampled here.

5.VI PARENTING IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY: A CHANGE IN APPROACH?

Despite this shift towards recognising and acknowledging the emotions of the children in the care at PMVH which emerges in the late 1950s, there remained a broad continuity of terminology used to describe the children. In 1963, Shirley [PMVH260], a fourteen-year-old from the Home Counties, was committed to the school under a care or protection order, is described as "mentally disturbed. Often abusive, disobedient, and completely lacking in control." Later Shirley was noted to be "maladjusted", a term which feels out of place against

a backdrop of a supposedly progressive society. In the next entry, the notes determine that Shirley “would probably be better in a smaller community as she needs more individual attention. If adequate care could be given at home, early release should be considered.” (SHC 2591/3/16 p. 5) This suggestion of community-based treatment is the first such recorded in the PMVH records. It foreshadows the shift in approach which emerged in practice after the 1969 Children & Young Persons Act, when the transition from approved schools to community homes for education began and marks a turning point in the chronology of the approved schools. The notion that a child might benefit from more individual attention is not traceable in the records for these schools prior to this observation and represents a notable change in attitude and approach to the care of these children.

There are other children whose backgrounds are described more sympathetically. Elizabeth (GH013) was made the subject of a care or protection order in 1938, after her parents were determined not to be exercising proper care or guardianship by the juvenile court. She was only eleven when she arrived at Gisburne, and her care order had come about in part because her parents were separated, and she had been living in ‘sordid conditions’. More significantly, in her notes it is determined that

“Elizabeth’s parents [are] living apart. [They are] indifferent to each other, and to their child. The attitude of her parents was documented as harsh, and her entry notes that she had ended up in front of the juvenile court because “the child was turned onto the streets by her mother on several occasions. Her father refuses to have her. At school [she] responded to sympathetic treatment by quiet behaviour and endeavouring to do her work as well as she could.” (LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/003/651).

Elizabeth was one of the youngest children committed to Gisburne, and one of the first children whose records fell into this sample group. She initially did well in the employment she was found when she was fourteen, and kept in touch with the school, even returning to go on holiday with the other girls. When she was fifteen, she was found to have run away with

her employer's undergardener and subsequently was determined to be pregnant. She married the aforementioned undergardener as soon as she turned sixteen and their son was born in March 1939.

The impact of childhood is definitely referenced more in admission notes at PMVH from the late 1950s onwards, perhaps a reflection on the emergence of Bowlby and Willcott and their theories on parental attachment within the professional sphere of the approved schools. The notes for Sarah (PMVH264) explain that she "has had a very unsettled and unhappy childhood... suffered from over-fond, fussy and indulgent adoptive parents". (SHC 2591/3/5 no.155) She was committed to PMVH in 1963 after a conviction for larceny, aged fifteen. Diana [PMVH261], a fourteen-year-old from the West Midlands, was committed to the school after a conviction for larceny, in January 1963. (SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No. 153) Diana was noted to be "a willing worker, pleasant, usually, but [had a] violent temper at times. Responds to firm discipline. Has the power of leadership but misuses it." (SHC 2591/3/16 p. 51) Diana absconded on several occasion, but in comparison to the short shrift given to previous absconders, Diana's notes record that she "misses parental love and longs for affection", a decidedly more sympathetic approach than had previously been applied.

This year marks the first mention within these records of the significance of the relationship between children and their parents, by the authorities of the school, who acted in loco parentis for the duration of a child's time at the school. The significance of the parent-child relationship crops again later that year in the notes on Teresa [PMVH264]. Teresa, fifteen-years-old, was committed to the school in 1963 after a conviction for larceny. In her review in July 1963, she was described as having "had a very unsettled and unhappy childhood...

suffered from over-fond, fussy and indulgent adoptive parents.” (SHC 2591/3/16 p. 53) When she was released just before Christmas that same year, the notes record that she had a “good report. [Her] progress maintained. She is now aware of foster parents’ over-indulgence.” (SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No. 155) The impact of a girls’ relationship with her parents was not the shift change in approach, but the impact of a girls’ parents’ relationship with each other also begins to feature in assessing a child during her time at the school. Veronica [PMVH268] a fourteen-year-old from East Anglia, came to PMVH after a care or protection order was applied to her for being beyond the control of her parents. When her progress was viewed in July 1963, Veronica was described as “glum and difficult to approach. [She] resents correction and is stubborn and disobedient.” A few months later, the notes record that Veronica was “uncouth and resentful” and that her language was “offensive.” (SHC 2591/3/16 p. 55) The records also note an “extremely unhappy relationship between [her] parents” and later that “home conditions [were] still undesirable.” Veronica was subsequently released in March 1964, after her probation officer recommended this course of action, not least as her “mother [had] returned to live with her husband.”

Relationships with mothers seem to be a particular attribute for the 1963 sample year, as Wendy [PMVH271], a fourteen-year-old from London was noted as “despising her mother” (ibid, p. 58) while, on the flipside, Elaine [PMVH272] was noted as “very fond of her mother, [and] anxious to go home as soon as possible.” (ibid, p. 59) This change was not restriction just to maternal relations. Alison [PMVH276], a fifteen-year-old committed to PMVH after persistent truancy which was attributed to the “behaviour of [her] drunken, difficult father” (ibid, p. 60). It’s interesting that Alison’s committal hinged on truancy, since at age fifteen, she was older than the mandatory school attendance age of fourteen. This

suggests that Alison's case is another example of legislation being used to police families in a way that was not the original intent of the law. Earlier examples suggested that groups of siblings were known to be removed by the juvenile court for offences under the Education Act in a way that suggests concern for the educational well-being of the child was not all that was at stake. Perhaps Alison's referral to court for truancy was a convenient utilisation of legislation that allowed the authorities to remove her to a place of safety, rather than the true intent of purpose of the law for a child too old for it to really apply. Alison was described upon her licensing as "shy, nervous and not very responsive" and was released from the school just before Christmas 1963.

The significance of the relationship between a parent and child emerging in the commentary on these children reflects, albeit latterly, a growing awareness amongst professionals charged with the care of children. Since the 1950s, partly influenced by contemporary developments in psychiatry and child psychology, the importance of a family unit and the relationships therein had developed. Winnicott's work on children, beginning in the 1930s, had become absorbed into the mainstream approach by the early 1960s, in stark contrast to previous decades where parents had been led to believe that care for children by others, be that in the guise of evacuation, boarding school or institutional care, could often be a better outcome for them. Not only was Winnicott well known within the Approved Schools, but his work had made its way into the mainstream, through the medium, and the technology of radio. Winnicott was one of a number of professionals who was given airtime on the radio at points in the day when it was anticipated mothers might be listening, to introduce them to emerging advice and guidance for parents. His programming was broadcast throughout this period.⁸

This observation reflects a marked change from approaches in earlier decades within this timeframe. More sympathetic approaches can also be measured through the emergence of an appreciation of the impact of poverty on the lives of their young charges. Deborah [PMVH279] was committed under a care or protection order for being refractory, that is to say that her behaviour was beyond control, but that she was already in the care of a local authority. (SHC 2591/3/5 PMVH Industrial School: Register of Committed Case No. 163) Her parents were divorced, and her mother's whereabouts was listed as unknown, so it seems likely that it was while she was in her father's charge that she had somehow come into the care of the associated children's department. Deborah arrived at PMVH in May 1963, and a review in September that year recorded that she was "insecure, deprived and lonely" but that, as she settled in and made friends "her outlook and attitude [were] improving." (SHC 2591/3/16 p. 61) This is a much more sympathetic approach than was seen anywhere prior to this point in the records at PMVH. Just before she was released on license in April 1964, it was recorded that "[Deborah had an] excellent report from the hostel and work, [and] should do well in spite of her earlier deprivation."

In line with this shift in attitudes to parenting which began to shift markedly in the late 1950s and early 1960s, we see a parallel change in how approved school children are discussed in Parliament, and arguably, in society at large. This timing is interesting, since it maps to the enacting of the Children's Act in 1963, which saw a progressive shift in the attitudes and sentiments raised in Parliament. In 1963, Charles Royle, the Member of Parliament for Salford West suggested that

"We must have some completely new thinking about what might only be described as naughtiness of children of this age. There are few countries in the world where such children are regarded as criminals, as they are in this country. (Royle, HC Deb 05 July 1963 vol 680 cc789-90)"

Building on this rhetoric, and in line with what we have seen in a variety of sources, a report by the Girls' Approved School Panel (which reported to the Home Office) in 1970 was published which examined the intake of girls to approved schools between July 1st, 1967-30th June 1968, neatly and conveniently crossing over with the sample data in this study.

(Appendix B, TNA: BN 29/949) It found that of 794 new admissions to approved schools, 444 (56 percent) were 'non-offenders' while 350 had been found guilty of criminal offences.

Across this period, the approved schools found themselves pulled in two directions, at first in reforming young criminals, and preventing others who were at risk of falling into delinquency, and latterly in treating children who might have a criminal conviction or equally, might be the victim of a crime themselves. This dichotomy in the approved schools began to come to a head in the 1960s, and this can be identified across the sources evidenced in this thesis.

The report went on to observe that "all girls committed by the courts for approved school training may be disturbed and difficult to a varying degree. Some realistic and meaningful diagnoses must be attempted, although classic diagnostic categories in terms of adult mental illness is difficult in adolescents." (BN 29/949, 1970, section 69-70) This report is notable in that it frames all girls admitted to the Magdalen Classifying School as demonstrating some kind of mental illness, a rather dramatic shift from the approaches taken in the early part of this period of study, and one which will be discussed fully in the next chapter.

The records of Gisburne House and PMVH demonstrate that a variety of children, with a variety of experiences, and for a number of reasons were committed to their care across this

period. The records also suggest that while some commonalities can be found across the period, particularly in terms of how the girls are characterised in the records, it is also possible to trace a shift towards a medicalisation of care. It is also possible to locate the influence of emerging professional fields such as psychiatry in the way that the details of the girls are recorded. It also demonstrates a change in approach which is evident from the data captured relating to the 1960s, when all these factors appear to manifest in the records of one single sample year in a way which is much more sympathetic to the child in question than previous years.

CHAPTER 6: CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ON AND IN THE APPROVED SCHOOLS.

An appetite for research within and upon the approved schools, and the children committed to them, and on a range of other equivalent institutions emerged during the late 1950s and the early 1960s, which was consolidated by the establishment of the Home Office Research Unit (hereafter the Research Unit). This chapter draws upon a number of reports which were completed by academic researchers during the late 1960s and early 1970s. These include Richardson's *Adolescent Girls in Approved Schools* and Cowie, Cowie & Slater's *Delinquency in Girls*, and two others which were found amongst the private papers of the sociologist Julius Carlebach, and within Home Office archives. In considering these sources, it positions the girls as objects of research, and of policy. These reports represent a collection of knowledges about delinquency and demonstrate how approaches to the care of girls and young women in approved schools had become diagnostic and defined in a way which seems entirely distinct from the 1930s, but which echoes the medicalisation of women's deviance as madness in the nineteenth century. This chapter will show how 'social research' from various sources came to influence and reorientate this knowledge of such girls and young women, and the settings in which they were resident.

6.1 THE REPORTS

The four pieces of work examined here are centred on girls in approved schools, two published, and two unpublished. These contribute to the understanding of how approved schools fitted into the broader social welfare and juvenile justice frameworks in which they operated. All four pieces cover the central period of the operation of the approved schools, two of them drawing on girls who were resident in classifying schools while the other two

draw on a regular approved school. All of the authors worked in approved schools for girls in some capacity – some as consultants in a medical capacity while the others were employed as part of the permanent staff, living on site at the schools during their employment there. These reports also provide insight into contemporary attitudes to these schools and the children committed to them, and document as markers of change (and sometimes continuity) in approaches to children ‘in trouble’. The published pieces which will be examined here are Richardson’s *Adolescent Girls in Approved Schools* (1969) and Cowie, Cowie & Slater’s *Delinquency in Girls* (1968). Richardson’s research was funded by the Home Office Research Unit, while Cowie, Cowie & Slater’s was not. However, the close cooperation and support of the Home Office is acknowledged in the preface by the authors. (1968, p. x) The volume’s foreword was written by Radzinowicz, suggesting a close connection to the Institute of Criminology at Cambridge.

Adolescent Girls in Approved Schools begins with a short reflection on previous work, introduces the setting for the study, and then goes into a lengthy series of short sets of analysis based on admissions data, and in parallel with *Delinquency in Girls*, Richardson then examines a variety of aspects of the girls’ lives prior to and during their time in the school, including psychological and psychiatric assessments, and how they fared once they left the school. In comparison to *Delinquency in Girls*, Richardson’s work is more narrative in structure, although she does provide some statistics in the course of the volume.

Delinquency in Girls begins with a lengthy summary of previous work on delinquency amongst girls, prior to 1950 and subsequently. It then introduces the study itself, before assessing the girls on their background, examining their age, intelligence, and attainment, then their parents and their home, followed by their siblings. The study then considers the

psychiatric record of the girls, and their aftercare before concluding., There follow a sequence of appendices, which also include the details of their manuscript volume which includes the full tabulation of the principal statistical data. While the two unpublished pieces appear to have been written immediately after the research was undertaken, both Richardson and Cowie, Cowie & Slater published sometime after their research was undertaken, and their work represents a period in the Approved Schools prior to the shifts in approach seen in the 1960s.

The unpublished works were both found within archival collections and are both much shorter than the published volumes. The first, *The Sociology of an Approved School for Girls* [hereafter *Sociology of an Approved School*] is in the Carlebach Archive at the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cambridge (Carlebach 3.1.1, n.d.) The provenance of the piece is not wholly clear but appears to have been written by a female student, probably one known well to Carlebach and likely dates to the late 1960s, based on the schools in which the research was undertaken. The schools she included were Farringdon House Approved School in Exeter, Bowden Hall Approved School, located just outside Gloucester and Greenacres Approved School in Wiltshire. Given the proximity that the author seems to have had, to the girls she was studying including staying in the schools covered in the report, it is more likely that this author was female as it seems implausible that the headmistress of a senior approved school would have allowed a man to spend so much time unsupervised with the girls, even in a professional capacity. The report considers the training programme, the routine of the school, staff and their attitude to the girls, and the daily life of the schools, all in brief, before moving into a detailed summary of interviews undertaken with girls at the school.

The second comprises an unpublished report *Analysis Of One Hundred Girls Awaiting Approved School Training* (hereafter *One Hundred Girls* found in files from the Children's Department at the Home Office. (TNA BN 29/1823) This broadly comparable, study was also undertaken in the 1960s by Brenda Smith, a childcare officer in Sheffield, who undertook an analysis of 100 girls committed to the Moss Approved School (alias the Moss Remand Home for Girls) in Sheffield. Smith's work covered eighteen months during 1964 and 1965 and like the report in the Carlebach Archive, does not appear to have been published. It was probably written as part of her professional studies as a social worker. The report considers general factors, intelligence, psychiatric and psychological factors, with the bulk of the work centred on 'environmental factors' such as loss of adequate paternal or maternal influenced, home conditions and a lack of family ties.

The common themes which emerge across these pieces of work include the medicalisation of approaches to the children in the approved schools, and a significant lag in time between research and publication, leading to critique within the wider professional sphere. Where significant value is attached to these reports, it is in the glimpses into the life and lives behind the statistics presented here.

6.II CLASSIFYING SCHOOLS

The legal and operational frameworks of the approved schools were set out in Chapter One.

Two of the studies examined here were undertaken in classifying schools, which were part of the approved school system, but played a different role to the main group of schools.

Classifying schools were introduced to the approved school system in the aftermath of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, and were implemented to ensure that children were sent to the most appropriate approved school for their particular needs, rather than the school with which the sentencing judge had the most familiarity. Children aged fourteen or older, who were the subjects of approved school orders, regardless of whether this was as a result of a criminal conviction, or because they had been determined to be in need of care or protection (1933-1963) or of care or control (1963-1973) were sent to the classifying school which covered the area of the country from which they came. Children aged thirteen or younger continued to be sent directly to approved schools, and there does not appear to have been provision made for Catholic girls, as all the classifying schools for girls appear to have only taken non-Catholic children. Initially, and for the majority of the period of time examined here, there were two classifying schools for girls: the Shaw Senior Approved School (hereafter the Shaw), and the Magdalen Senior Classifying Approved School (hereafter the Magdalen.)

The Shaw was licensed as an approved school in 1937 and took over a building known as Appleton Hall, which had been a training centre for unemployed women and girls earlier in the 1930s. Initially an approved school for senior girls, the Shaw became the centre for classifying senior and intermediate girls (i.e., those from the age of fourteen and up) in the northern half of England, up to but not including Birmingham, and north Wales, between 1948 and 1960. It only took non-Catholic girls.⁹ Maintenance issues permeated the later years of

the school, and the building was demolished after the school closed in 1960. (Richardson, 1969, p. 12) Classifying facilities for Roman Catholic boys existed, but there was no such provision for girls. After the closure of the Shaw School, the Moss Remand Home took over responsibility for classifying girls ages 14 or over, whose home was in the northern half of England and Wales.

The Magdalen Hospital Classifying School (hereafter the Magdalen School) was initially founded in 1758 for the “the reception of penitent prostitutes”, a name which was only dropped in 1934 when it became an approved school for senior girls. (Hyland, 1993, p.?) The school was evacuated from Streatham during the Second World War but returned in the years after the war. It became a classifying school in 1948, and took non-Catholic girls aged fourteen or older who had been committed in courts in the south of England, including Birmingham and south Wales. The school resigned its certificate of approval in 1965. (London Gazette, no. 43767, 1965) From a practical point of view, the provision of classifying schools meant that children could be looked after in a secure setting in the event that they needed to wait for a vacancy in the school which they had been assigned to. The Magdalen School was by far the larger of the two schools. Cowie, Cowie and Slater, whose volume is considered here, all worked at the Magdalen school in their professional capacity as psychiatrists. They argued that the girls “admitted to the Magdalen were a broadly representative group of delinquent adolescent girls committed for approved schools training, apart from the omission of the Roman Catholics. (1969, p. 56) The Magdalen subsequently closed in 1965.

This thesis has already pointed to the dominance of boys in discourses around and about the approved schools, and this is also revealed in the research being undertaken during this period. Appendix B of *Penal Practice* lists eighty pieces of research being undertaken

either by the Home Office Research Unit, in universities with funding from the government, or as pieces of independent research. Of these, four looked exclusively at girls¹⁰ while a further fifteen looked at either children generically or the approved schools.¹¹ By choosing classifying schools as the basis of study, which only took girls over the age of fourteen, these reports fit into the broader discourse surrounding girls in the approved schools, in the sense that they deal exclusively with the oldest girls committed to the school thus perpetuating a narrative which fails to represent all the girls who were the subjects of approved school orders. By dwelling on the experiences and observations of older girls, this continues to skew the narrative around girls in the schools and contributes to an overly simplified understanding of the realities of the broader population.

6.III A GROWING FIELD OF RESEARCH

The mid-twentieth century saw an increasing interest in the emerging fields of sociology and criminology in professional, public, and domestic circles. This aligned closely to an interest in and acceptance of psychoanalysis as a field of study and an area of practice, and the emergence of the attachment parenting theories into the public domain. Since the end of the Second World War, an increasing number of publications and programmes came into the public domain through both academic publication and through mainstream sources such as programming on the BBC. These strands of interest and activity in the public domain intermeshed with academic work in this field, and the later 1940s saw the publication of a number of volumes on the subject of juvenile delinquency. It is also a period in which the shape of social work changed and broadened, with an increasing number of personnel joining the field and undertaking personal studies as part of their studies and qualifications.

This period is pivotal in the emergence of criminology as a field of academic work, spearheaded by the emergence of the Home Office Research Unit after the Criminal Justice Act, 1948. Although regular reports were made on crime statistics before this time, data on approved schools was not systematically released by the Home Office. Periodic questions in the Houses of Parliament provide many statistics on patterns in crime, for example. It was not until early 1960s that such reporting mechanisms were formally implemented for the juvenile courts. Circulars issued before this were on an ad hoc basis. Juvenile crime statistics were part of broader statistical released in this period. There was a concurrent rise in interest in public spheres in the causes of juvenile delinquency, sparked in part by a rise in juvenile crime during the Second World War. The White Paper *Penal Practice in a Changing Society* (1959, CMND 645) [hereafter *Penal Practice* noted that “since 1945 there have been both upward and downward movements in crime, as this is written an upward movement has been in progress for over three years.” (ibid, s. 2)

Penal Practice drew attention to the ‘rapid increase in crime [amongst young people] is one factor which has led to the reconsideration of the existing provision for the treatment of young adult offenders (ibid., s. 4) In apportioning blame for this, various elements were considered. The increase in working mothers was considered partly to blame for this, alongside the ‘dislocation of home life’ (Bathurst, 1944, p. 292) which came about as a result of the evacuation of young children, the absence of fathers on military service and disruption in many inner-city areas as a result of bombing raids. The ensuring black outs were also considered a significant factor, as children were able to take advantage of the darkness to cause mischief.

In 1948, the Criminal Justice Act broadened out the landscape of provision for juvenile justice, aligning the set-up of the approved schools for girls with that of the boys and introducing remand centres, attendance centres and probation hostels amongst other initiatives. In the early years of the welfare state, professionals working within children's departments and social services "developed a strong sense of professional identity. (Hendrick, 2003, p. 147) After the Second World War, juvenile crime settled before beginning to climb again during the 1950s. Increasing rates of juvenile crime, and a more liberal approach to legislation on juvenile crime during the tenure of the Labour government between 1963-70 came to an impasse in the aftermath of the general election in 1970. The 1960s was a decade which saw significant legislative and social welfare practice revision, accelerated by the Labour government in power between 1963-1970, and which featured the implementation of a variety of government report recommendations including the Seebohm Report, the Ingleby Report, and the Albemarle Report. It also saw two Children & Young Persons' Acts in 1963 and 1969. But the newly elected Conservative government had a different approach to crime and punishment. Several of the elements of the 1969 Act were never enacted, and the change of government marked a tipping point in the balance between justice and welfare. Hendrick suggests that "the root source of this anxiety was the perception of working-class youth as posing a problem in the post war period" (2003, p. 147) while Jackson & Bartie note that "fears of youth violence dominated press coverage of delinquency in the 1950s and 1960s." (2004, p. 56, and see Bailey, 1987; Bartie & Jackson, 2011; Bradley, 2012; Wills, 2005)

Alongside the challenges that emerging teenage cultures were sometimes perceived to present to their contemporary society, the notion of the problem family continued to dominate professional discourses, and this can be seen in the number of children who

became the subject of approved school orders after playing truant from school, or who were deemed to be in need of care or protection or control. Only thirty eight percent of the children committed to PMVH, for example, were committed after being convicted for a crime for which an adult would have been sent to prison. This was almost always for larceny – less than one percent of the children committed to PMVH had convicted a criminal offence which was not larceny, and the story is similar for the children committed to Gisburne House. The remaining children were the subjects of approved school orders for either non-attendance at school (fourteen percent) or being deemed to be in need of some variant of care, protection, or control by the state (forty eight percent). Based on this evidence, amongst girls, violent offending was almost non-existent. This fear of youth violence is rooted in the behaviour of boys, like most observations about youth crime. As Cox and Jackson & Bartie (amongst others) have observed before, gender was a significant factor affecting the likelihood of court appearance. Jackson demonstrated that in Manchester, girls were only involved in fifteen percent of cases in front of the juvenile courts, and that they were much more likely to appear for ‘status offences’ such as care or protection proceedings, while in Dundee, girls made up five percent of appearances in the juvenile court. (2014, pp. 56-7)

The knowledge of approved schools in the academic discourse is also heavily weighted towards girls in senior approved schools, and their experiences of juvenile courts and approved schools is different to that of the younger children, not least because of the age at which school attendance ceased to be mandatory, fourteen years of age after the Education Act in 1944. Older girls were therefore much less likely to be committed for failure to comply with attendance orders. Older girls could be transferred into a school while still the subject of such an order, however. Seventy two percent of the children at PMVH were thirteen or

younger, while at Gisburne House, sixty three percent of the children were thirteen or younger. Amongst these children: forty four percent had been convicted of criminal offences, while fifty six percent were there for non-criminal reasons: forty four percent of the girls were the subject of some form of care or protection order, and the remaining thirteen percent were there for offences relating to non-attendance at school. While it is critical to acknowledge what work was being undertaken in the approved schools during this period, it is important to acknowledge that while these reports are centred on the approved schools, they do not represent the full picture.

By the nature of the schools in which these researchers were operating, once again, the data here draws exclusively on the experiences of senior girls, which in turn, shapes the direction of the discourse. Piecing together details of the experiences of girls through the lens of research, regardless of who was doing that research is not always straightforward.

6.IV. GIRLS AS SUBJECTS OF RESEARCH

Annual statistics pertaining to crime were released on an annual basis and had been so since the nineteenth century. (Bradley, 2012, pp. 21-23; Taylor, 1998, p. 12. These included returns on the number of children appearing in the juvenile courts (after 1908) and particulars of the crimes which they were convicted of. Statistics relating to the approved schools were not released with such regularity until after 1963 when they became mandatory under the Children & Young Person's Act of the same year. However, although official statistics were released, the role of women and girls within these statistics was often played down. In a similar vein, Cowie, Cowie & Slater introduced their text as follows:

“Delinquent girls have attracted much less serious research than delinquent boys. Not only is the delinquent girl less common, but her offences are almost entirely limited to sexual misbehaviour and such simple forms of stealing as shoplifting.” (1969, frontispiece)

In the 1959 White Paper *Penal Practice in a Changing Society* [CMND 645, p. 2], for example, it is noted that, against a backdrop of increasing crime, severe overcrowding in prisons, and unprecedented strain on the resources of agencies such as the approved schools, ‘the increase in crimes by women and girls has been very much less marked, and there has been no significant increase in the population of the women’s prisons or girls’ borstals.’ (1959, s. 5) This generally vague approach to data concerning girls and young women within the juvenile justice system was not uncommon. In a note to Miss Nunn at the Home Office Research Unit in 1961, a Mrs Gibson wrote that:

“We have not yet reached any useful conclusions about the amount of error to which our estimate of Approved School populations may be subject. We are continuing to study this question...We have not been able to deal with the population of girls’ schools. I hope that this will not greatly matter.” (1961, TNA BN 29/1855)

While, clearly, girls and young women did make up the smaller portion of the population of the juvenile justice system, they were nonetheless present despite the regularity with which their value within statistics is dismissed. These examples begin to suggest why attempting to trace the discourses around girls and young women in these sources is therefore not always straightforward.

Most of the previous studies the collective authors across the four reports drew on were largely conducted on boys however, and the authors do not appear to have seen problems in comparing boys and girls and expecting them to be the same. Cowie, Cowie & Slater concluded that “though the behaviour of delinquent girls is much less obnoxious than that of delinquent boys and deviates less from standards of legality and of acceptable social behaviour, yet the girls themselves constitute a more abnormal standard. The results of our investigation support the very wide consensus that girl delinquents deviate from the

sociological and psychological norms much more than boy delinquents.” (1969, p. 166) That is to say, that girls are held to different, higher standards of behaviour and that bad behaviour in girls is recognised and punished much sooner than that of boys.

Taylor summarised his review of the Cowie, Cowie & Slater volume in the words of Radzinowicz who had penned the introduction to the volume. “The hunt for hypotheses goes on with little progress achieved.” (ibid.) Cowie, Cowie & Slater had begun by stating that:

“the literature on the subject of delinquency in girls is not more than a small fraction of that relating to crime and delinquency in the male... in the first place the delinquent girl is much less frequent than her male counterpart and in the second place she is criminologically much less interesting. Her offences take predominantly the form of sexual misbehaviour, of a kind to call for her care and protection rather than punishment... these modes of behaviour are frequently and properly classified as ‘waywardness’ rather than delinquency.” (1968, p. 1)

Taylor took this review of something of a call to action, in two parts. Firstly, he observed that “for me, the delinquent girl presents a more interesting and complex criminological problem than her male counterpart and the field is fresh if not virgin” (ibid., p. 1959). Secondly, he laid down the professional gauntlet: “Scientific research proceeds through the progressive stages of observation, description, the formulation of hypotheses and experimental examination. It is now time for us to press beyond the second and third stages of research in criminology.”

(ibid.) While Richardson does differentiate between care or protection cases and those girls convicted of criminal offences, Cowie, Cowie & Slater go one step further and position all of the non-criminal rationales for committal – care or protection, after supervision, brought back by local authority, refractory, truancy and so on – as ‘sex delinquencies. (ibid, p. 67) They go on to position these types of offences as “misbehaviour, mainly sexual, of a kind no subject to legal sanctions after the age of seventeen”, offences which would now be framed as ‘status offences’. That is to say that the girls are sent to the Magdalen for committing an act which is

illegal when committed by a minor but not when committed by an adult. (Merriam Webster, n.d.) The authors were agreed that little should be made of the difference between girls committed for criminal and non-criminal offences since a “close relationship between waywardness and antisocial behaviour” was generally acknowledged within the professional community. (Cowie, Cowie & Slater, 1969, p. 67) This would certainly go some way to explaining the lack of distinguishing between girls in general work on them, such as it is, during this period.

“The work which is reported in this book is essentially a psychiatric study of a year’s intake of adolescent girls into a classifying approved school. For such an administrative measure to be taken by the juvenile courts these cases must have been extreme ones. Not only were these badly behaved girls, but many of them had been found incorrigibly so. One might say that in southern England these were the most criminal girls of the year. And yet if one looks at their delinquent acts, they are of a very petty and trivial kind. These girls had to be removed from society into the security of a residential school much more for their own sakes than to protect society.” (1968, pp. 165-6)

Cowie, Cowie & Slater drew attention to the way that their work supported conclusions drawn by others working in the field of juvenile delinquency, concluding that . “the results of our investigation support the very wide consensus that girl delinquents deviate from sociological and psychological norms much more than boy delinquents.” (1968, p.165) Broadly, their work in this volume saw little new conclusions, but rather reinforced previous work. As with so many of their sections, Cowie, Cowie & Slater denigrate the topic of ‘The Broken Home’ as soon as they have begun, which is reflected in Taylor’s review. “I have the impression that the researchers were not very enthusiastic when they began their research.” (1969, p. 195) Richardson on the other hand was curt. “To generalise and talk of *the* delinquent girl, who does not exist, is difficult.” (1968, p. 3) Richardson’s summary of previous work is positioned as ‘historical’, indeed she goes so far as to describe her study as an attempt to “breathe

something of the spirit of 600 delinquent girls... into a skeleton built up from a few historical remains of female wrongdoers.” (ibid, p. 5)

As previously discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 3, in this sphere, the experiences of boys continue to completely dominate the discussions. The vague references to the experience of girls and women within some official statistics is considered in some of the research examined here. For example, in Smith’s unpublished report, she observes that

“there is so much speculation in this work that ‘hunches’ need to be confirmed or cancelled out by factual information and analysis. A study is valuable even if it only highlights what many have believed to be true for some time.” (ibid, pp.23)

Smith raises a fair point, since all the studies mentioned here were published within a five-year window, and the latter studies were based on data from the 1950s. Smith’s study is unusual in that it is in and of the moment.

Alongside these emerging academic fields of criminology and sociology, there was a parallel development within the Home Office with regards to research. In the White Paper, *Penal Practice in a Changing Society*, the Home Office devoted a section to research, positioning the issue as follows:

‘delinquency cannot be dealt with effectively without more knowledge of its causes and a more accurate measurement than we have at present of the success of the various forms of treatment. It is now widely recognised that in this field, research is as essential as in the fields of science and technology. (CMND. 645, 1959, s. 17)

6.V KNOWLEDGES OF THE APPROVED SCHOOLS

Bradley identified “a broader discourse that approached youth and crime as a complex and abstract phenomenon that was knowable through the mediation of ‘experts’ and through detailed research.” (2012, p. 21) This is certainly reflected within these sources. Within the world of the approved schools, information and experience regarding the girls and young women who passed through these institutions was shared through publications such as the

Approved Schools Gazette, as discussed in Chapter 3, and in other professional spheres such as *The Magistrate*, the journal for the Magistrate's Association, which began publishing in 1922 and *Probation*, the journal of the National Association of Probation Officers, which began publishing in 1929. A great deal of information was also retained within the Children's Branch, later the Children's Department at the Home Office, and just over halfway through this period, it became clear that there was an opportunity to harness this wealth of knowledge and utilise it in a constructive fashion.

The Home Office established its own research unit in 1957 on the basis that "a department in daily practical touch with the realities of penal treatment and with contacts and access to data not available to outside workers, has its own distinctive contribution to make [to research]." (1959, s. 18) In his framing of this period of governmental approach to the justice system as 'platonic guardianship', Loader points to "one significant aspect of this mode of rule [which] concerned the close and proximate relationship that existed during the 1950s and 1960s between the Home Office and the then small, government sponsored world of criminology – a world that was, broadly speaking, both constituted by and committed to the liberal elitist project." (2005, p. 566) It operated as an essentially academic unit within the Home Office, and 'comprised a small number of active researchers located principally in the Cambridge Institute of Criminology [lead by Leon Radzinowicz] ... the Penal Research Unit at Oxford led by Nigel Walker and in the law and sociology departments at the London School of Economics." (ibid) There was a real appetite for research in this field within in the Home Office, facilitated in legislation through s. 77 of the Criminal Justice Act (1948) which specifically allowed for the funding of such research, embedding its anticipated value.

The Act authorised the Home Secretary to conduct, or support financially, research into the causes of delinquency, the treatment of offenders and matters connected therewith. From 1951 onwards, grants were made to various universities, and from 1955, the Research Unit published a variety of reports in a series of volumes. By 1974, over thirty reports had been published by the Research Unit, initially as reports issued through Her Majesty's Stationery Office, and then from the latter half of 1969, as Home Office Research Studies. These reports are dominated by academics from the aforementioned three universities, Oxford, Cambridge, and LSE, and it was not just within this sphere that they operated. In parallel to the establishment of the Home Office Research Unit, another group of scholars had come together during the Second World War to create the International Library of Sociology & Social Reconstruction (hereafter the ILSRR). The sociologist Karl Mannheim was a founder member and was particularly interested in how education could contribute to the development of children from a sociological perspective, in addition to their educational attainment. Research on children and young people in this period is often closely connected to the ILSRR and where juvenile justice and delinquency is concerned, there is often a connection to the Home Office Research Unit, to the extent that research funded by the Research Unit was often published by the ILSRR. This is the point at which studies, and indeed, data about the girls and young women within the juvenile justice system come into play.

Richardson is the only author considered here whose career encompassed a prolonged period employed in the approved schools, and her research was funded by the Home Office Research Unit. The other authors discussed here certainly spent time in the schools, but usually in a professional capacity, rather than living and working in the schools' full time. Richardson was a member of staff at the Shaw Classifying School (hereafter the Shaw), and

worked there from 1950 onwards, prior to the instigation of her research. She became deputy headmistress of the school that same year and was appointed headmistress in 1955. After her marriage in 1956, Richardson appears to have stepped down as headmistress but returned part-time as an educational psychologist at the school until 1958. (Richardson, 1969, p. 18)

The research on which the book is based began in 1962 but is based on the intakes of girls between 1952 and 1954, and in 1957. (ibid p. 10) Richardson's sample comprised five hundred and fifty girls who were committed to the Shaw in 1952, 1953 and 1954. Fifty of these girls were then discounted, based on their surviving records, and a further sample of one hundred was taken from girls committed to the Shaw in 1957. (ibid, pp. 16-17)

Cowie, Cowie & Slater give us detailed insight into the day to day running of an approved school, through the lens of psychiatrists employed in the school. Details of the psychiatric interview, and its position in the assessment programme are set out. Differences between the role of the psychiatrist at different stages in a child's interaction with the Juvenile Court and the approved schools are set out, and naturally, the most emphasis is in the explanation of the task of the psychiatrist to the classification school. Each of the three authors come with considerable (and overlapping) experience in the field of child psychiatry. John Cowie was director of two paediatric psychiatry units in East Ham and Roehampton, in addition to being the consultant psychiatrist at three approved schools and a remand home. Valerie Cowie was the assistant director of the Medical Research Council's Psychiatric Genetics Research Unit at the Maudsley Hospital and worked as a consultant psychiatrist. Eliot Slater was the director of the aforementioned unit, and like Valerie Slater, was an honorary physician at both the Maudsley and the Bethlem Royal Hospitals. In the same way that Richardson gave insight into the Shaw, through the lens of a headmistress, Cowie, Cowie &

Slater give more detailed insight into how a psychiatrist fitted into the approved school system. Their volume considered the same period of time as Richardson. Details of the psychiatric interview, and its position in the assessment programme are set out, alongside a specification of the role of the psychiatrist at different stages in a child's interaction with the Juvenile Court and the approved schools. Naturally, the most emphasis is in the explanation and exploration of the task of the psychiatrist to the classification school.

Smith's study was undertaken on girls sent to the Moss Classifying School (which had taken over responsibility for classification of girls who were the subject of an approved school order and who were normally resident in the North of England, down to but not including Birmingham). Smith "had worked in the [Moss] Centre, assisting in interviewing and writing the reports, so she was familiar with the procedure involved." (1966, p.2) Like Richardson, and Cowie, Cowie & Slater, Smith's work is another "impressionistic, descriptive account of one hundred delinquent girls and their backgrounds" (ibid) though Smith's work predates the publication of both the volumes previously discussed. Smith's work suggested that not only were sixty-five percent of the girl non-offenders, in line with the data shown in almost every study of girls in the juvenile justice system during this period, but that amongst the remaining thirty-five percent, a number "had previously been considered in need of care or protection." (p. 4) She noted that sixty-four percent of the girls had "sexual experience, and in many cases, it was extensive and promiscuous." (ibid.) Smith also noted that a large number of the girls were considered to be in "moral danger", as per the Children & Young Person's Act, 1933, though this figure is not qualified. Like Cowie, Cowie & Slater, she also touches on instances of reported sexual abuse. Eighteen percent of the girls reported sexual assault prior to their

arrival at the school, half of which was allegedly perpetuated by close family members, usually fathers or brothers. (ibid, p. 5).

This unpublished report is part of a file in the archives of the Home Office's Children's Department, held at The National Archives in Kew. (BN 29/1823, 1966) It was written by a childcare officer employed by the Children's Department at Sheffield City Council, Brenda Smith, and may be part of Smith's assessed work for her diploma in Applied Social Studies. This file was requested through a Freedom of Information Access Request and was released with redactions of details of some of the children concerned in the piece of the work. This does not affect the overall presentation of the information since it appears only first names have been included. It is also plausible that those first names were pseudonyms in the first place, but no mention is made of this.

The Carlebach report is much more descriptive than the previous volumes but provides an account of daily life in the schools, as observed by the author. This provides some very candid insights into the challenges presented by the behaviour of the girls in the care of the schools. In addition to the descriptive section which forms the first half of the report, there are extensive extracts from interviews with three girls, one from each school. In the absence of access to case files, these three interviews provide remarkably detailed accounts of how the girls had come to be committed to the schools. In addition to the interviews, the author included some biographical information and had undertaken some fact checking. In addition to the interviews, the report suggests that the author had the girls fill in questionnaires which she drew on to make her conclusions.

In addition to the response of the wider professional sphere, which is discussed in the next section, these pieces of research were also subject to the scrutiny of the Home Office in one way or another. In comparison to Richardson and Cowie, Cowie & Slater, Smith views her subjects with more sympathy, positioning her work as “an attempt... to look at the contributory factors in these girls’ backgrounds and personalities which may be responsible for their maladjustment in society and its expression in delinquent behaviour,” (ibid.) Harris, an official within the Children’s Department noted that “the report gives a clear outline of the type of girl (and problems) committed for approved school training and could be used as an outline picture of the needs of the older girl who receives care and training, and has failed to respond to other existing social services.” (ibid, frontispiece) Meanwhile, his colleague Miss Mott noted that she did “not care for all the value judgements that abound in the report – amoral, etc., etc.” (ibid., f.2v) Even within one unit, there was not always consensus on a response to such a publication.

In comparison the Cowie, Cowie & Slater, Smith’s framing of the individual histories of girls within the group studied is more sympathetic. In one of the first cases studies, Smith discusses a sixteen year whose name or pseudonym is redacted, but who will be referred to as ‘Janet’. Janet was committed to the Moss at the age of sixteen, having been determined to be in moral danger. Smith notes that her IQ was low, her behaviour difficult and that she had made little education progress, in part due to changing schools frequently. Janet was “a practising prostitute... [had] contracted venereal disease and had lived a very amoral way of life.” Janet had been sexually abused by her stepfather since the age of nine, and Smith described her home conditions as ‘deplorable’. (ibid., pp. 5-6) Janet’s experiences were determined to be

‘one of the most severe cases considered’ (p. 6) but Smith notes that “many of the other cases examined revealed similar tragic histories.”

6.VI RECEPTION WITHIN THE WIDER PROFESSIONAL SPHERE

Two of these reports were published, while the remaining two were not, and so reception of the four reports was not subject necessarily to the same scrutiny, though at least one of the reports was clearly read by a number of staff in the Research Unit and deemed worthy of permanent preservation at the point of transfer of records to The National Archives. The reception of these reports within their professional sphere is one key commonality, as both the published volumes were criticised for the lag between the point at which they published their work and when it was undertaken.

With the published reports, reception was mixed. McCabe, writing in the *British Journal of Criminology*, criticized Richardson’s approach, lamenting that “we have been over this ground so often before with many another captive population that the long litany of poor family background, bad employment record, disturbed relationships and all the rest is now mere ritual and not a new experience.” (ibid.) Positioning Richardson’s volume as “a waste of precious reading time” bemoaning that “it is difficult to establish a sound criterion for the success of approved schoolgirls and it is certainly not done here.” (1970, p. 89) In another review, Burton also drew attention to the clear parallels between Richardson’s work on girls committed to the Shaw, and the volume published in the same year by Cowie, Cowie & Slater which drew on the 1958 intake to the Magdalen. Many of the girls discussed in other parts of this thesis will have come through one of these schools. Burton described Richardson’s volume as “probably unique as a piece of intelligent, perceptive, participant observation” but

lamented the ‘minimum of conceptual discussion’, countered against her commendation of Richardson’s “impressionistic description” and in her use of statistics to drive home her points, 1970, p. 280)

Wiles, writing in the *British Journal of Sociology*, offered a measured review, determining the strengths and weaknesses of Richardson’s piece succinctly. Wiles positioned the study as one of “great historical interest as one of the few accounts of a girls’ approved school.” (1970, p. 239) In that sense it is clearly a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the field. Like Burton, Wiles pointed to the descriptive nature of Richardson’s work, but acknowledged that “the book is most interesting when the author is describing the school... tantalising glimpses are provided of what life at a girls’ approved school must be like.” However, Wiles expressed reservations about how the research had been conducted, pointing to “the general approach to the study which leads to an unnecessarily barbarous empiricism such that that staff’s pen portraits of the girls becomes a chart showing that 60.2 per cent had a ‘fairly normal general appearance.’” (ibid.) Taylor’s review in the *British Journal of Criminology* was rather less effusive in its consideration of the volume, and echoed McCabe’s critique of Richardson’s work. “The researchers had difficulty in getting the data they required and as a result their study became just another survey type project that related family structure, intelligence levels, educational performance and psychological symptomatology to delinquency.” (1969, p. 194) He was unimpressed by the lack of enthusiasm presented by the researchers into their subject, and overall, Taylor demonstrated short shrift for this volume. “The book attempts to present material, much of which is now ten years old, about delinquent girls who kind of offences and patterns of offending have changed,” (ibid.) Taylor summarised his review in the words of Radzinowicz who had penned the introduction to the

volume. "The hunt for hypotheses goes on with little progress achieved." (ibid.) Taylor took this review of something of a call to action, in two parts. Firstly, he observed that "for me, the delinquent girl presents a more interesting and complex criminological problem than her male counterpart and the field is fresh if not virgin" (ibid., p. 1959). Secondly, he laid down the professional gauntlet: "Scientific research proceeds through the progressive stages of observation, description, the formulation of hypotheses and experimental examination. It is now time for us to press beyond the second and third stages of research in criminology." (ibid.)

Delinquency in Girls was reviewed in the *British Journal of Criminology*, and a review also appeared in the *British Medical Journal*. Rollin, a contemporary of McCabe had high praise for *Delinquency in Girls*, and the volume received commendation for many of the aspects it has in common with Richardson's volume. In highlighting both the difference between the "degree and quality of delinquency between boys and girls" Rollin does not reflect on anything new. (1969, p. 625) It is curious that what Richardson is condemned for in being too descriptive is saluted here as "meaningful statistical analyses" though the contents are broadly comparable. (ibid.) Like the Shaw, the Magdalen closed shortly after this study was undertaken, which renders questions of its own, and the cohorts virtually overlap as Cowie, Cowie & Slater focussed their attention on the intake from 1958. It does seem strange that both the classifying schools should close within months of each other, long before the rest of the approved school system was dispersed with. It is not clear whether this should be considered an omen since neither closure appears to have been widely anticipated.

6.VII DIAGNOSIS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN 'TREATMENT'

Cowie, Cowie & Slater drew attention to the way that their work supported conclusions drawn by others working in the field of juvenile delinquency. In line with this, their work in this volume saw little new conclusions, but rather reinforced previous work. The work to which they refer was largely conducted on boys however, and the authors do not appear to have seen problems in comparing boys and girls and expecting them to be the same. While a great deal of attention is paid to comparing the Magdalen girls to general population norms (p. 80), to their IQ and to lowness of intelligence in the context of educational retardation, discussion of the impact of truancy is undeveloped, and the causes of truancy oversimplified. The authors begin this section by noting that “it seems almost impossible to disentangle the cause-effect relationship of bad education and bad behaviour.” (p. 86) The authors do observe that regardless of the cause “these girls were being deprived of an education up to the standards enjoyed by others of their ability and social background.” (p.87) Within this volume, as with other research on which the authors draw, there is a tendency to lay all agency at the door of the children involved, and sometimes, at their mothers’. The authors position incest and promiscuity together in their chapter on “The Broken Home” but barely touch upon promiscuity while playing down the impact of sexual abuse by a family member upon a child considerably.

Cowie, Cowie & Slater introduced their text as follows:

“Delinquent girls have attracted much less serious research than delinquent boys. Not only is the delinquent girl less common, but her offences are almost entirely limited to sexual misbehaviour and such simple forms of stealing as shoplifting.” (1969, frontispiece)

This volume goes through a variety of studies on the subject of juvenile delinquency from Mary Carpenter onwards. While Richardson grounds herself in terms of experience in the

school itself, Cowie, Cowie & Slater position themselves from a different professional standpoint, that of psychiatry, as all three were psychiatrists. Given the diagnostic approach which all four reports demonstrate across their pages, this perspective is particularly interesting.

Determining psychosocial maladjustment was a priority in terms of assessment of the girls for Cowie, Cowie & Slater, not least as “a considerable majority of the whole group are deemed to be in moral danger and in need of care or protection.” (ibid., p. 62) *Delinquency in Girls* classified the girls in the study into three groups: those diagnosed with a basic abnormality of personality development (32%), those who had some psychiatric symptoms (20%) and those which no important psychiatric abnormality was diagnosed (48%). (ibid, p.134) Of the girls diagnosed in the first grouping, these were in turn split into two groups. The first was classified as “instability of mood, which under stress leads to affective symptoms such as disproportionately violent or emotional responses, even to trivial stresses” (ibid, p. 139) and the second positioned as “girls of shallow affects [with] personality deviations mainly in the hysterical direction.” (ibid, p. 140) Girls who were classified as showing psychiatric symptoms [exemplified] a variety of neurotic reactions, including ...depression... disgruntled defensiveness, whining self-pity, turbulent resentments.” (ibid., pp. 136-7).

“The final group, the ‘psychiatrically normal girls... are mainly examples of what has been called social delinquency, or ‘sub-cultural delinquency’; that is to say that they come from a section of society in which certain patterns of behaviour are normal and accepted, although regarded as deviant and delinquent by magistrates, probation officers, social workers and perhaps, but the world at large.” (ibid., p. 134)

These girls accept their own behaviour as natural, and they are without a sense of guilt. (ibid. p. 143) Like Richardson, Cowie, Cowie & Slater seem preoccupied with the physicality of the girls and their habits such as the biting of fingernails. While Richardson does differentiate

between care or protection cases and those girls convicted of criminal offences, Cowie, Cowie & Slater go one step further and position all of the non-criminal rationales for committal – care or protection, after supervision, brought back by local authority, refractory, truancy and so on – as ‘sex delinquencies. (ibid, p. 67) They go on to position these types of offences as “misbehaviour, mainly sexual, of a kind no subject to legal sanctions after the age of seventeen”, offences which would now be framed as ‘status offences’. That is to say that the girls are sent to the Magdalen for committing an act which is illegal when committed by a minor but not when committed by an adult. (Merriam Webster, n.d.) This differentiation is interesting given their professional psychiatric framing of the behaviours the girls present and is perhaps most telling in terms of the way that the diagnostic shift manifested on the ground in the approved schools.

The Carlebach report highlights the reality of the diagnostic shift on the ground, in the approved schools, and fits into the discourse that this thesis proposes, that children were increasingly diagnosed, increasingly medicalising deviance across this period. The approved schools perpetuated a model of continuity and then rapid and dramatic change in approach in the final years of their operation. As a result, staff who had often worked in the schools for long periods of time found themselves caught between the model with which they were familiar and this new diagnostic approach towards the children. Indeed, as Richardson and Cowie, Cowie & Slater’s work definitively demonstrates, all of the children in their case studies were the subject of some form of diagnosis. Most of the terminology used by the late 1960s simply wasn’t within the medical profession’s vocabulary when the approved schools were established in 1933 and would certainly not have been applied to children in the care of the state.

The purpose of the Carlebach report was to “attempt to set up a model of an approved school for girls as it operates in practice....[drawing on] a representation of three approved schools for girls” (ibid, pp. 1-2) Farringdon House was introduced as a school which “caters particularly for the ‘misfits’; girls who have been difficult in other schools, persistent absconders, etc.” Farringdon House was not a closed school, “but there are a lot of locked doors”. (ibid. pp. 2-3) while Bowden Hall was held up “as [following] the new permissive way, while at Greenacres,

“there seemed to be no incentive for good behaviour and according to the girls there was more to be said for bad behaviour; the worse you are the more change you have of being sent home, if you behave well, you get kept longer.” (ibid.)

This report certainly shines some interesting light on the schools used as case studies, though the conclusions drawn by the author are not new or distinct. While perhaps a little more nuanced at points, this report fits neatly into the broader discourse on approved schools, particularly in terms of the older girls. Whether it achieved the establishment of a sociology of an approved school is less clear cut, however.

Smith’s report, like Cowie, Cowie & Slater, gives insight into the assessment protocols undertaken upon admission to the unit, and discusses the psychiatric examination and personality tests which a child went through as part of the routine assessments. Almost a third of the girls were determined to “present a serious psychiatric problem”. (p. 13) Several of the girls required immediate admission to a specialist unit, and a third of them, some ten percent of the entire group sampled had previously spent time in a mental hospital. One girl presented such extreme behaviour that she had been detained previously in prison. The prison psychiatrist suggested she was on the cusp of developing schizophrenia, and that her behaviour indicated emotional disturbance, attributed to the loss of both her father and

stepfather before she was thirteen. (ibid.) The girls in the sample were divided into two groups by Smith: thirty-one were positioned as “the most seriously disturbed” while the remaining sixty-nine were diagnosed with personality disorders. (p. 15) Despite this medicalised framework, the description of the girls in the latter section do not necessarily align with medical conditions per se. Twenty-nine were described as ‘neurotic’ while a further fourteen were determined to ‘lack social training’. The diagnostic shift evident in the daily practice of the approved schools for girls is no better evidenced than here.

6.VII FRAMING OF BEHAVIOUR IN DISCUSSION

Richardson opened her volume with the observation that:

“when the subject of delinquency hits the headlines, the discussion rarely has much reference to women and girls. When it does the usual commentators remain uneasily silent. This happens too in the lecture hall, whether the audience is academic, professional, or lay. Reticence and even avoidance of the subject of female delinquency extend to police, to male magistrates, and even to many psychiatric clinics, except where women are in charge.” (ibid, p 1)

Richardson works through some key statistical observations and reflects on the professional discourse to date on female and juvenile delinquency. Like many texts which draw on the older girls and young women in the approved school and borstal system, Richardson observes that “sophisticated sexual experience is a main feature of the girls approved school population” (ibid, p. 3). While Richardson points to the differences in rational for committal between boys (95% criminal convictions) and girls (64% care, protection, or control), she makes no mention of the remaining third of the girls who were committed after criminal convictions, nor questions why welfare provision seems to circumvent the care of boys. Less than five percent of boys in approved schools were committed as a result of care or

protection (care or control after 1963) proceedings, a vastly smaller proportion in comparison to the girls.

Cowie, Cowie & Slater were agreed that little should be made of the difference between girls committed for criminal and non-criminal offences since a “close relationship between waywardness and antisocial behaviour” was generally acknowledged within the professional community. (1969, p. 67) This would certainly go some way to explaining the lack of distinguishing between girls in general work on them, such as it is, during this period. Of course, the classifying schools only dealt with girls over the age of fifteen, with the occasional fourteen-year-old being subject to classification. These conclusions, while useful, do consolidate the theory that our understanding of delinquency by girls has been overshadowed wholly by the senior girls. The younger girls are not represented in either study, and, excepting an acknowledgement that junior girls were sent straight to the relevant approved school, little mention of them is made again which inevitably skews the perspective.

Burton, writing in the *British Journal of Sociology*, determined that Richardson’s volume “exposes the sharp contrast between the expertise available for diagnosis and assessment of delinquent and disturbed girls and the fortuitous and inflexible provision for their treatment.” (1970, p. 280) This combination of adjectives is curious. Inflexibility in treatment hardly seems fortuitous for any of the parties, be that subject or professional, but the limitations of options for girls were an issue for the approved schools. Girls and young women, and indeed, women, have always been in the minority in the custody system, regardless of the time period, and the provision for them reflects this. The system has been built around the needs of boys and young men and failed to adequately adapt to the needs of

girls and young men. Burton's remarks reflect the wider shift towards a medicalised framework for children committed to the schools.

Smith's report does draw more on the emotional response of the children to circumstances in their lives in a way which is overlooked in the other volumes discussed here. She does not own this conclusion, pointing to the observations of the psychiatrist instead, but she does draw it out, noting that "the psychiatrist found that the death of a father had greatly affected a number of the girls. It is possible that their delinquent behaviour may have been the result of unresolved grief." (ibid. p. 18) Attention is paid to the role of the mother in the previous studies, and Smith covers this too. She observes that "in effect, in over ninety cases there were relationship problems with the mother" though she did concede that "the mother/daughter relationship is very often strained in this age group." (ibid. p. 19) Smith's report is decidedly more responsive to the emotional needs of the girls in her study than the volumes previously discussed, despite parallels in professional practice in their observation. Smith concluded her work with a number of key observations, not least of which was that "there was serious concern about the lack of psychiatric facilities for this age range. A number of girls were too ill to be dealt with in the ordinary approved school setting, yet no alternatives could be offered." Perhaps reflective of the professional position from which she approached girls in the unit at the Moss, Smith draws a more compassionate picture of the circumstances which had led to each girl's committal to the unit. Although her report is significantly shorter than the previous volumes discussed, its inclusion adds a further facet to the discourse around these children and their needs. It draws conclusions consistent with others in the same period and develops lines of thinking which have resonance not only in the period within which she worked, but much further in the future, to a professional scene

where the ambition was to deal with these children very much on an individual basis, in a smaller, community-based setting.

The topic of absconding comes up across all of the reports. This reflects the day-to-day experience of many schools, for whom absconding children was a regular concern. The author of the Carlebach report observed that this complexity manifested most dramatically when it came to dealing with girls who absconded, noting that blanket policies were in place to prevent absconding.

“Such formulas which cover all inmates irrespective of the fact whether they are potential absconders or not, has the latent consequence of making the atmosphere custodial and regimented.”

At the extreme end of the responses to absconding was one child whose interview was one of those included in the report. Valerie¹ had been recalled to the school, and after attacking another girl upon her return, spent some twenty-three weeks in the detention room, that is to say, in solitary confinement, only allowed out to wash. Valerie observed that she didn’t really mind being in there “because it has a radiator. The other cubicles don’t have any heating.” (ibid., p. 38) It is not wholly clear which policy led to such an extended period of solitary confinement, nor for whose safety Valerie was so confined.

The author expanded further in her critique of staffing in the schools, which is not to say that she did not find positive and progressive practice. She noted that

“in each school one finds those members of staff who use therapeutic techniques of counselling and therapy in a friendly and permissive atmosphere... there are on the other hand members of staff who believe in an authoritarian regime and want formal compliance. They looked on the girls as ‘dirty little sluts from the slums’ and treated

¹ The names of the children interviewed here are included in full, but in order to protect their identity, only their first names are used. No details which would allow them to be identified have been included.

them as such. This situation has resulted in a great deal of conflict between staff members.” (ibid. p. 6)

Bailey argued that “by the end of the nineteenth century, humanitarians were no longer so seized by the personal moral inadequacies of those they would redeem” (2019, p.33) but sentiments expressed and documented like this suggest that these attitudes pervaded even the most forward thinking approved schools.

6.IX THE CHANGING SHAPE OF THE APPROVED SCHOOLS

In drawing on Richardson’s experience as a headmistress, Cowie, Cowie & Slater’s collective experiences as child psychiatrists and Smith’s as a childcare officer, collectively we have a fuller sense of the children being committed to the schools in this period, and the way that they were assessed, under what framework and how this manifested in reality. Richardson also offers insight into the training provision for the girls in approved schools, observing that while the girls may hate the domestic work they undertake, “[the girls] will be doing some kind of domestic work for the rest of their lives. They may as well come to grips with their femininity at a stage when they can be taught to do domestic work more efficiently and less arduously than their mothers.” (ibid, p. 2) This is nothing if not a pragmatic response to the issue at hand.

While Richardson’s work is inherently descriptive, it nonetheless provides detailed insight into the girls committed to the Shaw in these four cohorts and illuminates a sense of what life in the schools might have been like in a way that few other sources successfully document or convey. Absconding from the girls’ schools is a topic which comes under much

discussion across professional and political discussion, and Richardson manages to convey the upset that absconding could create within the school community.

“Even one girl feeling seriously unsettled and managing to escape could shake the composure of all but the most bovine of the group. Those who say absconding is not serious seem rarely to think of this aspect... No staffing allowance covered such emergencies [as absconding at night], which might mean three or four people losing several hours of sleep, with one or two – a driver alone in a car or with a companion – going mile in the school car to collect girls if apprehended quickly by the police. With several specially difficult girls, this could happen two or three nights in a week and successful absconders might need to be collected from as far as London or Glasgow. (ibid, p. 33)

Richardson’s insight gives colour and sensibility to the statistics, providing a sense of the emotions running through a school and its staff in such circumstances. Richardson’s account also provides insight into the lighter moments of the school through her use of anecdotes. Despite the comparative lack of girls within the juvenile justice system, Richardson does work her way through a variety of studies, using statistical evidence from her work to counter or support previous assertions. Richardson’s attention to the physical appearance of the children within the sample sit ill at ease alongside her more objective and constructive conclusions. There are other observations regarding the girls’ behaviour – the detailing of the proportion of children who bit their nails is one such inclusion alongside those children who were left-handed. (ibid., pp.74-7) In other ways, Richardson adds nuance to the statistics about girls in approved schools. This is particularly evident in the chapter on admissions to the school, where the advantages of Richardson’s access to a variety of records proves its greatest worth. Her work shows, for example, that some thirty six percent of girls appearing before the juvenile court for the first time were committed to an approved school, in comparison to the average generally accepted that ten per cent of children appearing before a juvenile court were so committed. (ibid, p. 82) Richardson also observes that the largest proportion of these

girls were non-offenders – one hundred and thirty out of one hundred and eight, comprising nearly three quarters of the girls in question. Richardson reflects that this is in part because of the legislative framework in place at the time – between 1952-4, it was far less common for courts to utilise the option to take a child into the care of the relevant local authority, as opposed to 1957 when this approach was more favoured.

Richardson draws heavily on the *Ingleby Report*, which held a dim view of girls in approved schools, and from which the recurrent rhetoric around such girls and promiscuity can clearly be traced. The Association presented evidence to the Inquiry as follows:

“A more serious problem is presented by girls, often committed at a very late date as ‘in need of care or protection’. In [the Association’s] view, this term is wrongly used as they are not usually innocent victims of circumstance but girls of shallow personality to whom promiscuous living appears attractive.” (Evidence, 1960, Par. II)

Certainly, Richardson makes no attempt to distance herself from this assertion, despite her in-depth study suggesting a rather different landscape of offending.

In part, McCabe’s criticisms of Richardson’s work centred on the time lag between the girls’ time in the school and publication but suggested that Richardson’s work came at a useful point, “for if, in the new dispensation for young offenders remain in anything like their present form, we will have, by whatever name they are called, single sex communities of hierarchical structure that will be quite at variance with the co-educational, comprehensive establishments of the non-offending world.” (ibid.) This is an interesting take on contemporary education since the tripartite system introduced by the Children’s Act (1948) was not phased out for a further seven years, and the vast majority of secondary education in this period was still single sex. Co-educational, comprehensive schools did not become dominant in state education until later in the 1970s. (Carter, 2018) In a subsequent review of a Home Office Research Study in the same journal in 1978, McCabe did concede that she was

“guilty of some bias against research reports and particularly statistical reports about captive populations of institutions for offenders” (1978, p. 298). Wiles felt that Richardson’s study was inevitably limited by the source of material, in the form of administrative records, a nod to the problems of accessing approved school records even while they were still in operation. These three reviews seem to encapsulate the volume well. Historic data, limited use for the conclusions beyond extending the field of data a little by drawing on the novel population of girls and young women, but no new conclusions, and limited optimism for any change under the forthcoming shift to community homes for education.

The Gazette review of Richardson’s volume was far more favourable, which perhaps speaks to the different audiences of the publications, staff in the schools as opposed to academics. The anonymous reviewer positioned the volume as “a vivid picture of life among delinquent girls ten years ago.” (ASG, 63.6, p. 226) Furthermore, the reviewer reflected that “some of the practices mentioned... are long since out of date, but the problems remain the same... [this] book confirms that adolescent girls “in trouble” are more desperately in need of help than any other group of young people in present-day society.” (ibid) However, it is unclear which practices were perceived to be out of date, and this assessment does not seem to fit with other findings in the schools in this period. The only practice the reviewer highlighted as out of date was the wearing of uniform, which may have been removed from some of the schools but by no means all. This is unfortunate, since Richardson’s work highlighted some of the best practice in the schools, pointing to successes. The ASG review also drew attention to “the most heartening section of the book... the record of the follow-up researches on girls who had passed through the approved school system.... A resounding tribute to those devoted people who continue to measure up to this daunting work.” (ibid.)

The Gazette was notoriously loyal to its members so it is perhaps no surprise that it should be so unilaterally supportive of Richardson.

Like McCabe, Burton wondered whether the shift from approved schools to community homes for education might lead to improvements (without specifying what these might be) but it is notable that neither scholar thought this change in format would necessarily lead to improvement in provision for girls. Burton anticipated that girls might benefit from the proposed environment in the community homes, smaller premises with more staff, better able to respond to individual needs, as opposed to some of the larger, post-Victorian institutional settings in which the approved schools operated.

While these reports do demonstrate a notable change in policy, practice, and approach within the approved schools from the beginning of the period, there are some observations made which suggest that even the most progressive shift was stymied by attitudes which pervaded throughout. The conclusions of the Carlebach report align closely with the previous volumes discussed, but while Smith's report was criticised for its value judgements, this report sees a return to the language of the poor law. It is unexpected to come across the notion of 'contamination' in report dating from the 1960s. (n.d., p. 62) This report was almost certainly written in the late 1960s, probably prior to the Children & Young Persons' Act in 1969 since there is no mention of anticipated changes as a result of that piece of legislation. It was probably written after 1963, since the author also refers to "care, protection and control" which is not introduced into the legislative framework around the state care of children until the Children's Act of the same year.

The observations in the Carlebach report are more optimistic about the children concerned in some way. The author observed that:

“The majority of young people’s natural inclinations are to find outlets for their exuberance and zest for life. At the same time, they tend to be emotionally and mentally confused. Given imaginative leadership of the right kind they will turn their enthusiasm and their companionship into socially acceptable channels. Given bad or no leadership and no guidance in moments of confusion their energies will take the most readily to hand, exciting way out.” (n.d., pp. 62-3)

The author also notes that “a good many who commit offences are those in need of care, protection and control.” This is by far the most progressive voice in this discourse to date. She goes further than the observation that “most delinquent girls have some problems in relation to sex” and draws attention to the point that “the girls has not received sex education or been informed of the facts of life.” (ibid.) A lack of preparation for the realities of life is an issue which comes up throughout the operation of the approved schools and was raised directly by the staff at Gisburne House in the 1930s. (LCC/CH/D/GIS/01/002, 1934-7) Unlike the previous reports, this piece is subtly critical of the management of the girls by staff. The author notes that

“the essence of treatment for the adolescent is to create a situation in which she feels loved, her aggressive feelings and the anxiety associated with them are understood, and the outwards expression in action of destructive aggression is controlled. Institutional life could be made meaningful if the right attitude and understanding is provided.”

Her observation leads to the conclusion that her perception is that life in the institutions she has observed is not meaningful. This breaks away from the common discourse found across other comparable pieces which rarely comments on the staff, or the broader atmosphere curated within a school.

“In the schools there seems to be a barrier between the girls and staff. The majority of staff gave the impressions that they were hard, bitter, and punitive minded. They considered the school to act as a deterrent and they were work orientated, not rehabilitation orientated.” (n.d., p. 60)

Richardson touches on this too, with an observation that “most of the residential staff working with delinquent girls are middle-aged spinster and therefore cannot understand the sexual problems of the girls.” (1969, p. 2)

Tensions between staff and their charges surface in this report in particular. In her account of one school, the author referenced a row in the staffroom regarding who was allowed to accompany the girls on their ‘privilege’, a trip to the cinema as “most amusing”. (n.d., p. 15)

Both this author and Richardson seem to have grasped something about staff approaches which do not appear in other volumes. One might have expected more correlation between the two sets of professionals, i.e., between this author, and either Smith in her capacity as a childcare worker, or with Cowie, Cowie & Slater, though perhaps this commonality might be connected to the amount of time spent in the school itself, rather than short stints on placement, or in semi-regular professional attendance. This is perhaps inevitable in an environment where a child is “subjected to a vast body of rules and commands which are designed to control her behaviour.” (ibid., p. 13) This author positioned the attitude of staff towards the girls as “very difficult to assess” but what is documented gives a certain flavour of the environment in the approved schools in the mid-late 1960s. (ibid. p. 7) She noted that “officially the staff attitude was friendly and accommodating. Some members of the staff intellectually follow the progressive approach while emotionally remaining attached to the authoritarian and punitive one.” (ibid.)

Smith also drew on the impact of growing up in the care of the state. In one example, she set out the life experience of a sixteen-year-old girl, Joan.

“Joan was an illegitimate child, abandoned by her parents when she was fourteen months old. She had no further contact with her parents, whose whereabouts were

never known. [Joan] spent all her life in the care of the Children's Department, in and out of numerous institutions. Indeed, in the sixteen years of her life, she has lived in fifteen different places, progressing from a nursery to a number of children's homes, reception centres, remand homes and finally approved school. [Joan] is a sad example of the seriously deprived, affectionless child." (ibid, p. 21)

Smith's work is unique in this regard. None of the other authors seem to consider the emotional impact of growing up in care, and Smith's work foreshadows much of the professional discussions going on today, in terms of recognising the lived experience of a child in care and the emotional ramifications of moving from placement to placement for a child. In total, sixteen of the girls committed to the Moss during the period of study had spent considerable periods of time in the care of the state. (ibid, p. 30) Smith goes further in unpacking this than other authors. She observed what she positioned as 'rootlessness' amongst a number of the girls. Forty-seven percent of the girls had spent some time in the care of the local authority, and half of all the girls had lived with relatives for long period. Smith noted that many girls had experienced multiple changes of residence, and twenty of the girls had lived in more than five different places within the previous twelve months, usually since their first court appearance. (ibid, p. 34) These twenty girls "became continually difficult to handle, as they became more resentful of authority. present a particularly disturbing problem. They were the seriously deprived who had no family ties or roots." (ibid.) The conclusions drawn connecting an unhappy home life and delinquency are not new, and clearly echo all the other contemporary reports. The impact of poverty on a child's life is also highlighted in a way which has more impact than the simple statement of fact. The author quotes one unnamed girl as saying:

"This school does too much for you. When you are in here you don't have to think for yourself, you don't have to wonder where the next meal is coming from.... Everything is laid on. You don't think about light and heat. You don't think about clothes, your

clothes are supplied, and they are washed for you. You don't have to save for shoes and clothes."

It is not clear from the quotation which child made this remark, but clearly, the impact of insufficient resources at home was felt, and she did not anticipate that the safe environment that the school provided was likely to be replicated in her life once she left the school. This expectation of economic precarity is a vivid marker of deprivation in the life of a child. Unlike previous volumes, this author had not dug deeply into their home environments, or at least, if she had, this contextual information is not supplied here. Nonetheless, this observation aligns with the other volumes discussed here round the impact of poverty and its correlation with delinquency.

This chapter has considered four pieces of work, two drawing on records of girls committed to approved schools in the late 1950s and two drawing on observations and interviews undertaken in the mid-late 1960s. Two pieces are written (or appear to be written) after a short-term placement in the schools, while two are written from the perspective of members of staff who worked with these children for longer periods of time. Richardson brought the perspective of a former headmistress with personal knowledge of the girls in the cases studies, while Cowie, Cowie & Slater all worked in approved schools as consultant psychiatrists. Smith worked as a childcare officer at the Moss Classifying Centre while the anonymous author of the *Sociology of an Approved School* appears to have undertaken comparable work which allowed her to interact with both the girls and the staff. All of the authors clearly spent significant periods of time with girls in the schools, and this is evident in their work.

These reports represent a variety of perspectives on approved school but are all from within the professional framework and practice which surrounded these institutions.

Richardson, Cowie, Cowie & Slater, and Smith all evidence the extent to which Classifying Schools (from the late 1940s onwards) shaped the Approved School system, and the role they played in the emergence of this diagnostic shift. (See Bradley, 2012, p. 21; Cox, 2012, pp. 139-141) Each approach is from their own professional standpoint, each of which is slightly different, but if anything, this reinforces the diagnostic framework through which the children committed to approved schools were clearly experiencing over this period of time. Within the schools, it is the anonymous author who goes the furthest in positioning the challenges for staff as the approved schools shifted their practice as deprivation and depravation became mired in medicalised and diagnostic language. As each volume demonstrates, all the children in the case study cohorts had some diagnosis to which they were assigned, which ranged from dull to anxious to schizophrenic, and a variety of other options in between. These reports can be positioned as contributing to our understanding of the development of knowledge around adolescent mental health and a history of how it was treated.

Within the lifetime of the approved schools, they had moved from an entirely reformatory model towards the treatment model which the community homes for education emerged from. Both Richardson and Cowie, Cowie & Slater were criticised for drawing on data over a decade old, yet neither of these more of the moment efforts appears to have been published. It is possible that the *Sociology of an Approved School* informed Carlebach's piece *Caring for Children in Trouble*, but there is no mention of it in the bibliography. The approaches of each report are slightly different, though this is inevitable when comparing two reports versus two published volumes. All of the reports reiterate and evidence the dominant

discourse in this field of work, that home lives in which disruption to education, poor family dynamics, poverty, and inadequate parenting in a variety of guises feature heavily in the life stories of almost every senior girl committed to an approved school. This is clearly demonstrated in numerous of the case studies supplied, in more detail in some than others. Although truancy from school is referenced as a potential contributory factor to delinquency in several of the pieces of work, and more broadly, it is not referenced within its own right, almost certainly because these schools only took girls who were over the mandatory school attendance age. For junior schools, this research suggests that as many as a third of the girls were committed under approved school orders granted for non-attendance at school, and this detail is entirely absent from this line of discussion.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis offers a critical history of approaches to the institutional care of children in mid- to late-twentieth century England, focusing on the role of approved schools for girls. The preceding three analysis chapters have drawn together new evidence from key primary and secondary sources to illustrate a picture of continuity and change in Approved Schools between their creation in 1933 and their abolition in 1973. This work demonstrates a broad period of continuity in policy and practice, with flashes of more ‘progressive’ thinking beginning in the aftermath of the introduction of the post-war welfare state. Progressive approaches including a move towards modern child centred practice, influenced by psychologists, psychiatrists and early therapeutic practitioners, to the introduction of sex education classes at Gisburne House in the 1940s, to the way that PMVH allowed the admission of sibling groups in order to keep them together, even if that meant admitting boys to an otherwise all-girl school, begin to demonstrate a shift change in practice, gradually adopted to different degrees across a variety of stakeholders. This gathered pace in the late 1950s, moving towards the more radical approaches brought in after the Children’s Acts in 1963 and 1969 respectively.

In the first instance, the contribution to academic knowledge made by these three chapters and by the wider thesis is develop our understanding surrounding the children committed to these schools. It points to the domination of the senior girls in the political and professional discourse surrounding approved schools, and more broadly, surrounding ‘teenage girls in trouble’ often positioned in historic and contemporary discourse as juvenile prostitutes, or wayward girls. By focussing on the older girls, we lose the nuance of the differing experience of the junior girls, and their experiences are overlooked. Uncovering the

differing experiences of younger children in the approved schools broadens our understanding of how approved schoolgirls were represented in contemporary society. It also highlights the not insignificant number of girls who were committed to the schools after a conviction for larceny. Highlighting the experience of the younger children in the approved schools offers further insight into the rationale for their committal, notably that the Education Act was used to remove children from their families, sometimes entire sibling groups, under the auspices of the school attendance requirements. This policing of 'problem families' has resonance far beyond the approved schools, and this period of history, and elements of this are still traceable in contemporary social policy. It also allows us to see the position of approved schools in the wider discourses about juvenile delinquency in this period, and how the schools mapped into the network of state care institutions for children.

In the second instance, the contribution draws more deeply into the period of operation of the Approved Schools, some forty years in total, demonstrating that there was a significant shift change in approaches to children in care, from professionals to parents to parliament. This began to surface during the late 1950s and came to a head in the mid-1960s. In the aftermath of the Children's Act in 1963 and then again in 1969, within the records we can see a shift away from large scale institutional care towards something more in line with the therapeutic approach advocated for by child-centred practitioners such as Bowlby, Docker Drysdale and Winnicott. These three led the way in advocating for a focus on the root causes of a child's difficult behaving, highlighting differing stages of child development, their attachment to parents and or siblings, how children process emotion, and how such a dramatic upheaval and the associated complex emotions on all sides might lead to heightened

anxiety and upset. All of these, and more questions beside, were raised in part by this unprecedented experience of mass national evacuation.

This thesis suggests that the influence of these child-orientated psychiatrists pervaded the general consciousness to varying degrees across the mid-twentieth century. The evidence from primary and secondary sources, where it survives, suggests a more progressive approach filtering out into the approved schools in some areas of practice in care and protection, but this faltered whenever it met with any behaviour deemed to be promiscuous or contradict a historically rooted moral code, or the gendered social order which pervaded the ethos of most approved schools for girls throughout this period. As Cox has previously observed, this sexualisation of girls' delinquency was a complex phenomenon. (2013, p. 164)

Approaches to these children did become more progressive in this period, but the historic concerns around children and young women and sexual activity always seemed to fall back into the linguistic patterns and terminology around promiscuity and moral risk, continuing to embed these notions within the broader care structures. Approved schools both channelled progressive approaches, and reinforced historic stereotypes in practice and approach. The replacement of, or re-branding of, approved schools with 'community homes for education' in 1973 was presented by some as a dramatic move away from the cold, hard, institutional care which many of the approved schools represented but a lot of the historic mindsets amongst the legislative framework persisted.

7.1 SPANNING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

When approved schools came into existence in 1933, in essence, not a great deal had changed within the system from its predecessors. Almost all the approved schools came out of the reformatory and industrial schools, which in turn, in most cases, had their roots in the Victorian period. A significant number of approved schools operated in the same buildings, with the same staff, and in the early days, with the same children as they had prior to the enacting of the 1933 Children Act. Arguably, little had changed as a result of this piece of legislation, except to bring the two types of school together and the legacy of Victorian ideas around the deserving and undeserving poor which permeated institutional care throughout the first half of the twentieth century did little to support any degree of change in policy or practice, and as Cox observed '[the] mere physical presence of girls... caused a disruption to the normal running of these institutions. (2013, p. 163)

It was not until the end of the Second World War that any shift change in the policies and practices of the Approved Schools begins to emerge at all. Furthermore, the rationale for the committal of girls to the approved schools barely wavered across this entire operational period. For junior girls, the statistics drawn here from archival data suggested that approximately a third of children were committed for persistent truancy, a third were committed under care or protection orders and the remainder after a conviction for larceny. For older girls, a third were also convicted of larceny, while the rest were committed to the schools under care or protection orders. By the end of their period of operation in 1973, even the Home Office openly acknowledged that the vast majority of girls in the care of the approved schools were not criminals and therefore their inclusion in criminal statistics was

inappropriate. This control of young women through these institutions foreshadows the status offences for which some of their modern counterparts end up in the secure estate.

The emergence of the Welfare State in the 1940s saw the introduction of a wide range of government policies which began to breakdown the Victorian ethos of poor character, in particular the existence of what Booth termed the ‘lowest class, vicious, semi-criminal’ and practices of paternalistic care for the poor which permeated state care institutions for children during this period, and arguably, beyond. (Booth/B/364, p. 31; Bradley, 2012; Cox, 2013) This new ideology encompassed the idea that government had an essential duty to sustain a basic standard of living for its people, which encompassed the citizen’s right to a minimum income, access to decent accommodation, schooling, and healthcare, and introduced explicit services for children and families. The social services established then remained remarkably consistent for all of this period. The approved schools were rooted in the industrial and reformatory schools which preceded them, sometimes literally, which had been established to prevent vulnerable children becoming criminal, and to reform criminal children respectively. By the end of their period of operation, approved schools for girls had broadened their approach to training, equipping the children in their care with a variety of skills which could be used in employment, and had begun to include psychological and psychiatric care, where appropriate, in order to support their pupils, bringing their provision for their students up to date with advances in medical knowledge and educational theory and practice. Against this backdrop of collective care and responsibility, the schools had shifted away from what Harris termed the “deterrent workhouse, organised charity and moral discrimination of the deserving and undeserving poor” of the Victorian period. (1990, p. 1) Bradley argues that the emphasis of the 1933 Act was “squarely upon

reclaiming young offenders to good citizenship, of trying to counteract the impact of poverty upon the lives of young people... thereby [reducing] levels of criminal behaviour”, and this is certainly apparent in the work of the approved schools in this period. (2008, s. 15)

Nonetheless, as Cox suggests, ‘the treatment of girls, long associated with welfare rather than punishment, has been, for all that, just as punitive.’ (2013, p. 167) As previously discussed, Ford considered that the change in emphasis between the 1933 and 1969 Acts, which bookend this period of study, was striking. “In 1933, the main emphasis lay on removing the child from undesirable or unfavourable surroundings. In 1969 the emphasis is on keeping the child in the community where possible and working with the child in that context.” (Ford, 1975, p. 13) Ford viewed the 1969 Act as the natural successor to the 1933 Act, framing it as the next step in “a further, even more fundamental break with the past”. (ibid.)

In practical terms, the 1948 Children’s Act had the most impact, at least for the girls’ approved schools, as it introduced intermediate schools for the girls, which had hitherto only existed for the boys. Subsequently a number of hostels began to operate for the most senior girls in the system as the removal of girls under the age of fifteen, now the leaving age for secondary education, opened up the opportunity to take in, train, supervise, and license older girls, whose educational requirements leaned more towards career paths and 9-5 employment than the younger girls, who were still required to attend school daily and needed much closer supervision. There followed a period of very limited practical or policy change until the 1963 Children & Young Person’s Act, which was superseded by the 1969 Act of the same name. This in turn did not come into effect fully for the approved schools until 1973 when the new Community Homes for Education came into existence. New forms of child-centred practice, drawing on the growing field of child psychology and psychiatry contributed

to this shift away from the approved school models. Post-war forms of practice focussed on the emotional needs of children and the importance of a secure family unit, against a background of increasing protection measures of child protection. For girls, this continued to be complicated by concerns about girls' sexuality and agency. There was a recognition in law from 1933 that children could be victims of adults, in cases of cruelty, mistreatment or sexual assault. Where girls engaged in sexual activity, however, even if they were under the age of consent, progressive approaches faltered and they were often treated as culpable adults, rather children at risk. This is seen in incidents documented in this thesis.

Although changes were slow within the approved schools themselves, there is evidence within the secondary sources of a variety of key stakeholders beginning to change their approaches to the children in their care, at all levels, from government officials within the Home Office to Members of Parliament to the staff in the Approved Schools, reflecting Cox's hypothesis that 'a new language of management had replaced an older language of melodrama. (2013, p. 167) This then manifests within the notes on the children in the admission and aftercare registers. Simultaneously, other key stakeholders were coming to similar conclusions about effective care and support for the children in their care, and this manifests, in particular, in the language within the corpus of archival records which survive in various collections. This starts to emerge in the late 1950s and trickles through until the Children & Young Persons Acts in 1963 and 1969, steered largely by a group of female cross bench MPs including (Irene) Mervyn Pike and Alice Bacon who challenged rigorously the provision for children as a whole, and within institutional care. Bacon had a real eye for detail, and she routinely went through proposed legislation, changes to rules and other parliamentary activity relating to her broad interests about women, children, and reform,

scrutinising it in order to document this in the parliamentary record. Pike worked her way up through the shadow government's ministerial hierarchy and was particularly interested in social services. Although Bacon and Pike came from different political backgrounds, they had common goals in terms of raising standards for those in need of state support and those in institutional care. Pike had previously worked with the Child Guidance Council and was well versed in the impact of poverty on children and families. Bacon had comparable experience, though she rose to higher ranks than Pike, serving as Minister of State at both the Home Office and the Department of Education. Bacon believed in common sense policies, and the possibilities of education, pragmatism, and graft.

The rapid shift changes which kicked in from the early 1960s onwards can be clearly linked to the policies and ambitions of the Labour party and were implemented during their tenure in the 1960s. The faltering implementation of the Children & Young Person's Act can be attributed in great part due to the change of government at the General Election in 1970. At the same time, within and outside of the field of medicine, new schools of thought were beginning to emerge amongst the dominant discourse. Winnicott and Bowlby's work in establishing and running therapeutic community provision had permeated professional discourses, including the Approved Schools Gazette, and the Home Office Research Unit. Winnicott in particular, a regular contributor to BBC programming aimed at parents in the period, had arguably transitioned into the mainstream.

Evidence based practice began to emerge during this period, and this is evident, not least, in the request by the Home Office those regular statistics be reported to them on the schools, in terms of e.g., admission, outcomes and so forth. Although there are some statistics returned to the Children's Department during this period, this was patchy in practice, and

most of the juvenile statistics in this period come from court statistics, not necessarily the approved schools. After 1963, such returns became mandatory, and the evidence base grew significantly as a result. The papers of the Advisory Committee on the treatment of offenders, which existed between 1944 and 1963, for example is demonstrative of this movement . While consultation amongst relevant parties was not a new parliamentary practice by the 1950s, the associated papers are demonstrative of the shift in views towards children in trouble, and of the lengthy time frame in which a general shift in opinion on a particular subject might occur. This is not to say that all of these bodies agreed, but there is a range of opinions across the scale, and the emergence of more progressive views to e.g., corporal punishment. (TNA, BN 29/1722) within the wider sphere surrounding the approved schools.

Within this file are a series of memoranda dated 1960 from a variety of interested parties including the Association of Heads & Matrons who having initially declined to submit evidence about corporal punishment in their schools, subsequently stated that the Association was opposed to the reintroduction of corporal punishment. It transpired that the only headmaster of an approved school due to give evidence to the Committee on this subject was “out of step with the official position of the Association” and they were anxious that “he...ought not to be the only headmaster of an approved school whose views [the committee] hear.” (Memo, 16th June 1960, C1 to D1 Division). The Association of Managers of Schools Approved by the Secretary of State (hereafter the Association of Managers) also decided not to submit evidence, but their North Western branch broke ranks. The member of Home Office staff drafting the summary observed that this North Western branch “seem to have some pretty savage members, particularly the man or woman who considers that the “cat[’o’]nine-tails] should be used on boys aged 10!” It is quite unusual to see a Home Office

official describe a member of staff of one of their schools as ‘savage’ and reflects the change in approach which by the 1960s was playing out in central government. The lengthier statement from the Association of Heads & Matrons stated that

“we are however concerned lest the hardening climate of opinion should lead to action by the State which would, in our view, be a retrograde step in the treatment and training of young offenders. This is our job; these are the young people with whom we live and whose resettlement into the community we have firm views based on day-to-day experience.” It went on to conclude that the Association of Heads & Matrons hoped that “judicial corporal punishment will not be reintroduced as would regard this as a leap into the past quite inconsistent with the work in which we are engaged in Approved Schools.” (ibid, CP 15,)

The ethos of organisations such as Winnicott’s Cotswold School had infiltrated into professional practice by the end of this period. The Cotswold School dealt with some of the most difficult children within the wider approved school system, although it was not itself an approved school. Instead, as a therapeutic community, it was positioned alongside mental hospitals as one of the few alternatives for children whose needs exceeded those provided by the approved schools. Through therapeutic practice, the Cotswold School sought to provide the stable environment its founders recognised these very disturbed children needed, which in turn, would allow them to overcome the anxiety and trauma which fuelled their challenging behaviour. Winnicott and his team worked with these children to help them come to terms with their own behaviour and begin to manage it themselves during their time at the school. In the approved schools, this influence largely manifested in the provision of secure detention rooms, and the integration of different therapeutic practices in consultation with local (and sometimes national) psychiatric and psychological professionals.

7.II PROFESSIONALS IN THE APPROVED SCHOOLS

An increasing number of children across this period were given psychiatric or psychological treatment during their time in the schools, as understanding and awareness of mental health treatment grew within the medical field and more widely, and as treatment options began to become available to children and young adults. This is reflective too of Goldson's observations that the framework of youth justice was complicated further by the

“competing interests of various professional constituencies that were consolidating under the broader aegis of the developing welfare state... the contested nature of youth justice reform was compounded by the ‘professionalism of the welfare state, within which the burgeoning ‘welfare’ and ‘justice’ bureaucracies lobbied to protect their interests, expand their authority, and extend their influence.” (2020, pp. 320-1)

Across and through this period, an ever-expanding range of professionals sought to engage with and impact upon the juvenile courts. Before 1948, judges in the juvenile courts were able to send a child to whichever approved school they felt best suited the child and was appropriate to the reason the child was granted an approved school order. After 1948, all children committed to an approved school were first sent to a classifying school to undergo assessments for somewhere between a handful of days and several months, and as a result, a lot of children were given diagnoses which required further support and/or treatment. This, although by no means perfect, represents another area of more progressive practice within the approved schools. By the mid-1960s, for example, the language around the young women in the care of the schools had evolved to frame the most challenging children as “psychiatrically disturbed girl” and papers in the Home Office collections actively consider how “the Home Office has been able to make progress in establishing additional schools to accommodate girls (and boys) suffering such disabilities” (BN 29/1722, ref CHN 66 85/7/1) It is a significant marker that girls are central to the discussion, as opposed to the boys, even if it is in extremis. For so much of this period, boys were the default so to have girls front and centre

is a turning point. That being said, it was not all good news. In one Home Office file, a note dated January 1968 observed that:

“I have never been able to discover why, when it was decided in 1960-61 to establish secure units for boys, the view was taken that no similar provision should be made for girls, but whatever the reasons I have no doubt at all that the work of the girls’ schools would be made very much easier if there were such provision and that, repugnant though it may be to many people to ‘lock girls up’, this is frequently fully justified in the interests of the girls themselves and other girls in the ordinary approved schools.”
(BN 29/1721 f. 11v)

S.A. Gwynn, another member of Home Office staff, added a minute to the file in August 1968 which read “perhaps I may be permitted to conclude this minute by reminding those who read it of the grave circumstances which arise almost weekly in regard to severely disturbed and aggressive girls who, having caused tremendous material damage and sometime personal assault upon members of staff in approved schools and having been rejected by psychiatric units in hospitals, are charged and committed to Borstal where their hope of receiving specialist care appropriate to their needs is as remote as it is in ordinary open approved schools.” Gwynn was concerned that the Home Office was in “grave danger of failing in this obligation [to provide adequate specialist and secure accommodation for such girls] because we are over concerned with theoretical specialist views and not sufficiently concerned with the practicalities of a situation which has bedevilled the girls’ approved schools for too many years.” Demonstrating further a move towards medical diagnoses for the most difficult children, the Home Office’s Inspectorate’s Working Party Report on ‘Disturbed Girls in Approved Schools’ note that of the population of the Approved Schools on December 31st 1966, 0.2% of boys were diagnosed with mental illness, 0.8% had a psychopathic disorder and 5% had an anti-social disorder, in comparison to girls where 1% were diagnosed with mental illness, 7% had a psychopathic disorder and 18% had an anti-social disorder. Almost 26% of

the population of girls' approved schools were amongst the most severely disturbed young people in comparison to under 6% of the boys. (ibid, f. 25) In 1967, Gwynn reflected in his introduction to a working party report on 'Problems presented by disturbed difficult girls at present in approved schools' (ibid, ff. 27-45) that he could not "recall any... review meeting of the girls approved schools [when] managers and headmistresses have not raised in most serious terms the almost insurmountable problem with which they have been presented by seriously disturbed and difficult girls... we must make more adequate provision within the approved school setting." In the same report, the first paper comprised a summary of the "theoretical background of disturbed behaviour in adolescents" (ibid, p. 1)

7.III PARENTS AND PARENTING IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

Alongside the changes identified in the approved schools themselves, there was a shift in the influence parents held. Some of it was distinct - for example, in the changes brought in by the 1963 Act, parents were no longer able to bring their children directly in front of the juvenile court. After 1963, parents had to engage with the local children's departments before their child could be brought before the juvenile courts. This meant that care & protection orders could no longer be issued to a child for being beyond the control of their parents, requiring a different approach to state intervention, and critically, took referral to juvenile court out of the hands of parents. Voluntary agencies such as the NSPCC could intervene with families, but all court referrals now had to come through either the police or through the contemporary Children's Departments. Professionals, from social workers to probation officers to educational psychologists had to be involved first. It required more work as, and with, a family

before the child came in front of the court, a shift in practice which appears to recognise the significance of parents and the inter-family dynamics in how certain behaviours manifested in children.

The Second World War represented a turning point in the twentieth century in terms of the history of social welfare policy. It galvanised the adoption of these provisions for all in society: As Beveridge put it, the government brought in 'a social plan' that involved 'slaying the five giants of want, disease, ignorance, squalor, and idleness' (CMD 6404 1942 para 458), funded through a scheme of national taxation. At the same time as concepts such as Bowlby's attachment theory had distilled amongst the professionals, the war had touched the lives of families all over the country. The question of keeping children (and to a lesser extent, their mothers) safe had been at the forefront on government action in the days after war was declared in 1939, and some 827,00 school children were evacuated out of the cities, plus a further two and a half million other people, including babies and mothers. This touched lives beyond the families who had historically found their lives policed by the juvenile courts. Historians have debated the political implications of evacuation since Titmuss' *Problems of Social Policy* in 1950, and the extent to post-war approaches to welfare policy were influenced by evacuation remains contested. However, parents across the class divide found themselves in a position where they had to choose between keeping children in urban areas, at risk of air raids or sending them away, not knowing where or who they might be entrusted to. It required a huge leap of faith in the government to achieve this but demonstrates willing to allow government to secure these arrangements. It was also something which affected all children, regardless of class.

The relationship between the government, and between parent and child, shifted in this moment, and in the aftermath of the Second World War, there is evidence of increasing parental engagement with and scrutiny of the juvenile courts and the approved schools. This manifests through the records of Parliament, where a growing confidence in their rights as parents emerges. Increasing numbers of individual cases were cited as evidence of malpractice in the Houses of Parliament, where parents were able to engage their MP to represent their views in a way which we would nowadays take for granted but in the mid of the twentieth century was less common.

At the same time, the significance of the parent-child relationship also emerges in the records of the schools themselves. The impact of a poor relationship, and the importance of a strong relationship between a girl and her parents had begun to become a significant factor in observations about the children in the care of these schools. The influence of parents on behaviour has also begun to be taken into consideration when dealing with some of the children in the care of the schools. The impact of a violent or drunk parent upon a child, for example, had begun to be explicitly recognised in documentation by those engaged in this type of work. This is not quite the beginning of positioning children as victims, but it is certainly a distinct point on the journey towards that approach. In line with this, there is also evidence of the use of the Education Act to remove children from families. At PMVH, for example, there are several examples of groups of siblings being committed to the school together, sometimes including brothers and sisters even though approved schools were supposed to be strictly single sex establishments. This remarkably progressive approach to retaining familial relationships between children in the care of the state is a key indicator in the move towards smaller centres of care, which emerged in the early 1970s. There were

arguably a number of areas which saw dramatic social change in the aftermath of the Second World War, not only as a result of the emergence of the welfare state and the changes which came about as a result of, but as a result of the rebuilding of the urban areas damaged beyond repair by bombing. However, the prevalence of children in the approved schools from areas of deprivation continued across the period. The Kensington residents were almost always from Liverpool, and rarely from Chelsea, for example.

7.IV THE CARE, PROTECTION, AND CONTROL OF GIRLS IN THE APPROVED SCHOOLS

Despite the positive progress, there were limits to the changes. And for girls and young women, these were clear cut. In addition to navigating both societal and parental expectation of how 'nice' girls behaved, a girl was risking referral to the juvenile court if she contravened these social rules, until 1963, potentially by her own parents. As the favoured position of domestic service faded into obsolescence in the mid twentieth century, new avenues had to be pursued for girls and young women leaving the approved schools. While marriage and motherhood were widely anticipated for many of these girls, so long as it was in that order, and to a respectable young man who might ensure his wife stayed on the right side of the law. Teenage pregnancy was still heavily frowned upon, and many of the girls who had babies in the immediate aftermath of their time (or even during, and sometime before) had their babies adopted at birth. This is entirely in line with the dark and traumatic histories of mother and baby homes in the UK, and beyond. The associated stigma of young, single motherhood was far reaching. Few of these young women would have been supported enough to make a go of bringing up their babies. The staff at Gisburne House, on the other hand, went out of their way to ensure that the girls in their care were properly prepared for marriage, and after the London County Council Education Committee reneged on any such provision for the girls, introduced their own 'mothercraft' course which covered sex education in the guise of 'marriage preparation'. This was remarkably progressive for the 1940s and 1950s, as well as firmly rooted in a sense of realism. The average age of marriage for women dropped after the Second World War, and by the 1960s, a third of all women marrying for the first time were aged twenty or younger. The staff at Gisburne House were pragmatic about the likelihood of their former charges marrying young and wanted them to be well positioned to run homes

and raise families if they so choose, to be aware of options available to them, and to be trained for a certain course of work if they so desired. This was often framed around an individual's circumstances and interests – the one size fits all model of industrial school training for domestic service, for example, had faded out completely by the end of the period of the approved schools' operation. It is evident, from across the sources, that a girl or young women engaging in sexual activity while in the care of the school also presented a number of challenges to those in charge. Not only was there the risk of pregnancy, but potentially of sexually transmitted infection too before the morals of the situation even began to be called into question. These girls are the ones who dominated both the professional and public discourse, the most 'difficult' girls, regardless of the location of the discussion, be it professional or public. This undercurrent of concern is the stumbling block for even the most progressive schools, and officials, and retained deep roots in arguably Victorian approaches to sex and relationships.

The Approved Schools continued to frame the children in their care with agency, even where they were clearly under the age of consent for sex. It wasn't just the Approved Schools themselves – these responses can also be found in Children's Department records and comparable sentiments are recorded again and again in Hansard, where girls were held accountable for having sex with men often many years their senior, and sometimes in positions of responsibility. There was a working assumption that when a girl absconded from an Approved School, she would utilise sex as a commodity in order to survive, out of choice or in a position of desperation. Girls were subject to isolation upon return, and intimate examination (albeit by a female doctor) to determine whether she had had sex and to test for venereal disease, a practice that Cox frames as "cursory, if highly invasive" (202013, p. 157).

And while it is clear that some girls did engage in such risky behaviour, it is equally clear that for many, absconding was the only way for a homesick child to try to get home to her parents. This research acknowledges that absconding was problematic for the staff of the approved schools but suggests that it was not as widespread as may have been suggested. If the contemporary discourse, in newspapers, in parliament and presumably therefore government, and in the professional publications of the Approved School staff are to be believed, such behaviour was far more widespread. The evidence from this sample would suggest that such reports were overstated.

This apportioning of blame to children was particularly apparent when a group of girls absconded from Gisburne House during the Second World War and made their way to the local barracks housing American soldiers. The girls involved were thirteen and fourteen, well below the age of consent but in the aftermath, they are treated and discussed as though they were adults. These children are treated as wholly culpable in this matter, complicit in their own fate. No trace of this unfortunate incident can be traced in War Office records, but records do survive in the Children's Department files, where the protection of the adults from these children was discussed at length. If one party has to escape from school in order to meet to pursue a romantic liaison, perhaps more questions ought to have been asked of the adults in this scenario. There seems to have been so little concern for the children involved amongst the papers – all the emphasis is on the risk that venereal disease presents for the military personnel, yet it is entirely believable against this backdrop.

Perceived (or actual) promiscuity is the stumbling block for all progressive developments, and even in the early 1970s, records of children were still including phrases better suited to the Victorian era rather than the aftermath of the swinging sixties. That the

notion of ‘moral contagion’ should still be in use in such a relatively recent point in time is remarkable but this attitude was deeply entrenched in this type of social care. Finding children positioned as juvenile prostitutes in the 1930s, nearly a century ago reflects the language of its time, but not only did this phrasing continue to be used throughout the operational period of the approved schools, it was prevalent in the serious case reviews into the sexual exploitation of children in care in Rotherham, Rochdale, Oxford, Telford, Bristol, and others which were published well after 2005.

The same ethos was apparent in 2013 when a judge described the thirteen-year-old victim of a paedophile as “predatory” and had taken how the girl looked and behaved into considering during sentencing. The letter of the law may have been in situ to protect children from sexual abuse since the early twentieth century, but an undercurrent of apportioning blame to some children continued, and even now, recurs on a worryingly frequent basis. The notion of children as victims of adults charged with their care (inside and outside of the school) had not yet emerged within this sphere of institutional care for children. The concept as a whole was not entirely new – legislation prohibiting cruelty to children was first enacted in the 1880s, but the formalisation of what we now recognise as child protection developed from the mid-twentieth century onwards, beginning with the formal enquiry into the death of twelve-year-old Dennis O’Neill, who was murdered by his foster father. The recommendations which came about as a result of the Curtis Committee contributed to the development of the 1948 Children’s Act. However, despite these changes, not only did the notion of moral welfare permeate the entire infrastructure of the approved schools for girls in this period, but this concept continued long after the closure of the approved schools.

7.V THE CHANGING SHAPE OF APPROVED SCHOOLS

The approved schools operated across a period of radical change in social welfare policy, provision, and structures. However, by and large, they failed to overcome conservative social attitudes perpetuating ideas about how girls and young women should behave and conduct themselves. Where change did come, it was gradual and not far-reaching. In wider society, the Swinging Sixties may have come and gone, but these liberal approaches did not manifest within the approved schools, or amongst the associated professionals. There are elements of progressive approaches and practices within some of the schools, but these insights into forward thinking practice were insufficient to counteract the impact that these schools had in the wider network of care institutions for children and young people. The shift in approach away from large institutional care seen after 1973 suggests that contemporary practitioners wanted a clean break from this model of care and protection, and a move away from the ethos of the schools to a smaller, more bespoke model. The idea of these children and young people as victims had barely entered the professional or public consciousness. The rejection of the approach and mechanisms of the approved schools by the central authorities built the groundwork for a shift away from their practices.

In 1966, Masud Hoghugh, the senior educational psychologist at the Aycliffe Classifying School observed that ‘juvenile offenders are rarely problem children: they are children who have to make sense of problem adults, and often fail to do so.’ (ASG 60.9, p. 358) This observation maps across ‘problem families’, ‘wayward girls’ and victims of crime, and is perhaps one of the most fitting summaries of these children during this period of time. The children here may not have always behaved well, but arguably some of the behaviour displayed and framed as disruptive was not so serious that the child deserved a custodial

sentence lasting years, and a criminal record. Later, in 1970, the Newcastle Evening Chronicle described approved schoolgirls as “wayward girls, disturbed girls... ordinary, lonely, sad girls”, which, perhaps, was equally near the mark. (13th October 1970). As the Approved Schools for girls transitioned into Community Homes for Education, it is possible to see how both the schools and society more widely had adopted diagnostic approaches to the care of the children committed to them, engaging with the medical community to ensure appropriate support and treatment was in place. In preparing these girls and young women for adulthood, these schools had moved away from the sphere of domestic service as a default and into a space where girls had more choice about their future employment options.

The schools were increasingly out of step with contemporary expectations of institutional care, and as public opinion shifted away from these large schools, many with their roots in a Victorian system which seemed at odds with a modern rhetoric, it is not surprising that such a dramatic shift occurred, towards a smaller, more individual offer in spaces which felt more like home than most approved schools ever had or could. (Hyland, 1993) The field of professional support had broadened since the Children & Young Person’s Act in 1933, and with the embedding of the Welfare State and its associated services, the landscape of institutional care had changed almost beyond recognition. As understandings of causes of crime developed over the twentieth century, and the mixed model perpetuated by the approved schools appeared increasingly out of step, the establishment of the community homes for education was inevitable. With an increasingly developed diagnostic framework in situ, (see also Cox, 2013) and a wider range of options for children coming before the juvenile courts, community homes were considered to provide a better offer for the children in need

of their care and direction. Approved schools had had their day, and the time had come for a new offer.

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MEPO 2/4251	Women Police Constables accompanying girls to Approved Schools
MEPO 2/6216	Extracts from minutes of Senior Officers Crime Conference: suggested action to reduce juvenile delinquency
MEPO 2/9067	London Borough with the highest juvenile crime rate: enquiry by HRH Duke of Edinburgh
MEPO 2/9272	London County Council conference on juvenile delinquency and statistics of juvenile crime for 1948 and 1949
MEPO 3/607	Mother of two children subject of committal order, harboured by parent when 'wanted'
MEPO 3/609	Request from approved schools for police enquiries into girls' home circumstances
MH 102/191	St Michael's Home for Girls: Home Office approval for setting up as an approved school
MH 102/193	St Michael's Home for Girls: certification of approval as an approved school for girls
MH 102/298	Violet Wills Hostel, Bristol: proposed use as a hostel for girls and as a senior girls approved school
MH 102/397	Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls, Lancaster Road, South Norwood, London: future of the school; discussion at Home Office with representatives from the London County Council
MH 102/398	Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls, Lancaster Road, South Norwood, London: reclassification as a long-term school
MH 102/399	Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls, Lancaster Road, South Norwood, London: report of visit 26 Jan by inspector concerning alternative accommodation for school, temporarily at Rayner's School for the Deaf, Penn, Bucks
MH 102/400	Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls, Lancaster Road, South Norwood, London: proposed plan to go back to Lancaster Road after air raid protection
MH 102/401	Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls, Lancaster Road, South Norwood, London: report of inspection by an inspector 24 Aug 1942

MH 102/402	Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls, Lancaster Road, South Norwood, London: damage to school by a bomb, temporary use of Addington Manor, Bucks
MH 102/404	Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls, Lancaster Road, South Norwood, London: alterations required at 17 Lancaster Road so that it is habitable again for school to return
MH 102/408	Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls, Lancaster Road, South Norwood, London: surrender of certificate of approval
MH 102/436	Proposed approved school for West Sussex: Shermanbury Grange, proposed use as a senior girls approved school
MH 102/544	Ryalls Court, Seaton, Devon: proposed purchase for use as an approved school for girls
MH 102/569	Proposed new Roman Catholic approved school for senior girls: correspondence, also report of visit by two Home Office inspectors to Mother Superior of Chigwell Convent
MH 102/570	Proposed new Roman Catholic approved school for senior girls: search commenced for a suitable property
MH 102/571	Proposed new Roman Catholic approved school for senior girls: particulars of properties offered
MH 102/572	Proposed new Roman Catholic approved school for senior girls: certificate of approval given for St Laurence's School, Frant to be conducted by the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Chigwell Convent, Essex as an approved school
MH 102/580	Glebe House, Brackley, Northants: proposed purchase for use as an approved school for girls; visited by Home Office inspector 15 Oct 1941; report by Regional Architect 29 Dec 1941; correspondence etc
MH 102/609	Home Office circular 289/1946 on arrangements for the education of approved school children in primary school children in primary or secondary schools
MH 102/895	Girl absconders from approved schools soliciting American soldiers in the streets and spreading venereal disease
MH 102/964	Results of approved school and borstal training
MH 102/1030	Home Office schools: need for an intermediate approved school for girls
MH 102/1058	Children and Young Persons Act 1933: final draft of approved school rules
MH 102/1076	Committals to Home Office schools of children under 10 years of age: circular to local education authorities encouraging them to act as a 'fit person' so as to avoid sending children under 10 years of age to an approved school
MH 102/1080	Committals to Home Office schools of children under 10 years of age: the Secretary of State is asked to give a ruling on the committal of a child under 8 years of age to an approved school
MH 102/1099	Approved school accommodation: memoranda and statistics

- MH 102/1101 Approved school accommodation: decision to establish an Inter-Departmental Committee of Service and Health Departments, the Treasury, Board of Education and Ministry of Labour to consider school buildings
- MH 102/1102 Approved school accommodation: closing of approved schools in the event of excess accommodation
- MH 102/1103 Approved school accommodation: programme for provision of new approved schools for 1937-1940
- MH 102/1105 Approved school accommodation: suggested provision of an approved school for girls from which absconding will be difficult
- MH 102/1106 Approved school accommodation: provision of accommodation for senior girls in Protestant approved schools, memorandum
- MH 102/1107 Approved school accommodation: consideration of arrangements for segregation of girls committed to approved schools who show immoral tendencies; Scottish Education Department request Home Office views on proposals
- MH 102/1117 Approved school accommodation: provision of new school to deal with girls suffering from venereal disease
- MH 102/1150 Juvenile delinquency in young girls: parliamentary question on statement made by the Chairman of the East London Juvenile Court
- MH 102/1545 Children Bill 1947-1948, proposed legislation, etc: proposed amendment to approved school orders regarding the reception into care of children on licence or under supervision
- MH 102/1952 Emigration of children, case histories: request by mother of girl detained in an approved school, to Home Office, for her daughter's release in order to travel with the rest of the family joining father in Hong Kong
- MH 102/2107 Approved School Rules 1949: Home Office circular 236/1949
- MH 102/2110 Committal of children under ten years of age to approved schools: suggested scheme for boarding-out boys who are the subject of approved school orders
- MH 102/2164 Girls in moral danger: Clerk to the Justices, City of Cambridge, requests from Home Office names of girls' approved schools with venereal disease treatment facilities
- MH 102/2165 Girls in moral danger: letter from Editor, Leicester Mercury to Captain the Right Honourable Charles Waterhouse MC MP, concerning young girl brought before Juvenile Court; correspondence
- MH 102/2166 Girls in moral danger: correspondence between the Right Honourable Sir David Maxwell Fyfe, GCVO QC MP, Sir Lynn Ungood-Thomas, QC MP, and others; action against unlicensed private hoteliers and United States servicemen

LONDON METROPOLITAN ARCHIVES

- LCC/CH/D/GIS/01/001-8 General correspondence, including entertainments & social activities, and sex instruction.

LCC/CH/D/GIS/02/001-005	Minutes of the management committee, and presented papers
LCC/CH/D/GIS/03/002-010	Admissions, discharge, after care and licensing registers
LCC/CH/D/GIS/04/001-015	Wardens' and Medical Officer reports, logbooks, diaries, punishment books, record of girls' absconding

SURREY HISTORY CENTRE

2591/1/4-13, 30-32, 34-35	Princess Mary Village Homes for Girls Minute Books & reports
2591/3/4-26	Princess Mary Village Homes for Girls Registers of Cases, and Licensing Registers
2591/4/1-21	Princess Mary Village Homes for Girls Administration records (including correspondence)

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF JUSTICE

Burford House Approved School (later Approved Hostel) for Girls
:Minutes of Manager's Meetings (incorporating Warden's
Reports)

APPENDIX A (LIST OF ALL APPROVED SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS OPERATIONAL DURING THIS PERIOD)

Name of school	Address	Covering dates	Total years in operation	Run by?	Number of girls	Age Group
Leeds School Board Industrial School for Girls ¹²	Thorparch, Leeds	1933-1935	2	Local Authority	100	Under 15
Devon & Exeter Girls' Training School ¹³ (later Farringdon House School ¹⁴)	Exeter, and later Farringdon	1933-1973 ¹⁵	40	Local Authority	48	14-18
Walcot Home for Girls (later the Avonside Approved School for Girls ¹⁶)	Bath	1933-1973 ¹⁷	40	Local Authority	55	10-15
Elm House Approved School for Girls ¹⁸ (later	Fulham	1933-37		Local Authority	35	10-15
Gisburne House Approved School for Girls ¹⁹	Watford	1933-1956	23	Local Authority/Private (Anglican)	52	10-15
The Dovecot Horticultural School for Girls ²⁰	Liverpool	1933-1935	2	Local Authority/Private (Catholic)	64	7-12
Northumberland Village Home for Girls ²¹	Whitley-on-Sea, Northumberland ²²	1933-1973	40	Private	120	10-15
Princess Mary's Village Homes for Girls ²³	Addlestone ²⁴	1933-1973 ²⁵	40	Private	175	10-15
The Northenden Road Girls School ²⁶ (Manchester Girls Industrial School ²⁷)	Sale, Cheshire ²⁸	1933-1973 ²⁹	40	Private	up to 70	

Name of school	Address	Covering dates	Total years in operation	Run by?	Number of girls	Age Group
Warwickshire Reformatory for Girls ³⁰ alias Knowle Hill Approved School ³¹	Kenilworth	1933-1973	40	Private	40	15-17
Allerton Priory Special School for Roman Catholic Children ³²	Liverpool	1933-1935	2	Private (Catholic)	123	6-16
St. Teresa's Approved School ³³	Bristol	1933-1938	5	Private (Catholic)	70	11-15
St. Mary's Approved School ³⁴	Buxted, West Sussex	1933-1939	6	Private (Catholic)	32	10-15
Ave Maria Approved School for Girls ³⁵	South Norwood	1933-1950	17	Private (Catholic)	150	3-15
Blackbrook House (alias St. Mary's School)	Liverpool	1933-1973	40	Private (Catholic)	120	10-15
Holy Trinity Approved School for Girls ³⁶	Liverpool ³⁷ , later Harrogate	1933-1973	40	Private (Catholic)	76 ³⁸³⁹	5-12
Parkside Reformatory School for Girls ⁴⁰ (later Poplar Bank House School ⁴¹)	Liverpool	1933-1973	40	Private (Catholic)	70	15-17
St. Christopher's Approved School for Girls ⁴²	Liverpool	1933 ⁴³ -1973	42	Private (Catholic)	19	under 16
Montefiore House School for Jewish Girls ⁴⁴	Stoke Newington, London	1933-1940s	12	Private (Jewish)	56	10-15
The Magdalen Hospital Approved School for Senior Girls ⁴⁵	Streatham	1934-1966	32	Private ⁴⁶	75	15-17
Name of school	Address	Covering dates	Total years in operation	Run by?	Number of girls	Age Group

Cumberlow Lodge Approved School for Girls ⁴⁷	South Norwood, London ⁴⁸	1935-1964	29	Local Authority	30	15-17
St Mary's Training School ⁴⁹ (later St. Joseph's Domestic School)	Wantage, Berkshire	1935-1950	15	Private (Anglican)	20	
St. Mary's Home for Girls ⁵⁰	Kibworth, Leicestershire	1935-1955	20	Private (Catholic)		
Lincoln & Lincolnshire Approved School for Girls ⁵¹	Lincoln	1936-1949	13	Local Authority	30	
St. John's Home for Girls ⁵²	Erdington	1936-1973	37	Private (Catholic)	54	15-17
St. John's Community Home Approved School	Wakefield ⁵³	1937-1973	36	Local Authority	30	15-17
St. Anne's Laundry Home ⁵⁴	Folkestone	1937-1948	11	Private	22	14-20
St Agnes' Approved School for Girls ⁵⁵	St. Helens	1937-1948	14	Private	13	15-18
The Elms Approved School for Girls	Market Harborough	1937-1951	14	Private	50	15-17
The Shaw Approved School for Girls ⁵⁶	Appleton, Cheshire	1937-1960	23	Private	40	
Chaworth St. James Approved School for Senior Girls ⁵⁷ (later the Chaworth School)	Ottershaw, Surrey	1937-1973 ⁵⁸	36	Private (Anglican)	28	15-17
Name of school	Address	Covering dates	Total years in operation	Run by?	Number of girls	Age Group
St Anne's Approved School for Girls ⁵⁹	Orpington, Kent	1938 ⁶⁰ -1970	12	Private (Catholic ⁶¹)		
Violet Wills School ⁶² (later the Bryanston House School ⁶³)	Bristol, later Nottingham	1938-1973	35	Private (Church Army)	24	15-17

Denham Court Approved School for Senior Girls ⁶⁴	Denham, Middlesex	1939-1948	9	Local Authority	50	15-17
Clifton Holme Approved School for Junior Girls ⁶⁵	York	1939-1950	11	Private (Anglican)		10-15
St. Michael's Approved School for Girls ⁶⁶	Salisbury	1939 ⁶⁷ -1968	29	Private (Anglican)	24	15-18
Shermanbury Grange School ⁶⁸	Horsham, Sussex	1940-1973 ⁶⁹	33	Local Authority	32	15-17
Sheppard House School ⁷⁰	Bath, Somerset	1940-1947	7	Private	20	10-15
Longfords School for Girls ⁷¹	Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire	1941-1973	32	Private (Anglican)	31	15-17
St Joseph's Approved School for Roman Catholic Girls ⁷²	Marshfield, Avon	1941-1962	32	Private (Catholic)		15-17
Ryalls Court Junior Approved School for Girls ⁷³	Seaton, Devon	1941-1973	32	Private (National Children's Home ⁷⁴)	48	11-15
Glebe House Approved School ⁷⁵ (later Egerton House Approved School ⁷⁶)	Brackley, Northamptonshire	1942-1951	6	Local Authority/Private (Anglican)	26	15-17
Ellerslie Hall Approved School for Senior Girls ⁷⁷	Leeds, later Skegness ⁷⁸	1942-1958	8	Private (Anglican)	20	15-17
Name of school	Address	Covering dates	Total years in operation	Run by?	Number of girls	Age Group
St. Laurence's Approved School ⁷⁹	Frant, Kent	1942-1973 ⁸⁰	31	Private (Catholic)	36	15-17
Woodlands Approved School ⁸¹	East Grinstead, Surrey	1942-1973 ⁸²	31	Private (Salvation Army)	26	15-17
Bowden Hall School ⁸³ (later Jordan's Brook House School)	Upton St. Leonards, Gloucestershire	1943-1969 ⁸⁴	26	Local Authority	24	15-17
St. Martin's Home for Girls ⁸⁵	Hereford	1943-c. 1951	22	Private (Anglican)	20	Under 15

St. Peter's Training School ⁸⁶ (formerly the House of Mercy)	Horbury, Wakefield	1943-1949	60 ⁸⁷	Private (Catholic)	60	15-17
Greenacres Approved School for Girls	Calne, Wiltshire	1944 ⁸⁸ -1973	29	Local Authority	51	10-15
Ploverfield Approved School for Girls ⁸⁹	Bursledon, Hampshire	1944-1951 ⁹⁰	7	Not known		
Oakwood Hall Approved School for Girls ⁹¹	Romiley, Cheshire	1944-1960	6	Not known		
St Michael's Domestic Training Home ⁹²	Wantage, Berkshire	1939 ⁹³ -1970 ⁹⁴	18	Private (Anglican?)	18	14-18
St. Euphrasia's School for Girls ⁹⁵	Troy, Monmouth	1944-1973 ⁹⁶	29	Private (Catholic)	52	10-15, then 14-16 after c. 1955
Southwood School for Girls ⁹⁷	Sydenham, London	1944-1950	6	Private (Salvation Army)		15-17
Coed Y Mwstwr Approved School for Girls ⁹⁸	Bridgend, South Wales	1945-1962	17	Not known	28	15-17
Name of school	Address	Covering dates	Total years in operation	Run by?	Number of girls	Age Group
Delrow House Approved School for Girls ⁹⁹	Aldenham, Hertfordshire	1945 ¹⁰⁰ -1957	12	Private		
Farncombe Hall ¹⁰¹	Godalming	1945-1948	3	Private (Barnados)	30	10-15
Duncroft Approved School for Girls ¹⁰²	Staines	1945-1973	28	Private (National Association for Mental Health)	34	15-17
Hyrstlands Approved School ¹⁰³	Batley, West Yorkshire	1944-1973	28	Private (Salvation Army ¹⁰⁴)	30	15-17
Waldernheath Girls' School ¹⁰⁵	Harrogate	1946-1965 ¹⁰⁶	19	Not known	40	10-15
Avalon Approved School for Girls ¹⁰⁷	Chislehurst, Kent	1949-1973	24	Private (Salvation Army)	27	15-17

The Leicester Home School for Girls ¹⁰⁸	Leicester	1936 ¹⁰⁹ -1951	25	Not known	30	15-17
Ave Maria School ¹¹⁰ (formerly the St. Mary's Industrial School)	Eltham, Kent	1950-1973	23	Private (Catholic) ¹¹¹	40	under 15
Moorside Approved School for Senior Girls ¹¹²	Leeds	1960-1973	13	Local Authority	84	15-17
The Crescent Approved School for Girls ¹¹³	Downend, Bristol	1962-1973	11	Local Authority	40	15-17
Springhead Park Approved School for Intermediate Girls ¹¹⁴	Rothwell, Leeds	1962-1973	11	Private	24	14-16
Benton Grange Approved School for Girls ¹¹⁵	South Gosforth	1963-1973	10	Private (Catholic) ¹¹⁶	44	14-16
Name of school	Address	Covering dates	Total years in operation	Run by?	Number of girls	Age Group
Jordan's Brook House ¹¹⁷ (formerly Bowden Hall School for Girls ¹¹⁸)	Upton St. Leonard's, Gloucester	1969-1973	4	Local Authority	24	15-18
West Bank School ¹¹⁹	Stockport	1970-1973	3	Local Authority/Private (Catholic)		
St. Hilda's Approved School for Girls, later the St Hilda's Training School for Girls ¹²⁰	Gosforth, Newcastle, Northumberland	1941-1973 ¹²¹	28	Local Authority/Private (The Children's Society)		16-18
Meadowcroft Approved School for Girls ¹²²	Hutton, Lancashire	1969-1973 ¹²³	4	Local Authority		14-16
The Moss Classifying School alias the Moss	Sheffield	??-1973	nk	Local Authority		14-18

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APPENDIX B: RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN BY THE HOME OFFICE RESEARCH UNIT

Summary of Research within the Home Office Research Unit : Part V (June 1974)

REPORTS PUBLISHED BY HMSO IN THE HOME OFFICE SERIES

STUDIES IN THE CAUSE OF DELINQUENCY AND THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

1. *Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training* by Herman Mannheim & Leslie T. Wilson (1955)
2. *Time Spent Awaiting Trial* by Evelyn Gibson (1960)
3. *Delinquent Generations* by Leslie T Wilson (1960)
4. *Murder* by Evelyn Gibson & S. Klein (1961)
5. *Persistent Criminals* by W.H. Hammons and Edna Chayen (1963)
6. *Some statistical and other numerical techniques for classifying individuals* by P. McNaughton (1965)
7. *Probation research: a preliminary report* by Steven Folkard, Kate Lyn, Margaret M. Carver & Erica O'Leary (1966)
8. *Trends & Regional Comparisons in Probation* by Hugh Barr and Erica O'Leary (1966)
9. *A Survey of Group Work in the Probation Service* by Hugh Barr (1966)
10. *A Validation Study of Hewitt & Jenkins' Hypothesis* by Elizabeth Field (1967)
11. *Studies of female offenders* by Nancy Goodman and Jean Price (1967)
12. *The use of the Jesness Inventory on a Sample of British Probationers* by Martin Davies (1967)
13. *The Jesness Inventory: application to Approved School Boys* by Joy Mott (1969)

HOME OFFICE RESEARCH STUDIES

1. *Workloads in Children's Departments* by Eleanor Grey (1969)
2. *Probationers in their Social Environment* by Martin Davies (1969)
3. *Murder* by Evelyn Gibson and S. Klein (1969)
4. *Firearms in Crime* by A.D. Weatherhead & B.M. Robinson (1970)
5. *Financial Penalties & Probation* by Martin Davies (1970)
6. *Hostels for Probationers* by Ian Sinclair (1970)
7. *Prediction Methods in Criminology* by Frances H. Simon (1971)
8. *Study of the Juvenile Liaison Scheme in West Ham 1961-1965* by Marilyn Taylor (1971)
9. *Explorations in After-Care* (1971)
 - i. *After-Care Units in London, Liverpool, and Manchester* by Martin Silberman & Brenda Chapman
 - ii. *After-Care Hostels receiving a Home Office Grant* by Ian Sinclair & David Snow
 - iii. *St. Martin of Tours House* by Aryah Leissner
10. *A Survey of Adoption in Great Britain* by Eleanor Grey (1971)
11. *Thirteen-year-old Approved School Boys in 1962* by Elizabeth Field, W.H.Hammond & J. Tizard

12. Absconding from Approved Schools by R.V.G. Clarke & D.N. Martin (1971)
13. An Experiment in Personality Assessment of Young Men Remanded in Custody by H. Sylvia Anthony (1972)
14. Girl Offenders Aged 17 to 20 Years by Jean Davies & Nancy Goodman (1972)
15. The Controlled Trial in Institutional Research – paradigm or pitfall for penal evaluators? By R.V.G. Clarke & D.B. Cornish (1972)
16. A Survey of Fine Enforcement by Paul Softly (1973)
17. An Index of Social Environment by Martin Davies (1973)
18. Social Enquiry Reports and the Probation Service by Martin Davies & Andrea Knopf (1973)
19. Depression, Psychopathic Personality and Attempted Suicide in a Borstal Sample by H. Sylvia Anthony (1973)
20. The Use of Bail and Custody by London Magistrates' Courts before and after the Criminal Justice Act, 1967 by Frances H. Simon and Mollie Weatheritt (1974)

Current research on crime

- B.2.c. A study of the treatment of delinquent girls and their later conduct (Oxford University)
- B.3. A study of the effect of approved school training on senior girls (University College London)
- C.5.i. A follow up study of a sample of wayward adolescent girls from a remand home. In particular, a study of those who were prostitutes. (Institute of Psychiatry, the Maudsley Hospital)
- C.6. A study of the psychological, psychiatric, and social aspects of illegitimate pregnancies among girls aged 14 and 18 (University of Manchester, Dept. of Psychiatry)
- ¹ A.11. The forecasting of trends in the populations of prisons, borstals, and approved schools
- A.12. Studies of the greater incidence of crime among children born in particular years.
- A.13 Participation in the National Survey of Child Health & Development
- A.14 A similar study of 270 illegitimate children born in Leicester in 1949 (in association with the Medical Officer of Health)
- A.15. A study of a small sample of illegitimate children born in 1952 (in association with the Church of England Moral Welfare Council)
- A.16 A study of the number of previous recorded offences of children who come before the Courts
- C.1.a. the Bristol Social Project (The University of Bristol, Dept. of Economics)
- C.1.b. Development of Social Adjustment Guides as an objective means of assessing the maladjustment of children (The University of Bristol, Institute of Education)
- C.1.c 'Comparison of the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents in Texas and Great Britain (The University of Bristol, Dept. of Psychology)
- C.2.a. Results of psychological tests on children of 11 over a period of 25 years (Durham University, Dept. of Psychological Medicine)
- C.3. A study of the exercise of police discretion with particular reference to the cautioning of juvenile delinquents (Leeds University, Dept. of Extra-Mural Studies)
- C.4.a. A study of community factors in the causation of juvenile delinquency and crime in Leicester (Leicester University, School of Social Studies)
- C.4.c. A study of the psychological factors in the institutional treatment of problem children (Leicester University, School of Social Studies)

- C.5.b. A study of the attitudes of juvenile delinquents to their court appearance, and of such children and their mothers to approved schools (Institute of Psychiatry, the Maudsley Hospital)
- C.8.b An investigation of the hypothesis that 'deprived' children are likely to show aggressive behaviour patterns (Southampton University)

APPENDIX C: APPROVED SCHOOLS THAT BECAME COMMUNITY HOMES ON OR BEFORE 1ST OCTOBER 1973 (SOURCE: APPROVED SCHOOLS GAZETTE, NOVEMBER 1973, AND BN 29/1)

1. The following approved schools became local authority community homes on 1st April 1973

Approved School	Planning Area	Local Authority
Ardale	8	Newham LBC
Banstead Hall	9	Surrey CC
Blackburn House	3	Blackburn CBC
Bryn-y-Don	12	Joint Committee of Cardiff CBC and Glamorgan CC
Castle Howard	2	Kingston-Upon-Hull CBC
Chafford	6	Essex CC
Chaworth	8	Camden LBC
Cotswold Community	10	Wiltshire CC
The Crescent	11	Bristol CBC
Danesbury	7	Hertfordshire CC
Desford	5	Leicester CBC
Glamorgan Farm	12	Glamorgan CC
Greystone Heath	3	Liverpool CBC
Hays Bridge	9	Surrey CC
Jordan's Brook House	11	Gloucester CC
Kneesworth	6	Cambridge & Isle of Ely CC
Mayford	9	Surrey CC
Meadowcroft	3	Lancashire CC
Mile Oak	9	East Sussex CC
Mobberley	3	Manchester CBC
Moorland House	2	Bradford CBC
Moorside	2	Sheffield CBC
Newfield House	4	Coventry CBC
North Downs	9	Kent CC
Pishiobury	7	Hertfordshire CC
Risley Hall	5	Nottinghamshire CC
St. Christopher's, Hayes	8	Hillingdon LBC
Shadwell	2	Leeds CB
Shawbury	4	Birmingham CBC
Shermanbury Grange	9	West Sussex CC
Skegby Hall	5	Nottinghamshire CC
Stockton Hall	2	York CBC
Thorparch Grange	2	Leeds CBC
Ty Mawr	12	Breconshire CC
Walsh Manor	9	East Sussex CC
Werrington	4	Staffordshire CC

Winton House	10	Hampshire CC
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2. The following approved schools became controlled community homes on 1st April 1973:

Approved School	Planning Area	Local Authority
Avonside	11	Somerset CC
Axwell Park	1	Newcastle upon Tyne CB
Aycliffe	1	Durham CC
Carlton	7	Bedfordshire CC
The Castle	1	Teesside CBC
Eagle House	11	Somerset CC
Edmond Castle	1	Cumberland CC
Egerton House	5	Northamptonshire CC
Essex Home	6	Essex CC
Farringdon House	11	Devon CC
Finnart House	8	Hammersmith LBC
Forde Park	11	Devon CC
The Fylde	3	Lancashire CC
Greenacres	10	Wiltshire CC
Kingswood	11	Bristol CBC
Knowle Hill	4	Warwickshire CC
Longfords	11	Gloucestershire CC
Longhurst Hall	1	Northumberland CC
National Nautical	11	Bristol CBC
Northbrook	11	Devon CC
Northenden Road	3	Manchester CC
Norton	4	Warwickshire CC
Pelham House	1	Cumberland CC
Poplar Bank House	3	Lancashire CC
Red Bank	3	Lancashire CC
Red House	6	Norfolk CC
Rowley Hall	4	Staffordshire CC
Royal Philanthropic Society's School	8	Wandsworth LBC
St. Christopher's Home, Gt. Corby	3	Liverpool CBC
St. Hilda's	1	Newcastle-upon-Tyne CBC
St. John's, Apethorpe	5	Northamptonshire CC
St. John's Tiffield	5	Northamptonshire CC
Sedbury Park	11	Gloucestershire CC
Wellesley Nautical	1	Sunderland CBC

3. The following approved school became an assisted community home on 1st June 1973

Approved School	Planning Area	Local Authority
St. Peter's Gainford	1	Teesside CBC

4. The following approved schools became local authority community homes on 1st October 1973

Approved School	Planning Area	Local Authority
Boreatton Park	4	Salop CC
Bryn Estyn	12	Denbighshire CC
Dobroyd Castle	2	West Riding of Yorkshire CC
East Moor	2	Leeds CBC
Richmond Hill	2	North Riding of Yorkshire CC

5. The following approved schools became controlled community homes on 1st October 1973

Approved School	Planning Area	Local Authority
Kerrison	6	East Suffolk CC
Netherton	1	Northumberland CC
Northumberland Village Homes	1	Tynemouth CBC
PMVH	8	Merton LBC
St. John's Wakefield6	2	West Riding of Yorkshire CC

6. The following approved schools became assisted community homes on 1st October 1973

Approved School	Planning Area	Local Authority
Avalon	8	Bromley LBC
Ave Maria	8	Greenwich LBC
Benton Grange	1	Newcastle upon Tyne CBC
Blackbrook House	3	Lancashire CBC
Danesford	3	Cheshire CC
Duncroft	8	Hounslow LBC
Farnworth St. Aidan's	3	Liverpool CBC
Greenfield House	3	Lancashire CC
Headlands	12	Glamorgan CC
Hurstlands	2	West Riding of Yorkshire CC
Ryalls' Court	111	Devon CC
St. Camillus	2	West Riding of Yorkshire CC
St. George's	3	Lancashire CC
St. Joseph's Ashewicke	11	Bristol CBC
St. Thomas More, Birkdale	3	Lancashire CBC
St. Thomas More, West Grinstead	8	Southwark LBC
St. Vincent's Dartford	8	Lewisham LBC
St. Vincent's, Formby	3	Liverpool CBC
St. Vincent's Tankerton	8	Bexley LBC
St. William's	2	East Riding of Yorkshire CC
Springhead Park	2	West Riding of Yorkshire CC
West Bank	3	Stockport CBC
Woodlands	9	East Sussex CC

7. The following establishments are still administered as approved schools:

Quinta, Druids Heath and Knotley House, managed by Barnardo's, whose decision on their future is awaited

St. Benedict's. St. Joseph's (Nantwich), St. Lawrence's and Tennal. The managers of which are still negotiating with local authorities with a view to them becoming local authority community homes.

St. Gilbert's and St Edward's, the managers of which hope to obtain assisted status.

Herts Training which is to become a controlled home on 1st January 1974

St. Euphrasia's which is to become a controlled home on 1st February 1974.

Starthwaite Ghyll which it may be anticipated will become a local authority community home on 1st November 1973

Park House which is to become a special school.

Eastmore House which was to have become a local authority community home on 1st October 1973 is the subject of an amending order which defers the operation of the original order under 1st April 1974.

St. John's Home, Birmingham which was to have become an assisted community home on 1st October 1973 is the subject of an amending order which means that it will remain as an approved school pending a decision on its future.

8. Since the publication of this official list the following changes in status have become effective from 1st November 1973:

Local authority community home

Approved School	Planning Area	Local Authority
Starthwaite Ghyll	3	Lancashire CC

Assisted community home

Approved School	Planning Area	Local Authority
Druids Heath	3	Walsall CB
Quinta	4	Shropshire CC

LA2 CHN 3000/1/49 1st October 1973

Department of Health & Social Security
CHA
Alexander Feling House
Elephant & Castle
London SE1 6BY

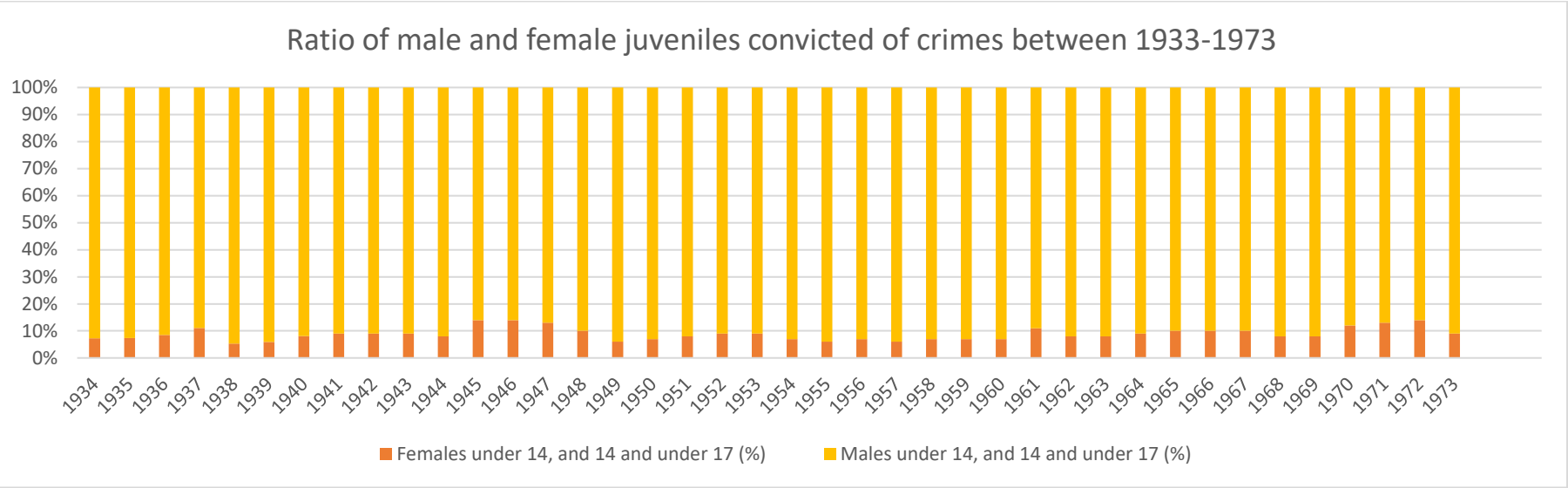
APPENDIX D Extract from BN 29/949 Girls' Approved School: Present & Future

* Pre-release hostel

Home Office Region	County	School		Local Authority	Large Voluntary Organisation	Local Committee	Certified number [of girls]	Age on Admission	Notes
Northeast	Yorkshire		Hyrstlands		Salvation Army		29	15-17	Dull girls
		*	Moorside	Sheffield			70	15-17	Varied intake
			St. John's, W			X	30	15-17	Almost a closed school
		*	Springhead Park		National Association for Mental Health		32	14-16	Psychiatric emphasis: higher intelligence
	Northumberland	*	St. Hilda's			X	32	15-17	Varied Intake
		*	Northumberland Village Homes			X	69	10-15	Varied intake
		*	Benton Grange		Roman Catholic Order		44	14-16	Roman Catholic
Northwest	Lancashire	*	Poplar Bank			X	30	15-17	Good intelligence
		*	St. Christopher's			X	28	15-17	Very dull girls
		*	Blackbrook House		RCO		60	10-15	Roman Catholic
	Cheshire		Northenden Road			X	48	14-16	Varied intake
Southwest	Gloucestershire		Bowden Hall	Gloucestershire			24	15-17	Varied intake
		*	Crescent				72	15-17	Varied intake
		*	St. Joseph's	Bristol	RCO		68	15-17	Roman Catholic. Can accept proportion highly difficult girls.
			Longford's			X	32	14-16	Dull girls

	Wiltshire		St. Michael's	Wiltshire			23	15-17	Dull girls – a few very disturbed girls included
		*	Greenacres				51	14-16	Varied intake, including girls interested in work
	Devon	*	Faringdon House			X	60	15-17	Dull range including highly difficult
			Ryall's Court		National Children's Homes		52	10-15	Varied intake junior & young intermediate
	Somerset		Avonside			X	34	14-16	Varied intake
		*	St Euphrasia's		Roman Catholic Order		52	14-16	Roman Catholic. Varied intake
Midlands	Warwickshire		Knowle Hill			X	36	14-16	Varied intake
		*	St. John's, B		Roman Catholic Order		40	15-17	Roman Catholic
			Newfield			X	30	10-15	Varied intake
	Staffordshire		Rowley Hall			X	40	15-17	Varied intake
London & Southeast	Surrey		Avalon		Salvation Army		27	15-17	Varied intake
		*	Ave Maria		Roman Catholic Order		40	10-15	Varied intake
			Chaworth			X	28	15-17	Varied intake
		*	Duncroft		National Association for Mental Health		40	15-17	Psychiatric treatment: higher intelligence
			PMVH			X	48	10-15	Varied intake
	Kent	*	St. Laurence		Roman Catholic Order		36	15-17	Varied intake
	Sussex		Woodlands		Salvation Army		26	15-17	Very dull girls
		*	Shermanbury	West Sussex			32	15-17	Varied intake

APPENDIX E Crimes committed by males and females aged 17 and younger between 1933-1973



Year	Type	Details	Numbers	Source
1973	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7216	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	71922	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	10.03%	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1900	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	8697	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	17.93%	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Motoring	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	361	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Motoring	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	17683	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Motoring	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	2.00%	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	9477	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	98302	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1973	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.79%	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	22871	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	125863	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	15.38%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2762	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	26347	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.49%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	25633	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	152210	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1972	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	14.41%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1971	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	19453	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677

1971	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	111322	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1971	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	14.88%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1971	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2910	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1971	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	32404	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1971	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.24%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1971	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	22363	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1971	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	143726	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5678
1971	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	13.46%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5679
1970	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	16170	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1970	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	102713	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1970	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	13.60%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1970	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2441	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1970	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	29070	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1970	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.75%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1970	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	18611	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5677
1970	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	131783	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5678
1970	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	12.37%	Table 4 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 5679
1969	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7494	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1969	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	64951	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1969	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	10.34%	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1969	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2142	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1969	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	45341	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398

1969	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.51%	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1969	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	9636	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1969	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	110292	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1969	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.03%	Table 3 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7204	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	57167	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	11.19%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2197	Table 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	50969	Table 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.13%	Table 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	9401	Table 13 & 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	108136	Table 13 & 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1968	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.00%	Table 13 & 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1967	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7169	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1967	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	54649	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1967	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	11.60%	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1967	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1861	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1967	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 18	26341	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1967	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6.60%	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1967	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	9030	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1967	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	80990	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689

1967	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	10.03%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7537	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	54596	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	12%	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1723	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	28983	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	5.61%	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	9260	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	83579	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1966	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.97%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7676	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	55194	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	12%	Table 13 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1648	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	33407	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.70%	Table 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	9324	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	88601	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689
1965	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.52%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 3689

1964	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7231	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1964	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	55582	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1964	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	11.51%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1964	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1726	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1964	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	34427	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1964	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.77%	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1964	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	8957	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1964	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	90009	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1964	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.05%	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6644	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	61140	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.80%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1870	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	39556	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.51%	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	8514	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	100696	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1963	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.80%	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1962	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6343	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1962	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	59491	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1962	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.63%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815

1962	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2091	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1962	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	37767	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1962	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	5.25%	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1962	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	8434	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1962	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	97258	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1962	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.98%	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1961	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6150	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1961	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	29890	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1961	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	17.06%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1961	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2128	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1961	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	38631	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1961	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	5.22%	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1961	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	8278	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1961	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	68521	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1961	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	10.78%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1960	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4989	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1960	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	52371	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1960	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.70%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1960	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1784	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1960	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	35965	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779

1960	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.73%	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1960	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6773	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1960	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	88336	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1960	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.12%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4255	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	48928	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.00%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1830	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	35716	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.87%	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6085	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	84644	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1959	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6.71%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 1779
1958	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4097	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1958	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	47678	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1958	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.91%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1958	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1576	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1958	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	32255	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803

1958	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.66%	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1958	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	5673	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1958	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	79933	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1958	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6.63%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3261	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	41846	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.23%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1407	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	27731	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.83%	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4668	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	69577	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1957	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6.29%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2973	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	35842	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.66%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1240	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	24692	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.78%	Table 41 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4213	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	60534	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803
1956	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6.51%	Tables 13 & 41 (Number of principal findings of guilt at all courts) CMND 803

1955	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2849	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1955	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	32664	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1955	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.02%	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1955	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1006	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9884
1955	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	24145	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9884
1955	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.00%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9884
1955	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3855	
1955	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	56809	
1955	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6.35%	
1954	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3059	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1954	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	31770	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1954	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.78%	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1954	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1258	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9884
1954	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	23903	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9884
1954	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	5.00%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9884
1954	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4317	
1954	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	55673	
1954	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.20%	

1953	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3367	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1953	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	35323	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1953	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.70%	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1953	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2840	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9919
1953	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	26474	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9919
1953	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.69%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9919
1953	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6207	
1953	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	61797	
1953	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.13%	
1952	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3796	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1952	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	41282	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1952	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.42%	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1952	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2931	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9919
1952	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	27884	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9919
1952	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.51%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMD 9919
1952	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6727	
1952	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	69166	
1952	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.86%	

1951	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3638	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1951	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	43835	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1951	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.66%	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMND 803
1951	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2678	S. 41 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 8616
1951	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	26545	S. 41 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 8616
1951	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9.16%	S. 41 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 8616
1951	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6569	
1951	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	71719	
1951	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8.39%	
1950	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3270	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1950	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	39145	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1950	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.71%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1950	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1449	Table 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1950	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	25676	Table 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1950	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	5.34%	Table 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1950	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4719	Table 13 & 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1950	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	64821	Table 13 & 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1950	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6.79%	Table 13 & 17 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 4398
1949	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1747	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 8616
1949	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	37290	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 8616
1949	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4.48%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 8616

1949	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1812	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 7993
1949	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	23546	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 7993
1949	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7.15%	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 7993
1949	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4425	
1949	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	63835	
1949	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6.48%	
1948	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	5849	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMD 7733
1948	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	38142	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMD 7733
1948	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	13.30%	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMD 7733
1948	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1371	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 7993
1948	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	26063	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 7993
1948	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	5.00%	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMND 7993
1948	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7298	
1948	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	63818	
1948	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	10.26%	
1947	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4947	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMD 7733
1947	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	30911	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMD 7733
1947	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	14%	Appendix II [Number of persons found guilty of indictable offences) CMD 7733
1947	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2795	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMD 7528
1947	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	19572	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMD 7528
1947	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	12%	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMD 7528

1947	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	7742	
1947	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	50483	
1947	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	13%	
1946	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6215	CMD 7428
1946	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	37288	CMD 7428
1946	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	14%	CMD 7428
1946	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3132	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMD 7528
1946	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	21920	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMD 7528
1946	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	13%	S. 35 (persons found guilty of non-indictable offences) CMD 7528
1946	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	9347	
1946	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	59208	
1946	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	14%	
1945	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	5298	Appendix I CMD 7227
1945	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	31789	Appendix I CMD 7227
1945	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	14%	Appendix I CMD 7227
1945	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1945	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1945	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	#DIV/0!	
1945	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	5298	
1945	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	31789	
1945	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	14%	
1944	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3404	Appendix I CMD 7227
1944	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	37145	Appendix I CMD 7227

1944	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8%	Appendix I CMD 7227
1944	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1944	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1944	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	#DIV/0!	
1944	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3404	
1944	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	37145	
1944	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8%	
1943	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3493	Appendix I CMD 7227
1943	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	35266	Appendix I CMD 7227
1943	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9%	Appendix I CMD 7227
1943	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1943	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1943	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	#DIV/0!	
1943	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3493	
1943	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	35266	
1943	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9%	
1942	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3476	Appendix I CMD 7227
1942	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	35071	Appendix I CMD 7227
1942	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9%	Appendix I CMD 7227
1942	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1942	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17		

1942	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	#DIV/0!	
1942	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3476	
1942	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	35071	
1942	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9%	
1941	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3511	Appendix I CMD 7227
1941	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	40072	Appendix I CMD 7227
1941	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8%	Appendix I CMD 7227
1941	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1941	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1941	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	#DIV/0!	
1941	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3511	
1941	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	40072	
1941	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	8%	
1940	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2949	Appendix I CMD 7227
1940	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	39236	Appendix I CMD 7227
1940	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7%	Appendix I CMD 7227
1940	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1940	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1940	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	#DIV/0!	
1940	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2949	
1940	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	39236	
1940	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7%	

1939	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1830	Appendix I CMD 7227
1939	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	29005	Appendix I CMD 7227
1939	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6%	Appendix I CMD 7227
1939	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1939	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17		
1939	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	#DIV/0!	
1939	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1830	
1939	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	29005	
1939	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6%	
1938	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1747	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1938	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	26369	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1938	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6%	Table 13 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1938	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1130	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1938	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	25400	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1938	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	4%	Table 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1938	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2877	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1938	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	51769	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1938	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	5%	Tables 13 & 42 (Number of finding of guilt at all courts) CMND 2815
1937	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3273	CMD 5878
1937	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	26188	CMD 5878
1937	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	11%	CMD 5878
1937	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3102	CMD 5878

1937	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	24816	CMD 5878
1937	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	11%	CMD 5878
1937	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6375	
1937	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	51004	
1937	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	11%	
1936	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1598	CMD 5690 p. viii
1936	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	25528	CMD 5690 p. viii
1936	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6%	CMD 5690 p. viii
1936	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3014	CMD 5690
1936	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	24112	CMD 5690
1936	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	11%	CMD 5690
1936	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	4612	
1936	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	49640	
1936	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9%	
1935	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1501	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1935	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	24042	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1935	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6%	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1935	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2036	Table C CMD 5520
1935	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	20357	Table C CMD 5520
1935	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9%	Table C CMD 5520
1935	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	3537	
1935	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	44399	25543 (37%) = juvenile 11% = female

1935	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7%	759423 total 9% indictable (69849) 91% non-indictable (689574)
1934	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	985	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1934	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	16917	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1934	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6%	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1934	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	1651	Table C CMD 5520
1934	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	16510	Table C CMD 5520
1934	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9%	Table C CMD 5520
1934	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	2636	
1934	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	33427	
1934	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	7%	
1933	Indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	888	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1933	Indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	13524	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1933	Indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	6%	CMD 5690 p. xxii
1933	Non-indictable	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	5571	CMD 5690 p. viii
1933	Non-indictable	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	50131	CMD 5690 p. viii
1933	Non-indictable	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	10%	CMD 5690 p. viii
1933	Total	Females under 14, and 14 and under 17	6459	
1933	Total	Males under 14, and 14 and under 17	63655	
1933	Total	Percentage of girls as a whole (17 and under)	9%	

ENDNOTES

ⁱ There is no central source of data concerning the approved schools, and details of their operations have been gleaned from a variety of sources including the London Gazette, Hansard, Home Office records and the Workhouses.Org website. These details are summarised in Appendix A.

⁴ Children aged 14 and older were by default sent to one of a small number of classifying schools for assessment after they became the subject of an approved school order, after the reforms of the Criminal Justice Act (1948). See Chapter Five for further discussion of the classifying schools and their role in the wider approved school system.

⁵ The Home Office Children's branch, later the Children's Department operated between 1924 and 1971. See [here](#) for further details. The responsibilities of this department transferred to the Department for Health & Social Security in 1972.

⁶ The 'cat' refers to a "cat-o-nine-tails", a type of whip with multiple parts tipped in metal and used in some military establishments as a particularly severe form of corporal punishment. It appears to have ceased to be used in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

⁷ The Home Counties are defined as Berkshire, Buckingham, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, and Surrey

⁸ Donald Winnicott broadcast over fifty programmes on the BBC between 1943-1962, most famously introducing the concept of the 'good-enough mother' to the masses.

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01s7v7b>

⁹ This division between Roman Catholic children within the juvenile system is never challenged in the contemporary literature, which seems curious given that the state religion in England and Wales is that of the Anglican tradition. Well into the 1960s, reported statistics on children and crime continued to divide the groups into Catholic and non-Catholic. There is no explanation of this, and no questioning of it either.

¹⁰ See Appendix B for details of girl-centred research in the 1960s –)

¹¹ See Appendix B for further details.

¹² Higginbotham, *Children's Homes*, 2017

¹³ Higginbotham, *Children's Homes*, 2017

¹⁴ Devon Record Office, [3899F-3](#)

¹⁵ The National Archives, [BN 62/2005](#)

¹⁶ Higginbotham, *Children's Homes*, 2017

¹⁷ The National Archives, [BN 62/13](#)

¹⁸ Higginbotham, *Children's Homes*, 2017

¹⁹ London Metropolitan Archives, [LCC/CH/D/GIS/1](#)

²⁰ Higginbotham, *Children's Homes*, 2017

²¹ Higginbotham, *Children's Homes*, 2017

²² Co-curate, [Northumberland Village Homes](#),

²³ Surrey Heritage Centre, [PMVH Pupils](#)

²⁴ The National Archives, [BN 62/2099](#)

²⁵ Higginbotham, *Children's Homes*, 2017

²⁶ The National Archives, [BN 62/2070](#)

²⁷ Hansard, [HC Deb 14 July 1937 vol. 326, c. 1271W](#) (1937)

²⁸ [Legislation.gov.uk](#), [The Cessation of Approved Institutions \(Northenden Road\)](#), 1973

²⁹ Manchester Archives, [GB 127.M369/4/18/3-6](#)

³⁰ Higginbotham, *Children's Homes*, 2017

³¹ The National Archives, [BN 62/2019](#)

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- ³² The National Archives, [ED 32/2288](#)
- ³³ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ³⁴ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ³⁵ The National Archives, [HO 360/14](#)
- ³⁶ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ³⁷ The National Archives, [HO 349/21](#)
- ³⁹ [The London Gazette](#), 1st December 1936, p. 7733
- ⁴⁰ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁴¹ The National Archives, [BN 62/323](#)
- ⁴² Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁴³ The National Archives, [BN 62/380](#)
- ⁴⁴ Higginbotham, [Children's Home](#), 2017
- ⁴⁵ The National Archives, [HO 360](#) and [BN 62](#)
- ⁴⁶ Hansard, [HC Deb 06 February 1958 vol. 581 cc 1328-9](#)
- ⁴⁷ London Metropolitan Archives, [LCC/CH/D/CUM/1](#)
- ⁴⁸ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁴⁹ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁵⁰ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁵¹ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁵² Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁵³ Wakefield Record Office (WYJAS), [C866](#)
- ⁵⁴ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁵⁵ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁵⁶ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁵⁷ Surrey History Centre, [6358](#)
- ⁵⁸ [Legislation.gov.uk](#), [The Cessation of Approved Institutions Order](#), 1973
- ⁵⁹ The National Archives, [BN 62/3211](#)
- ⁶⁰ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁶¹ The National Archives, [MEPO 2/4264](#)
- ⁶² The National Archives, [MH 102/298-301](#)
- ⁶³ The National Archives, [BN 62/45-47](#)
- ⁶⁴ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁶⁵ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁶⁶ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁶⁷ The National Archives, [BN 28/97](#)
- ⁶⁸ The National Archives, [BN 62/481-483](#), [MH 102/436-439](#)
- ⁶⁹ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁷⁰ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁷¹ The National Archives, [BN 62/256-262](#), [672-674](#), [2027-2030](#)
- ⁷² The National Archives, [BN 62/415-6](#)
- ⁷³ The National Archives, [BN 62/364-8](#), [2118-2120](#)
- ⁷⁴ The National Archives, [MH 102/544](#)
- ⁷⁵ The National Archives, [MH 102/580](#)
- ⁷⁶ The National Archives, [MH 102/716](#)
- ⁷⁷ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁷⁸ The National Archives, [BN 62/1387](#)
- ⁷⁹ Higginbotham, [Children's Homes](#), 2017
- ⁸⁰ The National Archives, [BN 62/2158](#)
- ⁸¹ The Salvation Army International Heritage Centre Archive, [GB 2133 WDL](#)
- ⁸² The National Archives, [BN 62/2220](#)
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