‘The Burglar’s Mate’? How London’s Probation Officers Persuaded Magistrates in Social Enquiry Reports, 1958-1972

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A clash of generations occurred in the 1960s Probation Service when increasing numbers of university graduates entered the profession. They have been described as permissive by historians because they prioritised the welfare of the offender. This was in contrast to their older, and relatively untrained, colleagues for whom a reform project was premised on the disciplining of character. Due to a lack of sources, however, it remains unclear how these two generations differed in their attempts to persuade magistrates over sentencing outcomes. Fortuitously, a rare cache of over 2,000 Social Enquiry Reports (SERs) survives in the records of the City’s Justice Rooms. Written by probation officers from across the Metropolitan London area, the reports represent a cross section of the capital’s diverse population. Using a number of techniques including oral and secondary sources, this thesis identifies members of both generations and examines the way that they persuaded magistrates. Sorting the SERs into types of offender, the thesis shows that both generations ultimately persuaded magistrates by subtly indicating in reports whether or not the offender and their families conformed to conventional gender norms. The main reason why SERs by the permissive university graduates closely resembled those written by their older colleagues was due to their common perception of magistrates as being socially conservative. Regardless of how liberal or not Britain became in the sixties, the courtroom was not considered to be a place where a rethink of morality had occurred. The university graduates therefore invoked normative character ideals in SERs because they believed it was likely to be the best way to achieve the desired outcome in court. Finally, as responses to offending were shaped by gender ideologies rather than the nature of the offence or previous convictions, the concept of the probation officer as ‘the burglar’s mate’ is rendered problematic.

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Abbreviations

GJR	Guildhall Justice Room
HBI	Housebreaking Implements
ISTD	Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency
LRSA	London Retired Staff Association
MHJR	Mansion House Justice Room
NAPO	National Association of Probation Officers
PO	Probation Order
RCOA	Retired Chief Officers' Association
SER	Social Enquiry Report

Quotations

Quotations have retained the spelling and punctuation used in the original documents. Quotations from interview transcripts have similarly retained errors where the interviewee had got their grammar wrong.

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Introduction

In *Punishment and Welfare*, David Garland described the formation of the 'penal-welfare state' that took root in Britain and America in the 1890s and lasted until its demise from the 1970s onwards.[1] Its diverse structure, practices, and assumptions had emerged over a long time and dated from different periods. The institutions of police, prosecution, courts, and prisons were more than 150 years old, for example, as were the legal procedures and penal principles that governed their activities. Overlaying this was a more recent structure, developed over the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth-centuries, with its distinctive correctionalist objectives (rehabilitation and individualised treatment) and institutions that supported them (Probation Service, parole, juvenile courts, for example). The result was a hybrid penal-welfare structure that combined the legalism of due process and proportionate punishment with a correctionalist commitment to rehabilitation and welfare of offenders.[2]

From the late Victorian period onwards, middle-class reformers – invariably from evangelical backgrounds – began to turn to social work and philanthropy in a bid to improve the moral condition of society.[3] Because the basic axiom of penal welfare was that penal measures ought, where possible, to be rehabilitative interventions rather than negative, retributive punishments, a whole new network of interlocking principles and practices emerged in this period which tended to work against the use of imprisonment.[4] Indeed, since the prison was widely regarded as counter-productive from the point of view of reform and individual correction, specialist custodial regimes – youth reformatories, training prisons, correctional facilities – were preferred to the traditional prison. The 'abatement of imprisonment in favour of community measures was a constant aim of correctionalist reformers. From the 1890s to the 1970s, fewer and fewer categories of offenders were deemed suitable for standard imprisonment.'[5]

The Probation Service was for much of the twentieth century a core institution of the criminal justice system and, with their original mission to 'advise, assist, and befriend' the offender, probation officers were at the heart of the penal-welfare approach to crime.[6] Extensively used by the courts, it was often regarded as the exemplary instance of penal progress, offering supervision in the community under the Probation Order as a voluntary measure in lieu of conviction to anyone who

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[1] David Garland, *Punishment and Welfare: A History of Penal Strategies*, (Aldershot, 1985).
[2] For other analyses of the formation of penal-welfare in Britain, see M. Weiner, *Reconstructing the Criminal*, (Cambridge, 1990); L. Radzinowicz and R. Hood, *A History of the English Criminal Law and its Administration*, vol 5 (Oxford, 1990).
[3] David Garland, *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society*, (Oxford, 2001), p. 1; K. Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of Their Social Work in the Victorian Era*, (London, 1962).
[4] Garland, *The Culture of Control*, p. 34-35.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 34-35.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

seemed capable of benefitting from it.[7] Probation officers routinely recommended supervision orders to magistrates about convicted offenders through confidential Social Enquiry Reports (SERs). Although sociologists, historians, and criminologists have not previously been able to scrutinise these reports, probation officers are understood to have been immensely influential in the postwar criminal justice system. Garland has argued that the dominance of penal-welfare in the postwar decades could be attributed to social authorities like probation officers who rapidly expanded in number under the welfare state.[8]

Over the years books and articles have been published by probation officers on the historical origins of the Service. These accounts trace the origins of probation to the police court missionaries and pressure for penal reform dominant at the end of the nineteenth century. There was then a gradual Home Office takeover in the twentieth century culminating in probation being recast as a social work profession by the 1940s.[9]

Despite being an era of rapid change when increasing numbers of university graduates entered the Service – or perhaps because of it – probation officers writing the history of the Service have largely avoided discussing the 1960s (see chapter one). Writing in 1972, F. V. Jarvis, who at the time was Principal Probation Officer at Leicestershire and Rutland, wrote the following about the sixties: 'Events now crowd one upon another. They are too close for an historian's dispassionate appraisal and too recent and too well-known to bear the telling in detail.'[10] This was then followed by three pages briefly outlining key developments in probation in the sixties such as its takeover of all compulsory and voluntary after-care of discharged prisoners in 1966 as well as the integration of the prison welfare service with the Probation Service.[11] In *Crimefighters* (published 1992), Martin Page, who was a probation officer in London, similarly ended his history of the London Service with a very brief chapter about the sixties. Like Jarvis, he does not discuss the impact that the arrival of the university graduates had on the Service.[12]

Dave Martin's brief history of South East London Probation Service suggests that the 1960s may have been deliberately avoided by previous authors.[13] A former London officer, Dave Martin indicated that the arrival of the university graduates – actively encouraged by the Home Office as part of the professionalising process[14] – was a fraught issue in the Service at the time:

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 177.
[9] F. V. Jarvis, *Advise, Assist and Befriend, A History of the Probation and After-Care Service,* (London, 1972); Martin Page, *Crimefighters of London: a history of the origins and development of the Probation and Aftercare Service 1876-1965*, (London, 1992); Maurice Vanstone, 'Mission Control: The Origins and Early History of Probation', *Probation Journal,* 51 (2004), pp. 34-47; Maurice Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community, A History of Probation Theory and Practice,* (Aldershot, 2004); W. McWilliams, 'The Mission to the English Police Courts, 1876-1936', *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice,* 22 (1983), pp. 129-147.
[10] Jarvis, *Advise, Assist and Befriend,* p. 67.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 67-69.
[12] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 261.
[13] Dave Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History,* (Kent, 2001), p. 14.
[14] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community,* p. 95-121.

> Recruitment during the period 1960 to 1980 tended to produce either graduate entrants with little or no work experience, or mature entrants with lots of experience but only a somewhat sketchy Home Office training course to provide any sort of theoretical background. This polarisation of staff was to lead to considerable tension and some ill feeling.[15]

Whatever reasons former officers had for not discussing the sixties in detail, this deficiency in the literature has not improved over time with more recent works by probation officers such as Philip Whitehead and Roger Statham focusing more on events after 1979 when probation experienced greater political interference and reform.[16]

There therefore remain significant gaps in our knowledge about probation in the sixties, particularly regarding the tension brought about by the arrival of the university graduates. One exception is an article written by the historian, Abigail Wills.[17] In 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England, 1950-1970', Wills examined progress reports on delinquents from High Beech – a Probation Home for teenage male delinquents in Nutfield, Surrey – and found that ideologies of reform within institutions in postwar Britain were highly gendered. Although Wills did not specifically highlight the arrival of the university graduates in the 1960s, her article nevertheless outlined generational differences to the task of reform as it was reflected in progress reports after the Second World War. For the older generation, 'making men out of boys' for the nation was one of the key paradigms within which the reformation of teenage delinquents was understood. This involved the 'acquisition of a set of character and behavioural traits associated with appropriate masculinity…this involved the idea that physical rectitude was intimately related to strength of character and moral probity…Abstract ideals of self-discipline, industriousness, honesty and strength of character were seen as "embodied" in physical qualities of cleanliness, strength and firmness.'[18] As the 1960s progressed, however, Wills found that reform was increasingly understood primarily in terms of its benefit to the individual.[19] With their training in psychology, this development can be attributed to the arrival of university graduates who were more willing to conceive delinquent behaviour in pathological terms (see chapter one).

Wills' article was inspired by other historical research on penal-welfare regimes. Studies by Michelle Cale and Pamela Cox have shown that in earlier periods girls were institutionalised in reformatories and industrial schools principally for transgressions of conventional norms of feminine

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[15] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 14.
[16] Philip Whitehead and Roger Statham, *The History of Probation: Politics, Power, and Cultural Change, 1876-2005,* (Crayford, 2006).
[17] Abigail Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', *Past & Present,* 187 (2005), pp. 157 – 185.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 161-162.
[19] *Ibid.,* p. 185.

behaviour.[20] Transgressions of conventional gender norms and criminal justice are an area which sociological and criminological studies have begun to address and which this thesis will take further.[21]

Wills' article aside, there has been little research into probation practice historically, particularly in the sixties when officers were advising magistrates through SERs more than ever before (see next section). Moreover, the overwhelming focus so far on juvenile delinquents means that little is known about the gendered perception and control of adult offenders in the criminal justice system. Although the general trust placed in probation officers was derived from a political consensus on penal-welfare, and bolstered by a relative lack of negative empirical findings to challenge the status quo,[22] the fact that SERs were confidential has previously made it impossible to know how probation officers advised magistrates on a case-by-case basis. Indeed, despite their centrality to the penal-welfare justice system, there is a relative dearth of SER scholarship either historically or in the contemporary probation literature. Given how the Probation Service jealously guards its role providing courts with pre-sentence reports today – the modern day equivalent of SERs – this is perhaps surprising.[23] However, one of the main reasons for this can be attributed to the tendency of court reports to be destroyed once used by courts. This silence has been compounded because official discourses, including publications like the *Probation Journal,* have traditionally been preoccupied with issues surrounding the casework relationship; casework's centrality in the secondary literature derives from the Service historically drawing its rationale almost exclusively from its ability to rehabilitate individuals through a therapeutic method. Official discourses have therefore been largely centred on improving its potential.[24]

Little is known about how probation officers persuaded magistrates in the past via SERs and what role, if any, gender norms played in influencing decisions to adopt welfare recommendations for adult offenders. For example, in his history of the Service, Maurice Vanstone drew upon a wide range of material including memoirs and other personal accounts, contemporary studies, official reports, journal articles, newspapers and other documents, as well as oral interviews from retired officers. Although very useful, particularly for following official discourses, without access to SERs and other

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[20] Michelle Cale, 'Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger in the Victorian Reformatory System', *History,* 78 (1993), pp. 201-217; Pamela Cox, 'Rescue and Reform: Girls, Delinquency and Industrial Schools 1908-33' (PhD thesis: University of Cambridge, 1996); Pamela Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare: Bad Girls in Britain, 1900-1950,* (Basingstoke, 2003);Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family: Britain, 1850-1940,* (London, 1995); Lucia Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody in Victorian England,* (Oxford, 1991).

[21] Elizabeth A. Stanko and Tim Newburn (eds.), *Just Boys Doing Business? Men, Masculinities and Crime,* (London, 1994); Richard Collier, *Masculinities, Crime, and Criminology: Men, Heterosexuality, and the Criminal(ised) Other,* (London, 1998); Simon Winlow, *Badfellas: Crime, Tradition and New Masculinities,* (Oxford, 2001). For studies about the social history of crime that have been influenced by gender history, see M. Arnot and C. Usborne (eds), *Gender and Crime in Modern Europe,* (London, 1999); S. D'Cruze (ed.), *Everyday Violence in Britain, 1850-1950: Gender and Class,* (Harlow, 2000); Martin Wiener, *Men of Blood: Violence, Manliness and Criminal Justice in Victorian England,* (Cambridge, 2004); Clive Emsley, *Hard Men: Violence in England since 1750,* (London, 2005).

[22] Garland, *The Culture of Control,* p. 64, 149.

[23] Whitehead and Statham, *The History of Probation,* p. vii.

[24] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community,* p. 95-121.

written records on specific offenders, Vanstone concluded somewhat despondently that his research was more a history of what probation officers 'said they did rather than what they actually did.'[25]

The historian Mathew Thomson echoed this point in *Psychological Subjects.*[26] Reviewing the growing influence of psychology during the twentieth century as a tool of governance for a state increasingly concerned with managing its population[27], Thomson criticised studies by the medical sociologists, David Armstrong and Nikolas Rose, for being preoccupied with the 'aims, ideas, and even the practical tools of the professionals' that tended to 'assume their influence, without attending in sufficient detail to the way these failed or changed because of messy politics, competing interests, and economic realities.'[28] According to Thomson, the emphasis on professional literature limited the focus of Rose's argument and tended to assume the influence of professional groups without attending in sufficient detail to how this failed or changed because of competing interests including scientific, religious, political, and cultural.[29]

Through a case-study of the City of London's Justice Rooms, this thesis will tackle the central issue of how probation officers used their status in the postwar justice system to bring about penal-welfare solutions. It will examine to what extent the university graduates differed from their older colleagues in their perception and portrayal of a range of adult offenders in SERs, and in relation to wider social, political and cultural agendas between the years 1958-1972, a period representing the permissive shift in British society as well as a time when the Service rapidly professionalised under the postwar welfare state. In doing so, it will show how social and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity shaped the experiences of those involved in the criminal justice system. The following section will discuss methodology.

Methodology

Thousands of reports by probation officers, NHS hospitals, national clinics, prisons and mental hospitals have survived in the court records of the Guildhall and Mansion House Justice Rooms, the City of London's two magistrates' courts. Dealing primarily with summary offences committed by adults, these courts sat daily and were part of the County Court system of England and Wales. Reflecting the enormous growth in social institutions associated with the welfare state after the Second World War, throughout the postwar decades, the Guildhall and Mansion House stapled all their reports into Evidence Books which accompany the court registers. Having been buried in court

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[26] Mathew Thomson, *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health in Twentieth-Century Britain,* (Oxford, 2005), p. 8.
[27] David Armstrong, *The Political Anatomy of the Body,* (Cambridge, 1983); Nikolas Rose, *The Psychological Complex: Psychology, Politics and Society in England, 1869-1939,* (London, 1985); Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul, The Shaping of the Private Self,* (London, 1999).
[28] Thomson, *Psychological Subjects,* p. 8.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

records at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), these sources provide a fascinating and unique insight into how a wide range of professionals and institutions confidentially advised magistrates in this period; they are freely available for research by historians. These rich sources offer a tremendous opportunity to find out how probation officers dealt with a wide range of adult offenders and offences in the 1960s.

In total, 1,941 reports survive in the court records. They were written for the Guildhall and Mansion House Justice Rooms between the years 1958 and 1972. There are 1,000 SERs by probation officers, 647 reports by prison medical officers, 204 reports by community psychiatrists working in NHS hospitals and national clinics, and 57 reports by asylum doctors (the remaining 33 reports could not attributed to a specific institution). It is important to point out, however, that the vast majority of offenders who appeared before the City's magistrates did not have an SER. The annual reports of the Commissioner of the City of London Police provide extremely useful data as to the number of indictable and non-indictable charges which came to the attention of the police and which were dealt with in the London courts. According to the1967 annual report, for example, the total number of persons proceeded against for indictable and non-indictable offences were 9,525 (674 indictable offences and 8,851 non-indictable).[30] Over this period, however, only 97 SERs were requested by magistrates at the Guildhall and Mansion House. Magistrates tended to request reports only in more serious offences such as stealing from an employer ('Larceny Servant') or as a last resort when dealing with a troublesome repeat offender.

The 1,000 SERs represent 976 offenders (21 offenders had more than one report about them surviving in the Evidence Books). It is easy to see from Table 1 why crime and delinquency was generally regarded as a male problem, although females constituted a small but significant proportion of the criminal population in the postwar period. Indeed, 12 per cent of those prosecuted for indictable offences in England and Wales were female in 1960.[31] These statistics are reflected in Table 1.

TABLE 1 *Breakdown of SERs according to the sex of the offender.*

Type of Offender	%	Number of SERs
Female	12	121
Male	88	879
	100	1000

[30] *Annual Report of the Commissioner for the Year 1967, Reports of the Common Council,* (London, 1968), p. 23-26.
[31] Shani D'Cruze and Louise Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* (Basingstoke, 2009), p. 17.

The choice of the City of London was determined by the survival of these records (as it turns out, there are more of these reports found in other court records from across metropolitan London). Questions could be asked about how representative the City is of a typical police district. There is no doubt that, being the centre of the United Kingdom's financial services sector, the City was an unusual case study. The 1975 *Review of the Establishment of the Force*, produced by the City Police, described its idiosyncrasies:

> Geographically the City of London occupies 677 acres in the centre of Metropolitan London and covers roughly that area previously contained in the walls of the ancient City. The City has always been an international centre for banking, trade, insurance and commerce of all descriptions. Almost every major bank and insurance company in the world maintains an office in the City. There are approximately 550 banks, including the Bank of England, within the City and the amount of bullion and negotiable securities stored there is incalculable. Equally staggering is the amount in transit within the City at any one time during the day…The Diamond Trading Corporation handles 80% of the world's uncut diamonds. There are thirty-five Livery Halls in the City each containing a wealth of art treasures and gold and silver plate, as do the thirty-nine churches and St. Paul's Cathedral which are also within the Force boundary…the City has a low residential population of about 4,600, despite an increase in recent years brought about by the redevelopment of the Barbican area into a residential and cultural centre…Places like St. Paul's, The Monument, the Old Bailey, the Stock Exchange and other interesting and historic buildings attract a considerable number of tourists.[32]

As the following chapters will demonstrate, the City of London generated many white-collar offences as a result of it being an international centre for banking, trade, insurance, and commerce. This is one of its strengths as a case study as there is a lack of historical research on types of offenders other than juveniles. However, there were many aspects of the City that were not idiosyncratic. As the *Review of the Establishment of the Force* also explained, a diverse workforce of skilled and semi-skilled people worked in the City of London. The area also attracted shoppers and tourists and, with its central location and close proximity to the East End, there were plenty of offenders that were not directly associated with the City:

> there are many areas of lock-up retail shops, stores, warehouses and markets, as well as an abundance of restaurants and licensed premises. Smithfield Market is the largest dead meat and poultry market in the world, and the fur trading centre is the largest in Europe. Fleet Street and its surrounding area is the home of almost all the National newspapers and news gathering agencies…In addition there are estimated to be about 25,000 shift workers employed in the City outside normal working hours. They are engaged mainly in the newspaper, market, cleaning, post office and computer industries. The City attracts office workers from all over the south-east of the country for normal day-time working and this commuter factor generates an enormous morning and evening flow of traffic with as many as 400,000 people arriving for work between 8 a.m. and 10 a.m., and leaving between 4.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. To cater for this commuter traffic the City is served by six main line railway stations as well as the underground system and a heavy

[32] Unknown Author, *Review of the Establishment of the Force, 1975*, (City of London, 1975), p. 2.

> concentration of London Transport bus services…Experience has shown that Bishopsgate is…busiest…mainly because of its proximity to the "East End" of London and the fact that Liverpool Street main line station is situated within the Divisional boundaries.[33]

As this thesis will demonstrate, being located in central London, the City had to manage criminal behaviour typical of any urban environment from car theft and indecent exposure, to drugs and alcohol-related offences. Table 2 demonstrates that the vast majority of SERs were regarding property offences committed by males. The majority of the violence, public order, and regulatory offences were also committed by males.

TABLE 2 *Breakdown of SERs according to category of offence and sex of the offender*.

Offence Category	Male Offenders (%)	Number	Female Offenders (%)	Number	Total
Property	87	784	13	118	902
Public Order	96	44	4	2	46
Violence	98	41	2	1	42
Regulatory	100	10	0	0	10
					1000

Tables 3 and 4 break down the 1,000 SERs into those offenders who were single or married at the time of the offence. The tables below also take into account whether the offender was aged 15-25 or aged 26 and over. The reason for this subdivision was because marriage was often believed to mark an important transition from youth to adulthood; Mark Abrams identified this in *The Teenage Consumer* which looked at the spending habits of those between school leaving age and marrying or reaching the age of 25.[34] By drawing this distinction, the thesis will investigate the different perceptions of adult offenders according to their marital status. In doing so, the thesis will highlight the different attitudes of probation officers towards young adults and married individuals. Table 3 demonstrates that 626 (63%) SERs were on single people with the majority of males and females falling in the 15-25 age group.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.
[34] Mark Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, (London, 1959), pp. 13-14.

TABLE 3 *Breakdown of SERs on Single Men and Women aged between 15-25 and 26 and over.*

Type of Offender	Aged 15-25 (%)	Number	Aged 26 and over (%)	Number	Total
Single Female	87	60	13	9	69
Single Male	83	463	17	94	557
					626

Table 4 demonstrates that there were only 374 (37%) SERs written on married people. This group also includes those who were separated or divorced from their partners at the time the report was written. They are included in the 'married' category because, as this thesis will show, marriage continued to structure the narrative of reports even after the relationship had ended (see chapters three and five).

TABLE 4 *Breakdown of SERs on Married Men and Women aged between 15-25 and 26 and over.*

Type of Offender	Aged 15-25 (%)	Number	Aged 26 and over	Number	Total
Married Female	33	17	67	35	52
Married Male	34	109	66	213	322
					374

The Guildhall and Mansion House Justice Rooms occasionally dealt with people from middle-class backgrounds. Far from a descriptive taxonomy, class is an active one that is freighted with political and social meaning. Notable accounts of working and middle-class life in the modern period include Ross McKibbin's *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951,* and Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell's *Middle Classes: Their Rise and Sprawl*.[35] Occupation, income, lifestyle and self-designation have been taken as the most salient indices that have categorised the working, middle, and upper classes.

Previous studies have highlighted that the socio-economic standing of defendants played an important role in the ascertaining of guilt in court. In her research into child sex abuse trials in the Victorian and Edwardian period, Louise Jackson found that the likelihood of conviction for sexual assault was inversely proportional to the social class of the defendant. Juries found it harder to believe that a 'normal', 'respectable' male, with a permanent job and family responsibilities, should wish to

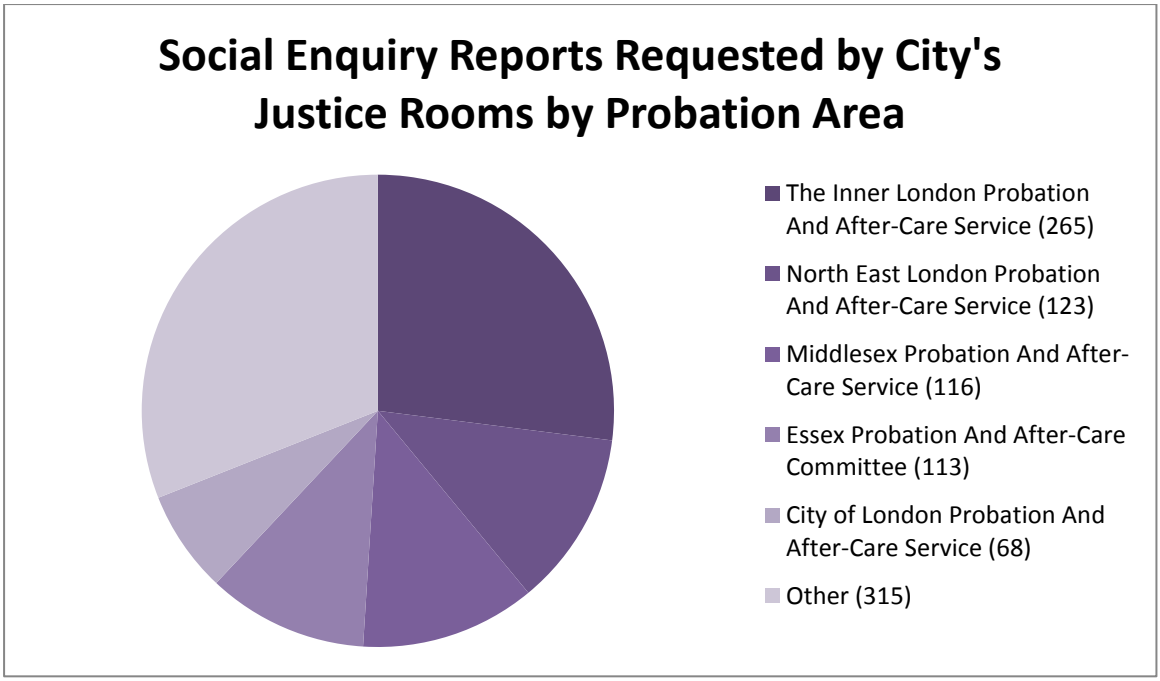
[35] Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951,* (Oxford, 1998); Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell, *Middle Classes: Their Rise and Sprawl,* (London, 2002).

molest a child. As a result, the middle-class male and, indeed, the middle-class home, were less likely to be subject of surveillance or scrutiny.[36]

In pointing out that probation officers emphasised approvingly the careers of middle-class men, and the work ethic of their working-class equivalents, my article on importuning highlighted that the definition of masculinity varied according to the social background of the offender.[37] This thesis will continue to discuss how social class shaped definitions of masculinity as well as femininity. Although ascertaining the social class of offenders in the past is usually a relatively straight forward process, taking into account education and employment background, for example, in the postwar decades it can become problematic with gradually increasing numbers of working-class individuals embarking on grammar school and university education before entering professional careers. SERs are therefore carefully checked when attributing social class. This can be relatively simple when the probation officer has stated the offender's class in the report. When this is not the case, however, social class is established by carefully examining the offender's occupation, income, and lifestyle as represented in the SER.

Finally, in the 1960s, London was divided into five Probation Areas: Middlesex, Inner London, South West, South East, and North East. Probation officers were affiliated to individual court areas where they serviced the needs of the local magistrates, including preparing SERs, organising after-care of released prisoners, guardian *ad litem* enquiries, and 'consent to marry' and affiliation cases.[38] However, because SERs were written by a probation officer from the offender's local Probation Area, an important side effect of the City's diverse working population is that there are a tremendous range of SERs written by probation officers from across Metropolitan London and beyond. The chart below demonstrates that the vast majority of reports came from the London area. However, the 'Other' category includes reports from as far as Scotland, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester.

[36] Jackson, 'Child Sexual Abuse and the Law: London 1870-1914', p. 7-49.
[37] John Lunan, 'Probation Officers, Social Enquiry Reports, and Importuning in the 1960s', *The Historical Journal*, 56 (2013), p. 788-789.
[38] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 261-262, 281.



Substantial historical research has been conducted by probation officers about the Service in London, including Martin Page's *Crimefighters of London,* Dave Martin's *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History,* and *Recollections of Probation in Inner London, 1937-2001*.[39] As well as providing important insights into the development of the Probation Service, these studies offer a wealth of biographical information about probation officers, many of whom can be identified from their SERs surviving in the City's court records. Comparing and contrasting reports with this probation literature allows a broad and comprehensive picture to emerge about how London's diverse probation officers advised magistrates. In particular, we can assess to what extent probation officers differed in the way that they influenced magistrates depending on their particular generation and training background. Although probation officers represented in the 'Other' category can rarely be identified from the above mentioned probation literature, they can nevertheless be useful in drawing attention to broader national trends. Oral history can provide a fascinating additional perspective on 1960s probation officers as the next section will explain.

[39] Martin Page, *Crimefighters of London: a history of the origins and development of the Probation and Aftercare Service 1876-1965,* (London, 1992); Dave Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History,* (Kent, 2001); Celia May and Susan Lord, *Recollections of Probation in Inner London, 1937-2001,* (London, 2001).

Oral History

Several important books have recently been written on the theory, method, and use of oral history.[40] As Lynn Abrams explained, 'oral history' refers to 'both the practice of conducting interviews and all the subsequent stages of transcription and interpretation.'[41] Highlighting the complexity of historical relationships and testimony, *The Oral History Reader* covers key debates in the development of oral history including the problems posed by interviewing, issues surrounding ethics, the politics of empowerment, analytical strategies for interpreting memories, and the concerns of archiving and public history.[42] Oral history transforms the practice of history in several important ways. Based on an active human relationship, the interviewee 'not only recalls the past but also asserts his or her interpretation of that past'.[43] This has generated fierce debates amongst historians about the reliability of memory and its relationship with history.[44]

Advocates of oral history claim that it has 'democratised' the study of the past by recording the experiences of people who have been 'hidden from history'.[45] This thesis however is not directly concerned with the people written about by probation officers in SERs. Through oral history interviews, retired probation officers have complemented the archival evidence. Indeed, they have inscribed their experiences on the historical record, and offered their own interpretations of probation in the sixties. More specifically, interviews have documented particular aspects of historical probation experience which tend to be missing from other sources, such as personal relations with colleagues, different training experiences and backgrounds, as well as supervision of offenders.

Eleven retired officers were interviewed as part of my research. They were recruited following a short presentation I made at the Probation Service's London Retired Staff Association (LRSA). After a brief outline of my research interests and an explanation about why I was collating their memories of 1960s probation, Will Watson, Tony Leach, Mike Bracken, John Walters, and Gerry Matthews volunteered for interview (Irene Walters was interviewed at the same time as John Walters because she was also a retired probation officer and was married to John). Anne Vickers, Jim Cannings, and Stephen Collins were not members of LRSA but were interviewed following recommendations. Anne Vickers and Jim Cannings are members of the Probation Service's Retired Chief Officers' Association (RCOA) and are good friends with John Walters. Stephen Collins was Mike Bracken's former colleague in the 1960s and they remain good friends which is why Mike suggested interviewing him. In order to boost the number of retired women probation officers interviewed, Irene Clarkson and Georgie Stafford were recommended by Gerry Matthews (Irene

[40] Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader,* (London, 2006); Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory,* (London, 2010); Donald Ritchie, *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History,* (Oxford, 2011).
[41] Abrams, *Oral History Theory,* p. 3.
[42] Perks and Thomson, *The Oral History Reader,* p. i.
[43] *Ibid.,* p. ix.
[44] Perks and Thomson, *The Oral History Reader,* p. x; Abrams, *Oral History Theory,* p. 5.
[45] Perks and Thomson, *The Oral History Reader,* p. ix.

being a friend and former colleague of Gerry. Georgie was strongly recommended being the oldest and most famous member of LRSA). Both women were first approached by Gerry and they agreed to be interviewed.

Questions about how representative these eleven retired officers are of 1960s probation are likely to be asked. With the exception of Georgie Stafford and Irene Clarkson – who began their probation careers in the 1930s and 1950s respectively – all the interviewees started as field officers in the sixties after leaving university (see chapter one). This generational imbalance towards the younger probation officers who joined the Service in the postwar decades largely reflects the fact that the pre-war officers are now few and far between. Nevertheless, those interviewed had differing career trajectories and experiences in the Probation Service. Some, such as Will Watson, Irene Walters, Georgie Stafford, and Gerry Matthews, continued to work at grassroots level as field officers or Senior Probation Officers throughout their time in probation. Others eventually left the Service and pursued different careers. Stephen Collins left probation in the 1970s and eventually lectured in social work at Bradford University. Irene Clarkson also departed in the seventies and became a Liaison Officer at the Court of Appeals.

Five interviewees had achieved senior ranks in the Probation Service by the 1990s. John Walters, Jim Cannings, and Tony Leach became Chief Probation Officers at Middlesex, Derbyshire, and Inner London, respectively. Anne Vickers became Assistant Chief at Northamptonshire and Mike Bracken became an Assistant Chief at Lewisham. Whereas Gerry Matthews, Georgie Stafford, and Will Watson spent their working lives in and around the London area, others worked further afield. Jim Cannings spent time in Bristol and Mike Bracken worked as a social worker in Sweden, for example. John Walters, Anne Vickers and Jim Cannings had experience supervising trainee probation officers in the Home Office Training Unit.

The reliability of oral interviews has been called into question. Fifty years is too long ago to exactly recall what probation officers wrote in individual SERs. There is also the question of what sort of memories is being tapped into and how they have changed over time. Some of the interviewees volunteered because they were unhappy with the current status of the Probation Service. Will Watson, for example, was angered by the privatisation of the Probation Service from the 1990s onwards and actively campaigned to have the institution returned to its postwar structure and ideals. Some took a fundamentally different view. John Walters was irritated by the romanticism of 1960s probation peddled by some of his former colleagues, a point echoed by Jim Cannings. Most of the opinions of others fell somewhere between these two perspectives. While lamenting its decline, Tony Leech, Georgie Stafford, and Anne Vickers acknowledged that there were some aspects of postwar probation that would not be tolerated today (see chapter one). Gerry Matthews and Irene Walters were more particular in their criticisms, pointing out the cumbersome layers of bureaucracy in modern social services and duplication of work. Having left probation in the seventies, Stephen Collins and Irene Clarkson could not comment too deeply on the nature of change that had taken place since the 1960s.

No doubt their opinions of the Service today have shaped their memories of working in the 1960s. Historians should be constantly aware of the cultural context within which each interviewee and the interview itself is situated because of its potential impact upon how memory is recalled and converted into language.[46] Nevertheless, although ideally more would have been interviewed, overall it can be concluded with reasonable confidence that the eleven interviewees represent a decent cross section of 1960s probation. They have provided important insights and perspectives on the period in question that can be critically applied and integrated with archival evidence and published primary and secondary sources, helping to answer some of the fundamental research questions outlined here.

This thesis seeks to develop nuanced and thought-provoking methods of reading qualitative evidence to provide a much greater depth of analysis than has previously been attempted in nineteenth and twentieth-century studies of crime. Using oral interviews and other published primary and secondary sources, chapter one charts the shifting roles, identities, training, and approaches of probation officers as the Service rapidly professionalised after the Second World War. In drawing attention to the generational division in 1960s probation, the chapter discusses why it is that some historians have labelled the university-trained officers as representing the permissive shift in this period. The chapter also discusses the similarities between the generations in terms of their attitudes towards other groups involved in criminal justice from the police to magistrates.

Chapters two to five examines the gendered discourses which positioned offenders in SERs as either requiring intervention or not. These chapters therefore explore the ways in which the actualities of criminal cases intermeshed with historic conceptions of gender identity. I shall demonstrate that for adult offenders, the age, gender, marital status, and social class were key factors which, regardless of the nature of the offence or previous convictions, were implicitly related to the probation officer's verdict and recommendation to the magistrate. I shall expand the analysis of gender and citizenship in my journal article, demonstrating its specific meanings with regard to a wide range of adult male and female offenders and offences. By assessing the generational differences in the approaches to writing SERs, the thesis highlights the creativity of probation officers as they attempted to demonstrate evidence of appropriate gender (or not) across a range of circumstances. I will argue that the reputation of the offender was gauged in terms of his or her adherence to a normative masculinity or femininity. Notions of respectability and reputation were structured in relation to wider debates and conceptions about appropriate gender, which were a central focus of public attention in the postwar period.

Chapter two looks at SERs written primarily on young adult males. It argues that these offenders continued to be described and discussed in ways remarkably similar to their juvenile equivalents. In particular, probation officers looked for and highlighted evidence of a submissive

[46] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, p. 19.

masculinity and parental control when attempting to persuade magistrates. These findings are then contrasted with married adult males in chapter three. Regardless of age or social class, marriage redefined the masculine ideal from one of submissiveness to domesticity. Probation officers therefore based their opinions and recommendations on evidence that the married male was a domesticated husband. Chapters four and five consider SERs written on adult women. Single young women are the focus of attention in chapter four which demonstrates that, despite being adults, probation officers looked for evidence of submissiveness similar to what was seen in chapter two. Chapter five shows that domesticity and companionship between husband and wife remained central to portrayals of married adult women in SERs as it had been for married men. Chapters three and five includes discussions about offenders who had been divorced, separated, or were single parents at the time of the report. This is to highlight that traditional gender norms remained critical to narratives in SERs even when they appeared to be absent in the lives of offenders. In the concluding chapter, I situate these findings in the broader historical literature and assess the ramifications these conclusions have on how historians should regard the Probation Service and permissiveness.

Whereas previous studies had assumed the influence of psychology as an applied discipline used by professionals[47], I will argue that understandings of masculinity and femininity were central in the definition and control of offenders in the criminal justice system by probation officers. More generally, this thesis makes a significant contribution to the growing historiography relating to the history of crime and punishment, the permissive society, and mid-twentieth-century ideas about gender identity and citizenship.[48]

[47] Armstrong, *The Political Anatomy of the Body*; Rose, *The Psychological Complex*; Rose, *Governing the Soul*.
[48] For examples about the history of crime and punishment, see Garland, *The Culture of Control*, p. 1; E. Carrabine, P. Cox, M. Lee and N. South (eds.), *Crime in Modern Britain*, (Oxford, 2002); V. A. C. Gatrell, 'Crime, Authority and the Policeman-State', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *Cambridge Social History of Britain*, (Cambridge, 1995); S. D'Cruze, 'Crime', in I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain*, (Harlow, 2001); B. Godfrey and P. Lawrence, *Crime and Justice 1750-1950*, (Cullompton, 2002); A. H. Halsey and J. Webb (eds.), *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends*, (Basingstoke, 2000); T. Morris, *Crime and Criminal Justice since 1945*, (Oxford, 1989); C. William, B. Godfrey, and P. Lawrence (eds.), *History and Crime*, (London, 2008).

Chapter One: Generational Division in the 1960s Probation Service

Historians have pointed out that penal-welfare regimes evolved and were shaped by historical contexts. In her work on idiot asylums, Pamela Dale highlighted how eugenic ideas in the interwar period impacted on nineteenth century humanitarian ideologies about helping the incapable, for example.[1] Academics have also questioned the motives of those who set up, ran or worked in these institutions and how this changed over time. In doing so, they have tended to break it down into a series of distinct generational sequences. Regarding her research into girls' institutions, for example, Michelle Cale argued that, whilst their function was clearly to regulate behaviour:

> In the first decade or so of the reformatory system's existence, the schools were staffed by a set of religiously motivated amateurs who saw in this new system an opportunity for doing good works…Then, as the certified reformatory and industrial schools became firmly established, a group of workers were attracted who were lower in social status than the pioneers and who were encouraged to take up employment by the stability and inherent security of the system, and the financial and social security it offered to individuals. From both of these groups a third was created which took the reformatory system forward into the twentieth century…With the rise of a group of officers who were engaging in what had become a family trade, it is arguable that there was a lessening of religious fervour, and a corresponding increase in the number of people who saw the reformatory system as a career.[2]

Shani D'Cruze and Louise Jackson added to this by noting that by the mid-twentieth century residential social work was being recast as a profession, requiring specialist training.[3]

Historians have similarly attempted to break down the development of probation into distinct generational sequences. Of most relevance here is Abigail Wills' study of High Beech Probation Home.[4] Inspired by Arthur Marwick's assertion that '*something* significant happened in the 1960s'[5], Wills argued that in the twenty-year period or so after the Second World War, progress reports on juvenile delinquents from High Beech could be divided between 1950s traditionalism on the one hand, and 1960s permissiveness on the other.[6] The point was made that 'most of the staff in institutions for delinquents in the 1950s were, by both instinct and training, tied in to the thinking of earlier decades.'[7] They saw their task as to transform errant boys into men and citizens; these ideals were 'underlain by a holistic understanding of society: the task of reform was conceived in terms of

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[1] Pamela Dale, 'Implementing the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act: Competing Priorities and Resource Constraint Evident in the South West of England before 1948', *The Society for the Social History of Medicine,* 16 (2003), pp. 403-418.
[2] Michelle Cale, 'Working for God? Staffing the Victorian Reformatory and Industrial School System', *History of Education,* 21 (1992), pp. 126-127.
[3] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 152.
[4] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', *Past & Present,* pp. 157 – 185.
[5] Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958-c.1974,* (Oxford, 1998), p. 4; Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 159.
[6] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', pp. 157 – 185.
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 167.

the reclamation of delinquents "for the nation".'[8] However, in the 1960s, partly as a result of a new prominence of psychology in training, Wills identified a transformation as 'reform came increasingly to be understood primarily in terms of its benefit to the individual.'[9] The need for rigid conformity in fitting in with the demands of a holistic national society came to be seen as harmful.[10] Wills argued that this shift in attitudes was the basic philosophy behind the permissive society.[11]

Although no doubt done for clarity of argument, breaking down probation into distinct sequences like this masks the significant tensions and conflicts which arose as a result of institutional change. The history of the Probation Service is in fact marked by generational clashes as it evolved over time into a professionalised social work organisation. For example, reflecting the mid-twentieth century shift from moral to psychological frameworks for understanding delinquency, Maurice Vanstone and Martin Page highlighted the tail end of the 'religiously minded' practitioners voicing their criticism over the secularisation of the Service following the Home Office takeover in the late 1930s.[12] Generational clashes in the 1960s were also noted by Dave Martin in his brief history of South East London Probation Service.[13] The tension was over the increasing numbers of university-trained graduates entering the Service in the sixties as part of the professionalising process encouraged by the Home Office at the time.[14] As Dave Martin continued to explain:

> Recruitment during the period 1960 to 1980 tended to produce either graduate entrants with little or no work experience, or mature entrants with lots of experience but only a somewhat sketchy Home Office training course to provide any sort of theoretical background. This polarisation of staff was to lead to considerable tension and some ill feeling.[15]

This was perhaps the defining feature of probation in the sixties with the Service split into two main groups of staff. The first group was comprised of older officers who had either been there since before the War or, as Dave Martin indicated above, had joined as a 'mature entrant' with little or no formal training having previously worked elsewhere. The second group were the young graduates who had joined the Service directly after completing their social work training at university. Tony Leach, who joined Inner London Probation Service in 1968 after studying at Bedford College, outlined this significant development. He highlighted how probation had previously been 'much more a change of career option'. As he continued to explain:

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 159-160.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 184.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[12] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community*, p. 95; Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 157.
[13] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 14.
[14] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community*, p. 95-121.
[15] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 14.

> typically most people came into the Service in their early thirties, having typically done their A Levels, but not gone to university…not perhaps the most academic, and perhaps worked in industry or commerce for fifteen years or so, and then reassessing their lives and deciding…and the majority of people were like that…But the Service was slowly changing, I mean eventually changing as it were altogether I think into more of a graduate profession because it was increasingly recruiting people straight from university.[16]

Irene Walters, who joined Highgate Magistrates' Court (where she met her husband, John) in 1963, aged 22, recalled that trainees at Leicester University were encouraged to believe that they were the future of the Probation Service and would be replacing the older generations, 'because most people up till then were not university-educated. They had drifted via other jobs and so on and so forth, and we were being told very firmly that we were the new people coming in and were going to run everything and be very important!'[17] John Walters concurred with his wife, 'We were very much supported by the senior management at the time which was very much committed to that kind of ethos.'[18]

It seems that the support of senior management for the university graduates which John Walters referred to had been apparent to the older staff at the time too. For example, submitting evidence to the Morison Committee (published in 1962), which was concerned with all aspects of the Probation Service in England, Wales, and Scotland, senior probation officers had complained that the Home Office's official policy appeared to emphasise the professional superiority of the newer officers which was seen to reflect badly on the seniors and the older officers generally.[19] Nevertheless, it seems that the Home Office was undaunted by these complaints and continued to increasingly recruit direct from universities. A Home Office Circular from 1965 highlights this dramatic pace of change:

> The Departmental Committee on the Probation Service (the Morison Committee) recorded in their report that by the end of October 1961 the probation service in England and Wales had increased by 74% in under eleven years. The rate of increase accelerated markedly after 1957, and in the four years ending with 1961 it amounted to 36%. In the three years since then the service has increased by a further 27% and at present numbers about 2,300 officers. After careful study the Training Committee has advised that plans should be made to bring the strength of the Service to 3,500 officers by 1970…Training facilities have been steadily expanded in recent years so that the output to the service from training, which had previously averaged a hundred annually, was 129 in 1963 and 182 in 1964; in 1965 it will be about 290. The Training Committee is of the opinion that an output of 350 students in 1966 and following years would be a desirable and realistic target.[20]

By 1965, the university graduates came from a number of institutions (there had been a chorus of calls to expand student numbers and provide the country with a better-educated workforce

[16] Interview with Tony Leach, recorded by JL, London, 9 February 2012.
[17] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[18] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[19] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p 281.
[20] Home Office Circular No. 98/1965, *Recruitment and Training of Probation Officers*, HOC 98/65.

during the Second World War[21]). Applied social studies courses, which included probation students, were held at Birmingham, Bristol, Hull, Leicester, LSE, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Southampton, and Swansea. In addition, there were post-graduate courses for probation students held at Exeter, Manchester, Nottingham, and Oxford. The Regent Street Polytechnic (in conjunction with the University of London) ran a two-year probation course. Finally, one year regional courses for probation students were organised by the Extra-Mural departments at Leeds, Leicester, Southampton, and Bristol. To supplement existing courses, several new university courses were planned to start in 1965, and consultations were in progress with other universities and educational establishments where there were prospects of new courses being arranged.[22] The Home Office Circular also mentioned the various ways probation as a career was advertised to undergraduate students:

> The Training Committee has reviewed the method of attracting applicants for training as probation officers. The scale of advertising has been increased: advertisements are inserted in University magazines, careers publications and so on, as well as in the national and local press and are timed to attract applicants for particular courses and to step up applications as required. Several books have recently been published on probation work. Free-lance writers preparing books and articles on careers are provided with information about the probation service; and recruitment announcements are regularly made in the B.B.C.'s Government announcements period. The Training Committee has noted that good contacts have been established with social science departments of universities and has suggested that an attempt should be made to interest undergraduates of other faculties in the probation and after-care service as a career…Many officers have given time to informing enquiries, and to interesting a wide variety of persons by means of lectures to school sixth forms, contact with university students and attendance at local careers weeks and careers exhibitions.[23]

Despite this recruitment drive, throughout the sixties the Probation Service continued to have a diverse staff profile in terms of training. For example, statistics in 1962 show that less than half of the officers at the London Probation Service (after 1965, the Inner London Probation Service) had a university background. Out of 197 whole-time officers, only 63 (31.8%) had a degree or certificate in social science or mental health after a course of whole-time study at a university followed by Home Office training or university applied social studies course. In contrast, 58 (29.5%) had Home Office Training only whereas 46 (23.4%) had attended just 'London Training Schemes'. Finally, almost ten per cent (9.6%) had no relevant university qualifications or Home Office or other training.[24]

Vanstone's discussion of probation after the Second Word War highlights why there were so many older pre-war and second career officers with only Home Office training and such like in the sixties. Firstly, in the immediate postwar years, the Service had struggled with the 'nature of the raw

[21] Jim Tomlinson, *The Politics of Decline: Understanding Post-war Britain,* (Harlow, 2000), p. 23-24.
[22] Home Office Circular No. 98/1965, *Recruitment and Training of Probation Officers,* HOC 98/65.
[23] Home Office Circular No. 98/1965, *Recruitment and Training of Probation Officers,* HOC 98/65.
[24] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 356.

material entering the training process'.[25] Recruitment produced a diverse set of probation officers with varying degrees of experience and expertise. However, it was mostly confined to 'people who were at least 28 and had "quite a bit of experience of life".'[26] Moreover, as those over the age of 30 did not require a Social Science diploma but simply undertook the short specialised Home Office training course instead, the Probation Service continued to be staffed largely by an older generation who perpetuated the kind of 'unsophisticated, theoretically vacuous and routine practice' which the Home Office had been trying to eradicate since the 1930s.[27]

These problems were compounded by the inadequacies of the specialised Home Office training course itself. This one-year course was held in London (at Rainer House and another centre) and included lectures and seminars on casework (the therapeutic relationship with offenders), social administration, and psychology. Six-month practical training for these students was then arranged throughout the country. Although the core element of training remained more or less constant through the 1950s and 1960s, it fell far short of expectations, especially in the late forties and fifties.[28] One probation officer offered an insight into the kinds of shortfalls that were experienced by trainees:

> the training itself was I suppose a bit hit and miss really…it was divided between the academic side and the actual practical work on the job. So you were placed in an office and you had the other half of the week…doing an academic course…So at the end of this two years you had some experience of dealing with people, and understanding what the office was like, and what the area was like, combined with an academic framework…It was an awful lot to pack into two years, I think over all we all thought that the practical side tended to encroach on the academic side really. I mean you're dealing with somebody and you leave them half way through the week and do something else altogether, it was quite difficult coming back and picking up. But anyway you did it…and you were assessed at the end of that time and if you passed the examination for the diploma that was it and you were what they were looking for.[29]

As Vanstone explained, the training course usually fostered a common sense approach to probation. It was not long or challenging enough to develop professional skills or explore the role a probation officer would play (depending on an individual's background, it was usually either one year or two years in duration). Seminars on social casework with experienced practitioners were fairly basic and new therapeutic theories could never really penetrate probation culture.[30] It was highlighted, for example, how some of the pre-war probation officers involved in training in the 1950s, while promoting a therapeutic approach, nevertheless provided less scientific views and that 'little attempt had been made to link theory and practice with the result that students emerged from training imbued with knowledge of psychoanalytical psychology but with "little idea of how to help their first

[25] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community,* p. 102.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[29] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[30] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community,* p. 106.

probationer respond to themselves".'[31] As a result, postwar probation was highly variable, 'some students attempted to help through personal insight and interpretations but lacking the necessary skills soon gave up; some fell back on their own life experiences in relationships in order to develop their own techniques.'[32]

Of course, as the above Home Office Circular suggests, the proportion of pre-war and second career officers would have changed as the sixties progressed and increasing numbers of university graduates entered the Probation Service. Nevertheless, interviews with retired probation officers highlight that throughout the 1960s the young graduates self-consciously defined themselves against their older colleagues and vice versa. For example, John Walters, who joined the Service in 1966 at Highgate Magistrates' Court after training at Nottingham, recalled the distinction in his office:

> We were not that small in number – in our own office we were about half and half weren't we? The old guard and ourselves…we were always interested in working with offenders…That's where we got a lot of our pleasure. I think the more traditional probation officer was very much more court-orientated…I never had any particular fondness for the legal system, which I think the older generation were more identified with.[33]

In contrast, born in 1921, Irene Clarkson, who joined the London Service in Bermondsey as a second career in 1953, aged 32, indicated her disapproval of the younger university graduates and their preoccupation with psychological theories of delinquency, 'I think this generation looks for trouble all the time, unnecessarily so! Wanting to analyse it…I mean some of my young colleagues when they were going to be fathers or had a small child, you know, they'd read all the psychological books about bringing up children – and then kid doesn't do what the book says!'[34]

Far from disappearing by the sixties, as Wills suggested[35], it seems this older generation of probation officers lasted in significant numbers throughout the 1960s and beyond. Mike Bracken, who first entered the Service at Croydon in 1962 after studying at Cambridge and then at LSE, highlighted that Borough High Street After-Care Unit was still staffed by a large contingent of pre-war and second career officers well into the 1970s. Moreover, his recollections also reveal the ways in which this generational tension could manifest itself in office camaraderie:

> B…was another guy. He was very erect and quite tall. He was in his late fifties or sixties by then. He'd been probably more than a police sergeant, possibly a police inspector. He then came into the Probation Service. So he was correct and down the line and knew his stuff…we had this one guy who was…a sort of local Londoner, strong dialect, who looked the part of just some ordinary bloke…It was peculiar because we were then the first batch of university people and he'd found out about us before we came, and me and

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[33] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[34] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.
[35] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 177-184.

> another guy…from Oxford, when he came in he doffed his cap in a bowing movement. And he always kept it up and it really irritated me because I don't want to say "I've got a working-class background as well, you know!"[36]

Mike's Cambridge education, and his colleague's Oxford one, seems to have been behind this particular class-based provocation. However, what mainly divided these two groups was the emphasis they placed on psychology. For the university graduates, their training in psychoanalysis, and subsequent psychodynamic approach to delinquency, defined their sense of professional identity and distinctiveness from the pre-war and second career probation officers. As John Walters explained:

> I think we were part of a relatively new breed of probation officers, university trained with, as we saw it, quite high standards of social casework, with, at that time, quite an influence of psychological theories of delinquency…it was the period of the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency (ISTD), and there was quite a lot of quite respectable, quite intellectual interest in crime as an expression of personal disorder…when we came in it was still quite Freudian…But the main body of probation officers didn't share that background, and I would say the traditions of the work were more paternalistic. Just exercising personal influence in a rather unfocused way…They had a very diverse background. Mostly they would come into the Service as a second career. We were unusual in that we were starting in our twenties.[37]

In contrast, as Wills and Vanstone both noted, psychology had been 'tolerated but marginalised' by an older generation of probation officers who had been more preoccupied with a reform project premised on the disciplining of character.[38] Irene Clarkson was therefore a typical second career officer in that although she had studied social work at the LSE, as well as attending supplementary lectures in subjects such as psychology, she took a more pragmatic or common sense approach to probation. Her antipathy towards psychology and theories of delinquency was reflected in a number of anecdotes from her time in the Probation Service. Regarding training courses, for example, Irene recalled, 'Yes, I went to the various lectures and so forth…I'm not good on courses, I always think "oh I've got work to do! What am I sitting here yattering on for? Or listening to someone else yattering on?"…It's supposed to be a good thing going on courses.'[39] Irene found group work sessions with psychologists especially frustrating, 'I remember groups analysing why he hadn't said a word, and I thought "ugh"!'[40]

The university graduates were in turn exasperated by the apparent unprofessional standards of their older colleagues. Although John Walters acknowledged that some of the older probation officers were very good, others were less so, 'Some were very committed to what we called the clients in those days, but very poorly organised. I mean poor record keeping was not taken very seriously. The

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[36] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.
[37] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[38] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 180; Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community*, p. 106-107.
[39] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.
[40] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.

man in charge of the local office was one of the most idle people I've ever met. Yes, I mean we did most of his work for him really.'[41] Irene Walters agreed, 'Some of the older ones were a load of lazy…doing nothing. Just sort of coasting along and collecting a salary for not doing very much.'[42] John then drew attention to one particular older officer, 'Irene had a female colleague who could tell you how many years, months, days, and hours it was until her retirement. She was so winding down it wasn't true. She took very little interest in people didn't she?' Irene agreed:

> Yeah, I mean she used to not turn up for her reporting afternoons, evenings, and so on. Her young people would come and find she wasn't there, and rather than sort of say "well go away and come back next week", which wasn't very kind, they had actually come, I would sort of see them for about ten minutes, and see how they were and so on and so forth. There was more than one of them who sort of said to me "can I swap to your caseload?"! Then of course I would speak to this lady and say, you know, "so and so has been seeing me a bit, can she come over?" "Oh delighted! Have them all!" she would say.[43]

Stephen Collins, who joined the Probation Service in Croydon in 1964 after completing his social science and social administration course at the LSE, remembered being appalled by one of his older colleagues who retired in the sixties:

> When I moved to Clacton there was a chap there, I think he was about 67, and he very, very much didn't want to retire and he and I had to do two Social Enquiry Reports about two boys who lived in adjacent farm cottages, and I was sitting talking to the family of one of these and I saw him driving up and he slowed down and he drove off again, and he wrote his report on the strength of that – he didn't need to interview the family, he knew, and of course he didn't. He was a Methodist lay reader, and I was shocked, I really was. He had the stereotype and that would be enough…so a world was going out as my world was coming in.[44]

After studying social work at Leicester, Anne Vickers joined the Probation Service, first in Leeds in 1961, before moving to work in London. There, at Hendon, professional differences between herself and her older colleague manifested itself in relation to class-based snobbery as well as their attitudes to approved schools:

> I arrived the first morning at Hendon Office…and heard a screaming row going on, and…I absolutely assumed it was a very uptight matrimonial couple…turned out no it wasn't it was the Senior Probation Officer and my woman colleague. I was then 25, she was then nearly 60…and she was Lady something or other, you know, lots of really grand people in probation, and she was an Admiral's daughter…anyway…she thought the Senior Probation Officer, a perfectly pleasant man, was an absolute wimp, because her dad had been an Admiral, and any man who wasn't like her dad was just a wimp! So she

[41] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[42] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[43] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[44] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.

> was constantly berating this poor man…and in those days there were approved schools…pretty grim, and because everyone in her family had been to boarding school, and because she thought one of the problems with the kids we were dealing with was they had not had the benefit of a Public School/Boarding School education, she used to say, "you just wait, I'm going to get him into a jolly good approved school – and that will be the making of him!" And I think she really did think that the approved schools were a bit like the Boarding Schools that her brothers had been to…she thought she was doing her job to get them in. I had always been trained that you've got to keep them out of approved schools.[45]

Jim Cannings, who joined at the end of 1963 after completing his postgraduate diploma in applied social studies at Nottingham, explained that he had specifically requested to work in a more psychodynamic-orientated probation office so that he could avoid working with the unsophisticated older officers:

> I went and I saw the Chief, Seldon Farmer, and I suppose cheekily said I was prepared to work in one of four courts, because I'd done a bit of research and found where it was worth working. And he sort of responded with a kind of weary resignation "yeah alright. Come back in half an hour and I'll tell you whether there's a vacancy", and I did and came back and he said Lambeth…And I started at Lambeth right at the end of December 1963.[46]

Jim went on to explain that, in his opinion, some probation offices in the sixties were better than others:

> London was a very mixed service. It had some very good people in it, but it also had, until just before I went there, been taking direct entrants…I trained in Nottingham which was seen at that point as if not the best Service, certainly one of the best…it had a lot of people who had a sort of fairly academic bent. And it was them who were saying you don't want to go anywhere where people don't really think too much about what they're doing. So I wanted to work with people who were quote "progressive" and, the Senior Probation Officer in Nottingham…county…said "well I'll find out where it is worth working." Because I think they'd have said I'll go somewhere else, Hertfordshire or wherever, because that's a good Service. I mean they were very, very variable then…working with individual offenders, and thinking about the way that was done, was often done at its best in some of the smaller Services, in some of its individual units in the smaller Services. London had some like that, Balham, North London, but it wasn't everywhere…yet it did have good staff, in some areas, and it also had some who were dead loss and passed round from pillar to post because nobody particularly wanted them.[47]

Direct entrants were another area which divided opinion largely along generational lines, as Jim's recollection indicates above. To meet the shortfall in staff in the later 1950s and early 1960s, the Home Office launched a fast-track recruitment drive which brought in individuals with little or no

[45] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.
[46] Interview with Jim Cannings, recorded by JL, Boston Spa, 11 July 2012.
[47] Interview with Jim Cannings, recorded by JL, Boston Spa, 11 July 2012.

training.[48] Direct entrants were still entering the Probation Service up to at least 1970 in areas where university-trained officers had been insufficient in number.[49] However, they were typically regarded by the graduates as lacking their professional standards. Anne Vickers explained facetiously that the direct entrants were looked down on for lacking the status and expertise that their university training had given them:

> a lot of colleagues were direct entrants. Direct entrants meant you came off the streets. And they were considered lower; in the caste system, bordering on untouchable!...Direct Entrants…was the most unfortunate thing that happened…when probation was getting low in numbers…I mean obviously they'd try and make them suited, of course they'd take suitable people, but they were considered, you know, as untouchables. The usual way was to come in on the Home Office course for the mature entrant into the Probation Service – which I taught on…the Mature Entrant Course…I never felt disadvantaged through lack of life experience; partly I suppose because when you're young you're so arrogant you actually can't imagine that there's anything life can teach you that you don't know already![50]

In contrast, it seems that the older generation of probation officers welcomed the direct entrants for their common sense approach that they typically took to working with offenders. Indeed, it was while discussing her approval of them that Irene Clarkson highlighted her disapproval of the university graduates, 'About 1960, possibly, they were terribly short of men in London, and they were doing this Direct Entry scheme. These men, most of them were older and had done other jobs, but they made excellent probation officers because they weren't wet behind the ears.'[51]

Unsurprisingly, the pre-war and second career probation officers like Irene Clarkson typically conceived the task of reforming offenders in a very different way from the university graduates. Although Wills did not pick up on the arrival of the university graduates in the 1960s, her article nevertheless outlined their differences as it was reflected in progress reports on delinquents from High Beech Probation Home. For the older generation, 'making men out of boys' for the nation was one of the key paradigms within which the reformation of teenage delinquents was understood. This involved the 'acquisition of a set of character and behavioural traits associated with appropriate masculinity…this involved the idea that physical rectitude was intimately related to strength of character and moral probity…Abstract ideals of self-discipline, industriousness, honesty and strength of character were seen as "embodied" in physical qualities of cleanliness, strength and firmness.'[52] For the university graduates, however, reform was understood primarily in terms of its benefit to the individual.[53] Indeed, far from a 'making men out of boys' for the nation mentality, Wills identified a

[48] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community,* p. 95-121; Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 262.
[49] Home Office Circular No. 98/1965, *Recruitment and Training of Probation Officers,* HOC 98/65.
[50] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.
[51] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.
[52] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 161-162.
[53] *Ibid.,* p. 185.

'flourishing of "permissive" ideologies'.[54] In particular, although the three central contours of the 'reformed young man' remained the same in the sixties (disciplined work ethic, strength of personality and self-control), this significant development was reflected in several ways:

> outbursts of uncontrollable anger or tears were increasingly conceived in pathological terms, as "emotional disturbance"…Behaviour that would have been scandalous a decade earlier could thus be given qualified approval as a necessary step towards achieving reformed manhood…There was an increasing ambivalence about the idea of inculcating a "normative" physicality…it ceased to be the sine qua non of a healthy personality. This shift was mirrored in attitudes to personal appearance…The 1960s also saw a move away from the hard-edged emotional norms…and in particular the belief that the achievement of manliness depended on a rejection of femininity in all its forms…the 1960s saw a significant increase in the positive use of terms associated with a more "emotionally attuned" masculinity, such as "friendly", "sensitive", "considerate" and "thoughtful" There was also a greater acceptance and understanding of the need that some boys had for open demonstrations of affection…Reform was thus no longer founded on the severe, inflexible doctrine of physico-moral normality of the previous decade.[55]

Wills offered two related explanations for this divergence in conceptions of reform. First, the increasing prominence of training in psychology, 'Institutions in the 1950s had not denied the possibility of psychological disturbance in some of their charges, but that was not considered to be at odds with a reform project premised on the disciplining of character. The 1960s saw this assumption superseded by an increasing belief that the therapeutic method was essential to the project of reform.'[56] Second, Wills asserted that these developments came about as a result of a 'shift from holistic to fragmented visions of community'.[57] In particular, they were 'linked to a move away, by the mid 1960s, from the vision of the affluent society as the harbinger of the "end of poverty".[58] As Wills continued to argue:

> In the 1950s, the context of affluence led many boys to be characterised as "spoilt" and "overindulged" by parents and hence in need of toughening up through rigid training. This picture was altered significantly both by new psychological understandings and by the so-called "rediscovery of poverty". The delinquent was increasingly characterised in terms of material and emotional deprivation rather than intemperance. Owen was typical in being described by the High Beech warden as "an emotionally disturbed lad due mainly to the deprivation by his mother". Indeed, it is arguable that the 1960s saw a fundamental change both in conceptions of "society" and in the relationship of delinquents to this society.[59]

Taking the *Approved Schools Gazette* as a 'revealing window' constituting an 'eloquent source of insight into discourses and ideologies', Wills pointed to a number of contributions in the gazette and

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 177-179.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 180.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 185.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 181.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

identified 'an increasingly equivocal attitude towards "society" and what it was believed to stand for. Increasingly, the delinquent was perceived to be a sad reflection of societal failure.'[60] It was argued that these contributors reflected a 'fundamental transformation taking place: the very ideal of society as a unified, homogenous community of shared values was breaking down. There was a growing awareness of the falsity and hypocrisy of this ideal.'[61] New studies of working-class life such as Peter Willmott's *Adolescent Boys of East London* were particularly influential in stirring up class sensitivities leading to questioning about the kind of ideals being instilled into delinquents.[62] As Wills continued to explain:

> The demise of the ideal of a "holistic" social body had profound consequences for the way in which the relationship between delinquents and society was conceived, and hence on the project of reform. The delinquent of the 1960s was no longer seen straightforwardly as a social outcast who, through careful adherence to a set of normative behaviours, was to be enabled to rejoin the national community. Rather, a new vision prioritised the importance of individual self-determination and well-being over the maintenance of a monolithic, conformist social order…Ultimately, the whole *raison d'etre* of institutions was transformed. The predominant model of the 1950s had seen the institution as a substitute family in which delinquents were to be "trained" like children. A decade later, this model had become increasingly contested…Institutions came to be seen as places of social education in which reformation was conceived as a process of self-development of primary benefit to the individual.[63]

However, there are important reasons why Wills' argument here might be overstated. First, the timing in which the 'rediscovery of poverty' occurred and its subsequent politicising effect on the Probation Service is disputed. John Walters insisted that the 'rediscovery of poverty' in probation did not happen until the 1970s at least:

> in the seventies people became very much more concerned with issues to do with poverty and oppression, and offenders as victims of an unfair society, and probation started to take on a shape that's even now familiar, I think, in terms of probation officers as champions of people who haven't had the right chances in life. Integrating those two was quite interesting…In the seventies…it became almost the probation officer as the supporter of the offender rather than the challenger of their behaviour.[64]

Will Watson also seemed to suggest that his colleagues became more politicised in the 1970s than they had previously been, 'My friend, Dave M…was a socialist and he was a Trotskyite even or whatever, and those kind of guys were all about trying to give advantage to the disadvantaged – the

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[60] *Ibid.*, p. 181.
[61] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 182. See also Peter Willmott, *Adolescent Boys of East London,* (London, 1966).
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 182-183.
[64] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.

poor…In a way it couldn't influence their work. Their work was just with individuals in this casework way, but they were more interested in the social side, and equalising the classes, and so on.'[65]

The explanatory potential of the 'rediscovery of poverty' and the demise of holistic visions of society is further eroded when one considers the dominance of psychoanalysis in 1960s probation. Psychoanalysis is extremely important here in any discussion about postwar understandings of poverty because of its particular stance on the issue. As Garland explained, one of the most noticeable characteristics that the 1960s psychodynamic approach generated was the 'relative absence of any substantive interest in social and economic routines that produce criminal opportunities.'[66] In the context of the 1960s, some probation officers believed that because of increased material prosperity and the welfare state, external pressures on people had been diminished. As a result, this had compelled probation officers to concentrate on people's internal conflicts and problems instead.[67] Moreover, as Vanstone argued, in terms of probation training in the postwar decades, as far as theories about the causes of crime were concerned, 'students were encouraged in the view that there were no simple causes, and that it was the function of the probation officer to examine histories because the causes of delinquent behaviour were rooted in school and family problems and developed over a lifetime.'[68]

The permissive conceptions of reform which Wills had identified in her article can therefore be more accurately attributed to the emergence of the psychodynamic university graduates in the 1960s. Mike Bracken, for example, recalled the strong emphasis on psychoanalysis in both training and practice:

> The whole training at that time was Freudian-based. It was really about casework as it was called, but it was really like counselling…Because of our training there was thinking that the background to all this delinquency is that something has gone seriously wrong within the family, or some event has happened…Maternal deprivation was a big issue. Or attachment theory and stuff like that. So we would see most things in terms of the family or the background, or possibly school.[69]

The *Library of Social Work* and *National Institute for Social Work Training Series* also reflects the importance of psychoanalysis to 1960s probation theory and practice.[70]

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[65] Interview with Will Watson, recorded by JL, London, 7 March 2012.
[66] Garland, *The Culture of Control*, p. 44.
[67] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community*, p. 110.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[69] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.
[70] For examples from the *Library of Social Work* see, Phyllida Parsloe, *The Work of the Probation and After-Care Officer*, (London, 1967); Jonathan Moffett, *Concepts in Casework Treatment*, (London, 1968); Noel Timms, *Language of Social Casework*, (London, 1968); Isca Salzberger-Wittenberg, *Psycho-Analytic Insight and Relationships: A Kleinian Approach*, (London, 1970). For examples from the *National Institute for Social Work Training Series* see, Dorothy E. Pettes, *Supervision in Social Work: A Method in Student Training and Staff Development*, (London, 1967); Eileen Younghusband (ed.), *New Developments in Casework: Readings in Social Work, Volume II*, (London, 1966). See also, Noel Timms, *Social Casework, Principles and Practice*, (London, 1964); Paul W. Keve, *Imaginative Programming in Probation and Parole*, (London, 1967).

Mike Bracken's recollection of one particular casework relationship demonstrates that he was very far from being in the business of 'making men out of boys' for the nation. Indeed, his priority for the individual's emotional well-being and happiness reflected his permissive approach to reform typical of the 1960s university graduate outlined above:

> He was one of twins, both on probation, I saw them separately, and this one guy, he was only 16…they had a very deprived background. A mother who was here, there and everywhere and not very present and I think she might have been a prostitute as well…when I was talking to this client you could see his eyes were getting heavier and heavier and he would just go to sleep. He was 16 and I got used to rather waking him, it would only be a few minutes, and when he came to he woke up with the most beautiful smile. He was a bit like a child, a very beautiful smile, and it was though, I think, in psychological terms, it was almost as though he felt he was in a safe place and he could be a baby again and get looked after. In fact I discussed this with one of my colleagues and he used this in his lectures as a social work lecturer. You could never quite get what was happening. With him it didn't seem to matter that he nodded off and that I didn't get defensive…but I think he needed to feel safe so he could go to sleep and wake up, and the smile itself just said "wow" he feels really content. He wasn't apologetic or embarrassed by it. I think the basis of the work we did which isn't around much now to some extent was the relationship. Sometimes we were giving people a secure, caring relationship which they hadn't had…It's not what one says, it's who one is and how one treats the client, and sometimes they weren't being listened to or treated with respect or cared for.[71]

Will Watson joined in 1966 as a temporary probation officer working in Balham High Road. His reflections similarly indicate a permissive approach to reform in his use of psychoanalysis to help resolve the problems of 'lonely' and 'unloved' offenders. Watson believed that only when they were happier individuals would offenders then stop offending:

> to me, a probation officer's work was all based on the idea of psychoanalysis…the more you talked to somebody, the more you can understand why they committed the offence. That most behaviours can be understood. And if you can get close to a person and share that understanding and they say "oh yeah I suppose you're right" you know, "yeah I do feel angry my parents didn't give me more love, and yeah I rob banks because I want more love really" you know, putting it simply and crudely really. So it's about helping people with their underlining problems…And you got to realise how so many of these guys really were very lonely when it came down to it. Lonely to me means feeling unloved[72]

Watson's approach put him at odds with some of his older colleagues:

> when I started I was accused of identifying too strongly with the offenders. I would have said "you don't care about the offenders, you silly, middle-class, middle-aged person! …You just want to go home and have a nice dinner"…sometimes, normally it would come out in meetings they had in the staff room…It could get very emotional, critical,

[71] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.
[72] Interview with Will Watson, recorded by JL, London, 7 March 2012.

> and all the rest of it. But strong feelings, yes, and I think that was what the job was all about was feelings. Feeling to want to help people.[73]

John Walters insisted that their role as probation officers in the sixties was about challenging behaviour within professional boundaries. This involved trying to help individuals without making excuses for them either. Nevertheless, as his account of supervising the son of an angry GP suggests, John's approach mirrored the tendency of the psychodynamic generation to look for the underlying causes of anti-social behaviour rather than criticising it outright as his older colleagues would have typically done[74]: 'We worked with angry people…I remember a doctor whose son I had on probation which was drug-related. He was incredibly offensive and aggressive – the doctor was. But you were caught up in his anger towards his son. We were terribly sophisticated about relationships and we understood that the anger was a projection of family conflicts.'[75]

This non-judgemental focus on the individual, conceiving reform and rehabilitation primarily in terms of its benefit to the offender rather than necessarily wider society – which Wills argued was the basic philosophy behind the permissive society – defined probation practice amongst the 1960s university graduates. It appears Wills had overlooked their arrival in the sixties – it was certainly not mentioned or discussed. Her article would therefore have avoided making muddled arguments about comments made in progress reports with wider perceptions of society. For example, the fact that 'Owen' had been described as 'an emotionally disturbed lad due mainly to the deprivation by his mother'[76], says less about a breakdown of holistic visions of society, as Wills suggested it did, and more about a psychodynamic account of a young man's relationship with his mother. This statement about Owen simply reflects the tendency of the university graduates to look for deep-seated psychological problems in their clients and to frame their findings within a psychodynamic discourse.

Rather than being caused by a steady decline in holistic visions of society, the necessary precondition for the flourishing of 'permissive' ideologies amongst the university graduates was the postwar 'democratic settlement' itself: a reformation conceived primarily in terms of its benefit to the individual was part of a wider recognition of social rights alongside political and economic ones enshrined in the postwar settlement. Although welfare arrangements and social provision by governments had their origins in earlier decades, historians have shown how the postwar settlement marked a watershed in the relationship between state and individual, while sociologists such as T. H. Marshall argued that it had inaugurated a new understanding of the notion of citizenship in a democracy.[77] Mark Mazower outlined this key development of the twentieth century:

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[73] Interview with Will Watson, recorded by JL, London, 7 March 2012.
[74] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 178.
[75] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[76] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 181.
[77] R. Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945*, (London, 1993); T. H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*, (New York, 1965).

> despite these continuities of tradition, the Second World War did separate two very different policy environments. The world of the post-war welfare state was one of full employment, fast population growth and relative internal and external peace inside Europe. Inter-war social policy, by contrast, had been made against a backdrop of mass unemployment, fears of population decline, revolution, political extremism and war. In both eras, the state took the lead, but whereas before 1940 it aimed to secure the health of the collectivity, the family, and above all, the nation, after the war it acted chiefly in order to expand opportunity and choices for the individual citizen.[78]

These developments reverberated widely and impacted on the penal-welfare system. Garland argued that although the basic structures of correctionalist discourse remained intact from the late Victorian period through to the 1970s, it was nevertheless shaped by specific historical contexts and rested upon a set of social structures and cultural experiences: 'Its ways of thinking and acting made sense to those who worked in the field, but they also resonated with the structures of the broader welfare state society, and with the ways of life that these reflected and reproduced.'[79] In the early twentieth century and interwar period, penal-welfare developed as a strategic solution to the political problems engendered by open class conflict, labour unrest, fears of an unfit population, 'racial deterioration', and declining national efficiency. In contrast, postwar penal-welfarism mirrored the new social structure of the welfare state and its commitment to social justice and equality; its motivation was to bring all offenders into full social citizenship with equal rights and equal opportunities.[80]

Only when one considers these two very different policy environments, separated by the Second World War, can historians begin to understand why there were two generations of probation officers working in the 1960s with such fundamentally different conceptions of reform. Joining during the uncertainties and dangers of interwar and wartime Britain, 'making men out of boys' for the nation resonated with an older pre-war and second career generation of probation officers for whom reform and rehabilitation had been essential for national solidarity and survival. However, those born in the 1940s or after – as the university graduates who entered probation in the sixties had been – grew up in an altogether different environment. Coming of age in the peaceful and prosperous postwar years, reclaiming individuals for the nation was an outdated concept at odds with the new reality of social rights and universal welfare. The university graduates were the first of a postwar demographic to enjoy the security and status afforded by educational certification and professional credentials in the increasingly professional society of the post-war decades.

The general optimism about the new welfare state inspired a postwar generation of ambitious university graduates who were committed to public service and to making a difference to the lives of others. This is reflected in interviews with retired probation officers. As John Walters explained, 'I'm of that generation where being well-educated wasn't a route to earning a lot of money but a route to

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[78] Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century,* (London, 1999), p. 303.
[79] Garland, *The Culture of Control,* p. 44.
[80] *Ibid.,* p. 44-46.

providing some public service…So a mixture of wanting to be useful and make some difference to peoples' lives, and a sense of commitment to public service.'[81] Stephen Collins had a similar reason for joining the Service:

> I know this sounds pretentious now, but I wanted to help people. I mean I'm a product of the welfare state, my father died when I was one – he was killed in the Second World War – so I was brought up by the welfare state. My mother lived off pensions and so forth, and it was simply almost a knee-jerk reaction you were almost expected to go into the public sector…you were just expected to do something to benefit other people not just yourself.[82]

Indeed, it has been suggested elsewhere that the chief beneficiaries of the welfare state were not the poor but rather 'the better-off, the middle classes and that element of the old working-class which was sharing in the fruits of full employment.'[83] It is easy to see why this could be argued when one considers Tony Leach and his take on the sixties:

> I think the thing about the sixties for me was it was a time when things started to come together after the War. And there was a lot of faith in the welfare state…it was a time when a lot of people went to university, the first generation going to university, I certainly was the first in my family to go to university. And a lot of people who did that felt they owed something to the community…and…they would do it in public service. So they became probation officers, and teachers, and administrators, and health, and doctors, and so on…I actually believed that by the end of my career we would probably have the answer to crime. I mean looking back now with the benefit of experience, I realise what absolute nonsense that was but there was that optimism in the sixties. The fact that we invested, and tried different things, and experimented, and used research, and invested properly in public services then we'd actually solve all the problems society faced, more or less.[84]

The psychodynamic university graduates – who were the ones characterised by soft-edged and permissive ideas of masculinity outlined above – typically *ignored* poverty throughout the sixties. They looked for deep-seated psychological problems in offenders to explain delinquency instead, as Stephen Collins explained:

> I think that one of the things that I sometimes feel guilty about looking back…it seemed to me how seriously we underestimated the importance of poverty in precipitating crime. The predominant model which we were trained in, and which we were operating on, was to see crime as something neurotic and family based. I think that most of the people from New Addington were motivated, in quite complex ways, by the fact that they were

[81] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[82] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.
[83] Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century,* 305; P. Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the of the European Welfare State, 1875-1975,* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 290.
[84] Interview with Tony Leach, recorded by JL, London, 9 February 2012.

> bottom of the social pile and with no real prospects, but that was the model in force at the time.[85]

Anne Vickers highlighted that, regardless of whether it was suicidal women or naughty schoolchildren, she would search for an underlying psychological explanation for offending behaviour:

> it was very psychoanalytically based…casework meant you would try to get to the bottom of what the *real* problem was in someone's life, and I'm smiling to myself because the level of poverty that some of my clients lived in was so gruesome – and I did notice their poverty – but we were still meant to delve away at what their *real* problem was. Well, of course, their *real* problem was ninety per cent of the time was they had no money!…I mean we knew they had no money, we didn't think it was nice having no money, but nevertheless our job was to get around to what was the *real* problem…So my suicide ladies, women, that was probably related to money but I can't remember, they were really more like the sort of cases we were taught about, when you got down to the real problem. Even with these little kids you know, we were meant to get down to the real problem, though we did frequently visit their families.[86]

The progress reports that Wills examined are therefore a poor guide to discerning attitudes about the nature of society amongst probation officers. Her article failed to consider that they were written to provide the relevant magistrate with an update about the young man s/he had sent to High Beech Probation Home. By overlooking their basic function and purpose, Wills misinterpreted the meaning and significance of what probation officers had been trying to achieve in these reports. Even after officers had successfully persuaded a magistrate to put someone under supervision, or have them removed to an institution like High Beech, for example, probation officers would still have to routinely convince the magistrate about the work that they were doing with individuals via case committees.[87] As Stephen Collins explained:

> There was a system…called 'Probation Case Committees', which were statutory bodies laid out by the legislation, and I think they were a sub-committee of the bench of lay magistrates, who were required once a quarter, I think it was, to review all the people who had been put on probation…each probation officer would have a particular magistrate, which was much better because you could then take them through what you were trying to do. I can remember a woman in Walthamstow who worked on very much the same principle not to give too much detail, sort of tell her magistrate about what a difficult life someone is having by saying "the poor girl, the poor, poor girl".[88]

Therefore, although they are a poor guide to ideas about the nature of society, progress reports are very good at revealing the strategies used by probation officers in order to persuade magistrates.

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[85] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.
[86] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.
[87] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 282.
[88] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.

Describing Owen as 'an emotionally disturbed lad due mainly to the deprivation by his mother'[89] was probably as much about making a convincing argument in favour of continued help and support as it was a statement about his troubled upbringing.

Wills' article is nevertheless the first to scrutinise probation practice historically and shed light on generational differences about conceptions of reform in the postwar decades. It is important to stress, however, that there were also similarities between the generations of probation officers. Both had the potential to be subversive with regard to probation practice. Interviewees highlighted furtive dealings with the courts, police, and magistrates. Georgie Stafford, who in 1937 was the last police court missionary to be appointed by the London Police Court Mission, explained that being an older, established officer in court had its advantages. In particular, it opened up opportunities for underhand tactics and collusion with magistrates who over the years had come to trust her judgment:

> if you look at the hostels, sometimes what a girl needed was a bit of a shake up because she was on the edge of going downhill…So what you did was you went to the magistrate and said, explain what the situation was, and could you have a summons for breach of probation, but you'd like to go on supervising her in the hostel. And you see the magistrates, if they knew you, would play ball on this one and would be ever so headmastery in court, but they would allow her to return to the hostel. And sometimes it was *exactly* what was needed to allow you to get on further with this girl…you wouldn't want to publicise it because it could be misinterpreted.[90]

The university graduates also colluded with court officials from time to time. John and Irene Walters highlighted that they sometimes conspired with court staff in selecting particular magistrates for certain types of offender, 'we regularly had the street prostitutes…occasionally…we'd try and do a little bit to help them. We used to work with the court staff to get them up before the more lenient magistrates.'[91] Irene recalled a case where selecting a more severe magistrate had been beneficial too:

> I had one very interesting one who I got to know quite well – she was backwards and forwards, backwards and forwards – and she was given a small fine each time, and then of course she immediately went out again. And then she turned up a couple of days after the last one and…said "honestly, I'm tired, I'm not well, I've been waiting ages for a hysterectomy which nobody seems to be organising, and that's pulling me down"…So I…switched her to a magistrate who I knew would be harsh away from one that I knew wouldn't be, and she was sent to prison…I got in touch with the medical officer and said "she needs a hysterectomy. Can you organise one while she's inside? Get it done and so on"…she was up at Whittington Hospital, and she came out of prison and…I then didn't hear from her for a year or two, and, the next thing I had was two letters…saying "thanks ever so much. I've met a good bloke and I'm settling down, and, what you did for me at that moment was perfect!"[92]

[89] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 181.
[90] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.
[91] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[92] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.

Opinions and experiences of the police crisscrossed the generational divide. Police were regarded by some of the interviewees as obstructive and prioritized legal and judicial frameworks over the welfare of offenders, a point discussed by Louise Jackson in her work on women police.[93] Asked about her recollections working alongside the police, Georgie Stafford remarked that they were 'very mixed':

> I mean I had some awfully good relationships with police at North London, where we had a very nice batch of police, one of whom subsequently became a probation officer! But there was a clash of interests sometimes. I once…had somebody who the police wanted to interview…they thought he had a gun and they wanted his address and I wouldn't give them the address because things related to probation were regarded as confidential and…that upset the police…I said, 'I'll bring him to you but I won't give you the address' and they were pretty annoyed I think about that. I did take him, he didn't have a gun – which I was sure he hadn't – they kept him for a while and then let him go. But that's the sort of thing that did make for difficulties and I can quite understand the police finding that very annoying.[94]

Some of the younger interviewees also found that the police could be difficult to work with. Irene and John Walters insisted that the police were 'hostile' to the Probation Service. Irene went on to describe one harrowing ordeal in a prison cell:

> There was one occasion when I was on court duty and the policeman on duty looking after the cells downstairs said there was a prisoner who wanted to see me. So I said 'okay, what has he done?' And he sort of ignored that…and…unlocked the door and said, 'there's the bell when you want to come out'…And there was the bloke sitting on the bench in the far corner, and I…said…'I was told by the police that you wanted to see me. How come?' And he…said, 'don't want to see you'…And I went back to the door and pressed the buzzer. It was ten minutes before somebody came. And they let me out and they were laughing, and I said 'what are you laughing about? Why didn't you come?' 'Oh we thought it would be quite interesting to see what happened – he's been charged with rape'[95]

Nevertheless, others interviewed spoke highly of the police. Perhaps suggesting that relations were best when sharing resources and working in close proximity, Irene Clarkson, a second career officer, recalled a pleasant relationship, 'We used to go in a little pub, the Anchor Tab…The police used to go, or if anybody was leaving… 'would Miss Clarkson and Miss Bradley come and have a drink with old Mr so and so is leaving?'…We were allowed to use the police canteen, you see. There was nowhere else to eat really'.[96] Some of the younger interviewees also enjoyed good relationships with

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[93] Louise Jackson, *Women Police: Gender, Welfare and Surveillance in the Twentieth Century,* (Manchester, 2006); Louise Jackson, 'Care or Control? The Metropolitan Women Police and Child Welfare, 1919-1969', *The Historical Journal*, 46 (2003), pp. 623-648.
[94] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.
[95] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[96] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.

the police. This occasionally proved to be useful, albeit in an underhand way, as Stephen Collins explained:

> When I was working in New Addington I had a boy on borstal licence…and I think he was a bit dim really…it was a bitterly cold winter and he had fallen out with his parents and they had thrown him out, and the local police rang me…saying they were concerned about him, because at one point he was climbing into his parents' loft at night. So I tried to get him recalled…the Home Office…wouldn't do it, they were too bureaucratic. So I went out for a drink…with a local deputy sergeant and I explained the position to him and they pinned some totally fictitious crime on him so he went back to borstal, he was fed, watered and his life was saved. Actually he was going to die from exposure, pretty unorthodox with the police involved, different world wasn't it?[97]

Although the probation literature indicates that there would have been some magistrates who were enthusiastic about welfare responses to crime,[98] there was nevertheless a common assumption shared by both generations of probation officers that magistrates as a cohort tended to be punitive. Garland argued it was one of the most ironic aspects of postwar penal-welfare. It was typically believed that the justice system was always considered to be 'gradually becoming more fully realised…its proponents thought of themselves as modernist reformers pitted against the established structures of an outdated, legalistic, retributive system.'[99] Despite them frequently highlighting generally good relationships with their local magistrates, this assumption was apparent in interviews with retired probation officers, as John Walters explained:

> We were working in a climate which was…we didn't think it was progressive at the time; we thought a lot of progress was still to be made. By comparison to present day standards it was much less harsh…I never had any particular fondness for the legal system, which I think the older generation were more identified with. But we did spend our time trying to cultivate the magistrate and organising meetings for them…I think we thought we were educating the magistrates! They were people who needed to be enlightened by our perspective and greater understanding![100]

Although John acknowledged that he 'didn't have any really fierce ones in Highgate', his general perception of magistrates as punitive and socially conservative was coloured by his experiences of them elsewhere at meetings and conferences. For example, believing heroin addicts needed help overcoming their particular social problems rather than being punished for being delinquent, John recalled one occasion at a conference when he faced a hostile reaction to his views:

> I remember…a conference for magistrates in which we were describing the work of probation officers, and I was put up to describe my work with the heroin addict who was the doctor's son. And I got a very hostile reaction from some magistrates. They didn't see

[97] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.
[98] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 296.
[99] Garland, *The Culture of Control*, p. 28.
[100] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.

> him as a person to be helped. And I remember John Turner who was chairman of the magistrates in Tottenham who was notoriously harsh and very discourteous with probation officers was very rude and really angry…I think he probably saw it as you're helping this boy from a respectable middle-class family in his delinquency.[101]

It seems that the magistrates in the audience had found John's opinion on heroin addiction permissive. Although Irene Walters agreed that magistrates at Highgate tended to be amenable to her advice, she nevertheless experienced very hostile reactions to her welfare recommendations elsewhere in other courts. For example, she recalled a particularly challenging experience at the Middlesex Quarter Sessions:

> The Chairman of the Quarter Sessions at Middlesex was Ewen Montagu. He was a very big public figure. He had had a very interesting war. He'd been involved in the Secret Service…He was from a very well off Jewish family. He was extremely unpleasant to everybody. Very rude to barristers…It was a kid and I think it was a question of whether he was going to go into Approved School or into Local Authority Care – a Fit Person Order – and I argued for the Fit Person Order. And Montagu thought different. I stood up for what I thought and explained why and he was furious with me! Very rude indeed! I didn't feel too badly about it because after all that was my job.[102]

Observing cases whilst on court duty, Tony Leach realised that even reasonably minded magistrates, being unfamiliar with the background of offenders, might misunderstand working-class culture – with severe consequences. He described one case where the magistrate had handed down a particularly harsh sentence for mistaking the motive of, as he saw it, a respectable postman on a local council estate:

> one case sticks in my mind… the magistrate…who…I had the most respect for…didn't show any understanding…I only observed it as a court duty probation officer…it was a small council estate, and this man was a postman. He had probably been a postman for quite a good few number of years. Well established, and was quite well-respected on the estate. There was a woman – a single mother – with a teenage son on the estate…the story was that she had sought the advice of this postman because there was no father for her son…one day he was coming home from work and the boy approached him and said "do you want to buy these tools?"…he recognised them as belonging to a council workman who was doing some work round the estate and he knew the boy had stolen them…he had to make a quick decision about what to do. He decided that he had to get the tools so he could return them to the workman, and the only way he could do that was actually by buying them…He gave the boy some money and took them home, intending to restore them to the workman the next day. In the meantime the boy was picked up, having stolen something else, by the police. They asked him "have you stolen anything else?" "Oh I stole these tools and I sold them to"… and the postman was then arrested for dishonestly handling – which of course he is guilty of…but he put forward his story in mitigation, which I have to say I believed because he was going to lose his job as a postman as a result of this…our magistrate did not believe him. He said "You've put to

[101] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[102] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.

> the court a pack of lies to try and justify…"…he just did not understand the culture…he couldn't see it at all, it was all a pack of lies.[103]

The older generation of probation officers also talked about socially conservative magistrates. From 1966, Georgie Stafford worked at the After-Care Unit for discharged prisoners in London at Borough High Street.[104] In describing one individual she had advocated supervision for, Georgie highlighted the difficulties involved in negotiating perceived sexual deviancy and promiscuity in SERs with socially conservative magistrates in mind:

> Now this man, who was pretty gormless anyway, had been doing a five-year corrective…and he came into the After-Care Unit for help because he had nowhere to live, nowhere to go. And I was lucky and got him a job in a hotel…as a porter…And then one night…a man came in, booked a room for the night, gave my man the ten pounds and said "I want to do a telephone call to…"…and he went off you see leaving my chap with the ten pounds…he didn't know what to do, panicked, and ran…out of the hotel with the ten pounds! And of course…he came up at the sessions court…I did the court report setting out exactly what had happened and…this man was a problem I must say because he…turned out to be a transvestite…and he got tangled up with a woman who'd been in Holloway Prison who had a child[105]

Georgie went on to explain that the ability to influence outcomes via SERs was often augmented by pre-existing relationships with magistrates that had developed over time, 'if you worked in a court with particular magistrates, they got to know you. So they got to know whether you always had high and mighty ideas which didn't come to anything, or whether you knew what you were talking about'.[106] As a result, probation officers could be more influential when they knew who the magistrate was, 'it made a difference on the borderline ones because if it was a bit of a toss-up as to whether somebody went to prison or was put on probation, and you had clearly said "I'd like to try her on probation" – not in those words – you'd probably get her on probation.'[107]

Jim Cannings made a similar point regarding the magistrates at his former court in Lambeth. As the following quotation suggests, it seems probation officers like Jim tailored their SERs to particular magistrates. Those who were perceived to be tougher sentencers required stronger arguments in order to get their way with an offender:

> I mean report writing is an art, it's not a science. And to some extent it helps to know who you're writing for. Lambeth was a one-room court…one of the magistrates was a lazy guy who would take the easy way out. He was a light sentencer, and you didn't really need to put yourself out in writing the reports…Whereas the other magistrate, for whom I had much more respect, was a fairly tough sentencer, but a very bright man who thought things through. If you wanted a particular course you really had to argue it, and to show

[103] Interview with Tony Leach, recorded by JL, London, 9 February 2012.
[104] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 299.
[105] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.
[106] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.
[107] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.

> you did realise you were dealing with perhaps a serious offence, which otherwise would have merited prison. If you didn't, the bloke was going to go down and the magistrate would have thought the probation officer was just being weak, like all probation officers that go for something non-custodial. But if you really wanted it with Tom, you had to make a good argument, you had to bring the evidence together.[108]

SERs were therefore a very important aspect of postwar probation work; officially requested at the discretion of magistrates[109], criminal cases would sometimes be adjourned after conviction to enable probation officers to conduct social enquiries into the offender's background. This involved interviewing the offender alone in the probation office followed by a home visit where the officer would meet the rest of the family and probe further into the social and economic circumstances. The officer's findings would then be written up in SERs, often with a recommendation for the magistrate on an appropriate sentence.

SERs go to the very heart of the penal-welfare criminal justice system.[110] Summarising their purpose, the 1964 Home Office leaflet, *The Probation Service in England and Wales* explained:

> The evolution of penal policy which has led to the development of the probation system has been accompanied by growing recognition that the circumstances of the offender are relevant not only to the degree of his culpability but also to the way in which he may be expected to respond to the form of treatment decided upon by the court.[111]

Although it seems that probation officers had been providing information about offenders to magistrates since the early days of the Service, SERs came about as part of the drive towards professional standards in the middle decades of the twentieth century.[112]

Published in 1961, the Streatfield Report laid the foundations of a national policy regarding the role and status of the probation officer as a professional advisor of the criminal courts at every administrative level.[113] The Streatfield Committee seemed attuned to the concept of treatment rather than to that of problem management.[114] Recommending handbooks to sentencers and probation officers alike, the report 'seemed to reflect the growing complexity of the criminal justice system and the bureaucratisation and professionalisation of the probation service.'[115] The corporate outlook of the Service in the sixties was best summarised by Claude Fubini, Chairman of N.A.P.O.'s (National Association of Probation Officers) London Branch, in October 1961, when he declared:

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[108] Interview with Jim Cannings, recorded by JL, Boston Spa, 11 July 2012.
[109] It seems there could be informal processes at work in different courts. At Highgate Magistrates' Court, for example, John Walters recalled a system whereby the court duty probation officer was expected to see defendants before they appeared before magistrates and decide on the basis of a short interview which cases should be put back for an SER.
[110] Whitehead and Statham, *The History of Probation,* p. 31-32; Garland, *The Culture of Control,* p. 34.
[111] *Home Office: The Probation Service in England and Wales,* (London, 1964), p. 4.
[112] Garland, *The Culture of Control,* p. 34.
[113] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 276-277.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

> The authoritarian setting in which we work is unlike that of most other social case-work…We endeavour to assist the development of an atmosphere where anxiety and aggression for instance can be brought by the client without fear of rejection…there is a general agreement that the community does expect us to exercise a measure of "control" rather than punishment…We, as probation officers, know our position is one of authority which we do not always care to use with our clients but feel no hesitation in using with other agencies on their behalf.[116]

The Streatfield Report said that the role of the probation officer was to provide relevant information through court reports; assess the culpability of the offender; consider how offending behaviour can effectively be checked; and express an opinion, if knowledge and experience will allow, on the likely effects of various sentences and treatment.'[117] In London at least, the Streatfield Committee's recommendations 'generated quite a considerable increase in social enquiry work, particularly perhaps as regards pre-trial reports; and its proposal that probation officers should be able to offer opinions on offenders' suitability for various forms of sentence resulted…in probation officers becoming much more positively involved in the decision-making processes of the courts.'[118] It was said that following the Streatfield Report the Services' influence in the process of sentencing grew.[119] During the 1960s, SERs were the area in which the Service's work had increased the most. In 1965, the total number of reports requested in England and Wales for adult offenders by magistrates' courts was 43,456, rising to 66,405 in 1968 (there was a slight decrease in the number of SERs for juvenile offenders over this period from 72, 316 to 71, 948).[120] In 1971, a total of 91,010 Social Enquiry Reports were requested by magistrates' courts alone.[121] (It has been speculated by officers that this increase in requests for reports reflected the nation-wide increase in crime.[122])

As offenders usually commit crimes within their local court area probation officers tended to write SERs for their local magistrates. They therefore usually knew how to structure their narratives accordingly. However, occasionally offenders appeared in other magistrates' courts for crimes committed away from their local communities. When a magistrate requested an SER under these circumstances, a probation officer from the offender's local court area would be charged with producing the report. After finishing their enquiries the officer would then post the SER to the relevant court. When the magistrate had been unknown to the probation officer, how did they attempt to persuade them to adopt welfare measures instead of more punitive ones?

As the above recollections suggest, both generations of probation officers enjoyed a considerable degree of professional autonomy in the 1960s. Although it had been argued that the 1961

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[116] Streatfield Report, cited in Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 278-279.
[117] Whitehead and Statham, *The History of Probation,* p. 42.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[120] *Report on the Work of the Probation and After-Care Department 1966 – 1968,* Cmd. 4233 (London, 1969), p. 79.
[121] *Report on the Work of the Probation and After-Care Department 1969 – 1971*, Cmd. 5158 (London, 1972), p. 66.
[122] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 277.

Streatfield Report signalled the beginning of managerialism and national standards in probation, especially for SERs, replacing local traditions and customs[123], this should not be taken too far. The 1960s probation officer continued to enjoy a considerable degree of professional autonomy. As Anne Vickers explained: 'You were working pretty much in isolation – possibly more than you should have been actually, on reflection…It never occurred to me that anyone would be telling me what to do really…we hardly had any supervision at all.'[124] Crucially, this autonomy extended to the way in which probation officers wrote their reports, as Jim Cannings recalled, 'Well…you could do what you liked. You could try and make out a case for continuing supervision, or you could say "look, this guy's offended. He's not safe on supervision, you've got to do something else".'[125]

The freedom to write SERs the way that the probation officer wanted to is the reason why they are a good way to explore the differences in probation practice between the generations. Judging by interviews with retired officers, the reports should reflect the idiosyncrasies of the probation officer. Gerry Matthews, a graduate who joined in 1965, learnt how to interpret creatively an offender's social background in reports in order to persuade magistrates into handing down welfare measures in court. It was on this basis that he described his job in the 1960s as being 'the burglar's mate':

> you're looking for the positives in a situation, and that drove…my generation…you're looking for the positives in somebody because the negatives are only too clear…That's how it was then anyway, you were looking for the positives, and hoping to get them, and so you would try to persuade the magistrates or judge to go along with you and take that course. That's how I saw it…we were the friend – the burglar's mate!…It was an attempt to get at a group of people who had been previously written off.[126]

This predisposition of probation officers to be 'the burglar's mate', or, more appropriately, a tendency to empathise with offenders, stretched back many decades and spanned the generations. Probation officers had always been acutely aware of their morally ambiguous position between serving the courts on the one hand, and helping the offender on the other. It had been raised by psychiatrists in the 1940s, for example, that probation officers had been 'handicapped' by being a servant of the court and at the same time acting as counsellor and friend to the offender; as a result of this, it was believed probation officers struggled with 'divided loyalties'.[127] By describing the probation officer as 'the burglar's mate', Gerry Matthews was therefore alluding in a tongue-in-cheek fashion to the caring social work aspect to the job in the postwar period. As a result, he highlighted that SERs were often taken as an opportunity to effectively present a plea in mitigation in court. In this sense, SERs were similar to the progress reports which Wills scrutinised as they reflect how probation officers

[123] Whitehead and Statham, *The History of Probation,* p. 42.
[124] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.
[125] Interview with Jim Cannings, recorded by JL, Boston Spa, 11 July 2012.
[126] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[127] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 201, 202.

attempted to influence magistrates into handing down welfare measures instead of more punitive sentences. Indeed, this is a point made in my article on importuning.[128]

Although the argument that SERs were used as pleas in mitigation to influence magistrates has proved controversial in the past[129], the tendency of the probation officer to be 'the burglar's mate' was reflected in numerous comments by other retired officers besides Gerry Matthews. For example, as Anne Vickers explained, there was a general willingness to have people on probation, regardless of their attitude, and that SERs were written accordingly to achieve this aim:

> quite often we would have on probation people who had only given us the most glimmering of hope that they wanted to change – but we'd snatch at that!…we were much more motivated to take on, forgive this expression, "the halt and the lame"…it sounds awful but I don't think we were that bothered really whether someone wanted probation or not because I think we sort of thought, "well after a while they'll realise what a benefit it is to them."…but they could seem awfully half-hearted and we'd still think, "I'm sure I could help that person a bit". It was all very romantic in a way.[130]

It seems the older generation of probation officers were no different in this respect.[131] For example, reflecting on how the Service has changed since the 1930s, Georgie Stafford also indicated that there had been a tendency to look for the best in individuals and bring this out creatively in SERs in order to secure welfare imperatives in court:

> I would think now particularly you need to look very carefully at the worst side of the case as well as the best side. I mean on the whole – this is a wide generalisation – originally we started looking for the best and trying to bring that out. I would guess that now you have to start with a pretty good idea of what the worst is, how bad is the person you've got? Because I would think there's no doubt we are getting much tougher further down the criminal line on people now than we did in the earlier days.[132]

There were important reasons why both generations were willing to be 'the burglar's mate'. Being staffed by and large by the middle classes and the prosperous sections of the working class – a point that is clearly reflected in the literature as well as in recollections of retired probation officers[133] – the Service was constituted mainly by members of what Garland described as the 'liberal elites'. Being socially distant from crime, probation officers were easily able to adopt a civilised attitude towards offenders.[134] This point was reflected in the interviews as Mike Bracken's recollection of his colleagues suggests:

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[128] Lunan, 'Probation Officers, Social Enquiry Reports, and Importuning in the 1960s', pp. 781-800.
[129] Jenny Roberts, 'Review Article: Social Inquiry Reports', *Probation Journal,* 26 (1979), pp. 94-97.
[130] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.
[131] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community,* p. 156.
[132] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.
[133] Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community,* p. 102.
[134] Garland, *The Culture of Control*, p. 148-149; Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012; Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012; Interview with Tony Leach, recorded by JL, London, 9 February 2012.

> I suppose on the whole we could all be accused of being softies…I was a softie…I…think some of the ones who were very established…could make a case out for somebody why they shouldn't be sent back to prison pretty well because of understanding their backgrounds and circumstances and what prison had done to them and what moves, if any, they had taken to find work or whatever, and what the chances were of them being able to be propped up and make a decent standard of living by themselves.[135]

Being socially distant from crime meant probation officers were also willing to look past the nature of the offence and whether there had been any previous convictions, a point reflected in my article on importuning.[136] John Walters, for example, explained that the type and severity of the offence in question was not in itself necessarily important when it came to recommending probation or not – although he recognised it would have an impact on sentencing. Indeed, as John continued to explain, advocating probation supervision in SERs hinged almost exclusively upon whether or not it was believed that supervision and casework could be constructive and lead to positive results:

> I suppose our intervention was more often influenced by a sense that there was something we could do about something, rather than the nature of the offence. There weren't all these scales of seriousness…I don't think seriousness of the crime was a major thing we weighed – though we realised it would affect sentencing. And clearly there're certain offences where there's no point recommending probation. I think the Social Enquiry Report was very much seen as over and above giving somebody's history. A kind of "is it worth trying to get a Probation Order here or not?" I guess the seriousness of the offence weighed there. The very trivial it wouldn't…Somehow there was a belief that we'd work at helping them solve their personal and social problems, and that that would in effect change their behaviour.[137]

In describing the working culture of his probation office in the sixties, Stephen Collins indicated an almost blasé attitude to crime. He fondly remembered the empathy his colleagues had towards offenders and how they often used to laugh at the trouble the offenders got themselves in to:

> I mean most of us didn't give a toss about crime, you know, if one of our clients reoffended our concerns were with our clients… I certainly don't think that my generation saw ourselves as being in the position of crime prevention, which may sound a bit odd because that's the way in which the service as a whole must have been perceived or conceived of in the first place…I think there were various degrees of expressed idealism but on the whole pretty idealistic really, you know thinking people could improve and being hopeful about people and liking them…I got very very fond of some of my clients and I think it was mutual in some cases – you weren't supposed to get fond of them, that was very unprofessional, you were supposed to remain emotionally detached, but I don't think you can do the job like that. The other thing that went almost totally is the humour, I mean we used to laugh at things which you should not have laughed at actually…when I started in Clacton one of the first cases I had was a boy who…had too much to drink and had gone along a sea front…unscrewing the light bulbs

[135] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.
[136] Lunan, 'Probation Officers, Social Enquiry Reports, and Importuning in the 1960s', p. 791-792.
[137] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.

> and chucking them over…where they burst with a satisfying "pop", and I thought this was very very funny and it nearly ended in disaster for the lad because I wrote the report…and of course what I had failed to take into account was that the bench consisted of the borough councillor and he objected strongly to the lamps being chucked over for the amusement of youths. Anyway they didn't do too much to him, but you know you would laugh at that kind of stuff, and we shouldn't have laughed at him because it wasn't funny at all, but it was.[138]

Although offenders may have been motivated to cooperate with probation officers, seeing the SER as potentially a form of mitigation and the chance to avoid a more serious outcome, it is important to remember that there would have been limits to the extent to which both generations of probation officers were prepared to be 'the burglar's mate'. As the following anecdote by Tony Leach suggests, uncooperative and disrespectful behaviour could have serious consequences for offenders. Indeed, it shows that, if given the opportunity, both generations of probation officers might sometimes advocate more severe sentences in SERs:

> I remember one young man I had, he was over from Ireland seeking work living with his sister, and he got into some sort of trouble. And I talked about being on probation and he agreed and we made the Order. And I wrote to him to come in to see me and he didn't come, and I wrote again and wrote several letters, and he didn't come, and eventually I called round at the sister's house. And she said "oh he's gone back to Ireland". And I was fuming, I thought he's conned me! You know, he's got probation and he had no intention of complying with it, you know, he fully intended to go back to Ireland – what a cheek! I thought I'll take out a warrant, next time he ever sets foot in the UK he'll be arrested!…I was cross! I was very cross with him! I would have said I think he should be sent away for conning the system![139]

Irene Clarkson recalled a burglar who had lacked any sense of remorse over his theft. She had found his impertinence irritating and resulted in her writing a particularly critical SER with the intention of having him punished:

> I worded a report on…one man…he had taken a ring or broach or something, among all the stuff, and also I think he knew the people. And I said "but there was a ring among that stuff you took, what did you think?" and he said "it's only junk innit?" or something like that, and I put that in the report. I thought "right!", you know, "he reads his own report, it's not a lie, that's what he said to me", and I thought the judge won't think much of that! There was no feeling at all for what effect it would have on the person he had took it from.[140]

Considering the similarities and differences between the two generations of probation officers in the 1960s outlined above, this thesis will investigate to what extent they differed in their attempts to be 'the burglar's mate' or not. The following chapters will compare and contrast SERs on a wide

[138] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.
[139] Interview with Tony Leach, recorded by JL, London, 9 February 2012.
[140] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.

range of adult offenders written by the pre-war and second career officers and the university graduates. With the pre-war and second career officers characterised by a 'making men out of boys' for the nation mentality, were their reports characterised by traditional social values and did this change over time as the 1960s progressed? Wills' argument that the move towards 'greater personal freedoms' was the 'basic philosophy behind the permissive society' is an interesting point which deserves further consideration.[141] Conceiving probation supervision as a process of self-development of primary benefit to the individual, did the university graduates embody the spirit of permissiveness? Moreover, considering the general perception of magistrates as punitive and socially conservative, did permissiveness manifest itself in SERs?[142] The following chapters will answer these important questions.

[141] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 185.

[142] Marwick, *The Sixties*; Marcus Collins (ed.), *The Permissive Society and its Enemies,* (London, 2007); Marcus Collins, 'The Pornography of Permissiveness: Men's Sexuality and Women's Emancipation in Mid Twentieth-Century Britain', *History Workshop Journal*, 47 (1999), pp. 99-120; J. Hampshire and J. Lewis, '"The Ravages of Permissiveness": Sex Education and the Permissive Society', *Twentieth Century Briticsh History,* 15 (2004), pp. 290-312; Tim Newburn, *Permission and Regulation: Law and Morals in Post-War Britain,* (London, 1992); P. Thompson, 'Labour's "Gannex Conscience"? Politics and Popular Attitudes in the "Permissive Society"', in R. Coopey, S. Fielding, and N. Tiratsoo (eds.), *The Wilson Governments, 1964-1970,* (London, 1993); Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counter-Culture,* (London, 1998); Shawn Levy, *Ready, Steady, Go! Swinging London and the Invention of Cool,* (London, 2002); Miriam Akhtar and Steve Humphries, *The Fifties and Sixties: A Lifestyle Revolution,* (London, 2001); Noel Annan, *Our Age: The Generation That Made Postwar Britain,* (London, 1991); Christopher Booker, *The Neophiliacs: The Revolution in English Life in the Fifties and Sixties,* (London, 1969); Becky Conekin, Frank Mort and Chris Waters (eds.), *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain, 1945-64,* (London, 1999); Christie Davies, *Permissive Britain: Social Change in the Sixties and Seventies,* (London, 1975); Mark Donnelly, *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics,* (Harlow, 2005); Juliet Gardiner, *From the Bomb to the Beatles: The Changing Face of Postwar Britain, 1945-65,* (London, 1999); Roger Hutchinson, *High Sixties: The Summer of Riot and Love,* (Edinburgh, 1992); Stuart Hylton, *Magical History Tour: The 1960s Revisited,* (Stroud, 2000); Bernard Levin, *The Pendulum Years: Britain and the Sixties,* (London, 1970); Barry Miles, *In the Sixties,* (London, 2002).

Chapter Two: Single Men

The fundamental economic basis for the 'affluent society' was the steady rise of average earnings after the Second World War. In 1950 the average weekly wage was £6.8s; by 1959, it had almost doubled to £11. 2s 6d. At the same time, the standard rate of income tax fell from over nine shillings in the pound to less than seven shillings.[1] It was also a period of full employment and workers, especially if young and single, had greater freedom to move from job to job, whether for higher wages or simply to satisfy a desire for change.[2] Spending on household items increased by 115 per cent during the 1950s.[3] From September 1957 to November 1959, the number of households owning a car had risen by 25 per cent, with even bigger increases in the ownership of televisions (32 per cent), washing machines (54 per cent) and refrigerators (58 per cent).[4]

Young people in the 1950s and 1960s became wealthier and more economically conspicuous than ever before.[5] This was more noticeable at the time due to the postwar demographic 'bulge' of teenagers in the later fifties and their concentration in towns and suburbs. Young people also had more free time with school holidays for those still in education, for example, or paid holidays for those at work.[6] In Mark Abrams' influential surveys *The Teenage Consumer* and *Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959*, there were more than five million teenagers in Britain at the beginning of 1960, commanding almost 10 per cent of the population's total personal income.[7] He calculated that male teenagers spent 71s 6d a week, while girls spent 54s. In total, young people spent some £830 million a year, an increase in real terms of over 50 per cent since the last years of the 1930s. Although this was only 5 per cent of consumer spending in Britain, it was concentrated in certain areas, particularly luxuries and entertainments.[8] In 1959, British teenagers spent 20 per cent of their money on clothes

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[1] Gardiner, *From the Bomb to the Beatles*, p. 83.
[2] Paul Addison, *Now the War is Over: A Social History of Britain, 1945-51*, (London, 1985), p. 176.
[3] Gardiner, *From the Bomb to the Beatles*, p. 88.
[4] Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good: A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*, (London, 2006), p. 110.
[5] For youth in the first half of the twentieth century see David Fowler, *The First Teenagers: The Lifestyle of Young Wage-Earners in Interwar Britain*, (London, 1995); Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth, 1889-1939*, (Oxford, 1981); Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: Age, Class, and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920*, (Oxford, 1990); John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics*, (Basingstoke, 1998); Selina Todd, *Young Women, Work and Family in England 1918-1950*, (Oxford, 2005); Andrew Davies, 'Street Gangs, Crime and Policing in Glasgow in the 1930s: The Case of the Beehive Boys', *Social History*, 23 (1998), pp. 251-267; Geoffrey Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears*, (London, 1983). On youth in interwar Manchester see David Fowler, 'Teenage Consumers? Young Wage-earners and Leisure in Manchester, 1919-1939', A. Davies and S. Fielding (eds.), *Workers' Worlds*, (Manchester, 1998), pp. 133-155; Andrew Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-1939*, (Oxford, 1992). On youth in interwar Glasgow see Andrew Davies, 'The Scottish Chicago? From "Hooligans" to "Gangsters" in Interwar Glasgow', *Cultural and Social History*, 4 (2007), pp. 511-527; Andrew Davies, 'Glasgow's "Reign of Terror": Street Gangs, Racketeering and Intimidation in the 1920s and 1930s', *Contemporary British History*, 21 (2007), pp. 405-427.
[6] Marwick, *The Sixties*, p. 41.
[7] Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, p. 13-14.
[8] Mark Abrams, *Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959*, (London, 1961), p. 4-5.

and shoes; 17 per cent on drinks and cigarettes; 15 per cent on sweets, snacks and soft drinks and in cafes. The rest was spent on entertainment of various kinds, from cinemas and dance halls to magazines and records. Teenagers bought over a third of all bicycles and motorbikes. Their purchases accounted for nearly a third of the markets for cosmetics, film admissions and public entertainments in general. Young people accounted for more than 40 per cent of the markets for records and record players.[9]

The problem of juvenile delinquency in the 1950s was widely believed to be a direct result of the new temptations and freedoms of the affluent society.[10] This was no doubt spurred by escalating crime statistics: between 1955 and 1961, the number of boys between fourteen and seventeen convicted of serious offences more than doubled, with a similar increase among young men from seventeen to twenty-one.[11] In 1955 just under six thousand violent crimes were committed in Britain; in 1960 there were almost twelve thousand; and in 1970 there were twenty-one thousand.[12] There were therefore 'significant and generalised fears about rising youth crime from the early 1950s, culminating in the moral panics surrounding the "Teddy Boys" later in the decade.'[13] The popular press exaggerated the threat posed by these groups; in the 1950s there had been 'much anxiety about extravagantly dressed Teddy Boys armed with flick knives, "juvenile delinquents" bent on terrorising their neighbours, and sexually precocious teenagers with more money than sense.'[14] By the 1960s, the Mods had emerged in London, replacing the Teddy Boys whose numbers had already begun to wane by the mid-1950s. With their distinctive 'modernist' style and culture, Mods were taken to epitomise the affluent youth, hanging about in coffee bars and jazz clubs. Fears about gang violence and hooliganism dogged the Mods not least because of sensational media coverage of seaside violence with their notorious enemies, the Rockers.[15] The result of these trends was that teenagers became 'folk devils' in the fifties and sixties, not because they were all delinquents, but because they were ideal scapegoats for all the changes occurring in the affluent society. Teenagers in the sixties were iconic figures, not only because of what they did, but because they personified so many of the issues of the day, from the rise of mass entertainment to the new working-class prosperity.[16]

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.
[10] John Davis, *Youth and the Condition of Britain,* (London, 1990); Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears*; Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 170; Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: the Creation of Mods and Rockers,* (Oxford, 1987); Iain Chambers, *Popular Culture: The Metropolitan Experience,* (London, 1986); Bill Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945,* (Oxford, 1998); J. Pitts, *The Politics of Juvenile Crime,* (London, 1988); L. Gelsthorpe and A. Morris, 'Juvenile Justice 1945-1992', in M. Maguire, R. Morgan, and R. Reiner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, (Oxford, 1994), pp. 949-997.
[11] Davis, *Youth and the Condition of Britain,* p. 151.
[12] Arthur Marwick, *British Society Since 1945,* (Harmondsworth, 1996), p. 148.
[13] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 170.
[14] Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics,* p.1.
[15] *Ibid.*, p, 1.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 1; Chambers, *Popular Culture: The Metropolitan Experience*.

It is vital to stress that criminality has tended to be associated with male adolescents throughout the modern period.[17] Male juvenile delinquents were seen as social threats who needed to be reformed and re-educated; the concept of the reformatory school, originally formulated as an alternative to prison for child offenders, was soon expanded into the plan for a wide-ranging system of training to take all sorts of 'problem' children. Harry Hendrick has suggested that the history of child welfare policy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries can best be understood in relation to shifting and overlapping narratives of children as both victims and threats.[18]

While magistrates and the press deplored youth subcultures like the Mods, it seems probation officers did not necessarily share these fears. This is unsurprising when one considers the reflections of former probation officers. Close contact through probation casework resulted in officers seeing the offending young men as individuals with their own unique problems, not a social menace. As Jim Cannings recalled:

> I had one guy who got involved in one of the first Mods and Rockers punch ups…the one thing you did know was where the next one was going to be. They'd come in on the Tuesday after Easter Monday and say "its Margate at Whitsun!" But this guy came from a good background. He hadn't got a father but there wasn't a shortage of money, high standards, moral standards in the house. But yet he got involved in a Mod-Rocker punch up…he said he hadn't been doing what the police said he was doing but he was put on probation anyway by the court.[19]

The pre-war generation of probation officers seemed equally unfazed by these youth subcultures. Asked about her experiences working with Mods and Rockers, Georgie Stafford saw them as no different from the other types of offenders the Service had to deal with on a daily basis:

> yes, we had quite a batch of pretty rough and ready boys in our neighbourhood. And we had a young officer who was pretty good with them…we all knew about them but I never remember them having much of an influence really one way or another. They just were, you know, they were like shoplifters are or any other kind of particular person. And there were quite a lot of them, in fact I used to think if only people would stay in their houses and not come out we shouldn't have the shouting matches and the fighting between them. But of course they didn't.[20]

Probation officers were not necessarily prejudiced against young adult men involved in youth subcultures. For example, while pushing for a conditional discharge for Stephen W, aged 18, after his conviction for being a suspected person, his probation officer, J. Mather (North East London Probation Service), wrote approvingly that he was no longer involved in a 'scooter gang', 'Stephen readily admits having been in trouble once before, he could hardly do otherwise, but says at that time

[17] Davis, *Youth and the Condition of Britain*; Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears*.
[18] Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare. England 1872-1989*, (London, 1994), pp. 1-42.
[19] Interview with Jim Cannings, recorded by John Lunan (JL), Boston Spa, 11 July 2012.
[20] Interview with Georgie Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.

he was only 16 and mixed in with a "scooter gang" in one of those disastrous weekend episodes that plagued our seaside resorts a short time back. He regards this as a phase which is firmly in the past.'[21] Arguing that Michael C could benefit from probation after his conviction for 'unlawful possession of a car radio', J. B. Denton (City of Birmingham Probation Department) summarised the significance of his Mod membership, 'C basically is I feel a very insecure and somewhat withdrawn lad who because of this appears sullen, partly because of his own feelings and inability to establish easy contact, it appears that his "mod" mode of dress, choice of friends and start on taking of drugs are something of a compensation for this.'[22]

Barry B seems to have been an example of the short-lived Teddy Boy revival which occurred at the beginning of the 1970s.[23] Believing that a Probation Order could 'give some outside support and guidance' and deter him from further delinquent behaviour following his conviction for carrying an offensive weapon, Mrs J.C.L. Hall (North East London Probation & After-Care Service), called into question whether he was really a Teddy Boy, 'He realises that going about with large groups of youths is a stupid thing to do and can lead to trouble. He was attracted to this particular public house because rock and roll music is played there. He also claims to be a Teddy Boy although when seen on two occasions none of the clothes of this cult were worn.'[24] Finally, J. J. Davies (City of London Probation Service), explained why supervision was not needed for Barry P, aged 18, after his conviction for possessing an offensive weapon: the SER assuaged any concerns he may have been a member of a youth subculture, 'Perhaps I should also mention that, though he gives the appearance of being a "skin head", he does deny any association with others who call themselves "skin heads". He keeps his hair short because it is easier to wash away the dirt from the Underground.'[25]

How did probation officers attempt to persuade magistrates regarding young adult men apparently involved in gangs? They did so by drawing attention to the extent to which they conformed to a normative masculinity which closely resembled the notion of *mens sana in corpore sano* outlined by Wills in her article.[26] This was an argument developed from Stephen Brooke's view that citizenship should be seen as a 'fractured concept' transected by age and social class.[27] Kathleen Canning and Sonya Rose have also argued for a concept of citizenship as a 'multi-dimensional discursive framework', giving the language and categories for claims of belonging.[28] By discussing their apparent strength of character, physicality, restrained heterosexuality, and disciplined work ethic, SERs effectively painted a picture that indicated whether or not they were a delinquent in need of

[21] Evidence Book, GJR, 1st September 1965 – 21st October 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/487, p. 173.
[22] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th November 1964 – 28th December 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/481, p. 82.
[23] Evidence Book, GJR, 29th January 1971 – 30th March 1971, LMA CLA/005/06/529, p. 10; See Rock and Cohen, 'The Teddy Boy', pp. 288-318
[24] Evidence Book, GJR, 29th January 1971 – 30th March 1971, LMA CLA/005/06/529, p. 10.
[25] Evidence Book, GJR, 31st March 1971 – 5th June 1971, LMA CLA/005/06/530, p. 144.
[26] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 159.
[27] Stephen Brooke, 'Identities in Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, xl (2001), p. 155.
[28] Kathleen Canning and Sonya Rose, 'Introduction: Gender, Citizenship and Subjectivity: Some Historical and Theoretical Considerations', *Gender & History*, 13 (2001), pp. 427-443.

intervention. More importantly, as the following example demonstrates, in drawing attention to the different aspects of their normative masculinity, probation officers subtly emphasised whether the young adult men in question were appropriately submissive to their parents (though often especially to their fathers). A submissive masculinity was therefore ultimately the most important precondition when it came to persuading magistrates over young adult men.

In 1960, a group of 16 and 17-year-old working-class youths appeared at the Guildhall for stealing scooters – six of them were subsequently remanded for SERs.[29] Indicating to the magistrate that cautions and small fines would be a sufficient deterrent, the probation officers involved demonstrated that the young adult men had conformed to the different aspects of *mens sana in corpore sano*. Narratives were made more compelling, however, by highlighting this within a framework which emphasised their submissiveness to their parents. Strength of character, for example, was considered an essential pillar of *mens sana in corpore sano*. Perhaps influenced by previous studies which have ultimately linked assertiveness with masculinity[30], Wills argued that residential institutions envisaged inculcating hard-edged emotional independence in young men as a form of character strength.[31] However, it is argued here that this ideal did not come at the expense of submissiveness to parents. Indeed, where the offence was considered an aberration and unlikely to be repeated – having come from good homes with no previous convictions – probation officers encouraged cautions and small fines by highlighting that there was appropriate parental discipline at home (reflecting that families were also scrutinised in SERs). For example, regarding Peter B, the probation officer, N. D. Taylor (Stratford), noted that, 'Peter's father seems able to exercise adequate control over him, and I do not feel that additional supervision is necessary in this case.'[32] Similarly, M. H. Whitehouse (East Ham Probation Area) wrote, 'Mr H tells me that he will deal with the boy most severely should there be any repetition of a similar nature. There appears to be a good relationship within the home and a logical sense of discipline and up-bringing.'[33]

A mature attitude to the offence was one way in which probation officers could highlight strength of character while also subtly indicating their submissiveness. Regarding Albert B, the probation officer, D. A. Oates (East Ham Probation Area), noted that, 'Albert states that he now realises that his actions were very stupid…Arrest coupled with the obvious disgrace that he has brought upon his parents has served to make B realise he has done wrong.'[34] M. H. Whitehouse noted that John H 'realises the worry that this matter has caused his parents and now appreciates his

[29] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th September 1960 – 6th October 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/445, p. 29.
[30] Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence: Sexual Assault in England 1770-1845*, (London, 1987); J. W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 5 (1986), pp. 1053-75; C. Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*, (Cambridge, 1992).
[31] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 162, 179.
[32] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th September 1960 – 6th October 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/445, p. 29.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

obligations towards society. I consider his present contrite manner to be genuine.'[35] Finally, although supervision had been considered necessary for Alan M, the report insisted his overall good character and indicated approvingly of his submissive masculinity, in particular highlighting that he was 'very thoughtful and helpful' at home.[36] Indeed, Alan M shows that probation officers, like residential institutions for delinquents, could express anxiety over the damaging influence of feminising mothers on young men.[37] The report justified probation intervention because of the emotional imbalances at home caused by a relatively absent father, 'Mr M by the nature of his work is obliged to work alternative shifts, and as so often happens in these circumstances there may have been an inconsistent standard of behaviour accepted from the parents. Mrs M, probably has taken a more lenient course than her husband with regard to Alan.'[38] By effectively attributing blame to his indulgent mother, the report called into question Alan M's culpability for the offence itself and was used as an additional reason to justify a Probation Order rather than anything more severe.

Discussing leisure time provided another opportunity for probation officers to highlight strength of character in apparent gang members. It was also used as an opportunity to point out subtly their submissive masculinity in order to make their recommendations more compelling. Describing sensible leisure pursuits had the advantage of showing the magistrate that the young men were not typical delinquent youths, further justifying cautions and small fines rather than more punitive sentences. This was very important considering anxieties at the time about the unsupervised affluent youth as Louise Jackson found regarding coffee clubs in 1960s Manchester.[39] For example, as D. A. Oates explained regarding Albert B, 'He appears to spend most of his time indoors watching the television or helping his father decorating. He occasionally goes out dancing.'[40] Probation officers were also keen to highlight membership and participation in organisations such as Youth Clubs which were expanding in the postwar period. They were notoriously conservative and many were often set up specifically to tackle the problems of juvenile delinquency and help young people become better citizens.[41] Perhaps for these reasons probation officers wanting to make a good impression in reports highlighted offenders' membership of them. N. D. Taylor noted approvingly that Peter B, 'belongs to Fairlop Youth Club and takes part in the activities there. Indoors his only real interest is playing popular records.'[42] Scouts and church activities were similarly approved of and helped to create an impression of maturity. David B's probation officer, D. A. Oates made a particularly compelling case for a caution by highlighting his involvement in the scouting movement and choir at the local

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[37] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 162.
[38] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th September 1960 – 6th October 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/445, p. 29.
[39] Louise Jackson, '"The Coffee Club Menace" Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-War Manchester', *Cultural and Social History*, 5 (Oxford, 2008), pp. 289 – 308.
[40] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th September 1960 – 6th October 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/445, p. 29.
[41] Alison Pressley, *Changing Times: Being Young in Britain in the '60s,* (London, 2000), p. 63; Peter Laurie, *The Teenage Revolution*, (London, 1965), p. 43.
[42] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th September 1960 – 6th October 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/445, p. 29.

church.[43] By discussing their sensible leisure pursuits, probation officers could highlight that there was nothing subversive about their interest in scooters either. Regarding Anthony B, for example, it was noted that, 'The paramount interest of this boy is motor scooters and cars. He shows more interest in the mechanical than the electrical side of engineering…He is also learning to drive a car. His secondary interests are fishing and pictures.'[44]

A good work ethic was another important aspect of normative masculinity outlined by Wills.[45] Indeed, it has been noted that work has for a long time been seen as one of the central aspects of masculine identity within capitalist systems.[46] Probation officers were therefore keen to stress that young men apparently involved in gangs had a work ethic in order to justify recommending cautions and small fines rather than anything more severe. It could also be used creatively as an additional opportunity to indicate submissiveness to fathers. For example, Anthony B's SER noted that, 'Since Easter 1959 B has been employed with his father's firm as an electrician's mate. The father tells me that his son has a good work record.'[47] One of the ways supervision was encouraged for Alan M included showing his newly submissive relationship with his father which was highlighted while discussing his improving work ethic, 'He had resisted his father's attempts to persuade him to take an apprenticeship at Fords Dagenham but now claims to regret this earlier attitude and feels that he is a good deal happier engaged in manual work and may endeavour to join his father at 18 years of age'.[48]

Although Wills discussed the importance of physicality at length in her article as an important aspect of normative masculinity[49], it seems it was not as important as demonstrating a good work ethic in SERs. When physicality was mentioned – and it sometimes wasn't – it was usually no more than a sentence. For example, it was noted approvingly that John H 'appears an intelligent youth and gave a smart and neat appearance.'[50] Similarly, although Anthony B's probation officer was equally pleased with his physique, it was no more than a sentence in the report, 'This youth is of good physique and has had no serious illnesses.'[51] Mentioning physicality was part of a broader narrative that emphasised good character and a good family background, no doubt helping to challenge the over-indulged stereotype. Occasionally, submissiveness to fathers was demonstrated creatively whilst discussing good physicality. Moreover, as the following quotation demonstrates, to justify recommending supervision rather than anything more severe, Alan M's good physicality was even used to effectively mitigate his offending behaviour:

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[43] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[45] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 159.
[46] Paul E. Willis, *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs,* (Farnborough, 1977).
[47] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th September 1960 – 6th October 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/445, p. 29.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[49] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 163.
[50] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th September 1960 – 6th October 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/445, p. 29.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

> He enjoys good health and has always been of strong physique which his father feels may have contributed to Alan's tendency towards becoming the leader of any group of his contemporaries and perhaps tending to "show off" before them…This is a happy united family with Mr M endeavouring to encourage the boy towards returning to sporting activities at which he excelled at school, but which have been sadly neglected except for the occasional game of football or cricket with the team from his father's firm.[52]

It seems there are also echoes here of probation being used to calm physical strength which Wills identified in probation homes as a central aspect of the project of reform.[53]

Finally, a 'healthy' heterosexuality was an important aspect of *mens sana in corpore sano*.[54] As Wills explained, the 'normative heterosexuality towards which sexual reform was directed was in many ways a peculiar one.'[55] In certain circumstances probation officers, like probation homes, could highlight and censure overt sexual feelings and regard girlfriends as disruptive. However, in contrast to Wills' argument, throughout the sixties probation officers could also recognise the steadying influence that girlfriends had on single adult men. Indeed, discussing girlfriends could help challenge the stereotype of the unruly gang member. For example, it was noted approvingly that David B 'has a girlfriend with whom he spends most of his time. He goes dancing occasionally and to the cinema once a week.'[56] Discussing girlfriends could even be used as an opportunity to draw attention to submissiveness. Comments in Alan M's report demonstrates this, 'Whilst he has spent some of his leisure time with local boy friends he has been associating with a young girl who is fully approved by the parents, and encouraged to visit the home.'[57]

To summarise, in describing their adherences to the different aspects of *mens sana in corpore sano*, Whitehouse, Oates, and Taylor attempted to persuade the magistrate by subtly emphasising submissiveness to parents. Of course, there were many single young adult men from working-class backgrounds in the sixties appearing in court who were not apparently involved in gangs – not to mention middle-class young men. This begs the question whether the above reports by these particular probation officers were representative of the way they wrote about single men generally? Did their approach vary depending on the circumstances of the offence and did this change over time?

Scrutiny of SERs written later suggests that Whitehouse, Oates, and Taylor adopted a similar approach to other single men charged with various offences. Moreover, the way they attempted to persuade magistrates in reports did not noticeably change over time. In 1962, Michael S and Patrick R, both aged 19, were convicted for being 'suspected person, loitering to steal from parked motor vehicles', and, 'Larceny of radio, etc., from car value £24.12.0d.'[58] Whitehouse wrote both SERs and, just as in the above reports, paid close attention to relationships with parents. Michael S was regarded

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[52] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[53] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 163.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[56] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th September 1960 – 6th October 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/445, p. 29.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[58] Evidence Book, MHJR, 6th June 1962 – 17th July 1962, LMA CLA/004/07/250, p. 47.

as an immature young man and required probation supervision. To justify this recommendation, Whitehouse drew attention to his lack of submissiveness at home, 'His behaviour in the home…has caused his parents considerable concern over a long period and they have sought the advice of our department in a voluntary capacity…he…appears to have taken no steps to rectify these matters by improving his own behaviour and attitude towards his parents.'[59] In contrast, Whitehouse approved of Patrick R and, from his good work ethic to relationships at home, emphasised positively his submissive masculinity in the report. However, it was while discussing approvingly of his submissiveness that the reason for probation supervision was made clear:

> This youth has not been allowed out since he committed the offences and the parents assure me that the friendship with both B and S has been terminated. Both parents are very shocked at their boy's Court appearance as he has not previously been in trouble. It is a matter of some concern, however, that these offences appear to have been deliberately planned. I would respectfully suggest that R would benefit from the type of supervision as offered by Probation.[60]

In 1966, submissiveness was emphasised as the reason for allowing continued supervision for a sexual offender. When Barrie R, aged 19, appeared at the Mansion House for his third sexual offence ('indecent assault on a girl'), he was already on a three-year Probation Order for 'Indecent assault'. Before that he had even been to Detention Centre for '2 cases of indecent assault and 2 cases of indecent exposure'.[61] However, Whitehouse wanted to 'retain his liberty' and allow further supervision and medical help. Pushing for this recommendation, from his work ethic and conduct at home, to a willingness to continue treatment and his repentance to the victim, Barrie R's social background was interpreted creatively by Whitehouse to indicate his apparent submissiveness:

> He has on occasions worked for his father, who tells me that R is capable of efficient and hard work…I consider that he has been genuine in his wish to conform with the requirements of his probation order. There has never been any indication of sexual misbehaviour in the home and R assures myself and his parents that this is his only lapse since being under supervision. He can put forward no reason for these unpremeditated assaults and hopes that he can undergo further psychiatric treatment…R wishes to apologise to the girl in question.[62]

A report by Oates in 1964, by now a Senior Probation Officer, shows that he also continued to base his recommendations on whether the young adult man conformed to a submissive masculinity. Colin C, aged 19, had a long history of delinquency as well as spells in approved schools.[63] When he appeared at the Guildhall for larceny, Oates recommended that he be placed in an institution for his

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[59] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[61] Evidence Book, MHJR, 14th December 1965 – 2nd March 1966, LMA CLA/004/07/269, p. 109.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[63] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th November 1964 – 28th December 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/481, p. 53.

own good, 'I respectfully submit that Borstal training can give this young man his last chance to make something decent of his life.'[64] Although it was acknowledged that he had a 'very disturbed life' and it was indicated that this was ultimately responsible for his delinquency, the borstal recommendation was based on his failure to conform to a submissive masculinity rather than his criminal record. As the following quotation suggests, in highlighting his poor work ethic and immature attitude, the report was carefully drawing out a deeper underlying problem which was his failure to subordinate himself either to his parents or to the probation officer:

> having lost his job at the New London Electron Works where he was employed as a labourer, he left home and went to live with his godparents. He exploited their kindness. He would not get up in the mornings and made little effort to maintain work. Only when he knew he was in danger of being turned out by them did he start work as a vegetable cook…He left that situation after a very few days and was absent from home from Monday 19th to Wednesday evening 21st…We did not expect much improvement whilst he remained at home but once he removed to his godparents he should have made an effort. He has blamed his mother and her interference for his breakdowns in the past…Colin has shown that he is ready to blame everyone and everything for his misconduct. In short he has sufficient insight into his problems to manipulate them to his own advantage but has not learned to make any personal effort to overcome them. He is lazy, deceitful and lacking in loyalty. He is now homeless because neither his parents or godparents are prepared to give him further shelter.[65]

Like Whitehouse and Oates, above, regardless of the offence, Taylor continued to base his recommendations on evidence of a submissive masculinity. In the case involving Roy A, aged 17, no previous convictions, who had been making indecent telephone calls to women, Taylor indicated that a caution or small fine would be sufficient. The report therefore emphasised his subordination to the Church and to his parents in support of this recommendation.[66] For example, in discussing his leisure time, the report noted that:

> The parents and the children all belong to the Anglo-Catholic faith and attend Church regularly…Roy also helps his father tend the garden…Church is attended regularly and during the week he goes to a Church Youth Club…The relationship with the parents appears to be quite good and also that with his brother and sister…He has discussed this matter with a priest at the Church and assures me it will not happen again...He was told the facts of life at about 12 years of age and sex is discussed openly within the family, he was told to ask his parents about any problems he had in connection with this.[67]

In the case involving Geoffrey W, aged 18, convicted of 'larceny servant', it was considered that the offence was an aberration. Nevertheless, despite discussing his overall good character, Taylor

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[66] Evidence Book, GJR, 28th June 1960 – 3rd August 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/443, p. 8.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

encouraged probation supervision purely on the basis of inculcating a more submissive masculinity. In particular, it was believed supervision would improve the father-son relationship:

> The relationship indoors with his father has been rather strained during the past few years…W finds it difficult to communicate with his father and there appears little common ground for them to meet on…It would appear that W…would well benefit from a period of probation. Both he and his father would welcome this if the Court is disposed to take such a course.[68]

Moreover, in the case involving Richard G, aged 17, who was under 'approved school licence' at the time that he was convicted of larceny, Taylor attributed his delinquency to an undeveloped submissive masculinity at home, albeit one caused by poor parenting:

> Most of G's behaviour difficulties stem from faulty home relationships and G's need to find an identity in the home. There has been some ambivalence towards G by his father, and his mother has tended to overindulge him to compensate. At times both parents change their attitude towards G, which leaves him somewhat confused. G's reaction to this situation has been in aggressive outbursts and he has caused some damage in the home whilst in temper tantrums.[69]

However, keen to continue supervision, by drawing attention to his apparent submissiveness on probation, Taylor could still reasonably advocate continued supervision; 'G is unable to accept discipline within the home, but he has never shown any anti-authority feelings outside. Although G has tested out relationships to a dangerous degree, he has never once missed an appointment with me during the four years that I have known him, which is indicative that the casework is meaningful.'[70] Nevertheless, as the fundamental basis of good masculinity for single young adult men entailed submissiveness to parents, Taylor noted that continued supervision would eventually inculcate a more submissive relationship at home, 'G's greatest need is to make a satisfactory adjustment to his home environment and this can only be achieved through him continuing to live there.'[71]

When it came to attempting to persuade magistrates, Whitehouse, Oates, and Taylor carefully signalled evidence of submissive masculinity in single young adult men. Submissiveness was therefore the most important and overarching aspect of appropriate masculinity for these types of offenders throughout the sixties and these three probation officers drew this out creatively in their reports. Lack of submissiveness at home could be the basis for intervention even in cases where reoffending had been considered unlikely, reflecting how inculcating gender norms due to perceived gender transgressions was just as salient for adult males as it was for juveniles (though assertive or challenging behaviour was not necessarily censured if it was found to be symptomatic of poor

[68] Evidence Book, MHJR, 18th July 1962 – 18th October 1962, LMA CLA/004/07/251, p. 175.
[69] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th July 1968 – 20th August 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/507, p. 97.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

parenting.) Unfortunately, Whitehouse, Oates, and Taylor cannot be identified from oral or secondary sources and this begs the question whether their preoccupation with submissive masculinity in relation to *mens sana in corpore sano* is evidence that they belonged to the pre-war and second career generation of probation officers? The remainder of this chapter will answer this question.

Single Working-Class Adult Men: The Pre-War and Second Career Probation Officers

When attempting to persuade magistrates regarding working-class young adult men, the pre-war and second career generation of probation officers signalled evidence of submissiveness to parents. Indeed, like Whitehouse, Oates, and Taylor, they demonstrated submissiveness while describing whether or not the offender had adhered to the notion of *mens sana in corpore sano*.[72] For example, a mature attitude to the offence was one way the pre-war and second career probation officers highlighted strength of character while also subtly indicating submissiveness. A. G. H. Robins (The Inner London Probation and After-Care Service), who started working in London in 1950,[73] encouraged continued supervision of David P by doing just this.[74] In 1966, being already on detention centre licence after a string of motoring offences, David P was convicted for two charges of 'stealing luncheon vouchers'.[75] Having indicated that his delinquency may have stemmed from grief following the death of his mother, the report justified continued probation by indicating his nascent maturity and submissiveness at home, 'he…knows that he must now pay the price of his dishonesty…His father had spoken well of him, he did quite well at the Detention Centre, and although not of the brightest intellect, has quite enough common sense to know how to behave himself…his father provides a good home for the two sons, and I would like to continue to try and obtain a better response from P.'[76]

G. W. Parkinson (The Inner London Probation And After-Care Service), whose involvement in the London Service began in 1954, was described by Will Watson as 'very persuasive, a very powerful colleague'.[77] Parkinson also made persuasive arguments in his SERs, creatively providing evidence of maturity and submissiveness even when, on the face of it, the opposite would have seemed to be the case. For example, when John F, aged 18, appeared at the Guildhall for 'breaking and entering', he was already on a three-year Probation Order for being an 'Unlawful passenger'. He also had several other property offences to his name.[78] Pushing for continued supervision, however, Parkinson made a persuasive case by portraying his attitude to his offence as being a well-intentioned, albeit foolish, attempt at maturity. In doing so, he was portrayed approvingly as a caring and submissive son who had lost his way. Indeed, in light of his unhappy background, which was

[72] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 159.
[73] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 219.
[74] Evidence Book, MHJR, 10th October 1966 – 10th December 1966, LMA CLA/004/07/273, p. 82.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[77] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 249; Interview with Will Watson, recorded by JL, London, 7 March 2012.
[78] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st August 1968 – 5th October 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/508, p. 31.

indicated to be the root cause of his delinquency, the argument for giving him another chance on probation was made all the more compelling:

> F's father died in 1960 after a long illness. F, himself, suffers from a collapsed lung and most of his early childhood was spent in hospitals and convalescent homes. The effect of these experiences on F are extensive and have yet to be fully realised in his life. He is essentially concerned to avoid feelings of anxiety both in himself and in his mother. This stands out as a significant feature in the present offence. Unemployed for two weeks, he did not wish his mother to find out and would not apply for public assistance because he thought the authorities might send someone to his home. The present offence seemed a possible solution when suggested to him. "The one thing I didn't want was mother worried, but now, of course, things couldn't be worse." He wishes to assure the Court that he will never try solving his difficulties this way again. In spite of the present offence, I believe that F is attempting to use probation in a constructive way and I would respectfully express the hope that the Court may feel on this last occasion that a lenient course may be taken.[79]

When a pre-war or second career probation officer was unimpressed by a young adult man, and believed that a spell in an institution was called for, one of the ways that this was persuasively argued for in SERs was by highlighting that there was a lack of respect at home. In order to make punitive recommendations more compelling, lack of respect could be demonstrated in relation to an immature attitude to the offence. For example, encouraging borstal training for Anthony N, aged 20, after his reoffending whilst on probation ('false pretences'), Charles Morgan, who began his long career as a probation officer at Marlborough Street Magistrates' Court in 1937 (retired in 1972), noted that:

> He has accumulated debts which have been met by his father, borrowed right and left from relatives, has little respect for his family or his home. This young man always considered that he has been hard done by his family. He little appreciates the anxiety that he has caused them and whenever he is in any difficulty is always out to convince one that he will change his ways and that he has had his lesson, but for all these protestations very little effort is ever made on the part of N.[80]

Described as 'astute and compassionate' with a 'knowledge of the inner lives of West End worldlings which was perhaps unsurpassed at the court'[81], Morgan then provided additional reasons for borstal. In particular, Anthony N's apparent lack of submissiveness on probation was noted:

> During the short period that he was on probation he showed no response whatsoever and just prior to committing the present offence, the obtaining of a Warrant for his arrest on a breach of Probation had been under consideration. There is little, if anything, that I can state in this young man's favour, and I am of the considered opinion that he needs a

[79] *Ibid.,* p. 31.
[80] Evidence Book, GJR, 17th September 1962 – 23rd October 1962, LMA CLA/005/06/464, p. 197.
[81] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 140, 156, 203.

> firmer and closer supervision than can be given by probation to prevent him developing into a completely anti-social personality.[82]

Leisure time provided another opportunity for the pre-war and second career probation officers to highlight strength of character while subtly pointing out submissiveness. Derek Shuttleworth had been working as a main-grade officer long before the 1960s.[83] Described as a 'local probation officer whose life was largely dedicated to attempts to better the lives of young Hoxtonians', in his time he had even set up a 'probation café' to provide for local youngsters.[84] In his report on Trevor D, aged 19, Derek was pushing for his borstal after care supervision to continue after his ninth conviction in 1969 (shopbreaking).[85] Indicating his delinquency stemmed from a troubled background (a mixture of health and hearing problems, educational limitations as well as poor parenting), the report encouraged continued supervision by indicating Trevor D's submissive masculinity, particularly in relation to how he largely spent his spare time helping his family, 'They have now moved to a fairly modern Council flat only 50 yards away from their former home and they are very pleased with it and are all busily saving to help towards the complete refurbishing of it…He has always been very loyal towards his family who have always come first with him.'[86]

Unsurprisingly, leisure pursuits that did not involve parental oversight or approval met with considerable condescension in reports. The pre-war and second career probation officers could highlight this to show a lack of submissiveness at home. For example, although he did ultimately recommend supervision, Francis Lister, who joined the Service in 1939[87], wrote despondently about Geoffrey W, aged 24, and his leisure time, after his latest court appearance for forging cheques: 'Has no real, or useful, spare time activity; spends quite a good deal of time away from home and in the London area.'[88] In summing up Anthony N's leisure time, Charles Morgan, who went on to advocate borstal training, revealed his problematical lack of submissiveness to his father:

> This young man and his family first became known to me in the early part of the year when the father called on two or three occasions to discuss the problem of his son. The father was then greatly concerned about his son's gambling habits, his unsatisfactory behaviour, and the type of people his son was associating with. Later the father informed me that his son had left home and I did not see N himself until the early part of June…He is a born gambler with little or no will power to resist any opportunity to gamble. He has a knack of choosing the most undesirable companions and, through his gambling habits and the associates he has made, has mixed with some of the worst elements in and around the West End.[89]

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[82] Evidence Book, GJR, 17th September 1962 – 23rd October 1962, LMA CLA/005/06/464, p. 197.
[83] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 214, 267, 288-289.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 288, 289.
[85] Evidence Book, GJR, 28th November 1968 – 13th January 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/510, p. 200.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 200.
[87] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 171.
[88] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th July 1968 – 20th August 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/507, p. 182.
[89] Evidence Book, GJR, 17th September 1962 – 23rd October 1962, LMA CLA/005/06/464, p. 197.

Making a positive case for a young adult man, the pre-war and second career probation officers indicated submissiveness to parents while discussing good employment records and work ethic. Pushing for continued probation for David P, A. G. H. Robins indicated that his father had control over his son, 'He lives with his widowed father and younger brother in a well-kept modern Council house. All three are employed by the same firm of window cleaners, the two sons on actual window cleaning, and father (owing to failing eyesight) in the firm's stores and yard.'[90] In contrast, one of the ways Charles Morgan made a particularly convincing case for borstal training was by showing Anthony N's poor work ethic in relation to his apparent selfishness over failing to appreciate the opportunities his father had given him, 'He…entered his father's business but from time to time had various other employments…He is a young man of considerable business ability and for his age has a very extensive knowledge of the carpet trade. He could, had he so wished, obtained employment at a good salary and with good prospects if only he had set his mind to it.'[91]

The pre-war and second career probation officers sometimes linked lack of submissiveness with all kinds of other problems including a poor work ethic, poor physicality, and even deviant sexualities. Francis Lister is a case in point. In 1968, Geoffrey W, aged 24, was convicted for two cases of forging cheques (plus 'five similar offences t.i.c.'); there had also been three previous court appearances, the most recent being a suspended sentence four months previously for 'Aiding & Abetting in the possession of drugs'.[92] In his report, Francis was largely preoccupied with charting Geoffrey W's developing homosexual tendencies since his earlier court appearance in 1962. In particular, his poor health and drug-taking were implicitly linked with his sexuality and physical 'weakness'. As Francis explained, 'When I last met W, in May, 1962, he was quite a healthy young man; since then, one gathers he has had pleurisy and jaundice and has been in, or referred to, four different hospitals for various types of treatment. He says that he has been taking drugs for some considerable time and was actively engaged with homosexuals.'[93] Crucially, Francis then seemed to equate leaving home, and hence a lack of submissiveness to his parents, with the gaining of homosexual behaviour. This seems to reflect the view, increasingly influential in the postwar years, that homosexual behaviour was caused by environmental factors and was therefore amenable to treatment.[94] Moreover, his poor work ethic was also considered symptomatic of his homosexual weakness as was his failure to maintain a good physical appearance:

> He first left home in 1962, when he seems to have been attracted by another man and, since that time, has let his earlier standards go; has drifted into drug taking,

[90] Evidence Book, MHJR, 10th October 1966 – 10th December 1966, LMA CLA/004/07/273, p. 82.
[91] Evidence Book, GJR, 17th September 1962 – 23rd October 1962, LMA CLA/005/06/464, p. 197.
[92] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th July 1968 – 20th August 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/507, p. 182.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[94] Chris Waters, 'Disorders of the mind, Disorders of the Body Social: Peter Wildeblood and the Making of the Modern Homosexual' in Becky Conekin, Frank Mort and Chris Waters (eds.), *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain, 1945-1964,* (London, 1999).

> homosexuality, and not being over-concerned in working and maintaining himself. It seemed to me that he had now got to the stage of being lazy. At present this man appears to be associating with like characters but, if what he says about fighting against his weaknesses is true, at the same time doing his best to fight the weakness. He would, in my opinion, help himself still further if he got permanent employment and indulged in some hard work for a full day.[95]

Nevertheless, probation supervision was advocated to 'discuss and advise the man' and, in order to encourage this, Francis drew positive attention to Geoffrey W moving back home with his parents and that he was cooperating with the probation and medical authorities. In doing so, the report was therefore indicating cautious approval of his new submissiveness:

> He is at present living with his parents and may remain there so long as he conducts himself in a normal way. Mr and Mrs W are very respectable people and are very anxious and willing to help their son, but they insist that he must also try to help himself. Because of their religious following, W has made the position very difficult for his parents but they are prepared to accept this if he will continue to engage himself in a normal way of life. At the present time W is talking very freely about himself, and his problems, to anyone willing to attempt to help him…He likes to think that he has an inferiority complex. If he can keep off drugs and homosexual contact for some four months, as he says he has, one would have thought that, with medical help, he could continue and eventually lead a stable life.[96]

As was highlighted in the introductory chapter, direct entrants were often frowned upon by the university graduates for lacking formal training. In his brief history of South East London Probation Service, Dave Martin mentions that because the direct entrants, John Sawyer and Bert Shay, 'had not gone through the somewhat sketchy Home Office Training Programme made some staff regard them as somehow inferior and gave them the belief that their skills and experience were not appreciated.'[97] However, did direct entrants attempt to persuade magistrates any differently to what has been seen so far? A number of SERs by John Sawyer have survived in the Evidence Books, first when he was probation officer at Lambeth before moving to Bromley. These reports show that his recommendations were also based on evidence of submissiveness and evidence of conventional gender norms at the individual's home. For example, when James A, aged 18, was convicted for 'Stealing' (his third court appearance in the space of a year) John Sawyer advocated continued supervision.[98] In addition to highlighting his repentance over the offence, and that he had expressed an intention to learn how to read and write, continued supervision was also advocated on the basis that his parents would in future be more assertive and engaged with their son's life. Intervention was nevertheless necessary in order to inculcate conventional gender norms at home:

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[95] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th July 1968 – 20th August 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/507, p. 182.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[97] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 10.
[98] Evidence Book, GJR, 13th August 1962 – 15th September 1962, LMA/005/06/463, p. 14.

> Until A was charged with his present offence, Mrs A had not been informed by the family that he was recently placed on probation. It had been felt inadvisable because of her ill health. Unfortunately this precluded me from visiting the home and taking up with the parents the need for them to exercise more control and to take interest in A's affairs. Visits have now been made and the Court's concern has been discussed. Both parents have responded and expressed their interest in assisting A and co-operating to make supervision more effective…Continued work with the parents will be necessary.[99]

In a different case, after the 19-year-old John B's latest conviction for 'Larceny' (his fourth court appearance in less than one year), part of the way John Sawyer advocated 'a sharp reminder…to emphasise the consequences of his anti-social behaviour' was by contrasting creatively his parents' high standards with his lack of submissiveness to them, 'The family occupy a well appointed L.C.C. house where moral and material standards are high. Mr and Mrs B appear to be hardworking responsible people. Both express serious concern at B's continuous anti-social behaviour but are unable to explain or understand it. In spite of Mr B's efforts, it is felt his relationship with his son is strained.'[100]

Finally, during the 1960s female probation officers began to take on adult male clients in addition to juveniles and women offenders. Historians have questioned whether women in power challenged or reinforced conventional gender stereotypes when working with female offenders.[101] However, did the pre-war and second career women probation officers challenge or reinforce submissive masculinity when dealing with males? Doreen Yardley was fondly remembered as a Senior Probation Officer by the university graduate, Gerry Matthews: 'she was a delightful person. She was excellent all round, people warmed to her. And she was very good as a Senior.'[102] When it came to encouraging further supervision for Tony S, aged 16, Doreen Yardley emphasised his submissive masculinity and indicated that conventional gender norms were established at his home after his latest conviction for theft.[103] For example, although he had a history of delinquency and spells on probation and in detention centres, further supervision was advocated by highlighting his excellent work ethic as well as his mature conduct in the detention centre and on probation. In addition, the SER also noted positively that:

> This is a family where there is warmth and affection and very strong loyalties. There were difficulties between the parents about two years ago when Mr S became involved with another women but the strength of the various members of the family has been shown in the way that relationships have been re-established and Mr and Mrs S have settled down together again. Tony was under considerable pressure at the time of this upheaval as he is very close to his mother and naturally felt her distress very deeply…Although the relationship between Tony and his mother is a very close one, she has not over-indulged him and has tried very hard to take a realistic view of him. Both Mr and Mrs S have no

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[100] Evidence Book, GJR, 24th May 1963 – 9th July 1963, LMA CLA/005/06/469, p. 54.
[101] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 104.
[102] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[103] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st September 1970 – 30th October 1970, LMA CLA/005/06/526, p. 39.

> complaints about Tony at home where he conforms to their discipline, is helpful and contributes regularly to the family budget when working…This boy has many positive factors in his character. He is a good worker and shows no behaviour problem within his family.[104]

To summarise, when it came to single men, the pre-war and second career probation officers based their recommendations on evidence of submissiveness to parents. They drew this out while describing whether or not they conformed to the ideals of *mens sana in corpore sano*. In doing so, they constructed compelling narratives in order to persuade magistrates to follow their advice. These narratives therefore mirror the reports written by Whitehouse, Oates, and Taylor. Can it be safely assumed that these three probation officers belonged to the pre-war and second career generation? To help answer this question, the next section will turn attention to the psychodynamic university graduates.

Single Working-Class Adult Men: The Psychodynamic Probation Officers

With their focus on the individual and their welfare and happiness, were the SERs written by the psychodynamic university graduates any different when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates over single working-class adult men? Was there a similar emphasis on *mens sana in corpore sano* and submissive masculinity, or were their reports characterised by permissiveness? Based on Garland's following summary of the postwar penal-welfare professional, and the way that they went about their task, it would seem reasonable to expect that the young graduates, with their psychodynamic understanding of delinquency, would have generated distinctive reports:

> there was a recurring bias towards a form of causality that was long-term, dispositional, and operated through the formation of personality traits and attitudes. This notion of causality – popularised by Freudian depth psychology and widely adopted by the social work profession – focused upon deep underlying causes, unconscious conflicts, distant childhood experiences and psychological traumas. It tended to drive out all concern with proximate or immediate events (such as temptations and criminal opportunities) and to assume that surface meanings or conscious motivations are necessarily "superficial" and of little explanatory value. To this way of thinking, occasional, opportunistic, rationally motivated offending was of little interest, however much it contributed to overall rates of crime, because the acts involved spoke to no particular pathology and offered no opportunity for expert treatment or correctional reform.[105]

There is reason to doubt, however, that a psychodynamic perspective would be apparent in SERs written by the university graduates. For all their criticism of the older generation, the graduates encountered problems in how their psychoanalytical training could be applied successfully to offenders, if at all. As John Walters explained, 'I think there were an awful lot of differences between

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[105] Garland, *The Culture of Control*, p. 42.

the theory and actual practice! I don't know about you, but I was rather bewildered by how a lot of this sort of Freudian psychoanalysis was going to be actually applied to the people in the office.'[106]

Where the SERs written by interviewees have survived in the Evidence Books, historians can begin to get a sense of how their university training impacted on the way that they wrote reports and tried to influence magistrates. For example, as mentioned in the introductory chapter, Gerry Matthews joined the Service in the East End of London in 1965 after finishing his two-year diploma.[107] Like all the young graduates entering at that time, Gerry's training was psychoanalytically based and, as he explained in the interview, this was one of the original attractions of the job:

> it was this psychoanalytical element that certainly attracted me and I think the people I trained with, you know, that there's more to offending than need – you need money so you go out and bash somebody over the head and get it – but there must be more behind it, and it seems manifestly so. It's how you get at it, and how you do anything about it.[108]

As Gerry continued to explain, psychoanalysis formed a central component of his casework and provided the window on which he observed and understood offending behaviour:

> you were looking at early experiences, and you were trying to understand their psychology and so on…one of the problems for many probation officers was you see someone who has a problem of some kind or another, and it could be a sexual problem, or emotional, or psychological in some way…of course the more you get into training and…courses about the links between…people's drives and their behaviour, the mad, bad, sad, and glad categorization…So it's an area you can get sort of very much involved in…What drives people to move in one-way than to move in another.[109]

Judging by his four surviving SERs, however, one could easily be mistaken for assuming Gerry was a member of the pre-war and second career probation officers. There is no hint of his psychoanalytical background in his reports, nor is there any psychodynamic discourse. Although Wills argued that increased psychology training resulted in the emergence of a more permissive and emotionally attuned understanding of masculinity, including the positive use of terms such as 'friendly', 'sensitive', 'considerate' and 'thoughtful', this was not apparent in Gerry's SERs.[110] Instead, just like the older probation officers had done in the previous section, to persuade magistrates over young adult men, Gerry emphasised whether or not they were submissive to their parents while describing their adherences to the different ideals of *mens sana in corpore sano*.

For example, when Leslie M, aged 17, was convicted for 'Attempting to obtain by deception the sum of 4/-', Gerry, who could draw on case records about Leslie M having previously been on

[106] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[107] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[108] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[109] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[110] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 179.

probation, argued that he was 'more anti-social than delinquent' and did not require supervision.[111] Arguing that a financial penalty would be sufficient instead, the report went about highlighting his unhappy background (death of father and mother's unsuccessful re-marriage). The report indicated that his delinquency had stemmed from anxiety caused by this. The report then argued that probation was not needed because of his improving maturity and strength of character. In pointing this out, his submissiveness at home was made plain for the magistrate to see, 'The defendant himself has always had a very close relationship with his mother and there has always been great loyalty between the two…his mother reports that he seems very settled now in himself and she has no complaints of his behaviour. My impression now of Leslie M is…that he continues to receive good support from home.'[112]

In the case involving Victor H, aged 17, Gerry was similarly pushing for the case to be dealt with by way of a fine after he appeared at the Guildhall in 1970 for 'Theft of a pair of boots'.[113] Although he already had five previous findings of guilt – including three in 1970 alone for possessing an offensive weapon, threatening behaviour, and insulting behaviour – the report argued that Victor H was essentially from a good home but was somewhat immature and easily led. Gerry argued that he needed some more time with him on probation in order to make more of a positive impact (the Order was only two months old at the time).[114] One of the ways Gerry encouraged this, in addition to highlighting his submissiveness on probation, was by indicating his fundamentally good character. In pointing this out, as well as subtly suggesting that the offence could be considered a circumstantial aberration caused by naughty acquaintances, Gerry also indicated that Victor H was in fact submissive at home:

> His parents are both very concerned for this young man, who is the only one of their children to have appeared before the Court, and have been very worried at his behaviour of late. He has tended to associate with a number of delinquent and anti-social youths in this area, and in fact most of his recent offences have been committed in their company. H himself tends to take the view that he gets led into trouble by his friends.[115]

His submissiveness was indicated elsewhere too, particularly regarding his employment with his older sister, 'At the beginning of this year he started working for his older sister who at that time ran a clothes shop. He was in this employment until his last appearance in Court, by which time his sister's shop closed.'[116]

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[111] Evidence Book, GJR, 2nd November 1970 – 12th December 1970, LMA CLA/005/06/527, p. 125.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 125.
[113] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st September 1970 – 30th October 1970, LMA CLA/005/06/526, p. 39.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

Finally, the importance of submissive masculinity was evident in the two SERs Gerry wrote about Michael W.[117] In addition to having a string of previous convictions, in the space of three months in 1969, Michael W, aged 21, who was already on probation to Gerry, appeared twice before magistrates – first in January at Thames Magistrates' Court ('Unlawful possession of sheepskin coat'), and then at the Mansion House in March ('Burglary').[118] In the first report, Gerry recommended that the case be 'dealt with leniently' as the court appearance had been a 'great shock' and he had learned a 'hard lesson'.[119] Encouraging a caution or small fine, as well as pointing out approvingly of a previous four-year gap in his offending record, his submissiveness on probation, and his naivety over the stolen goods, the report also highlighted his submissiveness at home. This was presented in relation to his apparently excellent work ethic and repentant attitude over the offence itself:

> The defendant comes from a settled East End family with whom he is on very good terms…Since leaving school at fifteen W has had a number of jobs, at first in his father's trade as a floor layer…Recently, however, he has started in the greengrocery trade, at first working for an uncle…He is ambitious to get on and can work hard in this pursuit…He has caused his mother great distress before and bitterly regrets having done it again.[120]

In the second report, written three months later, this time to magistrates at the Mansion House, Gerry avoided making a recommendation. Instead, he submitted an SER which he hoped would give 'a fair picture of this young man's attitude'.[121] Similar points were made the second time round – the previous offending gap, a good work record – with the additional observation that there may have been some parental deprivation in childhood. However, acknowledging his immature and irresponsible behaviour, the report emphasised his submissive qualities too and left it for the magistrate to decide what action should be taken:

> In general W appeared to be making a favourable response to supervision until January of this year. He has always been a hard worker and has reported to me regularly. However, he is a rather self-willed and headstrong young man with little apprehension of the consequences of his actions. He has caused his mother great distress over his court appearances and bitterly regrets this, if somewhat late in the day.[122]

Considering his training and adherence to psychoanalysis, why were Gerry's SERs more like those written by the pre-war and second career probation officers? Can the absence of a psychodynamic style and content be accounted for by his not finding any particular deep-seated psychological problems in any of these single men? This seems unlikely as comments clearly indicate

[117] Evidence Book, MHJR, 7th February 1969 – 17th April 1969, LMA CLA/004/07/285, p. 78.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[122] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

that he had scrutinised their childhoods. Michael W's second report, for example, particularly highlights this where it was noted, 'Possibly due to the lack of proper supervision…he showed delinquent behaviour at an early age, culminating in a Detention Centre sentence when he was sixteen.'[123] Instead, it seems more likely that Gerry had deliberately avoided applying his training when writing his reports, or at least regarded psychoanalysis and soft-edged ideals of masculinity inappropriate or unhelpful when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates over how to deal with single men.

Indeed, this is something that retired officers spoke about in the interviews. There was clearly awareness amongst some probation officers that magistrates might not understand or appreciate psychoanalysis in SERs. As Anne Vickers eloquently explained, psychoanalysis was useful for interpreting an individual's behaviour but was potentially counterproductive in reports:

> It was probably much more important to how you perceived the person, than how you wrote the report. I mean remember we were writing reports for magistrates who…were lay people and who were not terribly impressed by a load of mumbo jumbo. So I think we distilled the psychoanalytic bit probably into helping us understand the person we were with, but that certainly would not have been how the reports were written…Magistrates today, magistrates then, were often excellent people, but they wouldn't have wanted a load of guff.[124]

Comments in Gerry's interview suggest that he was attuned to the sensibilities of magistrates. It therefore seems likely that, rather than necessarily play up psychoanalysis, he would instead focus his reports on issues which magistrates would find more persuasive – namely the employment and work ethic of the offender:

> the loss of the job was really something…this was a very powerful, possibly the most powerful, piece of argument that could be brought to the attention of the magistrate. You were creating an unemployed man, it was enormously important, and was a great deterrent to magistrates proposing prison sentences. It would make them think very carefully about it all together.[125]

Crucially, as the following quotation suggests, Gerry was acutely aware of the importance of highlighting parental control, and hence submissiveness, in reports on young men, 'we would look at the home background where, say…father had given the son a clip round the ear, he was doing okay at school, there was no other indication that intervention was needed, then you would indicate that to the court'.[126] Gerry also highlighted the flexible nature of writing reports which further suggests that there would not necessarily have been a psychodynamic discourse, 'you…start with the element that this is

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[124] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.
[125] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[126] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.

advice to the magistrate about the right way, the correct way, of dealing with somebody. The "how" you got there, how you put it together was left very much up to you'[127]

It seems highly likely that when it came to writing his SERs, Gerry was driven more by pragmatic considerations than theoretical ones about how to persuade magistrates. Moreover, based on other recollections and sources, it could also be conceived that his older colleagues had influenced him over how to write reports, 'there was no format for reports, again you looked at what other people had done in their reports, when you could get hold of them, and you'd have supervision with your Senior as well anyway all through your first year, you would have it weekly to begin with. You would be testing out what you'd be doing and be given general guidelines about how to go forward.'[128] Gerry was alluding to the practical part of his Home Office training course where students were tutored individually by experienced officers.[129] This perhaps also explains why Gerry's SERs were similar in style to reports written by his older colleagues.

It seems learning on the job could result in a more pragmatic approach to writing reports. Trainees might have adopted tried and tested methods acquired from the older generations of probation officers. In Essex, Stephen Collins recalled the limited impact of psychoanalysis on the work carried out by some of its most ardent supporters, 'there was a man in the Braintree office called Tom Collinson…I went on one, possibly two, training courses that Tom did and he was into all this psychoanalytic stuff hook, line and sinker. But to be perfectly honest there was no connection with what he actually did, again I'm sure he worked entirely intuitively'.[130] Two surviving SERs by Tom Collinson on single men, written within a few weeks of one another in July 1961, confirm this recollection. In neither report was there any hint of psychoanalysis – there was no psychodynamic discourse nor any evidence for the emergence of a permissive or emotionally attuned understanding of masculinity. Instead, like Gerry Matthews and the above mentioned cases, when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates in SERs, Tom emphasised evidence of submissiveness while describing the offender's adherence to the different aspects of *mens sana in corpore sano*.

For example, suggesting that the 18-year-old David H's larceny of stamps (value £17) was an aberration caused by sibling rivalry and that a punitive sentence was not needed, Tom highlighted his submissiveness while pointing out his mature leisure pursuits, good physicality, and healthy heterosexuality, 'H has always been quite healthy, is very fond of sport and plays for local football and cricket teams, and is also a member of the Bank of Tokio Cricket XI. He has been keeping company with a girl friend for nearly two years and both sets of parents approve of the association.'[131] David H's submissive masculinity was also pointed out while highlighting his parents' reaction to the

[127] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[128] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[129] Home Office Circular No. 98/1965, *Recruitment and Training of Probation Officers,* HOC 98/65; Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 282.
[130] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.
[131] Evidence Book, GJR, 10th July 1961 – 10th August 1961, LMA, CLA/005/06/453, p. 77.

offence. Indeed, the following quotation shows that physicality could be invoked creatively in order to draw out further evidence of guilt and repentance:

> H's father is an Insurance Agent, his mother does not go out to work but devotes all her time to her family, and their son's appearance at court has rather shocked them to the point where Mrs H has become really ill with anxiety and apprehension. Mr and Mrs H impress me as a sincere couple who have both assured me that prior to this their son has been honest, completely trustworthy and has never given them any trouble at all. During the past 18 months, however, the parents have noticed that the defendant was losing robust appearance and, in fact, he has lost about 1 ½ stones in weight during that period. They urged him on several occasions to visit his Doctor but he assured them that he was feeling quite well. He, however, now tells me that over this period he has had sleepless nights and has been very worried. He seems to be unable to give any explanation at all as to why he commenced these thefts and, furthermore, why he persisted in them, particularly in view of the fact that he said that he fully realised that it was inevitable that he would finally be caught and have to face up to the consequences of his actions. He told me that he had merely frittered away the money as and when he took it.[132]

Finally, while describing the nature of the sibling rivalry, David H's submissive masculinity was shown while demonstrating his mature attitude to the offence:

> His elder brother won a scholarship to a Public School, and is an assistant Clerk at the County Court. He tells me that he has not in the past felt inferior to his brother in any way but, nevertheless, he agrees that he has now discredited himself in the eyes of his parents. He feels that he has disgraced himself and his family and feels that the greatest punishment he has inflicted upon himself is the knowledge that he has hurt his mother so deeply. It has been a great shock to his family and I think it unlikely that he will offend again in this manner. He tells me that he genuinely desires to compensate the losers and intends to obtain part-time employment as a builder's labourer during the weekends in order to achieve this as soon as possible.[133]

Tom constructed a similar argument in his report on John H, aged 18, after his conviction for 'Larceny of Postal Orders, value £3.19.4d.'[134] In this case, supervision was indicated as a possible disposal, although like David H, above, the SER went about emphasising creatively his submissive masculinity. For example, in discussing his appropriately spent leisure time, his submissiveness was indicated while highlighting his maturity, good physicality, and healthy heterosexuality, 'The parents tell me that their son has always been a healthy lad, fond of sport – particularly athletics, swimming and football – and at present he is playing for one of the local cricket teams…His leisure time seems to be spent constructively as in addition to his sporting activities, he belongs to Doddinghurst Road Youth Club and has been keeping company with a girl friend for the past six months.'[135] However, as

[132] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[134] Evidence Book, GJR, 10th July 1961 – 10th August 1961, LMA, CLA/005/06/453, p. 25
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Tom continued to explain, he found evidence that John H's relationship with his father was not as good as it could be:

> Although, superficially, this seems to be a happy family there are some difficulties between H and his father. There is no open hostility but I am told that a cool, detached atmosphere has developed between them over the past few years….Father tells me that due to service with H.M. Forces he did not see his son until the lad was five years of age, and he feels that his son has never really accepted him and does not confide in him.[136]

Although John H's offence was regarded as an aberration, and that he had displayed appropriate maturity and remorse, probation intervention was offered as a way to inculcate a more submissive relationship with his father. This demonstrates that supervision could be envisaged by psychodynamic officers in order to reinforce conventional gender norms at home:

> Although this offence has shocked his parents, they expressed a desire to be present at the adjourned hearing. The defendant, however, has told them that he will face this alone because he feels he had brought disgrace on the family. He cannot give any explanation for the theft except that he was tempted, but during the remand period he has been restless and unsettled because he feels that he will no longer be eligible for a clerical position of trust. Although supervision might well help to improve the relationship between the defendant and his father, nevertheless his two appearances at Court, together with the loss of esteem in his parents' eyes, have had a chastening affect upon him and I think it unlikely that he will offend in this manner again.[137]

When it came to attempting to persuade magistrates, did all psychodynamic probation officers conceal their training in SERs? Although, for various reasons, probation officers like Gerry Matthews, Anne Vickers, and Tom Collinson avoided invoking psychoanalysis in their reports, it seems others had no such qualms. Mike Bracken, for example, recalled reserving a section at the end of his reports which offered a psychodynamic explanation for the offending behaviour. Moreover, he found most magistrates were appreciative of his opinions, even if some might not be:

> my assessment of the person's background towards the end…I think we were quite bold in doing that. Magistrates I think respected that we had some expertise in this…But I think to attempt carefully and attentively to say "well it looks as if there is some pattern of behaviour here, that this happens when his parents split up and there hadn't been this offending before." It was setting crime in its social and psychological setting, atmosphere of the person concerned.[138]

Although none of Mike Bracken's reports turned up in the Evidence Books, similar ones can be identified by the appearance of psychodynamic discourse. This enables consideration of how psychodynamic probation officers more akin to Mike Bracken went about persuading magistrates

[136] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[137] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[138] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.

over single men. It will be argued, however, that they also ultimately based their recommendations on evidence of a submissive masculinity and, moreover, these were drawn out whilst describing their adherences to ideals resembling *mens sana in corpore sano*. For example, when John D, aged 18, was convicted for theft of clothes, B. R. Lewis (North East London Probation Service) revealed his psychodynamic approach when he noted that he had found no evidence for 'emotional disturbance.'[139] Feeling 'optimistic that this matter can confidently be dealt with leniently', the SER highlighted his submissive masculinity at home. This was indicated while showing a mature and repentant attitude to the offence and indicating that it was an aberration unlikely to be repeated:

> I saw John at his home by appointment and had an extremely long discussion with him about these offences. He impressed me most favourably, seeming an intelligent boy who is desperately regretful, particularly with regard to the fact that his parents have been so upset by it. He is a boy who has a great number of varied interests and would seem to be a very well integrated young man who committed these offences whilst endeavouring to save for a holiday he could ill afford. He undoubtedly realises what could be the very serious consequences of actions of this kind and tells me that he has hardly slept since being arrested due to the worry and disgrace he has brought upon his family…There can be little doubt that John very genuinely regrets his foolishness. He points out that he is glad he was caught and expressed his hopes that he can make up to his family the disgrace he has brought upon them.[140]

John D's submissiveness to his father was clearly indicated whilst discussing his good work ethic, 'Mr D is a very plain spoken Northerner who is obviously very angry with his son. He did, however, discuss this matter very realistically pointing out that while he appreciates that this is a very serious matter, he feels that it is one that his son can live down through determined application to his work and by ensuring that he never succumb to similar temptations in the future.'[141] Finally, John D's submissiveness to his mother was shown while pointing out his general good character:

> Mrs D is an anxious, nervous woman who is undoubtedly very distressed about the whole affair. She speaks very highly of her son and seems convinced that this is due to her having lost his twin at birth. She points out that he tends to be attention seeking and she wonders whether this is due to him missing his twin. John, she maintains, has never caused her or her husband any concern in the past, being generous, thrifty and showing great kindness to her, regularly bringing home unexpected presents, and in every way being all that a mother could ask of her son.[142]

Similarly, when Ross D, aged 18, was convicted for 'Larceny Taking and Driving Away', B. R. Munday (Essex Probation Area), revealed his psychodynamic approach while explaining that the offence was an aberration not requiring supervision, 'I would not think that D's offences indicate any

[139] Evidence Book, GJR, 31st August 1966 – 13th October 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/493, p. 10.
[140] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[142] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

underlying disturbance or problems with which he needs help – they are likely to prove an isolated deviation from an otherwise normal, acceptable pattern of behaviour.'[143] Supporting this recommendation, Munday indicated his submissiveness while discussing his mature attitude to the offence, 'I understand that D has never been in trouble before and generally his behaviour is quite satisfactory…His parents have been concerned in the past month…When I spoke to D he was open and frank about his offences and, I think, genuinely ashamed to have caused so much trouble and worry.'[144]

A newly established submissiveness at home was the basis for an encouraging report for David O, aged 17, after his conviction for 'Larceny as servant of two shirts.'[145] C. H. Newlove (Surrey Probation Area), who was advocating supervision for 'support and guidance', clearly took a psychodynamic understanding of his offending behaviour, 'I have known the family for five years it has never been considered that David is disturbed or maladjusted. It is not now thought that delinquency is likely to be an outlet for any repression due to his home circumstances…He is very deeply distressed as a result of the offence.'[146] The report therefore approved of his apparent repentance. A compelling case for supervision was also made by pointing out his otherwise good home background, reasonable school record, ordinarily good work record, and sensible leisure pursuits. Not only had his good character been framed within the narrative of a family tragedy, the SER was made more persuasive by characterising his offending as a reaction against wanting to be the man of the house after his father's death. Most importantly, however, as the following quotation demonstrates, David O and his brother were shown to have a newly submissive relationship with their mother at home:

> Until the sudden death of his father the family was very happy and united. It is respectable and the principles on which the children were brought up have always been sound and wisely presented to them. After the death of Mr O relationships became complex and deteriorated, probably because Mrs O, finding herself with the sole responsibility of her family, took the course of imposing restrictions with the object of safeguarding them. John, and possibly to a lesser extent, David, feeling that he was now the man of the house felt that he should assume greater responsibility and consequently his mother's attitude became intolerable. This led to unwillingness to conform to family standards and several court appearances, mainly for taking and driving motor vehicles and consequent offences. This greatly distressed the rest of the family and became a psychological problem, very difficult to resolve. John has now been able to come to terms with these problems and there is a happier and more constructive relationship with his family. It is possible that, to a lesser degree, David, who was then away at boarding school, was also affected, though he now has a good relationship with his mother and sister.[147]

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[143] Evidence Book, MHJR, 27th April 1964 – 30th June 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/262, p. 197.
[144] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[145] Evidence Book, MHJR, 12th December 1966 – 13th February 1967, LMA CLA/004/07/274, p. 126.
[146] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

Submissiveness at home was pointed out encouragingly in Michael R's report by L. N. Coates (Middlesex Area Probation And After-Care Service).[148] Although it was acknowledged that Michael R, aged 20, may have experienced financial pressures when he committed 'Larceny Servant', Coates believed that there was a psychodynamic dimension to his offence and that he would need supervision for supportive purposes, 'I feel that the primary motive in this offence was not one of gain, but was related to the home situation…Michael R has had rather a disturbed life, and there are still considerable tensions within the family, with which he needs help if he is to avoid further trouble.'[149] Pushing for supervision, in addition to highlighting his usual good work ethic and indicating that his cruel father was a problem, the report nevertheless noted approvingly of his attitude at home, 'In December 1966, Michael's step-mother died from cancer after 8 years illness; this period seems to have been one of great strain for Michael, Peter…and Christine, their step-sister…Michael in particular helped considerably in the home, however.'[150]

The case involving Jonathan W, aged 22, indicates that psychodynamic probation officers like Clive C Walsh (Essex Probation Area) could recommend intervention based on inculcating a more submissive relationship with parents, 'On the whole this young man presents a picture of maturity and self-assurance which one suspects belies underlying problems and difficulties. His problems of identification with parents…seem not to be wholly resolved as yet. It may be that a period of supervision would…help him resolve some of his residual conflicting feelings and expectations relating to parents.'[151] Indeed, having noted the exceptional circumstances in which the cannabis came into his possession, his good work ethic, and sensible leisure pursuits (volunteering at a Jewish youth organisation), the report singled out his lack of respect for his father as the reason for probation intervention:

> Mother is Jewish and father Gentile (though converted to his wife's religion now), whilst Jonathan is religiously committed. Cultural and religious differences within the home have led to some difficulties in the past apparently…He describes mother as the dominant parent, and regards father as under-achieved and lacking in ambition and attainment. To him father is a weak character (was a chef until recently but now is a commissionaire) who has not come up to his expectations.[152]

Similarly, the 17-year-old Alan W's lack of submissiveness to his mother seems to have been largely the basis on which probation intervention was recommended.[153] In 1966, he was convicted of 'H. B. I. by night (tyre lever and pick locks)', 'Stealing as servant fancy goods, value £5', and 'Stealing 50/- cash from a pre-payment meter at his lodgings'. Having previously been on probation

[148] Evidence Book, GJR, 9th February 1968 – 2nd April 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/504, p. 94.
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[150] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[151] Evidence Book, MHJR, 18th April 1969 – 4th July 1969, LMA CLA/004/07/286, p. 128.
[152] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[153] Evidence Book, MHJR, 10th October 1966 – 10th December 1966, LMA CLA/004/07/273, p. 198.

for being a suspected person, A. T. Lee (North East London Probation Service), revealed his psychodynamic approach while summing up his reasons for intervention:

> All the factors point to a very disturbed boy who is a misfit in his home and family circle, and the social sphere likewise. His complete rejection of his family and his stubborn refusal to see his mother when she visited him at the Ashford Remand Centre recently are unusual factors, and this, coupled with inadequacy, resistance to authority and a rather turbulent and conflicting life with his father in the early formative years seem to indicate his disturbed character, and the court might consider that psychiatric treatment coupled with supervision might help this youth to work his problems through constructively.[154]

Having therefore indicated that his delinquency stemmed from a disturbed upbringing (an absent father), the report noted his poor school and work record before drawing critical attention to his relationships at home. This was clearly offered as the basis for intervention. First, Lee was obviously impressed by Alan W's mother:

> She had a difficult time with her husband prior to his desertion, and likewise Alan was also problematical. She is very upset about the boy leaving home in about last April/May, and has had a difficult time financially. Alan recently refused to see her when she visited him at the Ashford Remand Centre, but in spite of this she has indicated her willingness for the boy to return home. A good, sound, constructive type who wonders where she has failed in her dealings with W.[155]

This account was then contrasted with Alan W's disrespect towards his mother at home which made intervention appear all the more necessary. Supervision was therefore needed in order to inculcate a submissive masculinity:

> his attitude to his mother was below standard. He used to bicker and argue with her, was moody and aggressive and not easy to assess or to deal with. He resents correction and discipline, and has obviously lacked the necessary discipline or the will to be controlled, and is passing through the difficult adolescent stage. Frequently he is uncommunicative and usually gives a minimum of information, making no attempt to relate on a personal level. In spite of this, mother is prepared to do everything humanly possible to help Alan and, in my opinion, medical and psychiatric reports may be helpful to the court, as this youth has deteriorated since I had contact with him, and the fact that he rejects the whole of his family in the main without any apparent reason, with the exception of father, indicates that there is a deep-seated problem, and unless he is helped with this at this stage, the future, I am afraid, looks rather bleak. I am prepared, along with Mother, to help the boy in any way possible, as long as he will show some signs of response. He is the type who must have someone supportive, as he has a tendency to flounder when on his own.[156]

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[154] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[155] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[156] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

Lack of submissiveness at home was one of the main reasons to have Brian C, aged 18, sent to borstal after his conviction for larceny and stealing a car while uninsured and disqualified.[157] As his summing up of the case indicates, P. A. McMahon (North East London Probation Service), had a psychodynamic understanding of his delinquency:

> C has a history of a disturbed, maladjusted childhood with a lengthy period of varied institutional treatment. It is apparent that the behavioural pattern of pilfering for his own gratification, whether it be as a servant or, in more recent years, that of Take and Drive Away of motor vehicles, still persists. Efforts to modify his outlook and attempts to strengthen his personality to resist this type of behaviour have not proved successful in an open setting. It would be fair to point out that some, but not all, of his difficulties emanate from his relationships within the home. One feels that this young man is in need of further training, which is best obtained in a Borstal institution.[158]

Encouraging borstal, the report highlighted Brian C's poor character, from his previous delinquency to a lack of concern over the offence and his poor work record. However, the report also drew attention to his family relationships which, although his parents' potential repressiveness was recognised, it was indicated that he was failing to be suitably submissive:

> C's response to After-Care has not been as good as one would have hoped. He is a somewhat inadequate young man, with a disturbed personality, who compensates for his inadequacies with an air of superiority…At about the time that this offence was committed there was considerable upset in the C family in that Mrs C's mother had just died and the whole household was in mourning according to the Jewish rite. His mother was upset because he did not take the active part which would have been expected of him.[159]

Psychodynamic probation officers could make compelling cases for sending young men to borstal by showing their lack of submissiveness being compounded by poor parenting.[160] In his report on George M, aged 17, after his latest conviction ('Fraud; Uttering (2)'), Evan J. Ross (Stirling) invoked his macabre love of guns and violence with poor parenting and lack of submissiveness. First, Ross's psychodynamic background was reflected in several comments; it was noted, for example, that George M's 'criminal activities indicate his immaturity and indeed more – personality disturbance'.[161] As well as offering discipline, occupational instruction, and psychiatric treatment, borstal had been necessary because his parents also suffered from 'personality disorders' and were 'said to be alcoholics.'[162] Encouraging borstal, therefore, the report then drew attention to his worrying behaviour and clear lack of submissiveness:

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[157] Evidence Book, GJR, 15th December 1965 – 19th February 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/489, p. 153.
[158] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[159] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[160] Evidence Book, MHJR, 23rd January 1968 – 27th March 1968, LMA CLA/004/07/280, p. 33.
[161] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

> I advised him to pay something towards his restitution…He was able to save sufficient money however to purchase another air gun only weeks after having been placed on Probation. Both father and son refused to resell the weapon in order to help with restitution and instead, when George stripped the gun in bits, the father locked it in a shed…It appeared to me that he had a morbid interest in guns and the world of James Bond – "he liked his manner of dealing with people". George's ability at art is also said to be reasonably good but I have found him to be rather macabre both in thought and illustration.'[163]

Lack of submissiveness and poor parenting was demonstrated in other ways in order to further justify his removal to borstal. From violence at home to poor personal hygiene and desperately low intelligence, George M was shown to be acutely deprived by his parents and in need of institutional support and instruction:

> There were two significant disturbances during this period one early on and the second towards the end of the year. On the former occasion both the family doctor and the Police were called to the home and unfortunately I was on leave but my Senior attended. Apparently George had had one of his tantrums. Not long after this he desired to leave home and I made efforts to obtain other accommodation for him. This was not found to be possible but with some help and advice the relationships within his home improved and he seemed to settle down. His father, however, has no interest in the boy and the relationship between them is poor, both being unwilling to accept any kind of responsibility. It is difficult to assess his mother's real feelings for this boy as her thinking is so neurotic and she considers him to have a "pituitary deficiency"…It was during his supervision that I learned of George's tantrums, his destructive behaviour and how he still soiled himself. Latterly he brushed his own shoes but used black brushes for brown shoes.[164]

It is important to note that the university graduates, joining as they did in greater numbers throughout the sixties, were not the first probation officers shaped by psychoanalysis. Dave Martin highlighted that Harry Hilton, who trained as a probation officer 'at the first post-war LSE course' after the War, entered the Service in 1949 and was credited for developing and putting into practice 'theories of social casework for clients and supervision for staff'.[165] Although, as discussed in the introductory chapter, psychodynamic officers would have been relatively rare in the 1950s, there would inevitably have been some. John Corby is a case in point. Appointed at Croydon in 1953, and becoming a Senior in 1964, John was described as a 'large, calm man with a commanding presence who, when asked even the simplest question, tended to take out and light his pipe before considering the answer.'[166] Mike Bracken interpreted this behaviour by his former colleague as a 'defence': 'I don't think he was very bright! That was my impression of it. So he used to annoy me a little bit that he could be a bit formal, or think what the party line would be on this, he was traditional.'[167]

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[163] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[164] *Ibid.*, p. 33.
[165] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History,* p. 18.
[166] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[167] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.

Yet despite his traditional persona, as the following example demonstrates, there was a strong psychodynamic component to his SERs. When Michael H, aged 21, was convicted for 'Larceny Servant (19 yards of net curtaining)', John put forward a psychodynamic explanation accounting for his history of delinquency; it was indicated that his offending was linked to 'childhood insecurity', for example. Moreover, being described positively as 'a sensitive, emotional young man who responds wholeheartedly to approval', John's comments reflect the shift away from hard-edged norms towards a more permissive and emotionally attuned understanding of masculinity.[168] However, to make his narrative more compelling, in drawing out his good character, the SER indicated his usual submissiveness at home:

> H is a member of an affectionate, demonstrative family group where strong ties exist between parents and children. Each member contributes to the general good of the family both financially and by practical service. This emotional bond, largely deriving from mother, may well have been the cause of the difficulties in H's early years but now he seems to have made a good adjustment which enables him to be the amenable and very co-operative son. His personality is actively governed by unusually strong need for acceptance and consequently he has developed this helpful, thoughtful pattern of life which in normal circumstances enables him to cope with day to day problems. He is, however, easily hurt emotionally if circumstances reactivate the old uncertainties in his rather worrying nature. It is perhaps significant that at the present time he has just become engaged to be married and the process of adjustment between himself and his fiancée seems to be re-enacting the childhood insecurity. Certainly both mother and fiancée have the power to unsettle H and tumble him from his normally, cheerful response…H is a sensitive, emotional young man who responds wholeheartedly to approval. When faced by a threat to his basic relationships, however, he is easily thrown off balance and his efforts to regain confidence and acceptance are governed by expediency rather than by conscience.[169]

So far only working-class individuals have been considered. The final section of this chapter will pay attention to the single middle-class man. To what extent were they portrayed differently according to their status? Was there a middle-class equivalent of *mens sana in corpore sano* and, if so, was demonstrating submissiveness just as important?

Single Middle-Class Men

Of those interviewed, few recalled seeing many middle-class individuals appearing in court or being supervised on probation. This was often a reflection of the neighbourhoods the officers worked in, however. Covering the working-class districts of Bermondsey and East Croydon respectively, Irene Clarkson and Mike Bracken had little experience of the middle classes.[170] In contrast, at Highgate, the

[168] Evidence Book, MHJR, 4th April 1961 – 26th May 1961, LMA CLA/004/07/242, p. 122.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[170] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012; Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.

area John and Irene Walters covered included the leafy Hampstead Garden Suburb.[171] In John's experience, middle-class young people in the sixties were more often than not involved in the drug scene which eventually led to greater awareness of the drug problem:

> I don't know about the figures, but…heroin was quite early on in the middle-classes….Heroin didn't start off as a working-class drug. It came in through a lot of drifting people, but it was also part of the alternative scene in different ways…Funnily enough Muswell Hill was a pocket of drug abuse amongst sort of trendy young people. There was a certain amount of Rock music associated with Muswell – the Kinks came from Muswell – and in that sort of world there was quite a lot of drug use, and it was spreading out, and we started asking the people we were supervising about their drug use and we found that a fair number were actually using drugs.[172]

Drug abuse by middle-class single men is a theme which this chapter will return to.[173] In the meantime this section will look at other types of offences. Like their working-class equivalents, when it came to middle-class single men, probation officers attempted to persuade magistrates based on evidence of submissive masculinity. Indeed, just like what has been seen above, they indicated submissiveness while demonstrating the offender's adherence to a notion of masculinity which closely resembled *mens sana in corpore sano*. However, there were differences in the way middle-class single men were portrayed from their working-class equivalents which took into account their social status. This is unsurprising considering that class was a significant force in teenagers' lives as well as a source of division between them. Whereas the working-class young man left school at fifteen and started work in an often ill-paid and tedious job, spending his money on relatively cheap commodities like records and radios until getting married, their middle-class counterparts usually remained in school and then went onto university.[174] Moreover, the middle-class young man, whether at private or grammar school, was likely to listen to different kinds of music (jazz, classical or folk) rather than rock and roll preferred by working-class youths. Crucially, they were likely to end up in very different jobs, get paid at very different levels, and to lead very different lives.[175]

These differences were reflected in SERs. There was awareness that the middle-class young man had a bright future, usually in the sense of good career prospects, and reports had this particularly in mind when attempting to persuade magistrates. Indeed, this often framed the narrative in SERs to make them more compelling. For example, when Ronald S, aged 16, was convicted for stealing a motor vehicle and assaulting a policeman, O. S. Bingle (Middlesex Combined Probation Area), made a persuasive argument for a caution rather than anything more severe.[176] In addition to highlighting

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[171] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[172] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[173] For an overview of the London drug scene see, John Davis, 'The London Drug Scene and the Making of Drug Policy, 1965-73', *Twentieth Century British History*, 17 (2006), pp. 26-49.
[174] Davis, *Youth and the Condition of Britain*, p. 121.
[175] John Benson, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain, 1880-1980*, (London, 1994).
[176] Evidence Book, MHJR, 8th October 1964 – 10th December 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/264, p. 165.

his work ethic and sensible leisure pursuits (playing the piano and organ, composing music, and helping to train a choir), the report justified a caution by drawing attention to his maturity over the offence.[177] In doing so, not only was the offence characterised as an aberration and that he was submissive at home, he was also shown to be fearful about the possible consequences his conviction might have on his future:

> Mr S takes a deep interest in the progress and welfare of his children and Ronald's offence came as a great shock to him. Ronald has not given any disciplinary difficulty at home and the offence appears out of character…He states that the offence was committed in an excess of high spirits and that at the same time he had not thought out the possible consequences. He has now had plenty of time to think about these and I think he genuinely regrets his action and is worried about the effect it may have on his career.'[178]

The future could be invoked creatively in other ways too. There was awareness that middle-class parents could have great expectations for their offspring, as a result putting them under tremendous pressure to succeed academically at school or college. Anthony M is an example where this was invoked sympathetically in an SER in order to attempt to persuade a magistrate.[179] After his conviction for 'Stealing as a servant', D. Stafford, (South East London Probation And After-Care Service) advocated intervention because of his immaturity over the offence and lack of submissiveness at home. However, although he required supervision, Stafford sympathetically pointed out that his poor behaviour ultimately derived from his apparent sense of failure to live up to the expectations of his pushy parents:

> he gained one G.C.E. subject. This was felt to be a disappointing result by M and his parents and possibly he has been somewhat overshadowed by his sister who has gained twelve "O" levels. (M attempted his English examination for a second time in June but again failed)…In a family where academic achievement is probably valued the defendant might have felt unable to live up to parental expectations. In this respect the offence might be seen as an adolescent attack upon the standards of the parents – standards which M has been unwilling or unable to attain. In any case M's inability to consider the consequence of his action indicates a considerable degree of immaturity.[180]

J. Staddon (City of Nottingham Probation Department) made a similar argument in her report on Adrian J after his conviction for 'being a suspected person loitering with the intent to steal from cars and vans', and, 'Possessing an offensive weapon.'[181] Although the SER did not make a specific recommendation – Staddon had been unable to interview Adrian J, what with him being remanded in custody in London, and based the SER on an interview with his mother instead – the SER nevertheless offered a sympathetic narrative which indicated that he was fundamentally submissive,

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[177] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[178] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[179] Evidence Book, MHJR, 15th September 1967 – 21st November 1967, LMA CLA/004/07/278, p. 31.
[180] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[181] Evidence Book, GJR, 30th March 1965 – 24th May 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/484, p. 120.

mature, ambitious and hard-working. Nevertheless, Adrian J's potentially bright future overshadowed the report's narrative:

> After the death of his father he was said to be unsettled and had the mind to leave school as soon as possible and begin to earn a living. One suspects that there was family conflict about this as his mother had hopes that he would eventually enter some profession. Mrs W…is somewhat over anxious and is very protective of her son. I suspect that this attitude results from a mother's natural concern but also from occasional feelings of guilt and shame that her family is involved in proceedings of this nature. Family relationships are said to be very close…Repeatedly Mrs W has commented that she cannot believe her son is so involved as in her opinion he is not capable of criminal intent. She describes him as being a sensitive, kindly youth but impressionable…He has the ambition to be a salesman/ representative in the fashion world but has lacked the required patience to progress from smaller spheres. Mrs W says that "he has a tendency to want to run before he can walk"…It would appear that J has had a materially good upbringing and has never wanted in that respect. He may have experienced deprivation in other respects, mainly the loss of his father at a very unfortunate age in a son's life. From talking with his mother I suspect that he has so far failed to measure up to expectations of him, a feature which he himself could be conscious of.[182]

Similar to what has been seen regarding working-class youth in the previous section, poorly spent leisure time could also be portrayed as symptomatic of middle-class single men lacking submissiveness towards their parents. However, the example involving the 19-year-old Christopher A shows that probation officers could make poorly spent leisure time seem all the more wasteful when it was shown to be having a damaging impact on the offender's future. Christopher A had already been under supervision for two months (Balham Magistrates' Court) for stealing a car when he was convicted for two charges of false pretences.[183] Pushing for continued supervision so 'that given time A could build up a proper respect for authority through the Probation relationship', Horace A. Wilkinson (Balham Magistrates Court) indicated that further supervision was needed in order to inculcate a more submissive relationship with his father. This recommendation was made more urgent, however, by suggesting his future was at stake too:

> A is an intelligent and well spoken young man and his irresponsibility in blatantly committing these offences must give rise to serious concern about his future. Since he gave up his studies, his main leisure activities have been in visiting restaurants with acquaintances and in organising dances in various part of the home counties with a music group with whom he is associated…I think his appearances before the Court can be seen as a reaction against his father's high standards and respect for the law. His father is, in fact, a very successful business man.[184]

When Anthony G, aged 20, was convicted for 'Larceny Servant', A. L. Davies (City of London Probation Service) explained in his SER why he was 'of the opinion that he is a thoroughly

[182] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[183] Evidence Book, GJR, 20th July 1966 – 30th August 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/492, p. 70.
[184] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

untrustworthy lad and I cannot believe anything he says.'[185] Anthony G's profligacy with money and expensive tastes in particular were used as a platform to highlight his selfishness towards his father and failure to appreciate the career opportunities he had given him. This fitted into a broader narrative which characterised Anthony G as fundamentally dishonest and deceptive and in need of intervention of some kind:

> I visited G's home one evening – spent an hour with father and also met mother. Father owns the house – well cared for every comfort and convenience. Father at a loss to explain son's conduct. Both very close until recent months. Father disclosed that his ambition was for son to become articled – qualify as a solicitor, then to set his son up in business – father to take part supplying his life times experience as a solicitors clerk. Was sorely disappointed when son refused to co-operate in this plan…Father accepts his son's explanation that only about £200 of the money in the P.O. Book is stolen money…I told him I thought he was telling a pack of lies, and he then said what may be taken as a possible explanation for his attitude of mind leading to the offences, "I was working very hard and not being paid enough." His car was a 1955 Austin Cambridge 1500 c.c. bought for £300 plus £20 H.P. charges. Paid deposit of £130 (made up of the £70 withdrawn from G.P.O. and yet AGAIN 'personal savings'). The car has been sold since discovery of offences. I also understand that he has just bought a new suit and has two more on order. His final explanation was that he was saving hard in order to buy a home for his future marriage, but as I learned that he frequently paid an extra 6/- per luncheon over and above his luncheon vouchers, bought expensive suits, paid H.P. on his car and ran the car – this seems doubtful. [186]

Finally, a good work ethic could be combined creatively with submissiveness and future career aspirations to make more compelling arguments for dealing with middle-class single men by way of cautions or small fines. For example, after Stanley P's conviction for stealing a motor vehicle and assaulting a policeman, the probation officer, F. J. Manton, indicated that the offence was an aberration caused by his accomplice.[187] Pushing for a caution, the report pointed out his good character (Communicant and choir member) and work ethic. In doing so, however, his submissiveness and aspiration to join the legal profession was brought to the fore:

> Stanley P has apparently always been a trustworthy and well-behaved son with normal interests in various sports activities. At the age of eleven he gained a scholarship to the City of London Boys School and has a successful scholastic record – at present having gained 'O' levels in seven subjects and hoping to sit for his eighth shortly. He hopes to enter the legal profession. He has been a member of the Temple Church Choir and was attending a meeting affiliated to this choir immediately prior to this offence.[188]

Single Middle-Class Men: The Psychodynamic Probation Officers

[185] Evidence Book, GJR, 30th April 1964 – 9th June 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/476, p. 178.
[186] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[187] Evidence Book, MHJR, 8th October 1964 – 10th December 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/264, p. 165.
[188] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

To what extent did the psychodynamic probation officers differ in their approach to the middle-class single man? First, as mentioned earlier, retired probation officers more often associated middle-class youngsters with drugs offences. However, the likelihood of coming across them depended largely on the area the officer covered. Comparing Essex with Croydon, the area Stephen Collins later worked in, he recalled that it included middle-class suburbs as well as a university. As a result, he remembered supervising middle-class students for drugs offences:

> Yes the Croydon ones were all council house dwellers but they were a much more mixed bunch in Essex. I for example had a couple of public school boys on my case load, and we were getting some work from the University which was being built then. I had a couple of students, undergraduates in my case loads. We had a number of undergraduates who had been done for drugs, which was taken a lot more seriously in those days, including the daughter of a very highly placed Church of England clergyman, a Bishop of some sort![189]

As highlighted in the introductory chapter, Stephen was very much influenced by psychoanalysis, 'The predominant model which we were trained in and which we were operating on was to see crime as something neurotic and family based'.[190] Crucially, the relatively frequent appearance of middle-class youngsters was 'enough to sustain the belief that crime wasn't just about poverty, it was also an expression of emotional troubles and in many cases it was.'[191]

Remarkably, one of Stephen's SERs on a university student has survived in the Evidence Books; Richard J, aged 22, was reading chemistry at Essex University. In 1969, he was arrested for illegal possession of drugs and using a forged prescription at Boots the chemist in Liverpool Street Arcade.[192] The son of a bank manager from 'a relatively privileged background', he was addicted to dexamphetamine and had previous convictions for drugs offences.[193] True to his word in the interview, the SER reflects Stephen's psychodynamic understanding of delinquency, providing a 'neurotic and family based' explanation for his drug addiction:

> There seems to have been problems with him from an early age, and these appear to have stemmed from the ambiguous discipline exercised by his parents. His mother sounds to be an emotional, forceful and protective woman, and she and J have always quarrelled violently about matters of little significance; J's father, a calm and reasonable man, has acted as mediator in their disputes, but it seems reasonable to deduce that the defendant did not have a completely settled childhood. He went to Maidenhead Grammar School but began to manifest signs of emotional disturbance, notably rebelliousness and an impaired school performance, and consequently his parents arranged his transfer to a boarding school.[194]

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[189] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.
[190] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.
[191] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.
[192] Evidence Book, GJR, 4th March 1969 – 16th April 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/512, p. 50.
[193] *Ibid.*, p. 50.
[194] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Stephen was typical of the postwar psychodynamic professional in his dismissal of proximate events such as temptations and criminal opportunities, naturally assuming that surface meanings or conscious motivations were of little explanatory value.[195] For example, although he highlighted that Richard J had been introduced to dexamphetamine while on holiday with friends in Spain – 'He felt that the drug would be useful to him in sustaining his heavy social and academic programme in his final year…In a very short time he was dependent on the drug' – Stephen effectively dismissed this in favour of a more deep-seated psychological explanation, 'It is, of course, obvious that drug dependence of this nature could only happen if the personality is ready for it, and it follows that when the immediate problems have been cleared up that Mr J is still going to have the emotional troubles that led to his present predicament. These clearly derive from his family experience as a child'.[196]

Drawing attention to his grammar school and boarding school education may have been part of a wider attempt to highlight his good character as well as his family's good name.[197] In order to attempt to persuade the magistrate into handing down a supervision order, Stephen also pointed out his work ethic at university and sensible leisure pursuits (president of the motor club). In addition to this, however, Stephen indicated evidence of a submissive masculinity and that Richard J had promising career prospects. For example, as well as highlighting that his father was interested in his life and had successfully intervened before it was too late, supervision was encouraged on the basis of helping him 'realise his undoubted potential':

> Thanks to the timely intervention of his father he is now a resident patient at Severalls Hospital, Colchester, and is receiving treatment for his drug dependence…I found myself impressed with this young man's sense, and I was convinced that his desire to continue his present treatment is genuine. He is obviously intelligent and articulate, and also thoughtful and sensitive, and in many ways an impressive person…I feel that the Probation Service could be a useful assistant to psychiatry in solving both the immediate and the long term problems, and it is apparent that this young man is going to need a great deal of help if he is to realise his undoubted potential.[198]

The immense creativity of psychodynamic probation officers in the way they went about indicating submissiveness and potentially bright futures was particularly apparent in the case involving Graham R, an 18-year-old son of a general practitioner.[199] Following the death of his mother, he had numerous court appearances for property offences. However, in the space of four months over 1965/66, J. Hall, the Senior Probation Officer (North East London Combined Probation Area), was in the un-envious position of having to write two SERs on Graham R. Hall's psychodynamic understanding of his delinquency was reflected in comments about the significance of

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[195] Garland, *The Culture of Control*, p. 42.
[196] Evidence Book, GJR, 4th March 1969 – 16th April 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/512, p. 50.
[197] McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, p. 226.
[198] Evidence Book, GJR, 4th March 1969 – 16th April 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/512, p. 50.
[199] Evidence Book, GJR, 22nd October 1965 – 14th December 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/488, p. 118; Evidence Book, GJR, 21st February 1966 – 4th May 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/490, p. 65.

his mother's death, 'Whilst there were no behaviour problems from R's sister, he quickly showed signs of emotional disturbance and his behaviour reflected this…As R has grown into adolescence the normal difficulties of this phase have been highly exaggerated by the background complexities.'[200]

When it came to encouraging continued supervision, however, subsequent recommendations relied on providing increasingly elaborate and sympathetic accounts of his social background. For example, in the first report, following his offence in November 1965 ('Larceny Servant'), Hall had been pushing for hospital treatment and continued supervision. Regarding his upbringing, it had noted that:

> Until June of this year he lived with his father Dr. Lewis R who is a General Practitioner in Woodford. His mother died in 1963 after many years in a Mental Hospital and during his early formative years, R was deprived of a mother's normal care and attention because of the increasingly severe symptoms of mental illness shown by his mother.[201]

However, writing about Graham R the second time round in February 1966, following his reappearance for offending during the probation period, Hall had to elaborate on his original observations in order to generate a more compelling narrative:

> His father, Dr Lewis R is a general practitioner in Woodford. His mother died in 1963 after many years in a mental hospital and his sister, who has newly qualified as a doctor, suffered a recent nervous breakdown but has recovered and is again practicing. His mother's illness began when R was a small child. She began to withdraw from her domestic responsibilities and was indifferent to the children. The symptoms of schizophrenia became more severe and Dr R had to shoulder increasing responsibility until eventually his wife was taken into hospital.[202]

In the first report, making a case for hospital treatment involved highlighting Graham R had some good character in addition to acknowledging his rather troubled and delinquent lifestyle:

> R has never had much difficulty in establishing contact with youths of his own age, but he has failed to make friendships with young people who could have been of help to him. He has gravitated towards those either actively engaged in delinquency or on the fringe of it and it seems he could identify himself with them in the difficulties with which they felt they were confronted. He has lived a rather wild and undisciplined life of leisure; he has frequented coffee bars, public houses and sometimes spent whole nights wandering around the West End. One of the great difficulties in his staying at home was his keeping exceptionally late hours, frequently coming home in the small hours of the morning. Not all his activities have been of this rather negative nature for whilst he was at school he gained the Duke of Edinburgh Silver Award and he has had several periods hiking and camping on the Continent when he has seemed well able to look after himself.[203]

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[200] Evidence Book, GJR, 22nd October 1965 – 14th December 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/488, p. 118.
[201] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[202] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st February 1966 – 4th May 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/490, p. 65.
[203] Evidence Book, GJR, 22nd October 1965 – 14th December 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/488, p. 118.

Any sense of optimism over Graham R's character was lost in the later report. Indeed, his positive characteristics were embedded within a broader, and much more negative, account of his social life. As a result, this made an altogether more compelling account for why he was in need of further help:

> He has never had much difficulty in establishing contact with his male contemporaries, but these contacts appear to lack depth and contain an element of usage and manipulation. For some time he has tended to lead a rather wild and undisciplined life of leisure, frequenting coffee bars, public houses and occasionally, in company with others, spending whole nights walking around the West End. Prior to the present severe phase of deterioration he had gained the Duke of Edinburgh's Silver Award and has had considerable experience in hiking and camping, both here and on the continent. His friends are invariably on the delinquent fringe, if not active participants, and he has been very much caught up in a vicious circle which is produced by this, in that the more severe his behaviour becomes, the more he is rejected by desirable friends, and thus driven towards associates who can least help him.[204]

With regards to Graham R's future, Hall had originally made a sympathetic account by highlighting that he could have been successful if he had concentrated more on his studies: 'R is of high intelligence and he attended Wanstead County High School where he showed much natural ability in science and mathematics. It was most unfortunate that he left the Sixth Form in February, 1964, this being brought about because he was refusing to do the amount of work necessary.'[205] With a prison sentence potentially looming, however, the later report invoked a sense of tragedy and missed opportunities over what his future might have been. As a result, a more persuasive case for allowing further probation intervention was made:

> R and his sister are of very high intelligence and when he was at Wanstead County High School he showed great natural ability in science and mathematics. He was one of the most competent boys in the sixth form and appeared to be capable of high attainment at university. However, in February 1964 he left school as he was refusing to do the amount of work necessary and it seems since then that his behaviour has continued to deteriorate.[206]

Evidence of submissiveness had been flagged in both reports as part of making persuasive arguments too. In the first SER, Hall indicated that, although the relationship was strained, there was some degree of submissiveness towards his father which made continued supervision desirable, 'whilst his relationship with his father had, and still has, a great meaning to him, it has been a most complex and ambivalent one...The present situation has been discussed with his father who said he was willing for R to return home on condition that he worked regularly and kept reasonable hours.'[207] In the second report, with Graham R's father having apparently lost patience with him, Hall turned to his wider

[204] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st February 1966 – 4th May 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/490, p. 65.
[205] Evidence Book, GJR, 22nd October 1965 – 14th December 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/488, p. 118.
[206] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st February 1966 – 4th May 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/490, p. 65.
[207] Evidence Book, GJR, 4th March 1969 – 16th April 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/512, p. 50.

relatives in order to show the magistrate that there were other adults taking an interest in him. This provided a platform in which to suggest that there was a new set of adults who he could be submissive to:

> Since being at Aylesbury Detention Centre, a number of relatives on his mother's side have established contact and promised help to provide accommodation and work for him. They have also made contact with Mr Lyward of Finchden Manor, Kent, who has the well known school for maladjusted youths of high intelligence…There is no doubt that his having been "discovered" again by his relatives can have much meaning to him and…they show much enthusiasm and compassion which contrasts markedly with the attitude of father's side[208]

Conclusion

This chapter began by asking whether the probation officers, Whitehouse, Oates, and Taylor, could be identified from their SERs alone as belonging to the pre-war and second career generation or the university graduates. It concludes by arguing that without being able to identify them from oral or secondary sources, historians cannot assume from discourses alone which generation the author of the report belonged to. Although there were some graduates like Mike Bracken and Stephen Collins whose training in psychoanalysis was reflected in their reports, there were also others, like Gerry Matthews and Anne Vickers, who avoided using psychodynamic discourses when attempting to persuade magistrates. As a result, their reports were similar in style to what their older colleagues produced. Reasons for why this occurred varied from a combination of learning on the job to fear of antagonising lay magistrates who wanted a useful recommendation not a lesson in Freudian depth psychology. Then there were second career officers like John Corby who, despite his apparent traditional persona, was in fact an early proponent of a psychodynamic approach to delinquency; his report reflecting the shift towards permissiveness by embracing emotionally attuned understandings of masculinity rather than a 'making men out of boys' for the nation mentality.

When it came to attempting to persuade magistrates, both groups of professionals ultimately based their recommendations on evidence of submissive masculinity. Submissiveness to parents was drawn out creatively whilst describing whether or not the single young adult men adhered to the basic ideals of *mens sana in corpore sano*. Discussions about strength of character and moral probity, usually demonstrated by a mature attitude to the offence and sensible leisure pursuits, were also used to indicate submissiveness by describing apparent remorse over upsetting mothers and fathers, for example; parental oversight and approval of leisure pursuits was another way in which submissiveness could be indicated while highlighting strength of character. With regards to employment, submissiveness could be indicated by noting parental approval of their work ethic or

[208] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st February 1966 – 4th May 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/490, p. 65.

highlighting that sons worked alongside their fathers. In contrast, where probation officers found poor character and believed intervention of some sort was necessary, narratives could be made more compelling by highlighting lack of submissiveness while describing immaturity and a poor work ethic, for example. Although poor character and lack of submissiveness was frowned upon by probation officers, single young adult men might not necessarily be censured if their behaviour was found to be symptomatic of shoddy parenting.

In some respects, when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates regarding middle-class young men, social class was not significant with probation officers similarly identifying and discussing evidence of submissiveness in relation to their apparent maturity and work ethic. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the middle classes were perceived very differently from their working-class equivalents. In particular, there was an assumption that middle-class men had a bright future, or at least were expected to have a bright future. This was brought out creatively in SERs by both generations of probation officers to make their narratives more compelling. How important social class was for married men will be considered in the following chapter.

Chapter Three: Married Men

It has been shown elsewhere that the 1950s saw the rise of a new ideal of the 'domesticated' family man. The sociologists Michael Young and Peter Willmott, for example, praised the emergence of a 'new kind of companionship between man and woman.'[1] This development had sprung from the experience of the two World Wars and was then heightened by what Lynne Segal has termed the post-1945 shift from 'battlefield to bungalow'.[2] Although ideas of martial masculinity continued to have a resonance on the national imagination, particularly in the context of the continuation of National Service until the late 1950s, the new stress on the domesticated man was linked to a desire to 'consolidate family life in the context of the social dislocations of wartime, post-war reconstruction and affluence.'[3] Similarly, Martin Francis had identified the central importance of manly emotional restraint in the political and cultural discourse of the decade.[4] This chapter will explore to what extent the two groups of probation officers – the pre-war and second career and psychodynamic officer – had this postwar ideal in mind when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates in SERs. In doing so, it will also consider how this understanding of masculinity may have varied according to the offender's social class.

Married Working-Class Men: The Pre-War and Second Career Probation Officers

Joining the Probation Service in 1939[5], F. Lister (Middlesex Area Probation And After-Care Service) wrote a report on the 28-year-old John W after he was convicted for 'Obtaining credit by fraud' in 1966.[6] Although he avoided giving any specific recommendation, Lister portrayed John W as an excellent husband and father and in doing so indicated that a caution or small fine would be sufficient:

> Mrs W said that she was quite certain that her husband had no serious financial problem to face; there were no debts at home and the normal accounts were paid regularly. When

[1] Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, (London, 1957), p. 30.
[2] Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*, (London, 1990), pp. 2-3. See also, M. Francis, 'A Flight From Commitment? Domesticity, Adventure and the Masculine Imaginary in Postwar Britain', *Gender and History*, 19 (2007), pp. 163-185; Claire Langhamer, 'The Meanings of Home in Postwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 40 (2005), pp. 341-362; P. Summerfield, 'Women in Britain since 1945: Companionate Marriage and the Double Burden', in J. Obelkevich and P. Catterall (eds.), *Understanding Postwar British Society*, (London, 1994); J. Finch and P. Summerfield, 'Social Reconstruction and the Emergence of Companionate Marriage: 1945-59', in D. Clark (ed.), *Marriage, Domestic Life and Social Change*, (London, 1991).
[3] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 169; See David Morgan, *It Will Make a Man of You: Notes on National Service, Masculinity and Autobiography*, (Manchester, 1987); Lucy Noakes, *War and the British: Gender, Memory and National Identity, 1939-1991*, (London, 1998); Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*.
[4] Martin Francis, 'The Labour Party: Modernisation and the Politics of Restraint', in Becky Conekin, Frank Mort and Chris Waters (eds.), *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain, 1945-1964*, (London, 1999).
[5] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 171.
[6] Evidence Book, GJR, 20th July 1966 – 30th August 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/492, p. 98.

> it came to a matter of any major purchase the position was freely discussed at home and an agreement reached. Mr W regularly gave his wife £5 weekly, for food, and he paid all accounts – mortgage, rates, fuel etc…As a husband he is one who is most concerned for his family, is an excellent husband and father, is loving and considerate. He is kindhearted and generous. Goes about his business normally – leaving home and returning at an accustomed time…Mrs W said that she could see no reason at all for her husband's action in relation to this offence and is at a complete loss to understand it.[7]

Clearly, this was an almost perfect definition of the idealised postwar domesticated family man, reflecting the new kind of companionship between husband and wife which Willmott and Young had in mind.[8] Strength of character, moral probity, and a disciplined work ethic – the basic fundamentals of good character for all individuals – was for married men conceived within a framework of domesticity. In particular, Lister had signalled that the husband and wife had coexisted in an appropriate form of marital companionship. The textbook, *The Family and Marriage in Britain,* for example, explained that both partners 'are of equal status and expect to have an equal share in taking decisions and in pursuing their sometimes mutual, sometimes separate and diverse, tastes and interests.'[9] For married men, appropriate masculinity therefore entailed embracing and succeeding in the role of a domesticated and breadwinning husband and father – in other words it was a domesticated masculinity. Behaviour that deviated from this ideal – which varied from violence and alcohol abuse, to neglecting his wife and children – was severely criticised by probation officers who took it as indicative of weakness of character. In 1961, for example, the sociologist Ferdynand Zweig wrote that the 'stern bullying, dominating…father…is fast disappearing.'[10] Wives in contrast were expected to be a submissive companion to their husbands – supportive and equal yet ultimately subordinate to their partner. Behaviour which deviated from this ideal – which could vary from being assertive and domineering towards her husband, to being sexually promiscuous – was censured by probation officers and could be taken as the basis for recommending intervention. As the remainder of this chapter will show, recommendations to magistrates were based on whether these appropriate gender norms were firmly established at home.

For various reasons, when it came to working-class relationships, it was not always possible to present a picture of the sort that Lister had depicted in the case mentioned above. In cases where marriages had not been built on transparency and companionship, probation officers could still give approval as long as they had found that steps had been taken to rectify this situation. In his report on Robert R, aged 43, who had been convicted for 'Obtaining cash £20 by means of forged cheque', E. G. Speller (Kent Probation Service), who had been in the Service since at least the early 1950s[11],

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[7] *Ibid.,* p. 98.
[8] Young and Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London,* p. 30.
[9] Ronald Fletcher, *The Family and Marriage in Britain,* (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 139.
[10] Ferdynand Zweig, *The Worker in an Affluent Society,* (London, 1961), p. 23-31.
[11] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 227.

encouraged a conditional discharge based on an improved domestic environment.[12] Although it was highlighted that his offence was an aberration caused by a combination of economic pressures at home (household expenses, paying off bank loans, and his daughter's unexpected marriage), Speller argued that the whole trouble could have been avoided had Robert R been more open with his wife:

> Part of the difficulty in this case seems to have been a lack of communication between husband and wife. This stems mainly from his pride, which prevented him disclosing his financial position. If he had done so there seems little doubt that he would not be in this position today. Mrs R told me that for some time she has been assisting her married daughter whose husband has had periods of unemployment, and also paying for invalid foods week by week for mother who is very ill. She says some of these commitments could easily have been cut down. I believe that now this has come to light, the domestic situation will improve.[13]

By pointing out that his wife would be scaling down her commitments, the report was providing additional reasons for justifying a conditional discharge: by indicating that the immediate cause of the offence had now been removed, his wife would be there in future to provide more support for her husband.

A similar point was made in the 47-year-old Horace M's SER after his conviction for stealing from his employer.[14] J. Mather (North East London Probation Service), who was an 'ex-docker, ex-war time infantry soldier'[15], was pushing for Horace M to be 'dealt with as leniently as possible'. Mather therefore highlighted the support he was receiving from his wife:

> Mrs M I found to be a most pleasant and sensible woman who since she heard ultimately of the offence has been a great help and support to her husband throughout…I feel much of the penalty for this offence has been achieved. M has lost his job and a great deal of self respect. Confidence will return when he has found alternative employment and with the added support he receives from his wife and father.[16]

It was indicated that the offence was an aberration caused by a combination of looking after a large family and struggling to pay the rent.

Although there were obvious signs of marital disharmony in the 24-year-old Harold C's social background, the probation officer's belief that the relationship was fundamentally sound justified the Probation Service not getting involved. After his conviction for being a 'Suspected Person', D. M. Logan (Middlesex Combined Probation Area), who appears to have worked for the Service since at least the early 1950s[17], found that the offence was likely to be nothing more than an aberration caused

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[12] Evidence Book, GJR, 29th December 1964 – 10th February 1965, LMA CLA/004/07/265, p. 120.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[14] Evidence Book, MHJR, 22nd November 1967 – 22nd January 1968, LMA CLA/004/07/279, p. 98.
[15] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 17.
[16] Evidence Book, MHJR, 22nd November 1967 – 22nd January 1968, LMA CLA/004/07/279, p. 98.
[17] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 227.

by a combination of losing his job, economic pressures at home, and gambling.[18] Nevertheless, although some kind of informal marital help was needed, Logan explained why the Probation Service did not need to get officially involved:

> I have had a long discussion with both C and his wife about the matrimonial position. On the surface, there appear to be endless difficulties but, underneath, there are common bonds…their agreement that the children need a settled and happy home. Each partner has, in turn, sought psychiatric help because of the marriage difficulties but has come to the conclusion that something more practical is needed. From my impressions of C, I feel that this offence is out of character and unlikely to be repeated. However, it is a symptom of the very unsatisfactory state of his marriage. It seems that not all the blame is on C's side in this matter. I feel that both C and his wife are willing to accept some outside help with their difficulties but that this would certainly be most effective if it were given unofficially.[19]

Logan therefore further justified not officially intervening by apportioning some of the blame onto his wife's conduct. This had the effect of calling into question the extent of Harold C's culpability in his offence.

Similar standards were applied to very young married working-class men, reflecting how marriage and fatherhood marked the transition from youth to adulthood.[20] In 1960, F. J. Height (Kent Probation Service), who joined the Service in 1932 and retired in 1967[21], 'found nothing to indicate positively' that the 17-year-old Michael R needed supervision after his conviction for assault.[22] To support this recommendation, as well as indicating that the offence was an aberration and that he was unable to pay any financial penalty, Michael R was portrayed as a mature young man who willingly embraced his responsibilities as a father and husband after his girlfriend suddenly became pregnant:

> R is a married man. His wife P, aged 18. They were married at the Bromley Registry Office on 11th November, 1959. A child, D, was born on the 24th December, 1959. They had known each other less than twelve months…I have found R and his wife quite a pleasant young couple to deal with. He is, of course, very young to undertake the responsibilities of married life and parent-hood but he says he is happy to do so. His wife tells me that she regards him as a man of even temper but she thinks he is capable of reacting sharply if provoked. Their income is very small but they seem to think they can manage on it…There is no margin and they are able to manage largely because of assistance given by mother-in-law who seems kindly disposed towards them…He tells me that he regrets what happened and admits that he was at fault.[23]

In contrast, a failure to conform to the postwar domesticated ideal could be censured by probation officers. In his SER on Robert J, aged 21, the Senior Probation Officer, D. A. Smith (The

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[18] Evidence Book, GJR, 17th September 1962 – 23rd October 1962, LMA CLA/005/06/464, p. 81.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[20] Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer*, pp. 13-14.
[21] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, pp. 13-14.
[22] Evidence Book, GJR, 13th February 1960 – 17th March 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/440, p. 57.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

London Probation Service), who had worked for the Service since at least the early 1950s[24], recommended that he be 'dealt with for the original offence for which he was placed on Probation' after his conviction for being a 'Suspected Person'.[25] Rather than discussing possible causes of his delinquency, the report was preoccupied with criticising Robert J (there were three previous convictions for property offences; the last in 1963 resulted in a two-year Probation Order).[26] In particular, to justify a punishment, Robert J's shameful failure to provide for his wife and child was emphasised throughout the SER:

> Since early in 1962, he and his wife have lived together at the above address, a flat consisting of a bed-sitting room and small kitchen. It is bright, clean and comfortable, and the credit for this goes entirely to Mrs J, a smart, attractive intelligent girl, two years younger than J. She was a book-keeper until obliged to give it up as her first confinement drew near. In 1962, Mrs J was granted a summons against him, alleging that he was wilfully neglecting to maintain her…At that time she complained of his failure to get work, and of the late hours he kept through frequenting gambling dens, cafes and clubs…I am forced to the conclusion that J prefers to lead an undisciplined life. He resents being told or advised what to do. He spends far more time away from his home than in it, and his wife is reduced to concentrating on her child and her home, leaving him to do just as he pleases. On many occasions he failed to call and see me as directed, and it cannot be said that he made any real effort to profit by Probation.[27]

The SER contrasted his cruelty and fecklessness with his wife's caring and industriousness nature. Indeed, it could be argued that, much as women have been punished more severely for transgressing gender norms[28], the case involving Robert J is perhaps the male equivalent of someone whose behaviour has been considered far worse because of his responsibilities as a husband and father.

Frank P, aged 28, was similarly censured for failing to conform to a domesticated ideal of masculinity. Leslie Dermott was described as a 'long serving' Kent probation officer; he retired in 1974 'and transferred to the Family Court Welfare Unit as a part-time main grade officer'.[29] His dedication to families perhaps explains why he spent so much of his report criticising Frank P's inadequacies as a husband and father. Frank P was convicted in 1964 for 'Larceny of car' and had one previous conviction for 'fraudulent conversion'.[30] Concluding rather ominously that 'My overall impression of Mr P is not favourable', Leslie highlighted his unimpressive attitude to work, his immaturity over the offence itself (apparently admitting to, amongst other things, an offence he had not even committed), and that he was a bad influence on other people on probation. Most of the report, however, was dedicated to describing his utter failure to provide as a husband and father, even highlighting his sexual promiscuity:

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[24] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 227.
[25] Evidence Book, GJR, 10th June 1964 – 24th July 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/477, p. 154.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[28] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 15.
[29] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 4.
[30] Evidence Book, MHJR, 8th October 1964 – 10th December 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/264, p. 87.

> P and his wife were married in 1957. Until the summer of this year they lived together in Orpington. Up to this time husband and wife were in touch with one of my colleagues in connection with their matrimonial difficulties, which were not resolved. According to P his wife asked him to go four weeks ago, and she is now petitioning for a divorce. P has been associating with an 18 year old woman who has had a baby by him. He still sees this woman and appears not to be able to make up his mind whether he wishes to return to her or his wife. In any case, when I spoke to his wife this week she expressed doubts concerning reconciliation, and was going to see him in prison to talk things over…During the time the husband and wife have been separated, Mrs P has continued to live in their Council house and she has both children.[31]

Being a long way from the assertive domesticated family man ideal was therefore the basis for advocating a punishment for Frank P.

However, lacking this appropriate masculinity did not automatically result in a condescending report. To warrant a favourable interpretation there had to be at least some indication of a mature and responsible attitude as a husband and father. In his report on John O, aged 27, for example, Derek Shuttleworth encouraged 'one more chance' after his latest offence of breaking and entering.[32] (In addition to four previous convictions for violence and theft, he was already under supervision at the time for breaking and entering.) Having indicated that his delinquency may have stemmed from a troubled childhood, the SER sympathetically pointed out that his poor behaviour was also linked to his inadequate living arrangements. However, there was no doubt in Derek's mind that John O still had the potential to be a good husband and father and that this was ultimately the basis for recommending continued supervision:

> He married in 1963 when his wife was only 18 and they now have three small children. The housing situation was so bad that they jumped at the opportunity of a home in Andover but there the work situation was so bad that they returned after a year only to find the position in London with regard to a home just as bad. They are living in two rooms on the ground floor under his mother and this accommodation is wholly inadequate. I have been trying, as has the Family Welfare Association, to press the Housing Department to find somewhere for this family to live decently. I think the crowded conditions do militate against privacy, comfort or happiness for this young couple and tend to drive Mr O out of the home. He seems to have been a heavy drinker for some time but latterly it seems to have become worse and I have little doubt that he was the worse for drink on the evening in question. His ability to keep jobs is also affected by these conditions because if one of the children wakes up in the night he is disturbed and he wakes late in the morning and is liable to lose his job for bad time keeping…His wife is very loyal and a great support to him and it seems likely if they get better accommodation and he can control his drinking that the marriage will be a success and Mr O will give up his delinquent ways.[33]

Clearly, probation officers were attuned to the problems surrounding married couples having to share accommodation with their parents and the resulting strain that this put on men's ability to provide as

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[32] Evidence Book, MHJR, 2nd December 1968 – 6th February 1969, LMA CLA/004/07/284, p. 43.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

husbands and fathers. The case involving Henry R, aged 51, shows that these issues could be invoked persuasively decades afterwards in reports.[34] Ron Jarvis was a second career probation officer and Will Watson remembered him dearly, 'Ron Jarvis, nice man, very nice man, he'd come into it because he'd been in a trade union, and he'd been a very good advisor to people in the trade union. And so he was kind of into counselling, I don't think he was particularly into psychoanalysis.'[35] Indeed, although there was no trace of psychoanalysis in his report on Henry R, he was nevertheless able to appreciate the anxiety that he had formerly experienced twenty years previously about not being able to have a home for himself and his wife:

> Two years before his discharge he married an Irish girl whom he brought to this country to live with his parents in Stratford. There were family difficulties aggravated by the communal living and the wife left him in 1953, three years after the wedding. The failure of his marriage undoubtedly had an adverse effect on him and after several abortive attempts at a reconciliation, one of which resulted in a Court appearance for assault on her, he was asked to leave his parents' home because of clashes with them arising out of his depression and irritability. In his own words he became a vagrant, generally unemployed, wandering from place to place between three short terms of imprisonment.[36]

However, by drawing attention to his more recent settled life living in a hostel and his improving work ethic, Ron was able to put together a fairly favourable report, if only to attempt to persuade the magistrate to remand the case for further inquiries into his mental state.[37]

Persuasive arguments could be based on evidence that the married man was developing a domesticated masculinity – even if he was yet some way off at the time the SER was written. Will Watson highlighted that his colleague, John Worrall, had been working in the Service for many years before the 1960s.[38] When Arthur E, aged 19, was convicted for 'Larceny lead', only a month or so after being released on licence from borstal, Worrall was in the awkward position of having to encourage continued supervision as he believed that the offence was 'purely an impulsive one not pre-planned'.[39] Pushing for continued supervision, in addition to noting that his delinquency may have stemmed from 'lacking efficient guidance and discipline' earlier in his life, the report constructed a narrative that indicated Arthur E was gradually embracing his responsibilities as a husband and father. Moreover, to make this recommendation more persuasive, Worrall pointed out that recall to borstal would also impact negatively on his wife who would struggle to cope without him:

> When he was placed on probation in 1963 he came under my supervision, but by this time his casual approach to work, coupled with his hasty marriage to legitimise the birth of his son, proved too much for him. I believe his period in Borstal gave him time to mature and

[34] Evidence Book, GJR, 31st March 1971 – 5th June 1971, LMA CLA/005/06/530, p. 143.
[35] Interview with Will Watson, recorded by JL, London, 7 March 2012.
[36] Evidence Book, GJR, 31st March 1971 – 5th June 1971, LMA CLA/005/06/530, p. 143.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[38] Interview with Will Watson, recorded by JL, London, 7 March 2012.
[39] Evidence Book, GJR, 30th March 1965 – 24th May 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/484, p. 122.

> reflect, and reports suggest his progress has been good. His release, again to my supervision last month, has brought problems once more into focus. However, with the help of his family he seemed quickly to settle down and this further offence probably comes more of a blow to his young wife than him. Nevertheless, I feel confident there is good in him, if only it can be found, and would respectfully suggest the leniency of the Court would not be out of place on this occasion.[40]

Worrall made a similar argument in a different case involving the 23-year-old Samuel P after he reoffended ('theft') eight months after his parole expired in 1970.[41] In support of his recommendation that supervision was not needed, the report highlighted his relatively good work ethic and indicated that his part in the offence was caused by the malign influence of others (there was also some evidence of a disturbed childhood).[42] Crucially, however, Worrall emphasised Samuel P's recent reconciliation with his wife as one of the main reasons why a caution or small fine would be sufficient:

> He was paroled to me on 6.3.69, but possibly due to his sentence his wife drifted apart whilst he was in prison and they were not in contact whilst he was on parole. I understand that in February, 1970, he began seeing his wife again and he tells me they have been living together again for the past two months, in the home of his mother and stepfather…He is most anxious about the outcome of his Court appearance since he has more to lose (due to the recent reconciliation with his wife) than when he was paroled.[43]

The attitude to the offence was another way in which the pre-war and second career probation officers could indicate evidence of a domesticated masculinity. Derek Shuttleworth, for example, had advocated continued supervision for Terry B, aged 18, after his latest conviction for 'attempted larceny of records from a car'; he was already on a three-year Probation Order for breaking and entering and had thirteen previous convictions.[44] In order to help make a favourable impression, Shuttleworth indicated that the offence was a foolish, albeit well-intentioned, attempt to be a responsible husband and father. For example, having suggested that his delinquency might have stemmed from a deprived upbringing, as well as highlighting his apparently good work ethic and other evidence of his maturity (previously he had given himself up to the police), Shuttleworth then noted positively that:

> he had got married about June and he and his wife had moved to furnished rooms. As his income deteriorated they had to give up their accommodation and they returned to his home. His wife is pregnant and due to have her baby within the next few weeks. I think this fact was very much on his mind when he committed this offence. He had had practically no private work for some time and he wanted to help his young wife. He realises only too well that this is no excuse but it is perhaps an explanation as to why he

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[41] Evidence Book, GJR, 2nd November 1970 – 12th December 1970, LMA CLA/005/06/527, p. 88.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 88.
[44] Evidence Book, GJR, 9th February 1968 – 2nd April 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/504, p. 7.

> again reverted to crime after 15 months…In the special circumstances of Mrs B being about to have her first baby and of the opportunity they have of obtaining decent accommodation out of the district in the early spring I would, with respect, ask that consideration should be given to this young man being allowed to remain at liberty.[45]

Moreover, by presenting the offence as an aberration caused by sudden economic and social pressures, rather than yet another example of his delinquency, Shuttleworth provided an additional persuasive reason for advocating continued supervision.

A similar argument was made by the direct entrant, A. J. Sawyer (The London Probation Service)[46], in his report on Ronald N, aged 25, who was already under his supervision when he was convicted for 'Larceny'.[47] In addition to highlighting his good relationship with his family and probation officer, his good work ethic, and that he had broken off contact with his old associates, his SER indicated that the offence (which he was now contrite over) was a foolish, albeit well-intentioned, attempt to provide for his family:

> Whilst on remand, N has married but I understand has not so far been able to obtain living accommodation. A few weeks ago his fiancée became pregnant and a speedy marriage was decided on. N has known his fiancée for some time; plans to marry later this year had been made. During his search for accommodation a flat was offered on a payment of £40…Unable to secure this amount, he committed the offence which now brings him before the Court…My impression of N is that he is immature and easily swayed. It is hoped that marriage and supportive supervision would assist him to deal with this. He is contrite and realises the extent to which his ill-considered action has prejudiced his future.[48]

The case involving the Senior Probation Officer, Miss V. V. Haig-Brown (The Inner London Probation And After-Care Service), who seems to have belonged to an older generation of probation officers,[49] shows that women probation officers constructed very similar narratives about married men. In particular, she looked for evidence of a domesticated masculinity in married men. In her report on Brian R, aged 26 – a man with a long history of delinquency and spells in institutions – Haig-Brown recommended a suspended sentence rather than anything more severe after his conviction for 'Stealing copper wire valued at £23'. Supporting this recommendation, Brian R's offence was characterised as a foolish, albeit well-intentioned, attempt to provide as a husband and father.[50] For example, having pointed out his successful efforts to find work, it was then noted that despite the odds he was gradually learning to accept his responsibilities at home:

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[45] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[46] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 10.
[47] Evidence Book, MHJR, 28th December 1961 – 21st February 1962, LMA CLA/004/07/247, p. 194.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 194.
[49] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 249, 250.
[50] Evidence Book, MHJR, 7th February 1969 – 17th April 1969, LMA CLA/004/07/285, p. 31.

> Mr R has spent most of the past ten years in institutions. His main difficulty is finding a satisfactory way in life and not resorting to crime in order to try to solve his difficulties. He explains this offence as a desperate act to try to raise money for a deposit on a flat for his family. He tells me, and I am inclined to believe him, that he did not set out with the intention of committing this offence but acted on impulse when the opportunity arose…Mr R is an immature man of 26 years, who finds it very difficult to face up to his responsibilities as a married man and a father. He is, however, just beginning to realise how important it is to give his wife support and is trying to make an effort to change.[51]

Compelling arguments could be made by subtly indicating evidence of domesticated masculinity while also highlighting a good work ethic. For example, Bill Pretty (Kent Probation Service) was a policeman before becoming a probation officer.[52] When Leonard B, aged 29, pleaded guilty to two charges of false pretences, Bill made a case for allowing the matter to be dealt with by a caution or small fine.[53] He did so firstly by indicating that the offences were an aberration caused by his deceased mother's large debts. He also noted that there was no previous delinquency and sympathetically pointed out that as a result of his conviction Leonard B had now 'thrown away his good job and good character'. Leonard B was also 'frank about the affair' and 'genuinely ashamed'.[54] To make this argument more compelling still, however, the report drew favourable attention to the husband and wife's industriousness:

> B married on 21st September 1963. He lives with his wife…and their first child is expected within the next week or two. I am told that the couple saved hard for two or three years in order that they could pay cash to furnish their home and then obtained a 100% loan from the London County Council to purchase the £4,350 house which they now live in…B is not in arrears over payments and he has no other debts.[55]

Moreover, as can be seen, in drawing attention to the late stage of his wife's pregnancy, Bill subtly hinted at another important reason why a caution or small fine would be preferable instead of something more severe.

A good work ethic was one of the defining characteristics that made up the idealised postwar domesticated family man. A critical account of a married man lacking one could therefore contribute towards a damning assessment of an offender who was considered weak and feckless at home. According to Gerry Matthews, Frank Monk was one of the older colleagues in his office, 'he was an interesting chap, he'd been in the War, like most of the men at that time, and Frank was quite a character. He believed in being different and he was the one who would challenge the chief or the senior in discussions, and he brought a very different approach to the business.'[56] In 1968, Frank was discussing the 29-year-old Brian H's 'poor response to supervision' after his latest conviction for

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[51] *Ibid.*, p. 31.
[52] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 16.
[53] Evidence Book, MHJR, 11th December 1964 – 19th February 1965, LMA CLA/004/07/265, p. 27.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[56] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.

'Larceny of watch from employers' (he had breached his Probation Order once already in addition to four older offences including 'Armed Robbery T.D.A.').[57] Having first noted that his marriage had not tamed his delinquency, the SER then went on to elaborate on his immaturity and lack of concern for his family by discussing his woefully inadequate work ethic:

> He tells me he had been employed for three weeks…at a take-home wage of £14. He considers this to have been an inadequate reward for what the job involved namely seven days a week working and "the hardest job I've ever had". He admits to a "sudden temptation" when seeing the box of watches…last May there was a crisis in his supervision when he admitted to his supervising officer that for a long period he had been deceiving him by giving fictitious accounts of his alleged employment and even going to the extent of forging a wage packet as "proof" of employment.[58]

As the above quotation suggests, Frank seems to have found Brian H's explanation for the offence extremely doubtful and signalled this clearly to the magistrate as another indication that a punishment was now due.

Married Working-Class Men: The Psychodynamic Probation Officers

If, as a cohort, the psychodynamic graduates had been driven by a permissive mentality that emphasised the welfare and happiness of the individual, would they have been preoccupied with the idealised postwar domesticated family man? Would marriages have taken centre stage in their SERs and would they have recommended intervention on the basis of preserving or improving marital relationships as their older colleagues had done? Interviews with retired officers suggest several important reasons why reports by the university graduates would have looked similar to those written by their older colleagues. First, on a general note, as Stephen Collins explained, before the advent of higher divorce rates from the 1970s onwards, it made sense for the probation officer to consider the family as a unit rather than concentrating on the individual offender:

> The other thing, and I think this has changed dramatically, that virtually all the time that I was in the Probation Service the family as an institution remained intact. We had a unit in the town for people who had been virtually turfed out of the council houses for not paying the rent but they were all families – they were husbands and wives and children. The lone parent which has become the default position really of modern teenage criminals, it simply wasn't there really. So that in a sense made it more reasonable to look to the family as the mediating principle[59]

A second reason why the university graduates might have focused more on marital relationships was because there was a general awareness that offending very often petered out once men married and

[57] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st August 1968 – 5th October 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/508, p. 95.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[59] Interview with Stephen Collins, recorded by JL, York, 29 March 2012.

got older, 'It was fairly well established then that the peak of criminality was between fifteen and twenty-five, and by that time most twenty-five year-olds were getting out of it, they get married, they get settled down, and so on.'[60]

Perhaps most importantly, however, it should be remembered that the university graduates worked in an environment that expected them to keep marriages intact. Matrimonial conciliation work had been one aspect of a probation officer's duty in the courts, for example.[61] As Gerry Matthews explained:

> we were the employees of the courts…you were part of the local magistrate's set-up there as it were…court duty was very important…the matrimonial work we did…if a woman came to court asking for a summons against her husband, a separation order, or a summons for assault, they would almost automatically be sent down to speak to the probation officer to see what we could do – well the object behind it was to help people to stay together.[62]

Moreover, as Tony Leach candidly recalled, there were some married couples that probably should have separated but for the determination of the courts:

> The matrimonial work that the Probation Service…did…was largely women who had come to court seeking maintenance…And women would come, and they would be referred to the probation officer mainly to ease the court's work. And you'd have a quick word with them and you'd take them back in and you would say on their behalf "oh Mrs so and so is seeking a Maintenance Order for herself and her two children and a non-cohabitation clause against her husband". And then they would grant the summons. But you were also expected to see if there was any chance of not doing that…funnily enough there were a lot of marriages that subsisted – possibly shouldn't have done mind you I agree…Sometimes…the magistrate felt that even at this late stage there was a prospect of reconciliation.[63]

Aware of the tendency of magistrates to be socially conservative, the psychodynamic probation officers were just as keen as their older colleagues had been to highlight evidence of a domesticated masculinity in their reports on married men. For example, in the case involving Stephen R, aged 20, C. F. Brady (North East London Probation Service), believed that probation was not necessary after his conviction for 'Larceny Servant'.[64] In his SER, Brady indicated his psychodynamic approach at the same time as revealing his permissiveness in thinking that Stephen R should be allowed to be himself rather than conform to his father's wishes, 'His step-father is a dogmatic man who was obsessed by the need to mould and strengthen his son's character by rigid control of all his behaviour. His methods made no allowance at all for his son's emotions, and were a

[60] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[61] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 250.
[62] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[63] Interview with Tony Leach, recorded by JL, London, 9 February 2012.
[64] Evidence Book, GJR, 15th December 1965 – 19th February 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/489, p. 2.

violent assault on his already tenuous security and feelings of worth.'[65] Dismissing the offence as an aberration, the report then indicated encouragingly that Stephen R had a domesticated masculinity. For example, it praised his attitude to his marriage, in contrast to his parents', as the basis for not getting officially involved, 'Despite her youth I was very impressed by his wife's maturity. R has a great deal of insight into his history, and is determined to make his own marriage an example to his parents. In these circumstances I believe that he would welcome the chance to make this effort unaided by supervision.'[66]

Intervention could be advocated where psychodynamic probation officers believed that the husband lacked a domesticated masculinity. G. W. Smith (South East London Probation Service) was described as a newcomer in the sixties.[67] In his SER on Kenneth K, aged 21, who was convicted for 'Larceny of lead value £4', and, 'Larceny of copper tubing value £7', Smith revealed his psychodynamic perspective on delinquency. It was noted, for example, that Kenneth K 'does not seem disturbed'.[68] Despite his three previous convictions – breaking and entering and possessing offensive weapons – and spells on probation, the report indicated that the offence was an aberration but nevertheless recommended supervision in order to help him shoulder his responsibilities as a husband:

> The home is well kept and Mrs K appears a capable housewife…K is probably of low average intelligence, rather immature and overwhelmed by the responsibilities of early marriage…The offence appears to have been a desperate action by a frightened young man without even money for his fare to work the next day. Although he has previously had the opportunity of Probation, I would respectfully suggest that K could well benefit from supervision in learning to adjust to the very heavy responsibilities he has so unwisely shouldered.[69]

Where probation intervention was not considered necessary, loyal and steady companionship from wives could be invoked persuasively by psychodynamic probation officers alongside evidence of a domesticated masculinity. For example, when James T, aged 22, was convicted for larceny, P. Cooper (Middlesex Area Probation And After-Care Service), indicated that supervision was not necessary.[70] Although there were three relatively recent previous convictions for property offences, the report suggested that the offence could be considered an aberration caused by stress-induced over-crowded living arrangements. The report also offered a sympathetic psychodynamic explanation about why he was predisposed to delinquency, 'He had an unhappy childhood, during which he felt (with some cause) rejected and neglected, and this has led to emotional insecurity.'[71] Not intervening was subsequently justified on the basis of his improving accommodation and employment prospects.

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[65] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[67] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 6.
[68] Evidence Book, GJR, 22nd October 1965 – 14th December 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/488, p. 111.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[70] Evidence Book, GJR, 31st August 1966 – 13th October 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/493, p. 138.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

However, as the following quotation demonstrates, making this recommendation more persuasive was his wife's maturity and companionship as well as James T's nascent domesticated masculinity:

> His wife appears to be a sensible girl of good character, perhaps rather more perceptive than he is, and with a good influence on him. She does not hesitate to tell him when she thinks he is acting ill-advisedly. She worked full time until March 1966. Although there has been some strain between the couple, it is apparent that fundamentally there is affection and loyalty…Mrs T has in no way condoned her husband's offence, and he himself appears to be genuinely sorry. He is now in what he believes will be a steady job…and they have accommodation. T appears to be fully prepared to accept all his responsibilities as a husband and, shortly, as a father.[72]

Psychodynamic probation officers also criticised gender transgressions by wives in SERs on married men. In his report on Alan P, aged 31, M. V. Millington (Essex Probation Area), indicated his psychodynamic understanding of his indecent exposure at the same time as explaining why psychiatric help would be preferable to imprisonment:

> Undoubtedly he is constitutionally predisposed towards sexual problems but hitherto has been able to sublimate this…My understanding of this type of offender is that little can be done to change the basic predisposing personality factors. However with support they can be encouraged to establish some degree of self-control. Imprisonment would undoubtedly tip the balance in this man's case towards full blown homosexuality.[73]

Indicating that the offence was an aberration, Millington criticised Alan P's inappropriately submissive behaviour to his domineering wife and suggested that this was ultimately behind his sexual offence:

> Mrs P is by far the dominant influence in the family and P has made all the concessions to achieve harmony in the home. He is generally quite accepting of this situation and has no desire to see the situation changed. However I feel he is not doing this without some cost to himself in nervous tension and sexual frustration…I understand he has recently undertaken more responsible duties and this together with the marital tension has, I think, contributed to this present breakdown in control.[74]

The above quotation demonstrates that the physical relationship of marriage could be scrutinised by probation officers. It has been argued that organisations like the Marriage Guidance Council had given unprecedented official sanction to female sexuality in the postwar period, particularly the pleasurable aspect of sex for women as an important part of a happy marriage.[75] Although the sixties were a time when marriage itself was evolving into a genuine partnership, it seems that from the above case there was still an assumption among probation officers that wives were there primarily to

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[72] *Ibid.*, p. 138.
[73] Evidence Book, GJR, 13th March 1964 – 29th April 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/475, p. 32.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[75] Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800,* (London, 1989), p. 260.

satisfy the sexual needs of their husbands. At the same time Alan P's SER noted his wife's loyalty in order to help justify not intervening, showing that even in extreme cases such as these a companionate form of marriage remained important in order to persuade magistrates, 'Mrs P understands the full implication of this Court appearance and though at first very upset, is standing by her husband.'[76]

In a different case involving indecent exposure, the Senior Probation Officer, A. B. Wells (Middlesex Area Probation And After-Care Service), revealed his psychodynamic understanding of the 27-year-old Richard D's sexual deviancy while explaining why he needed probation and psychiatric help, 'My opinion would be that Mr D's offence is directly related to his anxiety over his sexual adequacy, his marriage and money problems, which themselves have roots in his early life.'[77] In particular, it was noted that 'he has been exposing himself for four years – a period which coincides with his marriage. I feel anxieties do exist within the marriage, particularly as Mrs D has a child, now adopted, by a previous liaison with an American serviceman.'[78] Once again, a psychodynamic probation officer seemed to effectively attribute a married man's delinquency to anxiety derived from his wife's lack of submissiveness (sexual promiscuity).

The problems caused by an inappropriately assertive woman, compounded by a submissive man, could be invoked creatively in SERs by psychodynamic probation officers in more ordinary offences too. When Brian H, aged 20, was convicted for three charges of larceny, E. Knapman (The Inner London Probation And After-Care Service), indicated that supervision could be useful for inculcating a more domesticated masculinity.[79] However, although he had a history of delinquency and was already on remand for another crime at the time the report was written, Knapman suggested that the offence could be regarded as an aberration ultimately caused by his fiancée:

> There does seem…some emotional instability which has hitherto shown itself in antisocial behaviour involving motor vehicles. Several of these incidents have been preceded by differences with his fiancée for whom he has strong attachments. His present plans are for an early marriage which had previously been shelved in favour of unrealistic aspirations for a house and a "white" wedding. It may have been the young lady's pressure in this direction which caused him to act in the dishonest way that has now brought him before this Court…Married life could help to settle him, yet at the same time one is mindful that he is an immature and unstable young man and will need to exercise a lot more responsibility than he has done so far.[80]

As has been seen in the previous section, by indicating that the offence was an attempt to provide a home for his wife, the report provided an additional reason for putting him on probation by characterising the offence as a foolish, albeit well-intentioned, attempt to provide for his family.

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[76] Evidence Book, GJR, 13th March 1964 – 29th April 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/475, p. 32.
[77] Evidence Book, GJR, 25th August 1969 – 8th October 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/516, p. 144.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[79] Evidence Book, MHJR, 22nd November 1967 – 22nd January 1968, LMA CLA/004/07/279, p. 54.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Finally, lacking a domesticated masculinity could be invoked creatively by psychodynamic probation officers as part of a broader narrative that emphasised poor character. In 1968, Cyril J, aged 55, was convicted for 'Stealing two books, Value £2.6'; he was already under a three-year Probation Order for theft and had a list of previous convictions including spells of imprisonment.[81] This time, although his probation officer, I. Limmer (The Inner London Probation And After-Care Service), advocated continued supervision, 'in view of his past response to supervision', he did not 'feel able to urge this course upon the Court very strongly.'[82] Limmer then provided a compelling narrative in support of this opinion by drawing attention to his non-existent work ethic and inappropriate dependence on his wife:

> For many years Mr J has been a gambler to an almost pathological degree. At the time of the making of the Probation Order, he was put in touch with the organisation Gamblers Anonymous but his attendance apparently lasted only a few months. His financial situation has been very grave for a considerable time and he has many debts. Nevertheless, since losing a job early in 1967, he has not worked and has been largely dependent on his wife. He has continually denied to me that he was not working or that he was gambling even when he knew he was not succeeding in deceiving me. It is my opinion that his episodes of stealing have always been related to his need to gamble and that the origin of this compulsive kind of behaviour lies very far back in his history.[83]

Married Middle-Class Men

The relationship between probation officers and older middle-class offenders has formed the basis of other studies. In 'Probation Officers and the "Intelligent" Client', Terry Crolley and John Paley identified the 'threat posed by the intelligent, articulate, assertive' middle-class client who challenged 'the usual power imbalance' in the probation relationship and which often resulted in officers labelling them as 'deviant or unco-operative'.[84] Although few of those interviewed recalled many instances of supervising older middle-class men, they all agreed with the findings of the above article. As Jim Cannings recalled, 'I can remember watching cases in court, and seeing the attempt to form an alliance by the middle-class offender with the magistrate, "oh, well, you do understand this, don't you?"'[85] Anne Vickers found they could be 'Manipulative. Seductive. I don't literally mean seductive, but seductive in the sense, "oh we're all mates together here, aren't we?"'[86] When it came to writing SERs, Tony Leach thought that middle-class men could adopt a pathology:

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[81] Evidence Book, MHJR, 28th March 1968 – 5th June 1968, LMA CLA/004/07/281, p. 170.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[84] Terry Crolley and John Paley, 'Probation Officers and the "Intelligent" Client', *Probation Journal*, 30 (1983), pp. 3-6.
[85] Interview with Jim Cannings, recorded by JL, Boston Spa, 11 July 2012.
[86] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.

> they tended to sort of frame it in a way that was actually cooperative. That would have to some extent slightly sucking up, but reframing it in a way they thought the probation officer would want their situation to be framed more than coming out naturally if you see what I mean. So they would adopt a certain pathology, maybe even the pathology that was outlined in the report…And to some extent play up to that if you see what I mean.[87]

Based on analysis of SERs, it seems that on the whole older middle-class men were intelligent enough to recognise that it was probably in their best interests to cooperate with the probation officer rather than challenge their authority – at least when it came to being interviewed for reports. As a result, it was rare that middle-class men were labelled deviant or uncooperative. Having said that, there are frequent indications of challenging behaviour; it seems that older middle-class men often held back on fully answering questions and refused access to their wives. Moreover, it appears that probation officers usually accepted this and were reluctant to probe any further. For example, after his conviction for four charges of theft, Bernard S's report suggested that his offences were 'closely related to the difficulties within his own marriage, although…Mr S strongly resisted my seeing his wife and therefore I am unable to confirm these impressions.'[88] When Peter G, aged 39, was convicted for stealing hundreds of pounds in pay packets, his probation officer noted that 'I have not attempted to learn from Mr G about the immediate causes leading to these offences but I understand that he has explained these to the Police and thus assisted them in their enquiries.'[89]

How, then, did reports on middle-class married men compare to their working-class equivalents? Was demonstrating an idealised domesticated family man just as important when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates? In 'Probation Officers, Social Enquiry Reports, and Importuning in the 1960s', it was shown that probation officers drew attention to happy marriages alongside successful careers of middle-class men charged with importuning (including, it seems, time spent in the Army if the offender was old enough which invoked a martial concept of masculinity) in order to prove the offence was an aberration.[90] The remainder of this chapter will take this analysis further and will show that, regardless of the offence, probation officers attempted to persuade magistrates by entwining evidence of domesticated masculinity with the respectability derived from their successful careers and superior social backgrounds.

For example, for younger married middle-class men who did not require probation intervention, a favourable case could be made by showing a domesticated masculinity alongside the respectability derived from an up-and-coming career. When David H, aged 24, appeared in court facing a hundred charges of 'Forgery/Uttering Forged Document' (dodging train fares), W. A. Playle (Essex Probation And After-Care Committee), 'found no reason to feel that H was not capable of managing his own affairs, neither was I made aware of any social problem which indicated the need

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[87] Interview with Tony Leach, recorded by JL, London, 9 February 2012.
[88] Evidence Book, GJR, 23rd April 1970 – 30th May 1970, LMA CLA/005/06/522, p. 149.
[89] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th October 1964 – 11th November 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/480, p. 63.
[90] Lunan, 'Probation Officers, Social Enquiry Reports, and Importuning in the 1960s', p. 792-794.

for help from a social worker or probation officer'.[91] In support of this interpretation, the report highlighted the domestic bliss at home and strongly indicated David H's respectability and future potential:

> Despite the financial difficulties within the home, Mr and Mrs H appear to be a very happy couple, content with what they have and working towards a more secure future. I understand that Mr H's job has good prospects, but it is all a matter of time. I have discussed the offence with Mr H, and although he obviously realises that what he did was wrong, he does not seem to have associated such actions with criminal behaviour. He has never before appeared in Court, and I would imagine that he was quite desperate when making the alteration to the railway ticket concerned. He could see no way round obtaining his fare, and at the time of his arrest had been in the process of negotiating with his firm for an advance of salary, to meet these expenses. I believe that he was quite genuinely relieved when these offences were brought to light. I understand that H has since received a rise and is now paid £1,560[92]

Encouraging further probation supervision for a married middle-class man with a history of indecent exposure, Clifford P's probation officer, K. B. Russell (South East London Probation And After-Care Service), drew attention sympathetically to his usual domesticated masculinity and respectability. Based on previous positive results, when the 49-year-old Clifford P appeared in court for the sixth time for 'Indecent Exposure', Russell believed that more supervision and psychiatric treatment would help him.[93] Pushing for this recommendation, having first indicated that his sexual deviation stemmed from an upset gender balance in his youth (he was overshadowed by his more successful sisters), the report then noted his good wartime service and appropriate leisure interests (membership of a cricket club).[94] The report added to this already persuasive narrative, however, by discussing his indecent exposure in relation to his usual domesticated masculinity and the respectability derived from his career:

> The marriage is a happy one which has survived the stresses of his previous convictions, and his wife remains loyal and anxious to support him at the present time…it may be significant that in recent months he has been engaged in rather exacting work for his company…It seems clear that P has a compulsion to expose himself in this manner, in spite of the risks to his job, his family life, and his respectability, which he has managed to control for a long period. It is felt that he maintains a rather delicate equilibrium which may have been upset by recent additional responsibility. He is sincerely ashamed of his behaviour.[95]

By highlighting his remorse, the report was able to signal the unusual circumstances behind the offence and once again invoke his career and hence respectability in order to justify further probation.

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[91] Evidence Book, GJR, 4th October 1971 – 25th November 1971, LMA CLA/005/06/533, p. 14.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[93] Evidence Book, GJR, 19th January 1967 – 2nd March 1967, LMA CLA/005/06/496, p. 143.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[95] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

By noting that his wife was loyal and supportive, Russell also attempted to persuade the magistrate by indicating that conventional gender norms were intact at Clifford P's home.

Although supervision was indicated in order to inculcate a closer relationship with his wife, Peter G, aged 39, was also shown to have some of the other aspects that constituted an appropriate domesticated masculinity: his love for his children. Indeed, this was highlighted sympathetically as being ultimately behind his offences ('stealing pay packets value £179 and £223').[96] To make the argument for supervision more persuasive, J. W. Ruth (Essex Probation Area), indicated that Peter G was an ordinarily respectable individual whose behaviour could be considered deeply out of character:

> Mr G has not been able yet to fully confide in his wife about these offences and the incidents leading up to them, but I have interviewed her and, realising that he is deeply in trouble, she is most anxious to give him all the support that she can. There seem to be good relationships within this new family, in particular, the children are obviously fond of and dependent for affection on their stepfather. My impression from seeing Mr and Mrs G in their home is that he is desperately anxious to regain his good name and, in particular, wants to pay back the money as soon as he is able to do so. His wife feels that his troubles have come about because of depression during the past 18 months resulting from his not being allowed to see his own children. His previous offence of malicious damage occurred in fact when he was attempting to gain access to these children of his first marriage.[97]

Indeed, by showing that his wife was standing by him, that his stepchildren were fond of him, and that his offending ultimately stemmed from being cruelly deprived access to his own children, the SER was able to convincingly draw attention to evidence of a domesticated masculinity.

Evidence of a domesticated masculinity did not always take centre stage when attempting to persuade magistrates. It seems that sometimes there was an unspoken understanding in SERs that the middle-class married man had good character. Dr Norman C, aged 35, for example, was addicted to prescription drugs and had several previous convictions for various drug-related offences.[98] Arguing that psychiatric help was now urgently needed instead of probation supervision, G. G. Brewer (Thames Magistrates' Court) wrote a sympathetic SER which, although it indicated that he was a family man with religious convictions, emphasised that the main tragedy was the ending of what should have been a very successful career:

> It appears that he married immediately upon qualifying. There are four children…Dr C has held many appointments…He left…to become a Methodist Medical Missionary in India, and he and his family were in India for approximately 4 ½ years. Dr C states that whilst there he contracted an infection and part of the treatment was a drug named Palfium…At interview, I felt a great deal of sympathy for Dr C. He is obviously a brilliant man but of very weak character, full of good intentions and does, I feel, make great efforts to overcome his addiction. Dr C is extremely disappointed at not being able

[96] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th October 1964 – 11th November 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/480, p. 63.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[98] Evidence Book, GJR, 20th August 1963 – 3rd October 1963, LMA CLA/005/06/471, p. 113.

> to continue in his chosen profession and I feel now realises that he cannot, at present, under any circumstances, be even remotely connected in this field.[99]

Though not met with approval, lacking a domesticated masculinity did not automatically result in condemnation from probation officers. Indeed, it could even be invoked sympathetically in reports, depending on the circumstances. When Robert T, aged 44, was convicted for 'Fraudulent Conversion', Todhunter (South West London Probation Service), indicated that supervision was necessary because he lacked a domesticated masculinity.[100] However, criticism was not exclusively reserved for him as most of the blame for his offending was attributed to his wife for her gender transgressions. Far from being submissive and supportive, Robert T's wife was demanding and assertive at home:

> Mrs T seems to have a need to "keep up with the Joneses" in response to which her husband has allowed commitments to be taken on well beyond their means. Probably this is his wife seeking satisfactions which are not to be found in the marriage itself, and her preoccupation with housework and cleanliness may be seen as an attempt to crowd her conscious life in an effort to preclude all thought of the basic unhappiness that exists between them. Unfortunately it is her belief that no amount of outside help can resolve their dilemma and it was because of her reluctance to participate that an approach by him some time ago to the Marriage Guidance Council came to nought.[101]

Clearly, Todhunter disapproved of 'keeping up with the Joneses', which sociologists had identified as being rife in the everyday lives of the middle classes in the late fifties.[102] Indeed, it was used to build sympathy for the husband in his SER. The report then continued to describe a situation where much of the blame for Robert T's unhappiness and offending could largely be attributed to his wife's failure to conform to a submissive femininity. This ranged from her apparent sexual promiscuity to apparently manipulating the children against her husband:

> In 1954 Mr T took an overdose of tablets and was admitted to Warlingham Park Psychiatric Hospital from where he later discharged himself. The following year the couple separated for some six months and as the result of extra-marital association Mrs T gave birth to C. It now not infrequently happens that when he feels bound to chastise the child his wife accuses him of unfairly treating the girl because she is not his own. The boy's birth was unsought, since when there was no further intercourse until this summer when because of the easing of financial pressures the relationship between the parents improved temporarily. Mrs T acknowledges feeling some resentment because N's presence has meant she cannot obtain employment and so add to the family income…The oldest girl is going through a difficult stage in her development and her mother alternates between seeing her as a problem in her own right on the one hand, and as an ally against her father on the other.[103]

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[99] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[100] Evidence Book, GJR, 22nd October 1965 – 14th December 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/488, p. 122.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[102] Peter Willmott and Michael Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, (London, 1960), p. 100.
[103] Evidence Book, GJR, 22nd October 1965 – 14th December 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/488, p. 122.

His wife's assertiveness and unreasonable behaviour was explored in relation to Robert T's employment history, household bills and even in the way he spent his leisure time. Finally, the undermining of his masculinity was shown in relation to the interference by his parents-in-law:

> Seemingly since their marriage 18 years ago Mr T has changed his employment on numerous occasions always, he says, with a view to obtaining better remuneration to enable him more comfortably to meet his wife's demands for further innovations in the home…He used to give his wife £20 while he was at C, the balance being taken up largely in fares and meals out. She undertook responsibility for everything else, or so it was thought. In the event both seemed to think the other was making the mortgage repayments of £21 a month, although Mrs T has since acknowledged that it was impossible for him to do so out of a net wage of £23…Mrs T frowns on her husband's choice of reading and that he should waste money on cigarette smoking…Mrs T has made greater demands on her husband than he was capable of fulfilling and whenever they overreached themselves there was the knowledge that her parents would step in with a timely cheque. He has said that he felt obliged always to bow to their daughter's wishes because of the financial help that his in-laws have given. Mr and Mrs N have several times made substantial payments to the Building Society when it has threatened to foreclose on the mortgage. One such occasion is now. He has understandably had mixed feelings about this assistance, in one way seeing it as interference, with its undermining effect on his role of husband and would-be provider.[104]

It may well be that Todhunter tended to seek out evidence of inappropriately assertive wives as in a different case involving indecent assault he was again drawing critical attention to a domineering wife. When Michael M, aged 25, was convicted for 'Two indecent assaults on girls', Todhunter, who had previously supervised him following an offence of indecent exposure, believed that some form of psychiatric treatment was again required.[105] Pushing for this course of action, the report highlighted his admirable cooperation last time on probation and his being 'discharged with good character' from the RAF. His SER also drew attention to his sensible leisure pursuits: he and his wife were active members of the local Civil Defence Organisation, for example. Indeed, the affluent middle classes were much more likely than working-class people to join such clubs and associations.[106] Moreover, it has been argued elsewhere that postwar citizenship was closely bound to notions of civic duty. [107] Probation officers therefore sometimes drew attention to civic duty in SERs as part of making a favourable impression to magistrates.

However, Todhunter also stated that Michael M was 'nervously ill' and indicated that his sexual offences were ultimately caused by his wife's inappropriately assertive behaviour at home, 'Until pregnancy obliged her to give up, Mrs. M was a Music Teacher at a local Secondary School,

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[104] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[105] Evidence Book, GJR, 5th July 1962 – 11th August 1962, LMA CLA/005/06/462, p. 142.
[106] Willmott and Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, p. 82.
[107] Abigail Beach, 'Forging a 'nation of participants': Political and Economic Planning in Labour's Britain' in Richard Weight and Abigail Beach (eds.),*The Right to Belong, Citizenship and National Identity in Britain, 1930-1960*, (London, 1998), p. 89. See also, Margaret Stacey, *Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury*, (Oxford, 1960), p. 75; Willmott and Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, p. 79; Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth-Century Britain*, (London, 2002), p. 135.

her salary being rather more than that of her husband…As regards the husband-wife relationship, it is easy to see that Mrs. M is the more dominant personality. It must be irksome that her husband is frequently referred to as "a quiet boy".'[108] Todhunter nevertheless wrote approvingly that 'Mrs. M…will help her husband in every way possible'. This reflects that signalling a companionate form of marriage was considered important when attempting to persuade magistrates even in cases such as these where the wife had committed gender transgressions.[109]

Where wives were found to be loyal and hardworking, and the married middle-class man was considered to be lacking a domesticated masculinity, probation officers could make out a particularly compelling argument for punishment by showing his poor character in relation to his wife's respectability. For example, over a period of 18 months, Gordon C, aged 26, had been 'taking money from his employers by forging and altering cheques. The approximate total amount being £3,900.'[110] In his critical report, J. J. Davis, (City of London Probation Service), explained why he believed that supervision 'may not achieve a great deal'. First, his poor character was shown in relation to his family's respectability, 'C is a compulsive gambler who is unable to remember how he began to gamble, but like many other people with this weakness, he allowed the situation to develop by playing for bigger stakes. On the surface all appears to be very respectable, he comes from a very respectable family. His father is a regular church-goer and on church committees.'[111] Gordon C's lack of domesticated masculinity was then contrasted with his wife's heroic attempts to manage with her disabilities. In doing so, Davis presented a compelling argument to have Gordon C punished:

> His wife…is 28 years of age and has now left her husband because of his gambling, but mainly because of these offences. She is now living with her parents…She is almost blind, has one false eye and the other one has a detached retina and cataract. She has no thumbs and manages extremely well in her work as an audio typist in the City, where she has been employed for twelve years…Gordon C admits that he has been deceiving his wife virtually throughout the marriage and made a number of plausible excuses when demands were made for unpaid bills and for the unpaid mortgage. On one occasion he borrowed £50 from her father without her knowledge and this did not immediately come to light. Some 16 months after marriage they were served with a Writ for £3,000 from the Building Society. On another occasion an uncle came to the rescue with a large sum of money but the deceit continued.[112]

Finally, for more elderly married middle-class men, probation officers also signalled their respectability at the same time as indicating evidence of a domesticated masculinity. For example, in 1968, Charles R, aged 65, was convicted for 'Altering doctor's prescription'.[113] B. E. Workman (Surrey Probation And After-Care Service), did not regard supervision necessary and advocated that

[108] Evidence Book, GJR, 5th July 1962 – 11th August 1962, LMA CLA/005/06/462, p. 142.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[110] Evidence Book, GJR, 13th August 1971 – 2nd October 1971, LMA CLA/005/06/532, p. 2.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[112] *Ibid.*, p. 2.
[113] Evidence Book, MHJR, 2nd December 1968 – 6th February 1969, LMA CLA/004/07/284, p. 51.

the case could be dealt with by a caution.[114] The SER therefore indicated his respectability as well as his domesticated masculinity, 'Mr R has been an architect for most of his working life and fairly recently took part in the planning and development of a number of bungalows…Mr R receives great support from his wife under these circumstances.'[115] One of the advantages of age, however, was the ability to draw attention to a life-time's worth of law-abiding conduct. As a result, Workman emphasised this in the report whilst highlighting his embarrassment over the offence and court appearance:

> Mr R pleaded guilty to the charge but his explanation to me is that the affair has become so confused that he could not say for certain what happened. He cannot remember altering the prescription and he has wondered whether the prescription can have been vaguely written in the first place or whether his children may have scribbled on it when it came into their possession. For whatever reason there may be, Mr R is reluctant to make an open admission. Perhaps this on its own is not surprising in the case of a person of his age with a hitherto unblemished record. The prospect of having a criminal record is undoubtedly repellent to him…Since this is the first such occurrence in a long life, I would expect the experience not to be repeated, especially since the Court proceedings have been extremely distasteful to Mr R.[116]

In reinforcing the assertion that the offence was an aberration unlikely to be repeated, the probation officer provided further justification for handing down a caution.

Similarly, when Wilfred B, aged 63, was convicted for three charges of 'Falsification of accounts', Richard Smyth (Essex Probation Area) highlighted his life-long respectability in order to justify recommending a caution, 'Mr B is a man who in the past has held senior and responsible positions in the Services and in business. He was at one time the prosperous owner of a chain of bakers shops…There is no doubt that he feels the shame of his present position extremely acutely, and is deeply conscious of the fact that his actions have lost him his previous good name and reputation.'[117] However, with advancing age came all kinds of health problems, both for wives as well as husbands and, while highlighting a domesticated masculinity at home, these other issues were brought to the fore as additional reasons for handing down a caution rather than anything more severe:

> Both Mr and Mrs B are suffering from extreme bad health, she being confined to a wheelchair with disseminated sclerosis and bad arthritis and quite unable to do anything for herself, he suffers from a pulmonary embolism of the left lung, and informs me that his Doctor has told him that he has an inoperable cancerous growth. He has recently undergone an operation for hernia and is recovering from a bad attack of shingles. Until recently arrangements had been made for a daily Home Help, but these have fallen through, and Mr B does the cooking and shopping as well as caring for his wife by day and night with the assistance and occasional visits by the District Nurse. Enquiries have

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[116] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[117] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st August 1968 – 5th October 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/508, p. 159.

> been made to try and find a suitable nursing home for Mrs B, but so far unsuccessfully…It seems extremely unlikely because of his age, present circumstances and poor health that he will ever have the desire, or indeed opportunity, to make such mistakes again.[118]

Married Middle-Class Men: The Psychodynamic Probation Officers

To what extent did the psychodynamic probation officers differ in their approach to married middle-class men? First, it is important to note that, in light of how humiliating it would have been for an older individual to divulge their personal lives to a probation officer half their age, it seems that there were sometimes informal processes of gatekeeping operating within probation offices which channelled wherever possible older offenders towards older officers; Mike Bracken indicated that middle-class offenders particularly may have been deliberately pushed away from university graduates for this reason.[119] As a result, it appears there is a relative dearth of easily identifiable psychodynamic SERs on married middle-class men. One exception however is Tom Collinson who, as was seen in the previous chapter, was a strong believer in psychoanalysis. In his SER on the 29-year-old Ronald M, after his conviction for 'larceny servant', Tom also emphasised his respectability whilst drawing attention to a domesticated masculinity. Indeed, this case highlights that psychodynamic probation officers could also justify intervention on the basis of improving marital relationships for married middle-class men:

> it might appear difficult to understand why this man should have committed these offences, but after a very long chat with M it has emerged that he has considerable emotional problems which have caused conflicts within himself which he has not been able to fully recognise or acknowledge. One of these seemed to centre round the fact that he has a very responsible job which worried him considerably and which he felt put him under considerable pressure and he was worried in case he broke down under the strain in the same way as one of his colleagues had done earlier this year. In addition to this although he and his wife appear to be quite happily married I think both had been rather uneasy because they have had no children and although this has not caused any friction between them I feel that it had built up anxiety feelings within themselves.[120]

Conclusion

When it came to attempting to persuade magistrates over married men, whether they were working or middle-class, both generations of probation officers based their recommendations on evidence of a domesticated masculinity. This reflected the postwar ideal of the domesticated family man and the new companionship between husband and wife praised by sociologists at the time. Assuming that magistrates were likely to respond positively to hearing about married men willingly embracing their

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[118] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[119] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.
[120] Evidence Book, GJR, 6th October 1964 – 11th November 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/480, p. 104.

roles as husbands and fathers, or that there were loyal and dutiful wives on hand to help them on their way to developing a more domesticated masculinity, both generations of probation officers indicated evidence of this in SERs. Where these conventional gender norms appeared to be lacking for whatever reason, both generations of probation officers similarly invoked this for the purposes of intervention. Sometimes arguments advocating intervention were made more compelling by showing married men deliberately flouting their responsibilities as husbands and fathers resembling how some women historically have been punished more severely for transgressing gender norms. For married middle-class men, SERs could be made more compelling by emphasising their respectability. These conclusions are not surprising when one considers the importance of matrimonial work in the 1960s courts. However, to what extent was this simply a male probation officer's view of wives and femininity? Did women in authority reinforce or challenge conventional stereotypes towards women offenders and did this change over time with the advent of Women's Liberation in the later 1960s?

Chapter Four: Single Women

The study of women and their involvement in the criminal justice system and associated penal-welfare institutions has been the subject of numerous excellent works.[1] These studies have shown that historically women were often institutionalised for transgressions of conventional norms of feminine behaviour. Since the Victorian period, continued concerns about womens' sexuality led to the intensification of welfare responses that sought to prevent their moral 'fall'. From 1889 until 1963, 'child protection legislation permitted parents to bring their own children before the courts if they felt they were "beyond control" and in need of specialist discipline. In the case of girls, this invariably meant staying out late at night.'[2] The definition was eventually broadened in the 1930s to include those feared to be in 'moral danger' – usually meaning having underage sex – and liable to be sent to an approved school.[3] Whilst this clause 'was not in itself gendered, it was rarely used in relation to male youth.'[4] Thus regulatory strategies targeted at adolescent girls aimed to moralise rather than criminalise. As a result, a far greater proportion of girls than boys were brought before the courts or were referred to institutions in relation to what can be characterised as 'status offences' involving those 'in need of care and protection' or 'beyond' parental control.[5]

Michelle Cale showed that the institutional regime of the certified institutions set up for girls demonstrated a gendered approach to delinquency and its reform; working-class girls were trained in domestic skills for employment in domestic service, especially in the period prior to the Second World War, and, subsequently, for marriage and motherhood. Boys in contrast were trained to move into trades such as carpentry and metalwork.[6] Pamela Cox noted that 'through a regular diet of domestic labour, religious teaching, fair punishment and deserved rewards, they were gradually to learn the value of hard work, self-restraint and familiar routine.'[7] Most importantly for this thesis, the motives of those who set up, ran or worked in girls' institutions since the Victorian period have been subject to much debate. Whilst their function was clearly to regulate behaviour, Cale also argued that many staff probably hoped to improve the lives of those whom they viewed as less fortunate. In the Victorian period such work was equated with missionary work and 'well meaning amateurs' worked with delinquents to 'wipe away their sins and make them love Jesus Christ.'[8] Religious motivation 'probably diminished as paid workers of lower social status took up posts in the Edwardian period,

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[1] Cale, 'Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger in the Victorian Reformatory System', pp. 201 – 217; Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare: Bad Girls in Britain, 1900-1950*; Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family: Britain, 1850-1940*; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody in Victorian England*; Jackson and D'Cruze, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 149.
[2] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 151-152.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 152.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 152.
[5] Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare,* p. 42.
[6] Cale, 'Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger in the Victorian Reformatory System', pp. 201-217.
[7] Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare,* p. 86.
[8] Cale, 'Working for God? Staffing the Victorian Reformatory and Industrial School System', p. 114.

viewing their work in terms of a vocational career. By the mid-twentieth century residential social work was being recast as a profession, requiring specialist training. Whatever their aims, it is clear that institutional provision was shaped by class and gender norms, including fears of sexuality.'[9]

These findings have great relevance for the Probation Service, an institution which developed closely along the lines outlined above. However, as has been seen so far, there was considerable generational overlap within probation, especially in the 1960s. Each generation had a very different idea about the purpose of reform and rehabilitation. This chapter will therefore consider to what extent the pre-war and second career and psychodynamic probation officer differed in the way that they went about persuading magistrates in the sixties over single women. In answering this basic question, this chapter will also keep in mind broader, historiographical questions, namely, whether women probation officers 'sought or achieved the creation of alternative ethical frameworks'[10] Did they reinforce conventional class and gender stereotypes or did they challenge them?

Single Women: The Pre-War and Second Career Probation Officers

Who were the pre-war and second career female probation officers? It seems that in many respects they were similar in education and social background to the middle-class women campaigners and activists of the nineteenth century who fought for women's rights.[11] As Georgie Stafford recalled from the 1930s, her women colleagues then were well-educated and 'well-heeled' and, as her comments about the low salaries indicates, they were primarily motivated by helping women and children less fortunate than themselves:

> In 1930, the Home Office advertised for women of education. Well, in fact they got a number of women of education, I think they were…by and large…also well-heeled. In other words they weren't poverty stricken students…For a long time I thought…the women were much better calibre on the whole than the men…we were so badly paid apart from anything else! I mean I started on £240 a year which is not princely! And the men at the same time got £280…at North London…we used to go out to lunch together at Lyons…and we were standing in a queue and one of the men sort of moved to let me go in front of him, and I said "Oh thank you, Tuck" and he said "just as long as you don't get equal pay"!…there was an element of truth in it.[12]

As the above comment indicates, like their Victorian predecessors, Georgie Stafford's pre-war generation seemed to generally accept 'male supremacy' in probation, not challenging gender imbalances but assuming all the time that they had a special role to perform in working with their own sex. This attitude was particularly apparent in her reflections on the changes that took place within the

[9] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 152.
[10] *Ibid.,* p. 104.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 104-111.
[12] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.

Service in the 1960s. The following quotation suggests that she had initially found writing reports and supervising male offenders inappropriate for women:

> it was quite revolutionary really when women began writing reports for the court on men who'd got into trouble. And I have to say that was not as a result of thinking it would be better done if the women did it too. It was done purely because we were short of men!...I can remember the prison officers…were also rather taken aback by this…they weren't used to women coming in and interviewing men and writing reports about them…Well, I mean it's a bit off, isn't it? Women!…Certain things are suitable for men and certain things are suitable for women. And I suppose I was particularly conscious of it because at the time women probation officers started doing reports on men I was working at North London Magistrates' Court, and I can remember…everybody was a little bit on edge. Sort of wondering how this was going to work out. But of course it soon became the norm really.[13]

On the evidence of the interviews, it is doubtful to what extent the pre-war and second career generation of women probation officers challenged conventional class and gender stereotypes. For example, in her recollection of taking on an uncooperative woman probationer who had been transferred onto her caseload, Irene Clarkson conceived her poor behaviour in highly gendered language, 'I remember thinking "you're a manipulative bitch" – it didn't go down on my records mind you!…and I thought "yeah, you wait girl!"'[14] It also seems that they took accusations of domestic cruelty no more seriously – and indeed no less – than their male colleagues did, a point reflected in the secondary literature[15]. As Irene Clarkson explained, 'matrimonials…they're nonsense most of them!…I had a matrimonial the day after Boxing day – the husband had come home with lipstick on his collar, and I said "what? Christmas party? Don't be silly!…think about it and come and see me next week." She never came back! Obviously there had been a row about something.'[16]

As the above quotation suggests, the interviews revealed the idea of 'benign authority' amongst the older generation of women officers which, according to D'Cruze and Jackson, was 'based on a social maternalism that incorporated ideas about class superiority as well as gender'.[17] It has been identified moreover as a dominant paradigm within women's contribution to criminal justice and welfare systems from the nineteenth century through to 1960.[18] This seems to have been reflected in Irene Clarkson's opinion of the local community in which she worked:

> they were very funny actually…I loved those Bermondsey folk, they were absolutely gorgeous…this little lad, he was a teenager of some kind, you could see they would sort of weigh me up – to them I would be old and, you know, "I can shock her" – so he let fly with every word he knew. I then said "oh I'm terribly disappointed, I know all those

[13] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.
[14] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.
[15] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 250.
[16] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.
[17] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 121.
[18] *Ibid.,* p. 121.

> words. I thought you were going to teach me a new one!"...he was trying it on me! After which he was marvellous to talk to – very sweet!…They were very funny at Brixton Prison too, I remember.[19]

It is hard to say from secondary sources the degree to which women probation officers experienced marginalisation as their counterparts had in other professions.[20] Perhaps being involved in the Service since the early days of its missionary work, women had not encountered similar problems associated with assimilation as was the case of women entering the police.[21] However, such was the autonomous nature of probation that, like the men, women officers worked almost entirely by themselves anyway. The impressions that the male officers had of their older female colleagues were therefore drawn largely from office camaraderie rather than from specific insights into their casework relationships with offenders. In interview, Jim Cannings found them to be 'a fairly fierce lot, but very good, very able.'[22] Others typically described them as 'caring', 'motherly', and 'maternal'.[23]

SERs provide a rare opportunity to scrutinise how the pre-war and second career women probation officers wrote about individuals who appeared in court. They show that, far from challenging conventional class and gender stereotypes, they actively applied them and, where young adult women had failed to conform, intervention was encouraged on the basis of inculcating a respectable femininity. Their definition of respectable femininity for young adult women essentially mirrored what Cale and Cox identified in girls' institutions of earlier periods – strength of character, moral probity, and a disciplined work ethic.[24] Underlying these ideals, however, was the belief that respectable femininity for young adult women ultimately entailed submissiveness to their parents, including sexual restraint. As a result, the pre-war and second career women probation officers had this ideal in mind when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates.

For example, Miss Ethel Currant had been working for the Probation Service since at least 1937. In that same year she had warned about the Service becoming a 'body of Social Workers, stereotyped, and red taped…with its rules and regulations'.[25] Unsurprisingly, she resented the gradual creeping control of the state over the Service and believed that it should relinquish power to the courts from which probation officers had originally derived their strength and purpose.[26] Writing nearly 30 years later in 1965, Currant had been encouraging continued supervision for the 17-year-old Christine B after her conviction for 'shoplifting from Boots – bottle of scent value 6/-d.'[27] Unable to say that

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[19] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.
[20] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 112.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[22] Interview with Jim Cannings, recorded by JL, Boston Spa, 11 July 2012.
[23] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012; Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.
[24] Cale, 'Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger in the Victorian Reformatory System', pp. 201-217; Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare*, p. 86.
[25] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 152-153.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[27] Evidence Book, MHJR, 10th May 1965 – 30th July 1965, LMA CLA/004/07/267, p. 24.

she was a model citizen what with her record of delinquency, including several spells on probation, Currant instead recommended continued supervision by drawing attention to her increasingly mature and submissive character.[28] Having noted her previous cooperation on probation, and dismissing the offence in question as an aberration caused by a mixture of family trauma and a 'sudden temptation' (which seemed to invoke her sexuality as somehow behind her offending, often done in reports on women as will be seen, which effectively undermined their agency), the report praised her mature attitude to her recently deceased younger sister. The SER then highlighted a former headmistress's favourable opinion of her:

> She regrets bringing more trouble into her home, particularly as the family is very upset as J who was away in a Mental Hospital, died suddenly of pneumonia on Monday last…Christine was very fond of this sister and was deeply concerned when she learned she was going to be a permanent invalid. The Headmistress of St. Michael's School said that Christine had some fine qualities and one thing which struck her favourably was the concern she always had for her invalid sister. She…never told tales about another girl. The Headmistress felt she could become a happy and successful member of the community. She always gave the Headmistress the respect and loyalty she expected from her.[29]

No doubt this bolstered the perception of Christine B's improving good character. Then, having indicated that her predisposition towards delinquency stemmed from lack of affection at home, what with the family's 'considerable financial and social difficulties', the SER drew attention to further evidence of her improving maturity and submissiveness. This was shown in relation to her boyfriend highlighting that, in the same way girlfriends of male delinquents could be given qualified approval for their calming influence[30], boyfriends could also be given endorsement for similar reasons, 'Christine has a regular boy, who is a steady and reliable person and a good influence on her. He was very upset at this trouble. They hope to become engaged soon.'[31] Finally, Christine B's submissiveness was indicated regarding her attitude to her probation officer before noting how pleased her mother was with her newly reformed daughter, 'When I suggested to Christine that probation could not have been of very much help to her, considering this offence, she said it is a lot of help as it has helped her to work regularly and not to keep late hours. She is also now on better terms with her family. The mother confirms this and says Christine is in good work as a canteen assistant.'[32]

No doubt reflecting the postwar fears about unsupervised affluent youth, especially amongst police and magistrates[33], with their greater earning and purchasing power and increasing opportunities for pleasure, probation officers like Currant were keen to stress home-centred lifestyles in their SERs

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[30] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 179.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[32] Evidence Book, MHJR, 10th May 1965 – 30th July 1965, LMA CLA/004/07/267, p. 24.
[33] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 151; Jackson, '"The Coffee Club Menace" Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-War Manchester', pp. 289 – 308.

on young adult women as part of praising a submissive femininity. This would help challenge the perception of girls like Christine B as being delinquent, similar to what has been seen regarding single men in chapter two. It also indicated to magistrates that conventional gender norms were very much intact at home and intervention was not therefore needed.

A submissive femininity was also demonstrated in SERs by Mrs D. W. Leatherdale (South East London Probation Service), described as a 'long serving' officer who retired in 1967 after serving in the Bromley office for well over 30 years.[34] In her report on Barbara H, aged 22, after her conviction for 'obtaining credit…by means of a forged instrument', Leatherdale did not believe that supervision was necessary.[35] Suggesting that a caution would be sufficient instead, the SER indicated the thefts occurred as a result of economic pressures (endeavouring to keep up with her friends' expensive lifestyles) and could therefore be dismissed as an aberration. Supporting this recommendation for a caution, much of the report was given over to describing her usual maturity and submissiveness at home:

> At the time of the offence Miss H was living with two girls in a flat…She was still on friendly visiting terms with her parents but wished to be independent. When she became ill in January last she returned to parents home…I have seen Miss H's parents and brother and they all appear to be a nice type of person all having decent standards…Said they had no reason to mistrust their daughter. She had never given them cause for anxiety in the past…and they are extremely surprised to find that she has committed this offence…Although she lived away from home at one time she has always got on well with her parents and on the whole seems a sensible, level headed person.[36]

Highlighting her submissiveness from the point of view of her parents, combined with the fact that Barbara H had now returned to live at home, made a more compelling case for her submissive femininity. Furthermore, by indicating that there was conventional gender norms in place at home, Leatherdale's report also made clear that Barbara H was not in any way delinquent or at risk from the temptations of affluence. This collectively made a more persuasive argument for a caution. Indeed, as the rest of this chapter will demonstrate, Currant and Leatherdale set the tone on how single women tended to be written about by probation officers in SERs. From their attitude to the offence and how they spent their leisure time, to their employment record and work ethic, women probation officers based their recommendations on evidence of a submissive femininity.

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Discussing the single woman's attitude to the offence following the court appearance was one way in which women probation officers indicated evidence of a submissive femininity. Where officers found

[34] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 5.
[35] Evidence Book, MHJR, 10th October 1966 – 10th December 1966, LMA CLA/004/07/273, p. 52.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

evidence of good character and believed that cases could be dealt with by way of a caution or small fine, reports made compelling narratives by signalling submissiveness at the same time as noting a mature response to the offence. For example, when Vera B, aged 20, was convicted for 'Larceny of £60 cash', Miss M. K. McDonagh (West Ham Magistrates' Court), did not believe that supervision was necessary.[37] Describing a good work ethic and dismissing the offence as a foolish 'impulse motivated by the desire to be free of her debt, which was irksome, plus the fact that she wanted to save for her holidays', the report then noted that her parents were:

> Respectable, industrious, reliable parents who are hurt and shocked by this offence. They have never had any reason to doubt Vera's honesty, in fact, this offence has upset all the family and that is punishment for Vera. The family are united…Vera B has a good background and her parents are capable of giving her the moral support she needs, and in view of the girl's attitude, I am sure she will never forget her appearance before the Court.[38]

The qualities that constituted good character for individuals – moral probity and a disciplined work ethic – also applied to the family unit as a whole. Clearly, the spotlight was firmly put on families by probation officers as well when making their recommendations; showing that there was a decent family for the young adult woman to return to was an important part of the way magistrates were persuaded.

Demonstrating a mature attitude over the offence could be made to look more commendable when contrasted with previous rebellious behaviour. This was the basis for not intervening in the case involving the 21-year-old Margaret T whose new-found respect for her parents was put in stark contrast to her earlier decision to leave home.[39] Following her conviction for 'Larceny as Servant of £70 (Larceny of approx. £28.18.11d T.I.C.)', Miss D. Wild (Essex Probation Area) began her SER by drawing attention to Margaret T's previous lack of submissiveness. This was mixed with concerns about her sexuality regarding her choice of boyfriend and decision to leave home:

> Mr and Mrs T describe Margaret as a sensible girl who as a child developed normally and was amenable to discipline. There was no sign of conflict in this home until a few years ago when Margaret started courting. This caused some disagreement in the family, for example over Margaret keeping late hours. On her twentieth birthday Margaret left home. It was a somewhat abrupt departure which upset her parents. Margaret says that her main reasons for leaving were her desire to be nearer to her boy friend (whose home is in Kent) and to try an independent way of life.[40]

However, suggesting that the present offence could be dismissed as an aberration caused by a desire to 'buy expensive Christmas presents and also to pay her rent…which was a few weeks in arrears', as

[37] Evidence Book, MHJR, 6th December 1963 – 19th February 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/260, p. 201.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[39] Evidence Book, MHJR, 2nd January 1961 – 20th February 1961, LMA CLA/004/07/240, p. 86.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

well as noting her maturity regarding her determination to make restitution, the SER encouraged not intervening by drawing favourable attention to her decision to move back home and live with her parents. In doing so, the probation officer suggested that gender norms had been re-established and Margaret T was once again suitably submissive to her parents:

> Margaret would now like to return home. Her parents tell me that they are agreeable and would be happy to have her back. Margaret would share a bedroom with her youngest sister, aged 14. Margaret says that she has been thinking of returning home for some time but the present trouble has increased her desire. She feels that lodgings are rather comfortless and sometimes lonely, especially when she is unwell. Mr and Mrs T are confident that they would be able to treat Margaret as an adult and discuss with her in a reasonable manner any difficulties which might arise.[41]

Similar to Currant and Christine B, above, where probation officers had been advocating continued supervision for single women who were already on probation, SERs could not reasonably say that they were dealing with model citizens. Nevertheless, reports could sometimes indicate that there was an improving underlying submissiveness, even if on the surface there appeared only to be challenging behaviour. For example, searching for a reason to justify continued supervision for the 17-year-old Ann H after her latest court appearance ('larceny of £5'), in addition to indicating that the offence was caused by her depression at the time (as well as pointing out previous psychiatric help which added to a perception that her sexuality was somehow to blame), Miss C. D. Elliot (Division of Beacontree), noted the following while highlighting her maturity and regret over her latest theft:

> The defendant has made a fairly good response to probation, and has been able to talk about her personal problems. She has always been very much attached to her parents, at the same time resenting their reasonable requirements about coming home at specified times, and working locally. The parents realise that Ann is more suitable for a local factory job, than for office work…I have discussed the possibility of placing Ann in an Approved Probation Hostel, but she has a good home and responsible parents (practising Roman Catholics) who are willing to continue to help her, and Ann is anxious to return home if allowed to do so. She is also anxious to be given an opportunity to repay the stolen money. [42]

By highlighting her parents' respectability, the report added to a sense that she ultimately came from a good background and that another chance on probation was entirely reasonable and desirable.

In contrast, when some form of intervention was considered necessary, either by probation supervision or something else, one of the ways that this was often encouraged was by noting an immature attitude over the offence itself. In drawing attention to this, however, lack of submissiveness to parents was often highlighted to make such recommendations more compelling. For example, following the 19-year-old Dorothy B's suicide attempt, one of her probation officers, M. E. Talliss

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[41] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[42] Evidence Book, GJR, 13th March 1964 – 29th April 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/475, p. 95.

(Staffordshire Combined Areas Probation Committee) indicated that some kind of institutionalisation was needed and encouraged this by noting that:

> Mrs B is considerably upset by this and I understand that neither she, nor any other member of the family can believe that Dorothy has attempted to take her own life…although she is a girl who tends to like the limelight and is often attention demanding. Mr and Mrs B are willing to do anything they can to help Dorothy although from records and knowledge it is evident that they have been singularly unsuccessful in controlling their daughter in late years. They are good, respectable people and have a comfortable home but Dorothy has never liked the discipline and has been anxious to be off elsewhere…It is fair to report that even on the last occasion after leaving the Probation Home, Dorothy was most unsettled at home and made several attempts to get away[43]

Although all of the examples so far have been instances where the probation officer had found the families in question relatively satisfactory, it would be a mistake to assume that this was always the case. Sometimes probation officers found the material and emotional standards at the single woman's home inadequate and this could be invoked creatively in reports in order to justify various recommendations. Wendy C, aged 16, is an example where her lack of submissiveness, although it was heavily criticised and formed the basis for intervention, was not invoked in order to disparage her as was the case involving Dorothy B, above.[44] Instead, Wendy C's challenging behaviour (not to mention sexual promiscuity) was blamed on her indulgent parents for failing to adequately rear their daughter:

> Wendy appeared before the Rochford Juvenile Court in January 1962, having run away from home and following her association with a lad with whom she had been having sexual intercourse. It appeared at the time that the parents were weak and had indulged Wendy, and had failed to be able to keep very much control over the hours, or the company, she kept. They had also failed to get her to go to work and apparently gave her odd amounts of money frequently. During the period of supervision Wendy did not respond too well and her parents continued the habit of giving her money when she said she was looking for work. It does appear also that Wendy has been in the habit of drinking. The parents did admit to me that they had been inclined to protect Wendy from the supervising officer.[45]

Attributing her delinquency to poor parenting seems to have been part of a wider strategy to question her culpability in the offence. However, to help justify supervision rather than anything more severe, the report was also keen to stress that there was some evidence of submissiveness. It noted, for example, her favourable attitude on remand, 'I visited Wendy at Cumberlow Lodge Remand Home where it was stated by the staff that her behaviour was generally good and co-operative and that she showed particular prowess and interest in games, apparently because she was anxious to do well and

[43] Evidence Book, MHJR, 6th October 1961 – 18th November 1961, LMA CLA/004/07/245, p. 184.
[44] Evidence Book, GJR, 24th October 1962 – 7th December 1962, LMA CLA/005/06/465, p. 3.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

to prove she could win.'[46] Although this demonstrates that physicality could be linked to definitions of appropriate femininity for young women, nevertheless her probation officer believed that supervision was desperately called for as the report continued to explain: 'In view of her general immature attitude to life I would feel a long term of Probation might be in her interests.'[47] In particular, the report drew attention to her lack of maturity over the offence. In doing so, the report indicated that overall a submissive femininity was distinctly lacking:

> In my interview with her I formed the opinion she was rather immature and not taking the offence and the Court appearance as seriously as she might. She seemed to place the responsibility on the men involved rather than see where she was wrong. She also seemed to take quite lightly the fact that she was already under supervision, and when I reminded her she had not done very well under supervision, particularly regarding her staying out late and her poor work record, she was full of excuses…I do not feel she made every effort she could to find work and to stay in it. Unfortunately, she seems determined to pursue the relationship with one of the men charged in the present offences, who is at present in prison but due to be discharged in 6 months time.[48]

Sensible leisure pursuits were another important area where probation officers could simultaneously indicate evidence of maturity and submissiveness. This is an area which has received more historical attention with Selina Todd's research on young working-class women in the interwar period and how paid work structured their access to leisure.[49] With regards to delinquency, Louise Jackson has explored the anxieties amongst the police about the affluent youth and the perceived moral danger of coffee clubs in 1960s Manchester.[50] In light of these findings, it is not surprising that when it came to leisure time, evidence of parental control and/or home-centred pleasure met with qualified approval from women probation officers – as it did also for single men. Indeed, this was often pointed out in cases where the probation officer felt that the offender could be dealt with sufficiently by a caution or small fine. For example, having shown that the 17-year-old Lesley F came from a good home and indicated that the theft of platinum discs from her employer was nothing more than an aberration caused by the traumatic breakup with her boyfriend, Mrs W. D. Cridland (North East London Probation & After-Care Service), justified a caution partly on the basis of her leisure time, 'The defendant impresses as a quiet inoffensive girl. She states that her friends are mostly ones she has known since her early school days, and they are also well known to the family.'[51] One of the ways that Miss M. Overton (The Inner London Probation & After-Care Service) encouraged a small fine after Carole D, aged 17, was convicted for 'Receiving £213' was also by indicating her

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[49] Selina Todd, 'Young Women, Work, and Leisure in Interwar England', *The Historical Journal*, 48 (2005), pp. 789-809.
[50] Jackson, '"The Coffee Club Menace" Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-War Manchester', pp. 289 – 308.
[51] Evidence Book, MHJR, 24th October 1969 – 31st December 1969, LMA CLA/004/07/288, p. 46.

submissiveness to her parents in relation to her leisure pursuits, 'She rarely goes out in the evenings but if she does so is back at a reasonable hour. I understand she is quite helpful in the home now that her mother is no longer there.' (The report also highlighted her good home, her previous good behaviour and work ethic, but suggested that the offence stemmed from the upset following her parents' separation.)[52]

In contrast, where intervention was deemed necessary, discussing how single women unwisely spent their leisure time could provide a wider platform in which to highlight immaturity and lack of submissiveness at home. In the case involving Dorothy B, for example, Miss E. M. Bleby (City of Birmingham Probation Service), advocated a spell in a convent plus probation supervision after her attempted suicide. Her dislike of organised Youth Clubs and preference to roam the streets was taken to symbolise Dorothy B's more general immature and rebellious character, including a poor work ethic and lack of self-control:

> It would appear that her parents have done their best to help Dorothy, but…she is unable to settle at home. Her other sisters have gone…to Youth Clubs, but although encouraged to do so, Dorothy has never wanted to go with them. She appears to have a grudge against her father because he sent her to work in a mill when she left school…Dorothy has always been a difficult girl. Her mother described her in 1953 as wayward and always wanting to do the opposite to whatever was suggested, inclined to roam the streets late at night and unable to concentrate or settle to anything. The Warden of Maryhill Probation Home reported that Dorothy had a violent temper, was a very slow worker, and was sometimes very withdrawn…She complains of being lonely, but when introduced to a Youth Club made no effort to make friends. She has been very unsettled while in Birmingham, but could make no suggestion of anything she would like better. She tells me that she is never very happy anywhere. On some occasions she has been willing at least to listen to advice, and even to ask for it, but her moods of lethargy, alternating with completely unpredictable activity, make her very difficult to help. She seems to have no sense of responsibility and very little thought for anyone but herself.[53]

Although probation officers could be just as critical as Jackson found with the police regarding coffee clubs and other unsupervised places of youth culture[54], at the same time it seems that probation officers could also appreciate that these venues provided a means of escape for some individuals from unhappy homes. The case involving the 17-year-old Eileen C is a case in point.[55] Although intervention was considered necessary in order to help her develop 'qualities of character' after she had stolen from her employer, the report did not condemn Eileen C for frequenting clubs. Instead, her attendance at these venues was characterised sympathetically as symptomatic of an unhappy home, 'her spare time is spent somewhat unprofitably at jazz clubs and dances. She enjoys these to some extent but regards them chiefly as a means of occupying her time away from home,

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[52] Evidence Book, GJR, 2nd June 1969 – 23rd July 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/514, p. 186.
[53] Evidence Book, MHJR, 6th October 1961 – 18th November 1961, LMA CLA/004/07/245, p. 184.
[54] Jackson, '"The Coffee Club Menace" Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-War Manchester', pp. 289 – 308.
[55] Evidence Book, GJR, 5th May 1960 – 27th June 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/442, p. 39.

where she is ill at ease if not unhappy…This girl's difficulties are largely due to her loneliness and compensatory over-spending on clothing and pleasure.'[56] It seems probation officers could therefore bridge the gap between those in authority like the police on the one hand who problematized the club scene, and young people on the other who saw them as a form of entertainment or escape.[57]

Were middle-class single women portrayed any differently in their SERs? Unlike their male equivalents, being destined to housewifery and motherhood, there was never any real expectation that the middle-class single woman had a bright future ahead of them in the sense of a potential career to look forward to. This was reflected in sociological studies at the time.[58] Instead, their reports were much more like those of working-class single women. Respectable femininity was therefore also based on submissiveness to parents. Nevertheless, the family's respectability could still be invoked persuasively in reports to try and persuade magistrates. When Gloria B, aged 18, was convicted for stealing two diamond rings, Miss L. M. Phillips (North East London Probation Service), advocated supervision in order to help her 'talk over her difficulties'.[59] Pushing for a Probation Order, the SER emphasised the family's respectable background alongside Gloria B's usual submissiveness:

> The Bs appear a very respectable family who have lived in Walthamstow 7 years and "keep themselves to themselves". Mr B is proud of his work record; his last job as a Chief Shop Inspector he held for 15 years…Mrs B…is Treasurer of a local…Association which occupies a lot of her time…They are shattered and bewildered about the offence and are very conscious of the stigma socially and in relation to Mrs B's Treasurer's job. They have brought up their children on strict moral standards…She has few friends at home, but a steady boy friend known since she was a school girl. She likes to sit and knit and paint. She has to be in by 11 p.m. and has no latchkey of her own as her parents worry about possible difficulties if too much freedom is given. Gloria agrees a key is unnecessary.[60]

Submissiveness could be highlighted within a broad discussion of sensible hobbies such as Youth Clubs which were taken as an indicator of maturity for young women as it had been for young men. For example, when Beverley E, aged 17, was convicted for 'Larceny of ring value £9', the probation officer advocated supervision because her behaviour was 'not in accordance with the standards of her background'[61]:

> the offence seems very much out of character in their family. Beverley appears to get on quite well with her father, and speaks with affection of her younger sister. She is certainly fond of her mother…her parents encouraged her to take up ballroom dancing and the piano. Beverley has had two jobs locally which she left as both she and her parents felt

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[57] Jackson, '"The Coffee Club Menace" Policing Youth, Leisure and Sexuality in Post-War Manchester', p. 304.
[58] Willmott and Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb,* p. 77. See also, Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society,* p. 205; Alan Jackson, *The Middle Classes, 1900-1950,* (Nairn, 1991), p. 117.
[59] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st February 1966 – 4th May 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/490, p. 144.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[61] Evidence Book, MHJR, 8th October 1964 – 10th December 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/264, p. 110.

> they were unsatisfactory. Beverley belongs to a local Youth Club, in which she takes an active part; she is interested in becoming a Youth Leader in the future. She has a boy-friend, whom she has known for two years and who visits the home as weekends.[62]

There was a similar narrative in the 17-year-old Christine W's SER after her conviction for 'Larceny'.[63] Miss H. B. M. Leatherland (Essex Probation Area) signalled her submissiveness in relation to boyfriends as well as in the amount of leisure time she spent with her parents. This included her attendance at church, which reflected approval of membership of organised religion and its perceived social controls over young people. For example, explaining why intervention was not necessary for Christine W, in addition to dismissing the offence as a 'momentary temptation produced by her anxiety about her own financial situation', the report argued that:

> She has never given any reason for concern at home. Her parents tell me she is helpful, obedient and does not keep late hours. She attends shorthand classes one evening a week and goes to old time dancing (often with her parents) another evening and perhaps also on Saturday. She and her parents attend the local Baptist Church. Christine is not going out with a boy friend at present but tells me she has done so and has always been encouraged to bring friends of either sex home.[64]

Of course, as has been shown elsewhere, girls could be perceived as vulnerable on account of their sexuality. There could be fears about predatory men leading them astray, for example.[65] This form of sexual danger sometimes appeared in SERs although not always for reasons of intervention. In the case involving Ann H, aged 19, who had been convicted for 'larceny of money', Miss D. Wild (Essex Probation Committee), who did not regard supervision as necessary, emphasised that although she had previously been corrupted by an older man, the fact that she had regained her submissiveness to her parents was enough for the Probation Service not to get involved on this occasion:

> Mr and Mrs H have never found Ann to be dishonest at home and she has presented no major behaviour problems. They were rather worried about her two years ago when, at the age of 16, she was going out with a man of 35 who kept her out late at night. They eventually insisted on Ann giving up this friendship and although Ann was upset at the time, she does not seem to have harboured any resentment against her parents…Her parents describe Ann as rather tomboyish. She has always been an "outdoor girl" and is a keen cyclist. She belongs to a local cycling club.[66]

Being able to discuss parents that were able to successfully intervene and terminate their daughter's inappropriate relationships was therefore a powerful way to demonstrate evidence of Ann H's submissiveness. This was highlighted at the same time as demonstrating her good conduct at home,

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[62] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[63] Evidence Book, MHJR, 11th October 1963 – 5th December 1963, LMA CLA/004/07/259, p. 24.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[65] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 151
[66] Evidence Book, MHJR, 4th April 1961 – 26th May 1961, LMA CLA/004/07/242, p. 161.

sensible leisure pursuits, work ethic, and regret over the court appearance (a caution was further encouraged by indicating that her offence was an aberration linked to recent anxiety in the family home (mother in hospital)).[67]

Unsurprisingly, parents that could not adequately control their daughters, especially over their choice of boyfriends, could be singled out for requiring supervision. For example, as her SER indicated in its conclusion, Sandra C, aged 19, needed intervention as 'she may easily become caught between conflicting ties, and various influences' following her conviction for two counts of 'fraudulent conversion of £5'.[68] Pushing for probation supervision, the SER constructed a compelling narrative that characterised Sandra C as someone lacking a submissive femininity and, worse still, was easily influenced by older men:

> Sandra left home in August 1963…there had previously been arguments over Sandra coming in late, disturbing her mother and young sisters…She lost her job at a local firm and started as a barmaid in the cocktail bar of a local hotel. Her parents…felt that her training as a G.P.O. telephonist was being wasted and that her hours of work would be difficult for the family to live with. Following this Sandra left home[69]

The report then invoked a fear that Sandra C was in sexual danger. In particular, it was revealed that while living away from home she had formed an inappropriate relationship with an older man. Although she eventually returned home, her parents had been unable to terminate this relationship. To make matters worse, and further support intervention, the probation officer then strongly indicated that it was Sandra C's infatuation with older men that was ultimately behind her delinquency:

> While working at the hotel she met her present boy friend, a man in his early thirties with two children of his previous marriage…She has kept in contact with her parents while away and when they heard of her offence and impending Court appearance they insisted that she returned home. She was reluctant to do this at first, but…she agreed…the previous causes for friction still exist and I feel that the relationship between her and her parents may become strained at times…Mr and Mrs C…are still very much aware of the age difference between him and Sandra. Sandra appears to have always felt closer to her father than her mother, and this may be reflected in her choice of boy friend, as she is influenced by somebody older than herself…Her offence appears to have arisen at the instigation of a friend in his thirties to whom she states that she gave the money stolen. She now realises that there is no hope of recovering it[70]

Finally, employment records and work ethic were another way in which evidence of maturity and submissiveness could simultaneously be drawn out in SERs. This was reflected in Christine B's SER written by Currant, above. As part of making a positive case for continued supervision, Christine B was shown to have developed submissiveness at home as well as an excellent attitude to work.

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[67] *Ibid.*, p. 161.
[68] Evidence Book, GJR, 29th December 1964 – 10th February 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/482, p. 141.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

Indeed, to make the narrative more compelling, this positive development was shown from the perspective of her satisfied mother, 'She is also now on better terms with her family. The mother confirms this and says Christine is in good work as a canteen assistant.'[71] Probation officers highlighted maturity and submissiveness in relation to work ethic in other creative ways. When Gloria B, aged 18, was convicted for 'theft' and 'handling stolen goods', Mrs B. J. Milo, (North East London Probation & After-Care Service) advocated supervision as it was her 'first court appearance' and it was her 'intention to return home and seek work.'[72] Pushing for this recommendation, the SER constructed a persuasive narrative that linked her rediscovered work ethic with her rediscovered submissiveness:

> In interview with Mr and Mrs C they told me that Gloria was lazy. Mr C has maintained regular employment as a painter and decorator, and Mrs C, before her marriage to Mr C, worked long hours as a bus conductress, and Gloria's attitude to work was alien to them. This was the major cause of friction within the home. Matters reached a climax on the 11th September this year when Mr C told Gloria to leave the home. Both Mr and Mrs C have expressed their concern over the situation Gloria now finds herself in and want her to return home…In interview at Holloway prison Gloria appeared very repentant and her stay there has been a traumatic experience for her. She has had time to reflect on her past behaviour and can now understand that her laziness has created problems within the home setting. She now obviously realises the need for a secure home background. There is nothing to indicate that she has had a bad relationship with her stepfather, who has apparently drawn no distinction between Gloria and her half-sister.[73]

A poor work ethic could be regarded as symptomatic of immaturity as well as a lack of submissiveness. The case involving Kay R, aged 18, who had a history of soliciting and had already been under supervision when she was convicted for 'Larceny £82', demonstrates that, in order to build a strong case to have her removed to a hostel, her poor work ethic was used as a platform by her probation officer, Miss I. M. Barrington (The London Probation Service), to highlight other aspects of her poor character. Indeed, besides her immaturity and lack of submissiveness, Kay R also apparently lacked self-control and was sexually promiscuous:

> Whilst Kay was in the Approved School…she was erratic, unpredictable and veered without warning from good to bad. When Kay first returned to her parents she settled down quite well but after a few months became moody and unsettled. I suggested she might feel happier if she were not working with her parents and although Kay agreed to this she did not make any real effort to find another job. From time to time there were scenes at home when the parents tried to advise Kay that it would be in her own interest to keep away from undesirable companions but she does not take advice. Since Kay has left home she has telephoned me several times and given me various addresses but when I have visited them she has not been there. In October I visited Kay in Holloway Prison and she assured me that she intended to get regular employment and would let me know her address. When I saw Kay during this period of remand she told me she had lived in

[71] Evidence Book, MHJR, 10th May 1965 – 30th July 1965, LMA CLA/004/07/267, p. 24.
[72] Evidence Book, MHJR, 11th November 1970 – 22nd January 1971, LMA CLA/004/07/293, p. 69.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

> Notting Hill and had been earning her living by prostitution. She said she decided to get away from this sort of life so went to a hostel in the Commercial Road area of London and got a job as a cashier in a local warehouse. On her second day in this employment Kay tells me she stole the £82 because her boyfriend had threatened to harm her if she did not get him some money.[74]

Indeed, this was part of a broader narrative recommending the removal of Kay R to a hostel. The SER had also indicated that there may have been an underlying psychiatric condition running in the family accounting for her delinquency. This was perhaps raised in mitigation for her delinquency and to further support her removal to a hostel rather than imprisonment.[75] A final point to make about this particular case, it seems that when advocating further support for women involved in prostitution, probation officers Miss I. M. Barrington, no doubt aware that the criminal justice system was more ready to convict prostitutes[76], deliberately avoided directly labelling women as such. Instead, as Kay R's report suggests, they characterised soliciting as a behavioural problem. Nevertheless, drawing attention to sexual promiscuity was important in order to justify continued support on probation, as had been the case with other welfare institutions in earlier periods of history.[77]

It seems therefore that on the whole, with their preoccupation with submissive femininity, and concerns about maturity and work ethic – not to mention potential concerns about single women being in sexual danger – the pre-war and second career women probation officers had similar values and motivations when it came to reform and rehabilitation as the practitioners in certified institutions for girl delinquents.[78] However, how did SERs by psychodynamic probation officers compare to what has been seen so far?

Single Women: The Psychodynamic Probation Officers

How different were the university graduates from the pre-war and second career generation of probation officers? Drawing attention to Marjory Todd, who worked as a probation officer in London in the 1950s, D'Cruze and Jackson pointed out that she was aware that 'her university education as well as the status attached to her work had separated her from the working class which she had been born'.[79] Todd, it was argued, used her personal reflections 'as a warning against smugness and self-righteousness.'[80] It was suggested that it was her ability to cross classes that had sparked this recognition. Her comments were far-removed from the assumptions of Victorian 'lady visitors' that their natural superiority would prompt imitation in others. For Todd, 'superiority' was acquired as

[74] Evidence Book, GJR, 4th November 1960 – 9th December 1960, LMA CLA/005/06/447, p. 59.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[76] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 66.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 75.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

'different standards of taste, wider horizons, [and] better powers of reasoning' created social divisions.[81]

Based on reminiscences such as Todd's, as well as other mid-twentieth century practitioners from approved schools and the police, it was suggested that 'women's identity as criminal justice practitioners was fractured when the mechanism of social distancing was challenged and they lost a clear sense of their professional legitimacy.'[82] It is important not to take this too far, however. As was highlighted in the introductory chapter, probation officers had always been acutely aware of their morally ambiguous position between serving the courts on the one hand, and helping the offender on the other, regardless of their own particular social background. Nevertheless, as was also discussed in the introductory chapter, there is no doubt that as a cohort the university graduates typically regarded the postwar justice system as punitive, anachronistic and inadequate in a way that was probably not shared by their older colleagues. Can we therefore expect an altogether different approach by the female university graduates in the way that they tried to influence magistrates in SERs?

The interviews suggest that there would be good reasons for thinking so. Joining the Probation Service in the early 1960s after graduating from Leicester, Anne Vickers and Irene Walters were typical examples of the graduate entrants at the time. Talking about the emphasis on psychoanalysis in her training, Anne highlighted the tendency of the university graduates to focus on the individual, their welfare, and to help them overcome whatever particular problems they had in order to stop them offending, 'I actually think in some respects our training was slightly mad. But the benefits of it…well the benefits of it at one level were you certainly didn't take things superficially. Another benefit though was I think…we were really interested in people as individuals and not so inclined to see them as types really. We really focused on this individual'.[83] It is easy to see how this focus on the individual could be interpreted as permissive when one considers the recollection of Irene Walters and her supervision of a middle-class prostitute. Whereas others would have regarded prostitution *per se* as problematic and requiring intervention, Irene could differentiate between individuals who had opted into the sex trade to provide a decent standard of living and those who had been coerced by drug addiction, for example:

> I always saw myself as a social worker and would just, you know, deal with them as individuals. I had one prostitute who was middle-class and she really didn't disclose very much about herself at all. She was determined that I should lay off her. But she came to see me as she should, and she was quite clear that…she was a single parent at this stage, she had a very nice flat for which she was paying quite a lot of money in rent, and she sent her daughter to boarding school, and she had to earn the money, and she was doing very nicely thank you very much, by being able to afford all that. So she wasn't one of the chaotic ones.[84]

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[83] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.
[84] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.

There are two important points to make about this before one considers SERs by university graduates. First, the fact that the above mentioned middle-class prostitute had ended up on probation suggests that magistrates did not share Irene's point of view; second, it is unclear at what stage in her career Irene had supervised the above individual and whether or not her opinions had been shaped in any way by the Women's Liberation movement which began in the late sixties.[85] With the advent of the Women's Liberation movement there is reason to expect that some kind of significant change took place in the way single women were represented in SERs. As Will Watson explained, it seems that feminism had a big impact on the Probation Service:

> The whole thing about whether you were a woman or man, only sort of became a big issue in the…late sixties – women's lib. And so actually looking back, a lot of women had difficulty in the Probation Service from 1970 onwards…Well…feminism. I don't think feminism was around when Georgie Stafford was training, or Kay Brown say, in the 1950s. Feminism was not a big thing. When you became a probation officer, your sexuality was irrelevant…and then feminism came in and ho-golly! I can talk to you about feminist issues!…but I think a lot of the women had difficulty…With the Service and feeling valued as a woman.[86]

Feminism in probation is reflected in a number of later articles in the *Probation Journal*.[87] Indeed, it was because the authors anticipated a partial reconfiguring of ideas about gender and sexuality with the rise of feminism in the late sixties that *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660* ended its analysis around 1960.[88]

Sadly, none of Irene and Anne's SERs have survived in the Evidence Books so it is difficult to say how differently they represented individuals in reports (though Anne said that she filtered out psychoanalysis in order to avoid irritating magistrates, suggesting that her SERs would not have looked different from those of her older colleagues – see chapter two). Nevertheless, there are a number of reports on single women that contain a psychodynamic perspective. To what extent therefore were the reports by the psychodynamic probation officers different to what has been seen so far?

First, the case involving Trixie Neuburger acts as an important reminder that although the university graduates tended to regard second career probation officers as lacking their professional standards, some would have inevitably received and embraced the psychodynamic approach. Having been a WAAF Corporal and a former secretary on the Mirror Group of Newspapers, Trixie (Kent

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[85] Elizabeth Wilson, *Only Halfway to Paradise: Women in Postwar Britain, 1945-1968*, (London, 1980); Alison Oram, 'Little by Little? Arena Three and Lesbian Politics in the 1960s', in Marcus Collins (ed.), *The Permissive Society and its Enemies, Sixties British Culture*, (London, 2007), pp. 62-79.
[86] Interview with Will Watson, recorded by JL, London, 7 March 2012.
[87] Beth Coulthard, 'Training is a Feminist Issue', *Probation Journal*, 41 (1994), pp. 222-223; Lisa Wright and Hazel Kemshall, 'Feminist Probation Practice: Making Supervision Meaningful', *Probation Journal*, 41 (1994), pp. 73-80; Elizabeth Lancaster, 'Feminist Theory and Probation Practice', *Probation Journal*, 45 (1998), pp. 208-212.
[88] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 3.

Probation Service), seems to have been a typical second career probation officer.[89] However, as her comments on Jean S, aged 17, suggests after her conviction for 'Larceny of purse from fellow employee', she also had a psychodynamic understanding of delinquency.[90] For example, summing up why intervention would help overcome her problems, which had apparently stemmed from a disturbed upbringing (alcoholic and abusive father who eventually left home), the report noted that: 'Possibly Jean is at an age when any latent problems of personality and behaviour due to a disturbed upbringing and unstable background, are likely to emerge.'[91] Clearly, however, 'latent problems of personality' was just another way of pointing out a lack of submissiveness at home:

> Jean has worked in four offices since completing her training, and for some weeks in a café in Lewisham without her mother's knowledge…Mrs S says of Jean that she is an introvert, and sensitive; she is inclined to have her head in the clouds, lives for the moment, and is not one to plan ahead. She says Jean has always been obsessively tidy, but only superficially so in that the surface appearance of things is more important to her than what is not visible…the mother…does not approve of her appearance, of some of her associates and of her leisure time activities which, apart from a weekly visit to a Youth Club with her sister, seem to be somewhat aimless. Jean thinks she is picked on and criticised for the slightest thing. She appears to feel a closer affinity with her father than with her mother. Mrs S is concerned at the lack of communication between herself and Jean.[92]

It seems that despite her psychodynamic discourse, Trixie was no different from the other pre-war and second probation officers seen so far. From her questionable work ethic and inappropriately spent leisure time to her physicality, the report was critical of her apparent immaturity and lack of submissiveness to her mother; it was indicated that supervision would help overcome these problems. This demonstrates that a psychodynamic approach cannot automatically be assumed as evidence of permissiveness. However, with her second career background, was Trixie nothing more than a probation oddity with a bizarre twist of old-fashioned values and psychoanalysis?

Although without being able to identify them from secondary sources it is always possible that they belonged to an older generation, it does seem that other psychodynamic probation officers also ultimately based their recommendations on evidence of submissive femininity. For example, advocating a period of supervision for Pamela T, aged 18, to provide her with 'the support and guidance she requires' after her conviction for '3 charges of stealing cash and cosmetics', Mrs S. E. Lunn (Bedfordshire Probation And After-Care Service) revealed her psychodynamic perspective on the root cause of her offence, 'Pamela's behaviour pattern shows some signs of her suffering emotional deprivation. Her own father died at an important period in her life and was replaced by a

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[89] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 4.
[90] Evidence Book, MHJR, 27th April 1964 – 30th June 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/262, p. 67.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 67.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

step-father with whom she could not relate.'[93] Making a positive case for supervision, in addition to noting her good work ethic, Lunn highlighted Pamela T's submissive femininity, 'Home conditions are good with a Mother who is keen to encourage Pamela into settling down at home and the future looks satisfactory. The girl herself is completely baffled by her behaviour and eager to accept help and advice in an effort to resolve her complex problems.'[94]

Mrs M. E. Dando (Essex Probation Area) recommended supervision for Andrea C, aged 21, in order to provide her with 'some support and guidance' after her conviction for 'Forgery'.[95] As well as demonstrating how psychodynamic probation officers could be concerned with the physicality of individuals, Dando indicated that there was a psychodynamic dimension to her delinquency. This was reflected in her immature leisure pursuits:

> When seen at home, Andrea had the appearance and dress of a much younger girl and I think it could be said that she has also immature attitudes. Her obvious need for excitement in her life, such as that of clubs, dances, parties, etc. in London is to some extent that often displayed in younger, more adolescent girls, and it could be a stage that she will grow through. This need may arise from some emotional difficulty and she does appear to be somewhat unstable.[96]

Although it was believed that Andrea C would need to learn to stand on her own two feet away from her parents, the report nevertheless pointed out favourably her submissiveness at home, as well as the respectability of her parents, in order to attempt to persuade the magistrate:

> The father is a postman by occupation and appears to be an extremely honest person who is most shocked by his daughter's Court appearance. Like his wife, he is a practising Catholic. There seems a good relationship between him and his daughter…Andrea has obviously been attracted for some time by the "bright lights" of London and…appears to have lived on and off in London for some time and has probably returned home for reasons of finding it too expensive to live away from home. She appears, however, to be on good and friendly terms with her parents and they are always willing to have her living with them…Andrea tells me that she intends to live at home at present and continue with her employment in London. Her parents are quite happy for this arrangement to continue as long as she wishes.[97]

Mrs M. N. L. Robertson (Middlesex Combined Probation Area) revealed her psychodynamic perspective on Sylvia B, aged 25, following her latest court appearance ('Larceny of cheque book and obtaining money by fraud'): 'she does tell lies and this she now sees as being part of her personality problem, and there has been an overall lack of emotional response. This may well tie up with early psychological reports which suggest that she is a psychopathic personality, and therefore incapable of

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[93] Evidence Book, MHJR, 9th September 1970 – 10th November 1970, LMA CLA/004/07/292, p. 103.
[94] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[95] Evidence Book, GJR, 25th April 1967 – 17th June 1967, LMA CLA/005/06/498, p. 76.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

learning from experience.'[98] Although Sylvia B had been living away from home for some time, part of the way that the SER justified a further period of supervision was by drawing attention to her submissiveness to her parents, 'She tells me she is fond of her parents…Sylvia has not lived in her parent's home, apart from visits, since 1958…She has, however, kept in touch with her people.'[99] Robertson also highlighted her parents' respectability following Sandra C falling pregnant to an older man: she 'went home to her people who of course did not approve of her relationship with Mr H.'[100]

In those relatively rare occasions in which male psychodynamic probation officers wrote reports on single women, did they also demonstrate evidence of submissive femininity in order to persuade magistrates? First, the common perception that women offenders were generally treated far more leniently than men because of 'gendered assumptions about their vulnerability as well as a pragmatic desire not to separate mothers from their children' was one which many of the male probation officers interviewed agreed with.[101] As Jim Cannings recalled:

> I think…appearing in court, there was a tendency to say "Oh it's a woman" and to sentence more lightly, I think, that's not a scientific observation, it's just an impressionistic one…I think women…could play the weak female card. A few tears and…magistrates would lower their defences…I can remember a judge taking out his handkerchief and giving it to a woman defendant once she started crying.[102]

Second, even after the legal bar was dropped in the late sixties, there was still a tendency of men not to supervise women. John Walters believed 'gender politics' played a part in this, 'There was an assumption that…women under supervision were going to be very difficult because they were seen as fairly crazy and so on, and also there was a bit of gallantry towards women probation officers who would have protected caseloads. So there's lots of interesting gender politics in that.'[103] There is therefore reason to expect that male psychodynamic probation officers would have been influenced by gender stereotypes when writing reports on single women. As Gerry Matthews explained:

> At the beginning there would certainly be the elements of that yes. "There's a woman here, and a mother, she's only stolen because she's in dire straits." And again I imagine it's probably a sort of reflection of a society…You know, women were mothers, then, or were on the way to becoming mothers…They often did have responsibilities as well which is part of it – children…but they were still looked on as the oddities, the odd ones. They didn't do that kind of thing.[104]

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[98] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st February 1966 – 4th May 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/490, p. 3.
[99] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[101] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 23.
[102] Interview with Jim Cannings, recorded by JL, Boston Spa, 11 July 2012.
[103] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012.
[104] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.

In the light of these findings it is perhaps unsurprising that male psychodynamic probation officers also based their recommendations on evidence of submissive femininity. The case involving the 21-year-old Angela B shows that fears of single women being in sexual danger could be invoked persuasively to help make more urgent cases for intervention.[105] For example, when he advocated Angela B leave London after her latest court appearance for 'theft by deception', the Senior Probation Officer, D. J. Powell (Balham Court, South Western PSD), indicated that there was a psychodynamic dimension to her long history of delinquency, 'there were many upheavals in Miss B's family which may account for Miss B showing quite serious signs of emotional disturbance from an early age…It is clear from Miss B's antecedents that she is a seriously delinquent person with evidence of disturbed behaviour over many years.'[106] The report then noted that:

> Miss B's personal maladjustment and her homosexuality seem to lead her to make friends with people whose way of life is on the fringes of society and sometimes with those who are seriously delinquent. Miss B is not a weak character but she has little resistance to temptation to dishonesty, especially if there are opportunities to obtain clothes that are particularly important to her. When interviewed in Holloway about the offence she had no real excuse to offer except that it was one of her friends who obtained the cheque book and she could not resist the offer to make use of it.[107]

Clearly, Angela B's sexuality was at the heart of the report's narrative, making her vulnerable to the malign influence of others and tempting her into offending behaviour. This is also a relatively rare instance where female homosexuality was raised and discussed in an SER. The above comments seem to reflect the growing influence of psychoanalysis in the way it transformed lesbians from figures of horror to one of pity.[108] Although her sexuality was invoked sympathetically to explain why she was a social misfit, the probation officer also drew attention to alternative evidence of submissive femininity in order to attempt to persuade the magistrate. In particular, although the report could not say that Angela B was conventionally submissive, what with her leaving home and her poor relationship with her mother, the SER instead praised her apparent domesticity and raised the hope that there was a stable home for her with a healthy maternal influence elsewhere outside London:

> I believe that she has a desire to do better and this is borne out by her encouraging response to Probation over the last year. However, lapses seem inevitable from time to time. I have not visited Miss B at home but I understand that she had made impressive efforts to make a home for herself which suffered a severe setback when she was burgled whilst on remand in Holloway. Placed on Probation for a serious offence only a year ago and now convicted of a further offence of a serious nature, Miss B realises that she may also be sent to prison. She is not at all hardened to imprisonment and fears such a

[105] Evidence Book, MHJR, 1st January 1970 – 21st March 1970, LMA CLA/004/07/289, p. 162.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[108] Oram, 'Little by Little? Arena Three and Lesbian Politics in the 1960s', p. 63; Alison Oram and Annmarie Turnbull, *The Lesbian History Sourcebook: Love and Sex between Women in Britain from 1780 to 1970*, (London, 2001).

> sentence. Should the Court consider leaving Miss B at liberty it may be felt desirable that she should leave this part of London where she has undoubtedly met many undesirable friends. She has spoken to me about a friend, Sandra E, who lives with her mother in Tolford, Shropshire, who would offer her a home.[109]

Highlighting Angela B's other recent misfortune (house burglary), her good response to probation and evidence of her submissiveness, together made for a more compelling narrative that she should be allowed to leave London rather than go to prison.

Conclusion

Scholarship on single women, particularly on 'girl delinquents', is an area which has probably received more historical attention than other categories of offenders. It seems that the pre-war and second career women probation officers were very similar in values and motivations to practitioners in other certified institutions for girls in earlier periods. Far from using their position of authority to challenge conventional gender stereotypes, they applied them and, if oral interviews are anything to go by, this probably reflected their own social values too – conceiving respectable femininity as entailing submissiveness and sexual restraint. In contrast, the female university graduates were very different from their older colleagues. As a cohort they were more critical of the justice system and preferred to concentrate on the female offender as an individual with unique problems and needs. However, when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates, the women university graduates also indicated evidence of submissive femininity. Although this was because psychodynamic officers were sometimes members of the pre-war and second career generation, oral testimonies suggest that the university graduates understood the tendency of magistrates to be socially conservative and tailored their narratives accordingly; male psychodynamic officers were no different in this respect when writing about single women. Social class did not make such a big difference to how single women were perceived by probation officers, they were all considered destined to motherhood and housewifery despite their particular backgrounds. Nevertheless, respectable family backgrounds could be highlighted in order to make recommendations more compelling. Finally, although Women's Liberation had a significant impact on the Probation Service from the late sixties onwards, there is little evidence that it impacted on the way SERs were written. More research is needed in this particular area, however. Historians need to identify and locate specific feminist officers and their SERs in order to investigate whether a political agenda was reflected in their attempts to persuade magistrates.

[109] Evidence Book, MHJR, 1st January 1970 – 21st March 1970, LMA CLA/004/07/289, p. 162.

Chapter Five: Married Women

As was outlined in the previous chapter, penal-welfare institutions historically had a gendered approach to reform that in the case of women aimed at preparing them for marriage and motherhood.[1] Women's prisons in the Victorian and inter-war period envisaged rehabilitation for inmates through training in domestic work as part of inculcating respectable femininities.[2] Although in the postwar period these institutions were usually run by professionals with psychological explanations for offending, successful rehabilitation still often entailed 'the development of respectable domestic femininity as evidence of reform'.[3] Indeed, for those who found themselves detained under the 1959 Mental Health Act, domesticity and femininity have been regarded as marks of recovery.[4] With regards to probation, Alana Barton found key continuities between the regime of a modern probation hostel, Vernon Lodge, and Victorian semi-penal institutions for women.[5] The discourses and processes through which women were labelled as 'deviant' and needing institutionalisation for the purpose of 'normalisation' were remarkably persistent over time, as was the 'dominant, hegemonic discourse constructed around idealised images of femininity.'[6] Findings such as these led D'Cruze and Jackson to conclude that since the eighteenth century, 'the social forces that have resulted in (some) women becoming subject to punishment as criminal offenders have routed others into semi-penal institutions. Whether these have been philanthropic, medicalised or educational, their reformative or curative agendas have nevertheless been realised in regimes which, like institutions for female criminal offenders, have sought to discipline women into compliant femininity.'[7] Furthermore, as the authors continued to explain:

> constructions of women as weaker have in the modern era often meant criminal behaviour has been explained through deficiencies in psychology, character or moral status, and led to the use of infantilising regimes which attempted to school them into dominant norms of femininity. Within penal and semi penal institutions, those who comply with dominant gender constructions, both women and men, have tended to be more lightly punished. The penal-system, like the law, works with often reductionist and outdated gender norms. Sanctioned femininity requires docility and deference, which then calls for particularly close surveillance and discipline. Women who are routed by the criminal justice system into punishable positions are those who seem most transgressive in their lives. Sexuality indicates or explains deviance. Additionally, women are normatively given responsibilities for homes and families. For women whose domestic lives are less

[1] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 152, 139.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 138-139.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 139.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 139.
[5] Alana Barton, *Fragile Moralities and Dangerous Sexualities: Two Centuries of Semi-Penal Institutionalisation for Women,* (Aldershot, 2005).
[6] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 152.
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 141.

> respectable, often because of social disadvantage, their social disadvantage readily translates into a gender transgression.[8]

Previous studies have shown that, with roots in earlier decades, the idealised housewife was a stereotype of femininity in the postwar decades.[9] A wife was expected to concentrate on her duties as a mother and homemaker, while it fell to her husband to earn enough money for the family to live in the expected style.[10] If, as the above mentioned historiography would suggest, femininity for married women was therefore defined according to domesticity and motherhood, did probation officers subsequently base their recommendations according to their adherence to this particular gender norm? In answering this question, as well as considering whether women probation officers challenged or reinforced conventional class and gender stereotypes, it will also look for continuities over time from the Victorian period to the postwar era in the way that women have been portrayed and managed by penal-welfare institutions.

Married Women: The Pre-War and Second Career Probation Officers

The typical social background of the pre-war and second career female probation officer was established in the previous chapter; they were usually well-educated and 'well-heeled', believing that they had a special role to perform in working with their own sex without necessarily challenging the 'male supremacy' in probation. Neither did they challenge conventional class and gender stereotypes. Moreover, joining as they did in the 1930s and early 1950s, respectively, Georgie Stafford and Irene Clarkson reflected the mid-twentieth century shift from moral to psychological explanations of offending. While the Police Court Mission's 1938 Annual Report feared that the Home Office take-over would leave the probation system as 'a machine without a soul', Georgie recalled that some of the older missionaries lamented that the service would become increasingly 'materialistic'.[11] In interview, she elaborated on her former colleagues' anxieties, 'I would have thought it was…agnostic.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[9] Benson, *The Rise of Consumer Society in Britain*, p. 71; Gunn and Bell, *Middle Classes*, p. 68-71; Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'Housewifery' in Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska (ed.), *Women in Twentieth Century Britain*, (Harlow, 2001), p. 153; Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800*, p. 205; Jackson, *The Middle Classes*, p. 117; Adrian Bingham, 'Review Essay, "An Era of Domesticity"? Histories of Women and Gender in Interwar Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004) pp. 225-233; For studies on women and citizenship in the First World War, see Claire A. Culleton, *Working-Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921*, (Basingstoke, 2000); Nicoletta Gullace, *'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War*, (New York, 2002); Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War*, (London, c1999); Susan Kingsley Kent, 'The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War I and the Demise of British Feminism', *Journal of British Studies*, 27 (1988), pp. 232-253; Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I*, (London, 1998);
[10] McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, p. 204.
[11] Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 157.

Well, yes…I think it would be more…that they were doing it for the money and not just for the job, that would have been what they were afraid of I think.'[12]

The shift away from moralistic understandings of offending was spurred by developing and disseminating psychological research. Studies on womens' offending by psychiatrists in the 1960s, for example, showed that shoplifters had typically been suffering from forms of neurosis, including depression. Most significantly, they 'suggested women were more likely to be diagnosed as mentally ill for a range of social and cultural reasons. The "social cage" of femininity, in which women were responsible for the care of the family whilst being in a position of financial dependency on husbands, meant that women were subject to far greater daily stresses.'[13] The relationship between anxiety and shoplifting, possibly as a call for help, was reflected in Georgie's recollections about working with women who had stolen from upmarket department stores in the 1930s West End:

> My mind immediately does a jump to when I started in probation which was actually in West London Magistrates' Court…we used to get umpteen shoplifters, you see, from these huge shops. And they were middle-class quite often. And we came to the conclusion that it was very often a cry for help. That it was someone whose marriage was going wrong, or was unhappy in some way about something specific, and they went and shop lifted, and it was a kind of cry for help really.[14]

Irene Clarkson framed womens' offending generally through psychological discourses which emphasised their debility rather than culpability. She also noted that many women were referred to the Tavistock Clinic because they were commonly regarded as suffering mental health problems:

> There weren't all that many women in court really, now I come to think of it. Shoplifting perhaps if they caught them. They were usually Tavvies. Tell you what, I hope they don't still do it now, but I can remember having four separate women on probation, and they were all "attempted suicide". Now, I'm not a mental health worker – you see the courts didn't know what to do with them! The first time police didn't do much; the second time they'd have to charge them. Well what the hell are you supposed to do? It's not on as a criminal offence. I don't know what they do now, perhaps they have a better method, but they'd just have them on probation, you know. They were either highly disturbed and you weren't competent to deal with it. Very, very bizarre they were.[15]

Indeed, as this chapter will demonstrate, psychological explanations were given in SERs for all kinds of other offences besides shoplifting; sometimes specific psychiatric problems were raised, at other times they were only hinted at. It seems psychiatric reports were also more commonly requested for women offenders than for males. This was perhaps used as much for mitigation in court (something solicitors actively encouraged) as it invoked popular understandings of 'kleptomania' –

[12] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.
[13] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 40-41.
[14] Interview with Georgina Stafford, recorded by JL, London, 20 April 2012.
[15] Interview with Irene Clarkson, recorded by JL, London, 7 June 2012.

the belief that women's delinquency occurred as a result of altered mental states arising from gynaecological problems, the menopause, premenstrual tension, pregnancy, sexual excitement and frustration.[16] Occasionally gynaecological issues were raised in SERs by women probation officers despite practitioners and researchers expressing scepticism in its use as a defence by the mid-twentieth-century.[17]

However, as this section will demonstrate, psychiatric discourses that emphasised debility over agency were usually only a small part of the way that the older generation of women probation officers justified intervention or not. When it came to attempting to persuade magistrates, their SERs focused on evidence of the married woman's submissive femininity. A submissive femininity entailed subordination to husbands and successful performance in their role as housewife and, if there were children as well, motherhood. This also entailed scrutinising family dynamics at home, especially to make sure that the husband had an assertive domesticated masculinity (see chapter three). As a result, when it came to suggesting that cases could be dealt with sufficiently by a caution or small fine, for example, SERs by the older generation of women officers drew attention to ample evidence of submissive femininity and that conventional gender norms were intact at home.

For example, Phyllis Skilling was first appointed to Croydon in 1944.[18] As a probation officer working in the sixties, Mike Bracken recalled her sense of duty and vocation:

> Phyllis Skilling…was 60ish and had been a probation officer for possibly 20 years at least when I arrived. (I remember her coming back from court one day saying, something like "Michael, it wasn't so bad when I got the daughter of a former client on probation, but today I got the grand-daughter. It makes you wonder whether it has all been worthwhile".)…I always had confidence in her doing a great job with her clients – she was kind, perceptive, motivated and without self-inflated ideas. Her other memorable saying was that you don't have to believe the things you think during the night.[19]

When Patricia B, aged 19, was convicted for '(1) Larceny of cheque value 2d. (2) Obtaining £20 by means of this cheque. (3) Stealing £10 and £5 from same employer', Phyllis indicated that the offence was an aberration caused by recent upheaval, 'They have found the move, the marriage and having the baby all very expensive.'[20] Suggesting a caution, however, Phyllis praised Patricia B's strength of character, especially her work ethic and determination to make the best of married life and motherhood.[21] Underlying this positive narrative therefore was the suggestion that Patricia B was suitably submissive:

> From leaving school, until the birth of her child, Mrs B worked in one office only. At present she is…taking temporary work at about £12. a week. She finds the hours

[16] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 40-41.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[18] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 6.
[19] Interview with Mike Bracken, recorded by JL, London, 16 February 2012.
[20] Evidence Book, GJR, 28th November 1968 – 13th January 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/510, p. 74.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

> shorter…and this gives her more time with the baby….In March, Patricia…married John B, 18. They had been keeping company for more than a year, but had decided to stop seeing one another for a while last Christmas. It was during this short period that Patricia found she was pregnant. She says that as soon as John knew this he wanted to marry her and she accepted him although she says her parents were very good to her and promised to help her in every possible way if she did not want to get married. They have friends in Croydon and through them found the flat they are living in.[22]

Indeed, as well as suggesting that the husband's recent ill health had probably driven Patricia B into committing the offence, one section of the report was even given over to emphasising her husband's domesticated masculinity at home. In particular, he was shown to be home-centred, hardworking, caring and family-orientated. In highlighting this, the report provided an additional reason why a caution would be sufficient as conventional gender norms had been re-established at home:

> John B – who is a sign erector…earns a basic wage of £12.12.0d but usually does overtime to augment this. He seems to be a responsible young man who is very content with his home and family. Unfortunately he has been ill for the last month or two and recently has had a spell in hospital. He has to attend as an out-patient for the next few weeks, but may be entering hospital again soon for a minor operation on his nose…The flat is in a tall house some 80 years old – it is not in good repair, but Mr B has painted and papered it and has done some plastering to make it less damp. It is clean, tidy and quite gay.[23]

As the next section will show, Phyllis set the tone for how probation officers typically attempted to persuade magistrates over married women.

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One of the most frequent ways in which probation officers highlighted evidence of strength of character and moral probity in married women was by noting their attitude to the offence. Remorse and a determination to make restitution to the loser, for example, were taken as a reliable indicator of fundamentally good character. Discussing this also provided an important opportunity to subtly draw out evidence of submissive femininity. For example, when Joyce C, aged 42, was convicted for 'Larceny as servant of £7 and £5 (5 other cases t.i.c.)', Mrs B. J. Milo (North East London Probation Service) did not consider that she was in need of supervision. It was indicated that the offence was an aberration linked to the menopause, depression and ill-health, as well as anxieties over outstanding debts and her unemployed son.[24] A caution was further justified, however, by highlighting that she was a 'hardworking woman' who was repentant and determined to make full restitution. In asserting

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[24] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th July 1968 – 20th August 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/507, p. 164.

this, the report clearly indicated that conventional gender norms were intact at home. In particular, the husband was shown to be in control of his wife whilst Joyce C was appropriately submissive:

> Mr M is regularly employed as a process worker and earns between £13 and £20 per week, according to overtime. He is a good husband and father and although Mrs M was apprehensive about telling her husband about this offence, he has accepted extremely well and is willing to do all he can to assist his wife…The marriage is a happy one…This is the first time that Mrs M has ever been involved in serious misconduct and she is fully aware of the gravity of the situation. She intends to reimburse Mr W, regardless of the outcome and Mr M intends to assist her in the responsibility of the household expenses. He has impressed by his assurance that he will do all he can to co-operate.[25]

Although Mrs L. A. Chapman (North East London Probation & After-Care Service) indicated that Rita F, aged 21, had committed her offence purely as a result of anxiety having 'found herself unable to cope with balancing the household budget after her marriage', part of the way that not intervening was justified was by drawing attention to her maturity.[26] This was primarily demonstrated in her attitude over her offence where she was described as 'deeply ashamed' and 'anxious to repay' the stolen money. This assertion was embedded, however, within a broader narrative which emphasised that conventional gender norms had been re-established at home; not only was Rita F firmly submissive but, to further assure the magistrate that future offences were unlikely, her husband was also shown to have a domesticated masculinity at home:

> Following advice from the Court, Mrs F finally told her husband of her difficulties and after an initial reaction of shock and anger he appears to have taken a constructive attitude to the situation. He admits that he is ambitious and would like to be materially successful which could have some bearing on his wife's reluctance to tell him of her problems. It has now been decided that he should take over all the budgeting and make Mrs F an allowance for housekeeping and pocket money. He is also taking a hand in the household budget and helping with the shopping as Mrs F tends to overspend in the supermarket and then throws food away. Mrs F stated she was deeply ashamed of her conduct and anxious to repay the rest of the money fraudulently obtained. She has started a new job as a copy typist in the City earning £16 per week gross. There do not appear to be any serious matrimonial problems…and in view of the understanding and capable manner in which Mr F is helping his wife, there would not appear to be any need for supervision on probation in this case.[27]

Previous studies have shown that throughout the sixties husbands were still thought to control the family purse-strings.[28] It seems that drawing positive attention to Rita F's husband taking control of the family finances was therefore one way probation officers attempted to reassure magistrates.

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[26] Evidence Book, GJR, 9th October 1969 – 19th November 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/517, p. 85.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[28] Benson, *The Rise of Consumer Society*, p. 186.

Unsurprisingly, intervention was often advocated where women probation officers found an immature attitude to the offence. However, as the case involving the 21-year-old Pamela B suggests, this often overlapped with social expectations and supervision could be recommended more on the basis of inculcating conventional gender norms at home.[29] After she was convicted for 'Obtaining £50 by virtue of a forged instrument (cheque)', Miss M. M. Pascoe (Middlesex Combined Probation Area) indicated that Pamela B's offence was caused by anxieties associated with her inability to cope as a housewife, in part caused by her husband failing to provide for her, 'The husband is said to earn about £12 per week. Mrs B does not receive a regular housekeeping allowance…With limited finances Mrs B foolishly got heavily in arrears with her rent and when faced with the Bailiffs, committed the offences.'[30] Supervision was therefore encouraged in order to inculcate a more submissive femininity (coping in her role as housewife and being more obedient to her husband). However, showing that husbands could be singled out for requiring intervention even if they had not been involved in the offence, supervision was also encouraged for Mr B in order to help support him as he developed a more domesticated masculinity:

> Mrs B is obviously an immature youngster. The couple have married early, and taken on heavy financial responsibilities without adequate savings to see them through. I think she is finding it difficult to cope with running a home and caring for the young child. I feel Mr B is trying very hard to improve the condition of the accommodation they live in…Although she said she was happily married, she was afraid to confide in her husband, either about the debt or the offences. He has now been told. This has naturally caused matrimonial difficulties and obviously they both will need help in future to sort out their problems.[31]

Immaturity was not automatically censured if it could be interpreted in a roundabout way as evidence of docility and submissiveness. For example, despite her considerable offence of 'Stealing from her employers…Total: £791,' Beatrice L, aged 31, is an example of a married woman who was considered in need of supervision for supportive purposes because of her immaturity:

> Mrs L is a competent able woman, in some respects, and is capable of moral judgements, but she is unstable, emotionally immature and lacking control and foresight, she tends to take short cuts to achieve her aims without assessing consequences. She is at present remorseful and deeply contrite about her recent behaviour and is very anxious to make amends, and seems ready to co-operate in every way. Fear of prison drives her to making rash promises to repay the money she has stolen, but her means are limited, though she says she is willing to obtain a better paid job to enable her to make full restitution as soon as possible. It is my opinion that Mrs L needs much help and guidance at this stage, she has good potential, which has been seriously misused over the past months. Referral to the Portman Clinic for a psychiatric assessment and treatment…may well be helpful[32]

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[29] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th November 1964 – 28th December 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/481, p. 165.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 165.
[32] Evidence Book, GJR, 30th March 1965 – 24th May 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/484, p. 159.

As the above quotation indicates, Beatrice L's delinquency was linked to her apparent psychiatric problems which Miss M. Thompson (Middlesex Combined Probation Area) described at length in the report (passed around by various adoptive parents before an unhappy period as an adolescent staying in hostels).[33] However, no doubt aware of the seriousness of her offence (not to mention a previous conviction for embezzlement), the SER made a compelling case for a Probation Order by applying creatively a positive gloss to the motivation behind the offences. In particular, it was suggested that her offending was a foolish, albeit well-intentioned, attempt to provide a secure home for her family – in other words her delinquency reflected her underlying good character:

> She appears to be a very nervy unrelaxed woman with what seems to be an obsessional need to build up and preserve a home regardless of consequences. This may be perhaps understandable, in view of her past history. Her basic difficulty arose about twenty months ago after buying some shares and losing money. Since then there has been much financial stress in the home which necessitated Mr L obtaining a Bank Loan of £500 to cover his wife's losses. Since then this woman appears to have directed her energies and delinquencies towards trying to recoup her losses and preserve her home and family intact. This, together with her intention to ease her husband's economic strain, appears to have been her motive for stealing.[34]

By invoking her psychiatric problems, hence calling into question her culpability, this explanation also highlighted her submissiveness which supervision would help augment. Moreover, in order to further justify supervision rather than anything more severe, the SER then pointed out approvingly the domesticated masculinity of her husband. In doing so, the report subtly indicated to the magistrate that with conventional gender norms re-established at home, recidivism was unlikely and that a Probation Order was therefore all the more reasonable:

> Mr L is extremely concerned about this trouble and was greatly surprised to learn of the charge against his wife, because there has, I understand, been no evidence at home of Mrs L having extra money. He is already anxious about the state of the family finances but he is ready to support his wife and do all he can to assist in resolving this new problem. The Ls appear to be a happily married couple. Their little boy…is an attractive well behaved child, very fond of his parents. There appears to be warmth and affection within this family group.[35]

Although noting the married woman's remorse over the offence could form an important aspect to justifying a Probation Order for supportive purposes, sometimes the main focus was on highlighting that her husband lacked a domesticated masculinity. Miss I. L. Smith (Essex Probation Area), for example, made a particularly compelling case for supervising Patricia C, aged 19, as she was not receiving the support that she needed from her husband. First, the report began by drawing attention to her unhappiness:

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

> Mrs C states that on the day of the offence she had paid her fine of £10 and had another £10 in her purse, which was stolen from her shopping bag in Romford market. She said that she reported this to the Romford police and this had been verified. This £10 was all that she had for the housekeeping and she was desperate to get something for tea. She said she knew what she was doing, but realises how stupid she was. She was very depressed at the time and said she felt like "walking under a bus". Everything seemed to be on top of her and she felt confused and worried. She still feels that she "does not want to go on any longer".[36]

This explanation ultimately called into question her culpability by invoking creatively her depression (indicating that her sexuality had debilitated her). The causes of her depression were described at length in the report – disturbed childhood (illegitimate child) – before then moving on to describing her more recent marital problems. Indeed, by not adequately supporting his wife emotionally or materially, her husband was portrayed as the principal factor behind Patricia C's offence. By being violent towards his wife, the husband clearly lacked the idealised domesticated masculinity. This provided the main impetus for justifying supervision for supportive purposes:

> There have been further stresses in the marital relationship as she has been unable to talk out her anxieties and fears with her husband. He is generally morose and quiet on his return from work in the evening. She had been under financial stress and was afraid to talk things out with him for fear he should hit her. In arguments with her husband she has often thrown things at him before she realises what she has done.[37]

Miss J. H. Ramsey (The Inner London Probation And After-Care Service) similarly emphasised woefully inadequate support at home when Edna L, aged 46, was convicted for 'Larceny as Servant and £15 Cash'.[38] The SER, which went on to advocate supervision as she was 'going to need considerable support', indicated her remorse over the offence whilst suggesting that it was a cry for help due to an unhappy marriage:

> Mrs L is unable to offer an explanation about why she committed these offences. She tells me that she was not particularly worried about anything at the time, and was not short of money. Her Court appearances and fear of her husband finding out have caused her considerable anxiety. Mrs L's visit to the Probation Office after her first court appearance may suggest that she is asking for help. Mrs L impressed me as a rather depressive woman who for years has had an unsatisfactory marriage, and who has now reached "the end of her tether".[39]

Indeed, the bulk of her report was given over to emphasising that her husband lacked a domesticated masculinity. From alcoholism to violence, the SER revealed the husband's fundamental weakness and

[36] Evidence Book, GJR, 13th March 1964 – 29th April 1964, LMA CLA/005/06/475, p. 56.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[38] Evidence Book, GJR, 3rd March 1967 – 25th April 1967, LMA CLA/005/06/497, p. 69.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

inability to provide for his family. Furthermore, to make this narrative more urgent the family were also shown to be afraid of Mr L:

> In 1942 Mr L had a stroke and on his recovery he began to drink. Over the years this condition has gradually deteriorated and I understand that he is now an alcoholic but he refuses to receive treatment. The marital relationship has suffered as a result of Mr L's drinking habits. Mrs L first came to the Probation Office in 1963 complaining of her husband's behaviour. She was granted a Summons and shortly after this Mrs L and the children left the matrimonial home. There was a reconciliation and the case was not heard, but Mrs L is now thinking of leaving her husband again. It is clear that Mrs L is afraid of her husband and I understand that the whole family feel the same way. When drunk, Mr L becomes violent and threatens them with knives, when sober he talks to no one. Mrs L has been afraid to tell her husband of this offence, nor has she told the children.[40]

With their responsibilities of working and looking after families, married couples tended not to enjoy leisure time to the same extent as single young people. However, occasionally leisure time was invoked by probation officers to indicate evidence of gender norms. For example, after her fourth conviction for shoplifting, Mrs G. M. Norman (Surrey Probation Area) advocated supervision for Glenys H, aged 30, whose offending behaviour was shown to be linked to her experiencing long-term depression. This had been caused by a number of factors from an unhappy childhood and her first marriage breaking down, to earning more money and being older than her second husband.[41] In addition to highlighting her depression, probation was also encouraged by emphasising her usual submissive femininity. In particular, by describing how in her spare time Glenys H was busily engaged with her husband fixing up their new home, her submissiveness and close companionship with her husband was made evidently clear. This was no doubt meant to reassure the magistrate that conventional gender norms were in place at home and assuage any fears about the likeliness of her reoffending:

> Mr and Mrs H moved to their present home in July, 1963. It is a bungalow – well placed in a wooded and picturesque setting – but was in such dilapidated condition that the Hs are practically rebuilding it around themselves. Completion is still a long way off but the living room is finished and shows considerable skill in planning and performance – the result very up to date with an artistic Scandinavian effect. Both have put all their time and energy into the work and a good deal of money. Mrs H is anxious to have the whole perfect and the kitchen more convenient but they have worked themselves to a standstill for the moment…it would appear that Mr H is a straightforward and mature person who can help his wife to the adjustments she still has to make.[42]

In contrast, in the case involving the 22-year-old Maureen S, leisure time was used to draw critical attention to her poor character. In particular, Maureen S's lack of submissiveness at home was

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 69.
[41] Evidence Book, MHJR, 6th December 1963 – 19th February 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/260, p. 64.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

construed negatively by her probation officer and was the basis for recommending intervention. After she was convicted for "Larceny', Miss Wright (Middlesex Combined Probation Area) had found Maureen S uncooperative and questioned how genuine her remorse really was, 'I have interviewed Mrs S in Holloway where she appears somewhat shaken by her experience of being in custody. From the outset she was ostensibly co-operative. There is, however, some question as to whether this is not the result of personal anxiety over the possible outcome of her Court appearance, rather than of an actual inner comprehension of wrong doing.'[43] The following quotation then reveals that women probation officers disapproved of wives challenging their husbands. As a result, they could advocate supervision in order to reassert conventional gender norms. In particular, Maureen S and her husband's leisure time were used as a window on to their dysfunctional marital relationship which illustrated her disobedience:

> Since the birth of the baby there appears to have been some periods of tension in the home owing to Mrs S's refusal to go out and leave the child with a baby sitter. Mr S has consequently gone alone and the situation has not been entirely satisfactory. I feel that Mrs S has been unable, as yet, to mature sufficiently to enable her to accept responsibility for her own behaviour within the bounds of social expectations…The arrival of the baby, of whom she is very fond, may well have produced a sense of rejection on the husband's part and unconscious resentment on hers.[44]

Previous studies have shown that many women experienced difficulties and unhappiness in their role as housewife.[45] The case involving Maureen S demonstrates that women probation officers were not necessarily sympathetic to unhappy housewives, however. Indeed, they encouraged such women to conform to gender norms as an end in itself.

Finally, as well as being a fundamental indicator of good character, an employment record and a disciplined work ethic were also used to draw attention to evidence of submissive femininity. In circumstances where the probation officer had suggested that a caution would be sufficient, these recommendations could be made more compelling by entwining creatively a good work ethic with assertions of a suitably companionate marriage. For example, although it was found that Christine H, aged 24, had been stealing because 'everyone in the shop was engaged in diverting some of the proceeds of the business to their own pockets' and she 'also felt strongly that the firm were not paying her the wage she deserved', Mrs R. Badham (North East London Probation Service) did not believe that supervision was necessary.[46] It was noted favourably that:

> Both she and her husband are ambitious and have high material standards. They did not wish to marry until they had saved enough to be able to provide themselves with a well-

[43] Evidence Book, GJR, 12th December 1960 – 30th January 1961, LMA CLA/005/06/448, p. 134.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[45] Wilson, *Only Halfway to Paradise*, p. 29.
[46] Evidence Books, MHJR, 2nd December 1968 – 6th February 1969, LMA CLA/004/07/284, p. 22.

> equipped home of their own. They say that throughout the years of their engagement they were modest in their expenditure in their effort to save. They also went to Jersey for the summer for several years where they each had two jobs helping with the tourist trade and were able to show a good profit…As a result of all this, they are now buying their own house which is beautifully furnished and on which they clearly lavish considerable care and attention.[47]

Mrs Badham also drew attention to her husband's domesticated masculinity in order to indicate to the magistrate that Christine H was firmly submissive at home and that the likelihood of reoffending was minimal:

> Mr H is distressed that his wife should have been doing this and that she has appeared in court. He maintains that he had no idea of what was happening as they have a joint bank account and assumed that his wife used this to make purchases. Since she was charged, he has examined the account and has realised that she was not using this. There is no suggestion that this has caused a rift between the young couple. The husband is standing by his wife and is quite confident that this will not happen again.[48]

Were married working mothers portrayed any differently? After the Second World War, partly as a result of the collapse of the marriage bar, increasing numbers of women entered the workforce. One in five married women were working in 1951; ten years later the equivalent figure was one in three; by 1972 it was almost one in two.[49] The issue of working mothers had been particularly controversial in the postwar years. They were criticised for being absent from home which in turn was widely believed to cause maternal deprivation – stemming from influential postwar theories by John Bowlby[50] – impairing the psychological development of children and leading to juvenile delinquency.[51] Working mothers were portrayed as selfish and unnatural, putting their own ambitions above the needs of their family and the interests of society.[52]

However, although distrust of working women was a common theme in British life and letters during the 1950s and 1960s[53], it seems that it was rare that probation officers in the sixties attributed delinquency to working mothers – at the very least it was never explicitly invoked in SERs in previous chapters. Indeed, employment records and work ethic were routinely looked for as evidence of good character in working mothers and could be used creatively as evidence of submissiveness. For

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[47] *Ibid.,* p. 22.
[48] *Ibid.,* p. 22.
[49] Alan Sinfield, *Literature, Politics and Culture in Post-war Britain,* (London, 1989), p. 206.
[50] John Bowlby, *Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves: Their Characters and Home Life,* (London, 1946); John Bowlby, *Maternal Care and Mental Health: A Report Prepared on Behalf of the World Health Organisation as a Contribution to the United Nations Programme for the Welfare of Homeless Children,* (Geneva, 1952).
[51] Dolly Smith Wilson, 'A New Look at the Affluent Worker: The Good Working Mother in Post-War Britain', *Twentieth Century British History,* 17 (2006), pp. 206-229; Martin Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain,* (London, 1992), p. 296; Mary Abbott, *Family Affairs: A History of the Family in Twentieth Century England,* (London, 2003), p. 99-100.
[52] Pearl Jephcott, Nancy Sear and J. H. Smith, *Married Women Working,* (London, 1962), pp. 165-171; P. Thane, 'Towards Equal Opportunities', in T. Gourvish and A. O'Day (eds.), *Britain since 1945,* (Basingstoke, 1991).
[53] Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties,* (London, 2006), p. 654-655.

example, the case involving Patricia C, aged 25, demonstrates that even those who were struggling to cope with their household duties could still have their work ethic scrutinised favourably to show evidence of docility and submissiveness.[54] Having indicated that Patricia C's offences were an immature attempt to manage the family finances, Mrs M. E. Dando, (Essex Probation Area), who advocated supervision for supportive purposes, highlighted the following:

> Mrs C is now working as a shop-assistant…I would think that her intelligence is only average; she says for instance that she could not cope with shorthand. She seems to be quite happy in her present post as a shop-assistant and, although she says she has a good speed as a typist, she does not seem to want to go back to this occupation. She seems to rely mainly in her work on being happy with the people with whom she works…She does…state that she is quite happy in her marriage and also in all her family relationships, i.e. with her mother and brother and sister. Her present post seems to suit her and she seems to have no desire to change to anything better. She says in fact that when she goes to live in Warwickshire she will give up work altogether as it is a small village where she is not likely to obtain either this or anyone to care for the child. It would indicate that their financial position will then be worse.[55]

Not only was her submissiveness shown in relation to her fairly decent work ethic, but the final remarks of the above quotation seemed also to indicate why the magistrate should avoid handing down a fine. Moreover, as can be seen, there was no suggestion that Patricia C being in employment with a small child was in any way inappropriate or damaging to its psychological development.

Although working mothers were not criticised per se, women probation officers were aware of the acute challenges that some women faced as a result of participation in formal employment and keeping on top of household duties. Employment was not discouraged, however, not least because some women were found to be the main breadwinner of families. This often formed an integral part of indicating why they should retain their freedom, in addition to their child care duties. The case involving the 40-year-old Joan V is a case in point.[56] Miss H. B. M. Leatherland (Essex Probation Area) believed that her offence of larceny 'may have been a method of obtaining help which she felt she needed and which was not at that time forthcoming from any other source.'[57] Advocating supervision and psychiatric help, the SER highlighted sympathetically that she struggled to maintain the home as well as go out to work to support her family. At the heart of this narrative was Joan V's submissive femininity – caring and hardworking – however she was being let down by her husband who was lacking a domesticated masculinity:

> Mrs V has been married to her present husband for nearly two years. This is a second marriage for both Mr and Mrs V…At the time of the offence Mrs V was extremely distressed by her home circumstances which were, and still are, acute. Her husband had

[54] Evidence Book, MHJR, 8th October 1964 – 10th December 1964, LMA CLA/004/07/264, p. 149.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[56] Evidence Book, MHJR, 25th February 1963 – 6th April 1963, LMA CLA/004/07/255, p. 3.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

> more or less withdrawn from any active participation in the marriage or in the running of the home. There had been difficulties within the marriage after the first few months and these had then so distressed Mrs V that she consulted the Samaritans at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and shortly afterwards in the summer of 1962 was found wandering and taken to St. Francis Hospital, Dulwich. I have interviewed Mr V and he has said that he does not feel able to support his wife in her present distress, and indeed it would appear that each partner in this marriage is ill-equipped – owing to an unhappy background of experience, to provide the strength and interest necessary to keep this marriage alive. Financially too there have been difficulties: owing to his commitments to his previous wife and family, Mr V is only able to contribute about £5 per week to the present household out of the £12 to £13 a week he earns as a Bank Messenger. In consequence Mrs V is the main provider, working as a clerk/typist in London where she earns about £12 per week…my impression is…that Mrs V often finds it a struggle to provide for her family. I also feel that she finds going out to work as well as looking after her home and family more than she can really cope with.[58]

Conventional gender norms within the family unit therefore remained crucial when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates; Joan V ultimately needed the support of probation because her husband was lacking a domesticated masculinity, being unable to provide materially or emotionally for his wife and family.

Although breadwinning mothers may at first glance seem to subvert conventional gender norms, women probation officers could portray individuals like Anna S as being suitably feminine if their work ethic could be construed as part of their general strivings to provide a decent home for her family. For example, up until relatively recently before her offence, Anna S, aged 37, had been a successful business woman, running a café and then a restaurant in the City of London.[59] Describing her offence as a 'temptation' brought about in a 'state of great anxiety and panic' (financial difficulties involving the business), the SER recommended supervision for supportive purposes. Pushing for this recommendation, Miss S. Martin (North East London Probation Service) made her case more compelling by praising her past achievements and ability to cope with her responsibilities despite her various troubles:

> At the time when Mrs S undertook her recent commitments of the new business and the new house, she was able to cope financially. At present, however, with very little money coming in, she had the bank loan to repay also £32 per month mortgage repayments on the house, and she has been mostly supporting the whole family…Mrs S has been in business for 9 years and tells me that never before has she had debts. She has obviously worked extremely hard and in the past seems to have coped very well under pressure. The matrimonial upsets seem to have continued throughout the last eight years particularly and six years ago Mr and Mrs S were legally separated for two years but re-united for the sake of the children. I feel that this offence was related more directly with the extreme financial difficulties of the present time, although Mrs S obviously lacks the support that she would like from her husband.[60]

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[58] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[59] Evidence Book, GJR, 21st February 1966 – 4th May 1966, LMA CLA/005/06/490, p. 178.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Indeed, Anna S was shown to be even more admirable (and forgivable) when contrasted with her husband whose churlishness over his wife's greater earning power was criticised by the probation officer:

> Mr S appears to be somewhat irregular in employment. I have discussed his wife's Court appearance and he has very little to say that is helpful. He is resentful of the fact that his wife has, for long periods supported the whole family, feeling that this has taken away from his role within the household. Between July and December 1965, Mr S took over the running of his wife's restaurant…while she was starting up the new restaurant and he was, therefore, in no position to give his wife house-keeping money. Three weeks ago, however, Mr S started running a canteen…and Mrs S paid £24 for the initial outlay of food etc. Last week, Mr S was able to pay his wife £10 house-keeping money and he feels that this will continue.[61]

This stark contrast between postwar anxieties about working mothers and what women probation officers wrote in these above SERs can be explained by two important factors. First, by the 1960s, with women constituting an ever greater proportion of the working population, mothers engaged in formal employment had become far more normal and socially acceptable than they had been a decade or so earlier. Second, what with their unique insight into family circumstances, probation officers were no doubt ahead of the curve in appreciating the often important contribution women's wages had for keeping families afloat.

Attention will now turn to married middle-class women. To what extent were they portrayed any differently in SERs? Willmott and Young noted that the life of a girl after school followed a predetermined path whereby the daughter followed her mother in her main occupations of child-rearing and housekeeping.[62] However, girls from middle-class households were also groomed to be housewives and mothers. Educationalists such as John Newsome argued that teachers should reinforce gender differences and that girls' education should follow broad themes of home-making, for example.[63] Such attitudes were widespread[64] and it seems that when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates, the same standards were applied to married middle-class women as their working-class equivalents. SERs therefore ultimately based their recommendations on evidence of submissive femininity. For example, Evelyn R, aged 44, was married to a personnel manager for a company when she was convicted for 'Obtaining a cheque for £50 by means of a forged instrument…18 previous offences between November 1935 and May 1956'.[65] Mrs E. M. Groves (Middlesex Combined Probation Area), advocated supervision to help her manage her various problems (there had been a

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[61] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[62] Willmott and Young, *Family and Class in a London Suburb,* p. 77.
[63] John Newsome, *The Education of Girls,* (London, 1948), p. 109; John Newsome, *Half Our Future: A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England),* (London, 1963).
[64] Sandbrook, *White Heat,* p. 650.
[65] Evidence Book, GJR, 30th March 1965 – 24th May 1965, LMA CLA/005/06/484, p. 104.

long history of delinquency, as well as various health issues and a troubled childhood).[66] However, probation was largely encouraged by praising her improving submissiveness and her husband's domesticated masculinity:

> Mr R is also responsible now for the monthly repayments of £23 on the car which Mrs R bought with the loan which she obtained…Mrs R says that she has £13 per week from her husband and that she is only responsible for buying food and clothes out of this. I understand that any bills or hire-purchase commitments are being met by Mr R. I have interviewed Mr & Mrs R and have seen the children. I am told that the periods of imprisonment and Detention which Mrs R has undergone cover a period of 15 years in all. She says that she had a somewhat upset childhood with a stepfather and it would appear that she did not get on at all well with her own mother. She has not been in any real trouble since May, 1956, and has attempted to settle down as a housewife, but I think she does find this quite difficult. She says that for many years she was organised and told what to do and she does now have difficulty in settling into domesticity and that is the reason she has recently taken a part-time job. She also likes to be independent and have some money of her own. Her husband is very good to her and she has no problem about getting extra housekeeping money if she wants it but she does dislike asking for it.'[67]

Indicating her submissiveness and her husband's domesticated masculinity was no doubt intended to reassure the magistrate that conventional gender norms were established at home and the likelihood of reoffending was therefore small.

Advocating supervision in cases involving married middle-class women could also be as much about inculcating a domesticated masculinity as it was about submissive femininity. Shirley S, aged 36, was from a prosperous Jewish background.[68] Having indicated that her offence of 'Larceny' stemmed from depression caused by an unhappy marriage, Miss M. K. McDonagh (North East London Probation Service) recommended supervision for supportive purposes for both Shirley S and her husband. Although his respectability in business was indicated, probation was envisaged as much to develop a domesticated masculinity (neglecting his wife) as it was about supporting Shirley S in her femininity (struggling to manage home):

> She married in 1950 and she and her husband had a business which was unsuccessful. The marriage was happy until about 1963, when Mrs S became depressed and found difficulty in managing her home. In 1965 Mr S left home but still supported his wife. In April 1965 Mrs S took an overdose of drugs and was in hospital three days; she received help later from the Psychiatric Social Worker. She and Mr S were reconciled and there is no question of Mr S leaving his wife again…Mr S allows his wife £7 a week housekeeping and there is £2 a week H.P. He told me that he has had a difficult time. Only recently has he been able to build up his position. He has, however, promised to see his wife has sufficient money as she is now unemployed. He, too, is an unhappy man, and feels that the marital situation is very difficult. He is deeply attached to his children, Mr S expressed genuine concern about his wife's offence, and was anxious to assist in any way

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 104.
[68] Evidence Book, GJR, 25th April 1967 – 17th June 1967, LMA CLA/005/06/498, p. 107.

> he could. He has never known her to be dishonest. I made a good contact with Mr and Mrs S and I feel that we could work together.[69]

To summarise, although the explanations for offending seen in the above SERs reflect the shift away from moral to psychological reasoning that had occurred by the mid-twentieth-century, recommendations to magistrates were ultimately based on a submissive ideal of femininity that was more Victorian in origin. Is there evidence of other historical perceptions of femininity in SERs, and to what purpose? In several reports (by both women and men probation officers) there seems to have been a particular assumption about the passivity of women and their lack of agency in cases where they had been jointly convicted with their husbands, mirroring the doctrine of '*feme covert*'.

Before changes in the law as a result of the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870 and 1882, it was argued in the courts that a married woman could not be found guilty of a theft if her husband was a co-defendant.[70] It seems assertions very similar to *'feme covert'* sometimes appeared in SERs by probation officers in the sixties in order to effectively absolve the wife of any responsibility for her conduct whilst attributing blame to the husband. For example, although Robert and Greta B (aged 22 and 23, respectively) both admitted responsibility for the theft, Mrs M. English (North East London Probation Service) nevertheless singled out Robert B as ultimately responsible and requiring intervention.[71] This interpretation was supported by the portrayal of Greta B as possessing a docile and submissive femininity with the result that her husband must have been the guiding hand in the offence:

> Mrs B appears to keep the house clean and tidy and their two children…seem well cared for…The marriage appears happy…Mrs B is a cheerful girl, who appears to leave all the worry to her husband, although recent loss of weight suggests inner tensions…Both Mr and Mrs B accept equal responsibility for the offence and appear to bitterly regret this lapse…Although both accept responsibility for this offence, the Court may feel that the onus lies with the husband and that a period of Probation would offer him support and encouragement'[72]

It seems that male probation officers were also capable of invoking *'feme covert'* in their SERs. However, the case involving Linda and Thomas D (aged 18 and 30, respectively) suggests that such arguments could have been used to the advantage of male defendants too.[73] After their conviction for cheque fraud, G. W. Moore (North East London Probation Service) seemed to invoke the idea that female sexuality had made the wife morally weaker by nature and therefore less responsible for her actions. However, although this resulted in Thomas D being blamed for failing to adequately control

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 107.
[70] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 44-45.
[71] Evidence Book, GJR, 24th November 1966 – 18th January 1967, LMA CLA/005/06/495, p. 68.
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[73] Evidence Book, GJR, 16th May 1968 – 11th July 1968, LMA CLA/005/06/506, p. 93.

his wife, the probation officer nevertheless did so in a way which still emphasised the offence was Linda's fault:

> It would seem that initially Mrs D acted alone in these offences. D admitted that when it came to his knowledge he should have advised his wife to make a clean breast of the matter and in this he failed to do. Both partners spoke of the relief that they have experienced following their apprehension, and of their intention to restore all moneys unlawfully obtained as soon as possible. Mrs D offers the sum of £10 per week, virtually all her net wages, and the couple would live on Mr D's money until their obligations are met. They quite frankly admitted that they have lived beyond their means in the past, and spoke of how forcibly this realisation has been brought home to them during this remand period.[74]

In the end, supervision was encouraged in order to improve their marital relationship; 'they would benefit from a period of Probation…to help them adopt a realistic attitude regarding their finances'.[75] Perhaps by presenting a rather muddled account of the offence, the probation officer had enabled the creation of a space in which to indicate evidence of a domesticated masculinity and a submissive femininity. This had been considered necessary in order to justify supervision. More generally, these two examples demonstrate that older perceptions of femininity continue to recur in discourses, albeit in slightly different forms, from at least the Early Modern period through to the mid-twentieth-century.

Other historical perceptions of femininity which sometimes appear in 1960s SERs include anxieties about women's tendency towards a promiscuous sexuality. Although there had been fears about the sexual vulnerability of women, particularly regarding prostitution, periodically arising across the modern period, by the mid-twentieth-century this had been increasingly focused on juveniles.[76] However, the case involving the 56-year-old Annabella L shows that an apparent transgressive sexuality could also be invoked in reports on older married women in order to encourage intervention.[77] To begin with, Miss Dawn H. Garner (Essex Probation And After-Care Committee) recommended that Annabella L be remanded in custody as she had been uncooperative and needed the opportunity to speak to her relatives in private:

> I have tried to meet this lady on 3rd April, 7th April and 8th April but each time Mrs L was unable to see me for the purpose of making a report…I am therefore extremely doubtful about her good intentions… It therefore seems much the best plan for Mrs L to be remanded in custody for two weeks for social enquiry and psychiatric reports to be made. Such a course of action does not appear to interfere with the responsibilities she says she has at home…As regards her husband who may be recovering from sickness, there is an adult daughter and son-in-law at home who could look after him. Mrs L seems to be reverting to a pattern in that she is using her family's troubles to keep Court at

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[76] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660*, p. 75-76.
[77] Evidence Book, GJR, 23rd April 1970 – 30th May 1970, LMA CLA/005/06/522, p. 24.

> bay…Naturally, a remand in custody would also help my enquiries as I could then approach Mr L and find out what is the exact family situation. I have been so unsympathetic to Mrs L's excuses, she feels the need to write to you and put her case. I must admit that I would be more inclined to believe her had I not been through the same pattern last October and November. The interviews I had with her then seem to show a continual well-argued flight from reality.[78]

Miss Garner's frustration with Annabella L was clearly palpable; she was portrayed as the antithesis of submissive femininity – using her family as a defence against the system as well as challenging the probation officer. Moreover, her determination to have her incarcerated despite her responsibilities looking after her family suggests that even women probation officers could overlook the particularly punitive experiences that wives and mothers faced as a result of imprisonment, outlined elsewhere.[79] This example also demonstrates that women in authority could be driven by, and indeed applied, conventional fears over women's deviant sexualities. As has already been seen, Annabella L's first gender transgression was deliberately using her family as a defence against the system. However, as the subsequent report highlights (written during her remand in custody), the probation officer suggested that her more serious gender transgression was her sexual promiscuity:

> Guilty feelings and lack of self esteem coupled with a possible unsatisfying relationship with her husband, may lend Mrs L to drink and therefore commit offences, but it is impossible to be sure of the reasons for Mrs L's offences at this stage of enquiry. However, it is evident that her offences in July 1953, October 1969 and March 1970 have a certain and possibly relevant similarity. Each time Mrs L stole from men after first making sure they were helpless.[80]

Indeed, it was only because her family were prepared to cooperate with the probation officer that supervision, rather than anything more severe, was being recommended.[81] Nevertheless, as well as providing further evidence of how punishment could be more severe on those who were regarded as subverting the gender order, this case also demonstrates that concerns over sexuality have persisted over time.[82] As the respectability of women has historically been closely associated with their sexuality, those who bore and raised children out of wedlock have typically been marginalised. The next section will focus on the portrayal of single mothers in SERs and will consider how their sexuality was managed in relation to the idealised submissive femininity.

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[79] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 141.
[80] Evidence Book, GJR, 23rd April 1970 – 30th May 1970, LMA CLA/005/06/522, p. 24.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 24.
[82] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 141.

Single Mothers

Throughout history many single women, usually from poor working-class backgrounds, have often found themselves trapped in marginal circumstances with children.[83] With the social stigma attached to single parenthood and illegitimate children, Victorian reformers and, later, social workers encouraged sexual restraint amongst young women partly because they recognised the social stigma and economic difficulties associated with single motherhood.[84] This begs the question how did women probation officers respond to situations involving single mothers in marginal positions?

Like they did for married women, when it came to advocating cautions or small fines for single mothers, for example, women probation officers indicated in SERs evidence of submissive femininity. Unable to draw upon submissive relationships with husbands, however, reports instead interpreted creatively their social backgrounds to show submissiveness in other respects. This usually included describing a caring and nurturing attitude to their offspring. It could also include indicating evidence of submissiveness to parents, similar to single young women in the previous chapter. Indeed, such were the lengths probation officers would go to emphasise good character that this was even done in cases where the mother was much more advanced in years. For example, after her latest court appearance for 'Larceny of cheque and obtaining money by forgery', Miss J. M. G. Belcher (Surrey Probation Area) advocated continued supervision and psychiatric help for the 32-year-old Joyce P in order to 'discover the cause of her irresponsible attitude to money'.[85] Pushing for this recommendation, as well as highlighting her good work ethic and good response to probation, the report then noted that:

> Mrs P is not married, but has been known by this name since the birth of her twins…nearly five years ago…Following the birth of the twins and her subsequent court appearance in 1958, she was estranged from her parents, but she contacted them again about eighteen months ago and the family is now reconciled. Mrs P and M visit her family regularly and the fact she is now on good terms with her parents again has been a great encouragement to her…Mrs P has never had adequate accommodation or security to provide a home for M as well as M, but it is to her credit that the boy has always been in her care and she will never accept any accommodation unless she can have him with her.[86]

As the above quotation suggests, it was indicated to her credit that Joyce P had taken the surname of the father despite not marrying him in order to help avoid the stigma of illegitimacy. Furthermore, in addition to highlighting alternative evidence of submissive femininity, SERs could make more compelling arguments for single mothers by condemning fathers as cruel, uncaring, and irresponsible.

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[83] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 65-84.
[85] Evidence Book, GJR, 23rd October 1961 – 30th November 1961, LMA CLA/005/06/456, p. 152.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

The father of Joyce P's children, for example, was shown to be acutely lacking a domesticated masculinity. Demonstrating this also had the benefit of raising Joyce's P's respectability in contrast to the father's irresponsibility. Indeed, by pointing out that he was a professional – and therefore likely to be affluent – his irresponsibility was magnified by his refusal to provide financial support to his child:

> Their father is a…doctor, whom she met when she was employed as a secretary…After making one payment towards their maintenance he has not accepted any further financial responsibility. Mrs P took legal advice earlier this year concerning the possibility of obtaining financial help from him, but it is doubtful whether she can take this matter to court after this long delay.[87]

For those who had separated from their husbands, SERs could similarly emphasise submissiveness at home and a caring attitude towards their children. For example, having been a former Royal Courts of Justice shorthand note taker, Maggie McIntyre appears to have been a second career probation officer.[88] In her report on Elizabeth G, aged 23, after her conviction for 'Theft of purse and contents, value £10', Maggie advocated supervision as she believed 'there are a great number of problems and difficulties about which she has not been able to bring herself to speak and that she might well benefit from the support afforded by a Probation Order'.[89] These problems were a disturbed background (break-up of parents' marriage and her own marital breakdown and loss of child). Pushing for supervision – her previous offences for theft had resulted in fines – Maggie indicated evidence of her previous good work ethic before then noting that:

> Mrs G does no work outside the home. She says she would like to do so, but feels that she is unable to do so in view of her father's poor health, and the fact that she is fully occupied looking after him and her brother and sister. She receives no assistance from the M.S.S. as she is classified as being her father's housekeeper. She has a man friend who helps her out with money from time to time…Her daughter, Elaine, is at a boarding school…having been placed there through the local Children's Department. She has been there for several months now and seems to have settled happily. Mrs G has maintained regular contact with the child since she has been separated from her. She receives no maintenance for Elaine from her husband.[90]

Furthermore, in cases where the couple had only separated, women probation officers explained why couples would not be reconciling. This reflects the importance attached to marriage as an institution in the postwar court and that it was assumed by probation officers that magistrates wanted these particular issues considered:

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[87] *Ibid.*, p. 152.
[88] Martin, *The South East London Probation Service, 1965 – 2001, A Brief History*, p. 17.
[89] Evidence Book, MHJR, 23rd March 1970 – 2nd June 1970, LMA CLA/004/07/290, p. 99.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

> Mrs G married in 1964, shortly after the birth of her daughter Elaine, of whom her husband was the father. The marriage appears to have been unhappy throughout and in 1965 she left her husband for another man. Her husband, according to Mrs G, is living with another woman, by whom he has a child. Mrs G gave birth to a son, G, in 1966, who unfortunately died at two months.[91]

However, drawing attention to women's attempts at marital reconciliation could be a very important way in which reports indicated evidence of submissive femininity. Such observations could be particularly crucial in cases where the married woman had subsequently fallen pregnant following an extra-marital relationship. For example, in addition to separating from her husband and appearing in court, Pamela L, aged 23, had also recently been prescribed pills to induce a termination due to health concerns.[92] Encouraging supervision for supportive purposes, K. Hawkins (Darlington County Borough) attributed her delinquency to a 'nervous breakdown' following the end of her marriage as well as a series of miscarriages and the premature death of her baby:

> She married at 18, and the marriage began to deteriorate after 2 years, mainly because her husband refused to find work. She lost a…baby during the first year of marriage and had a further miscarriage in 1970. After this Pamela experienced what seems to have been a nervous breakdown…The marriage finally broke up in February 1971 when Pamela returned to her parents. In an attempt at reconciliation she joined her husband at Butlins Holiday Camp for a few days in the summer. This was not a success. It was during this time that Mr A realised that Pamela was living beyond her means and suspected that all was not well. This culminated in a row when it was discovered that Pamela had kept £15 when she was to have paid the rent…Mr A told her to leave. She found a flat in Darlington where she stayed for a few weeks during which time she was visited by her husband. She later returned to her parents for a short time before going to London.[93]

Supervision was to a large extent justified on the basis that she had not been receiving adequate support from either her father or husband. Moreover, considering that her offence and pregnancy had occurred following her being kicked out of home and going to London, it seems that this was presented as significant in understanding her recent bad behaviour. Indeed, her attempts at marital reconciliation were made to appear all the more commendable considering her feckless husband. This point was reemphasised in a subsequent report submitted to the Guildhall. Although Pamela L's efforts at reconciliation were once again highlighted, the probation officer ultimately agreed that she was right to abandon this due to her husband lacking a domesticated masculinity. Instead, the report emphasised her submissive femininity in relation to her improving family relationships and job prospects:

> I have interviewed this young woman in the presence of her mother at home and can confirm that she intends to stay in the Darlington area with her parents. She appears to

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 99.
[92] Evidence Book, GJR, 26th November 1971 – 1st February 1972, LMA CLA/005/06/534, p. 187.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

> have had a complete reconciliation with her father…She has made several unsuccessful attempts at reconciliation with her husband who will not co-operate. Mrs L feels his non-co-operation is largely due to pressures from his parents who have threatened to cut him off "without a penny" if he returns to her. He has suggested that they co-habit after the divorce, but Mrs L, not surprisingly, will not agree to this…She intends to find work and has applied for several jobs including training as a nurse. She is somewhat immature and unrealistic about job prospects but is at least well motivated and has a good work record.[94]

Finally, Miss M. A. Owen (City of London Probation Service) is an example of a woman probation officer several of whose reports have survived in the Evidence Books. They show that she interpreted creatively social backgrounds in order to highlight whether or not there was evidence of submissive femininity. For example, after her conviction for 'Theft of cheque book…Obtaining shoes val. £5…Obtaining clothing val. £5.4.6.', Miss Owen advocated supervision for supportive purposes for the 22-year-old Barbara G, 'She is a young woman of previously good character who, I feel, acted in desperation and I am sure that this is a matter in which we could be of great assistance to her, if the Court would consider treating her leniently.'[95] Encouraging this recommendation, although Barbara G was separated from her husband, the SER portrayed her as possessing a submissive femininity. This was shown primarily in relation to her taking care of the child. Moreover, this was made more compelling by contrasting her caring and industrious character with her feckless husband. As the following quotation demonstrates, he was shown to be lacking a domesticated masculinity as not even Barbara G's mother would let him in the house:

> Mrs G's money is spent entirely on the home and in trying to keep her child and herself reasonably dressed. She has been without financial support from her husband for approximately three years. I understand that there is a Warrant out for him from Woolwich Magistrates Court for maintenance, but nobody has yet succeeded in serving it upon him. Mrs G's mother will not allow the husband inside her house again and as long as Mrs G remains there, there is no hope of reconciliation. Equally, she finds it practically impossible to get a room for herself with the child, and it is doubtful whether she would be any better off if she did.[96]

There was an entirely different narrative in the 27-year-old Valerie S's SER after her conviction for 'Theft of Bank of England Notes - £14'[97]. This time however Miss Owen advocated intervention for corrective purposes as Valerie S was lacking a submissive femininity. Indeed, it was indicated that her apparent sexual promiscuity was linked to her propensity towards deviancy:

> She sees her adoptive parents occasionally, but I understand that the relationship is polite, rather than affectionate…She is an exceedingly irresponsible young woman and has had

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 187.
[95] Evidence Book, GJR, 1st June 1970 – 9th July 1970, LMA CLA/005/06/523, p. 54.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[97] Evidence Book, MHJR, 1st January 1970 – 21st March 1970, LMA CLA/004/07/289, p. 82.

> four pregnancies; all of these babies have now been adopted. She was recommended to Dr Felix Brown for psychiatric treatment, but he tells me that she only turns up when she is in trouble. Her adoptive parents have not been interviewed and in fact do not know of her appearance at Court today. She is very much averse to their being seen, and I understand that her mother is a hysterical type who has, of course, been put under considerable strain by the number of illegitimate children Valerie has produced. Neither has she informed her boy-friend about this, nor the pregnancies, except the last one, although he is the most long lasting of the ones she has had.[98]

Clearly, although psychiatric problems had been found (stemming from being an adopted child), supervision was envisaged largely to reform her character rather than anything else. Miss Owen had therefore elaborated on her apparent lack of submissive femininity in order to justify probation intervention.

Married Women: The Psychodynamic Probation Officers

To what extent were SERs by psychodynamic probation officers any different to what has been seen so far? It was seen in the previous chapter that although university graduates may have had more permissive attitudes than the older generations did, this did not necessarily manifest itself in reports. Nevertheless, as Anne Vickers explained, even if it might not have been reflected in her SERs (see chapter two), a psychodynamic approach was applied to married women just as it had been for other categories of offenders:

> I do also remember, besides all the prostitutes, there were a lot of shoplifters…Also, attempting suicide was a crime, and I did have a couple of girls on probation for attempting suicide. Usually, of course, stating the obvious, due to serious domestic oppression. And when I say I quite liked that, I mean, no one likes someone being that sad, but there's certainly something to get stuck into, you see, because…our training…was very psychoanalytically based…you would try to get to the bottom of what the real problem was in someone's life[99]

When it came to persuading magistrates on married women, however, it seems psychodynamic probation officers also based their recommendations on evidence of submissive femininity. For example, the report by Miss A. J. Read (Essex Probation And After-Care Committee) on the 42-year-old Joyce C had the hallmarks of a psychodynamic approach to understanding delinquency. In particular, her offence was characterised as 'psychiatric disturbance' and that she suffered from 'personality difficulties':

> Mrs C is a woman with a long history of psychiatric disturbance which, I understand, dates from a breakdown following the birth of the second of her five children…I have

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[99] Interview with Anne Vickers, recorded by JL, Berkhamsted, 6 August 2012.

> seen a number of medical records from hospitals all over the country…in general she has been an acute depressive for many years. Mrs C's history is one which goes, in some measure, towards accounting for her personality difficulties.[100]

Having described her deeply troubled childhood, the report then drew attention to her present circumstances:

> Mrs C's marriage to a Civil Engineer who travels extensively all over the world has not been a happy one, although Mrs C feels that she has always loved him. Her own depressive illness combined with his very uncertain and somewhat violent nature led to endless crisis situations, and the numerous suicide attempts. Eventually…Mrs C left him taking the…children with her, but the accommodation problem was so impossible that she had to return them. The divorce came through…but there are still Court disputes about custody, maintenance and access and Mrs C is still awaiting some final settlement and coming to terms very unhappily with the decreasing possibilities of ever seeing her children.[101]

Underlying this narrative was the suggestion that, despite her psychiatric problems, Joyce C ultimately had a submissive femininity; she loved her husband and cared for her children. To further encourage probation for supportive purposes, Miss Read indicated sympathetically that not only would she soon be deprived of her children and was living alone, but that one of the main reasons for the family breakdown was her husband lacking a domesticated masculinity – he had been away much of the time through work and when he was at home he tended to be violent.

The final two examples here act as an important reminder that, first, as a result of increasing training opportunities, especially from the 1950s onwards, some members of the pre-war and second career generation would inevitably have become psychodynamic in their approach to offenders. However, despite their training in psychoanalysis, the older generation might not have altered their approach to report-writing, preferring instead to rely on tried and tested methods of communicating with magistrates that had been developed over the course of their careers. Margaret Paterson, for example, was described as someone who 'received sketchy training during the War' and was appointed by 1942 to Thames Court. She went on to establish close relationships with magistrates and 'became very concerned about prostitution in Stepney' amongst other things.[102] Crucially, however, although Margaret received training at the Tavistock Clinic, this was not reflected in her SERs; there was no psychodynamic discourse, for example.[103] Indeed, writing her report on Grace J, aged 45, after her latest conviction, Margaret was just like the other probation officers seen in this chapter – encouraging continued supervision and a psychiatric report by highlighting evidence of submissive femininity and domesticated masculinity.[104]

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[100] Evidence Book, MHJR, 11th November 1970 – 22nd January 1971, LMA CLA/004/07/293, p. 4.
[101] *Ibid.*, p. 4.
[102] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 224, 247.
[103] *Ibid.*, p. 292.
[104] Evidence Book, GJR, 2nd June 1969 – 23rd July 1969, LMA CLA/005/06/514, p. 43.

For example, in the first of two reports on Grace J (the first was sent to South Western Magistrates Court in January 1969 for 'Larceny'; the second to the Guildhall in April 1969 for 'Unlawful Possession'), Margaret encouraged another chance on probation based primarily on the apparent domesticated masculinity of the father of her child. As well as having a good work record, the father cared for the welfare of Grace J and his child and would therefore be returning home to look after them:

> There is no doubt Mrs J is in need of help and support. Mr G, the father of H has been to see me and says that he will find more suitable accommodation and will return to live with Mrs J for the sake of his daughter, H. He impressed one as quite a stable man who is in regular work and who is of the opinion that Mrs J has deteriorated since he left her.[105]

In the second report intervention was advocated in the form of a Hospital Order.[106] Although Margaret had previously alerted magistrates to Grace J lacking a submissive femininity – frequenting undesirables in pubs, multiple partners over the years, and several illegitimate children – as well as indicating that her delinquency was linked to having a 'drinking problem' and that she was 'suffering from paranoia and anxiety', this time Margaret indicated that there was some evidence of a submissive femininity, especially regarding her apparent domesticity. However, in order to make this narrative more compelling, the report invoked a sense of victimhood by indicating that Grace J was made vulnerable by her sexuality. As the following quotation demonstrates, it suggested that intervention was essential in order to protect her from the sexual dangers of predatory men:

> At the moment she lives with her daughter…in a block of old buildings which are indescribably squalid but I think it is only fair to say that at no time has Grace J's two rooms been anything but clean and tidy. She has maintained a standard of cleanliness much superior to the other residents; on the other hand, the pressures exerted on her by other people in the area are great and there is no doubt that she is used by many of them for their own baser needs.[107]

Clearly, the model that regarded women as very much constituted by their sexuality and potentially debilitated by its vagaries – stemming as it did from the Victorian ideal of femininity as one of passivity and submission – continued to have salience in the postwar period when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates.[108] By suggesting that Grace J's sexuality was linked to her criminal behaviour, she could be constructed as in part a victim and therefore intervention for benevolent reasons could reasonably be asserted in an SER.

Finally, ever since the early 1950s, Miss M. M. ("Peggy") Thornborough, the daughter of a 'staunch Liberal who had been Librarian of the National Liberal Club', had been a staunch defender

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[105] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[107] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[108] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 65.

of psychology and psychiatry. *Crimefighters* noted one instance, for example, where a magistrate's apparent criticism of psychology and psychiatry in relation to criminal law in 1953 had 'provoked a defensive reply' from Peggy, who then drew attention to the 'two global wars with their shattering impact upon family, social and economic spheres, one of the gravest economic crises known, the breakdown of stability in nearly all levels of life, and the insecurity that is part and parcel of this new atomic age'.[109] Peggy (The Inner London Probation Service) took the Tavistock Clinic Advanced Course in Casework in 1955 and 'gratefully recorded that what she had learnt on the course "produces a response within clients at levels before untouched".'[110] Indeed, she even constituted one of the London probation officers in a select group of five Social Work Fellows of the Tavistock Institute.[111]

However, there was no trace of Peggy's enthusiasm for psychology in the way she attempted to persuade magistrates in her SERs. Indeed, she based her recommendations, like everyone else considered in this chapter, on evidence of submissive femininity and domesticated masculinity. For example, in her report on Dorothy P, aged 24, after her second court appearance for stealing money in the space of a year, Peggy portrayed her as a victim of an uncaring husband who distinctly lacked a domesticated masculinity.[112] Her offence moreover had stemmed from the anxiety her cruel husband had caused her which, as the following quotation highlights, Peggy agreed with based on her own experiences working with the family:

> I have had Mrs P on probation since July of last year. I found her at first very inarticulate and emotionally bottled up but gradually she became better able to talk to me about her difficulties…There are matrimonial problems also between them. Mrs P feels inferior to her husband; he is something of a perfectionist and very different from her in temperament, and she feels he has frequently thrown up in her face the fact of her previous delinquency. She is very afraid of his finding out the present situation. Knowing something of the difficulties between them, I can understand this fear.[113]

Conclusion

Although the explanations for women's delinquency contained within 1960s SERs reflect the shift away from moralistic towards psychological understandings of offending by the mid-twentieth-century, nevertheless when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates, both groups of probation officers ultimately based their recommendations on submissive femininity. For those who were married, respectable femininity entailed submissiveness to husbands and success in their roles as mothers and housekeepers. Whilst describing their social backgrounds, evidence of submissive femininity was being carefully indicated in reports. As a result, if a probation officer advocated

[109] Page, *Crimefighters of London,* p. 236.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 240.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 240.
[112] Evidence Book, MHJR, 10th May 1965 – 30th July 1965, LMA CLA/004/07/267, p. 142.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

continued supervision, or recommended that a caution or small fine would be sufficient instead; for example, a positive narrative included subtly praising their submissiveness whilst describing their maturity over the offence, sensible leisure pursuits, or describing decent work records. In contrast, if some form of corrective intervention was required due to the individual's immaturity, narratives were made more compelling by flagging their general lack of submissive femininity. Families were scrutinised in reports too, especially husbands, and probation officers also based their recommendations on to what extent domestic masculinity was evident at home; favourable narratives could be made more positive if the SER could describe a domestic situation in which the husband was suitably supportive and in control of his wife. Where husbands were found to be obviously neglectful for whatever reason, supervision could be advocated for supportive purposes. Whilst no doubt done for the best of intentions, these conclusions show women probation officers, including the psychodynamic ones, applying conventional gender norms in order to persuade magistrates. It also seems to support the view that those who complied with dominant gender constructions have tended to be dealt with more lightly.[114]

Besides submissiveness, other historical perceptions of femininity that persisted into the 1960s included a postwar equivalent of the doctrine of *'feme covert'*; where married couples had been jointly convicted for an offence, gendered assumptions about women's passivity and lack of agency resulted in blame being attributed exclusively to husbands. Although sometimes it seems that this could have been to men's disadvantage, one example suggests that sometimes husbands could also have benefitted from this too. Another historical perception which persisted into the postwar period was women being stereotyped as sexually predatory or dangerous because of their sexuality. This was the antithesis of submissive femininity and probation officers could invoke this in reports in order to justify intervention. Finally, for those who found themselves in marginal positions as single mothers, probation officers could look for alternative evidence of submissive femininity in order to make a favourable impression to magistrates. While marital reconciliation was noted approvingly, highlighting irresponsible husbands and fathers lacking a domesticated masculinity could also help improve the perception of single mothers in SERs. Nevertheless, probation officers that tried to challenge negative stereotypes of single mothers could in other circumstances invoke those same stereotypes in order to justify intervention.

[114] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 142.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

In *The Permissive Society and its Enemies,* Marcus Collins provided an overview of the elements which make up the 'permissive society' and Britain's vanguard role in their development.[1] Although he made the point that permissiveness 'began well before the 1960s and continues to this day', Collins argued that the sixties was a decade marked by 'significant if contested liberalisation of behaviours and beliefs'.[2] The liberalisation of the law was one facet of this development, as he continued to explain:

> Print censorship was relaxed in 1959 and that of drama in 1968. Citizens won the right to take their own lives in 1961 and murderers got to keep theirs after 1965. Off-course betting became legal in 1960, as did abortion and male homosexuality in limited fashion in 1967. The National Health Service (Family Planning) Act of the same year extended access to contraception regardless of marital status, while the Divorce Reform Act of 1969 dissolved marriages that had undergone "irretrievable breakdown" after two year in consensual cases and five years in contested ones.[3]

Collins highlighted that advocates of permissiveness such as underground newspapers like the *IT,* as well as radical theologians, cultural commentators and anarchists, welcomed these legal changes. These groups and individuals also typically encouraged disdain for convention and rejection of traditional leaders.[4] The radical theologian, Douglas Rhymes, for example, had urged his readers to overcome both their guilt and any deference to 'priest, Church, politician or parent' when making moral choices.[5] The anarchist, Mick Farren, stated that 'each and every individual has unique needs and desires that are entirely his own.'[6] Permissiveness therefore encouraged people to express and satisfy their desires. Self-expression also took creative forms such as the 'wild new clothes' and 'strange new music sounds'.[7]

Arthur Marwick, the historian, argued that permissiveness transcended social boundaries, contending that the liberation of the 1960s affected, and was participated in, by majorities. He questioned the validity of such terms as subculture or counterculture on the grounds that their ideals 'permeated' wider society.[8] Steve Humphries and Miriam Akhtar's oral history of 1960s Britain has supported this argument.[9] Others, however, have identified an antagonistic relationship between

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[1] Marcus Collins, 'Introduction' in Marcus Collins (ed.), *The Permissive Society and its Enemies, Sixties British Culture,* (London, 2007), p. 1-40.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 2.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 2.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 3.
[5] Douglas Rhymes, *No New Morality: Christian Personal Values and Sexual Morality,* (London, 1964), p. 18-19.
[6] Mick Farren and Edward Barker, *Watch Out Kids,* (London, 1972).
[7] Collins, 'Introduction', p. 3.
[8] Marwick, *The Sixties,* p. 13, 194.
[9] Akhtar and Humphries, *The Fifties and Sixties: A Lifestyle Revolution,* p. 9.

permissiveness and the mainstream with conservative moralists claiming that a 'Lilac Establishment' had foisted permissive reforms upon the proverbial 'blue-collar worker and his wife'.[10] Socialist theorists have moreover portrayed subcultures as being in conflict with the hegemonic forces of capitalism.[11] Collins also highlighted that many celebrity memoirs reinforced this notion of an embattled permissive minority.[12]

There are therefore debates about how pervasive permissiveness was. The above mentioned studies have often made extensive use of materials relating to various bodies associated with permissive causes. In addition to newspapers and pamphlets, they have also used letters, memoirs, and diaries in which people express their deeper feelings. The point has been made elsewhere that the notion of 'Swinging London', and the subsequent enactment of major legislative reforms earning Britain the reputation of being a full-blown 'permissive society', has ignored the workaday lives that most people lived.[13]

Wills also highlighted the shortfalls in the historiography of permissiveness. Her article argued that the exact nature of what has been termed the 'permissive shift' remains strangely elusive; the historiography on the subject is in its relative infancy: 'It is comparatively straightforward to trace "permissiveness" through new forms of youth culture, new legislation or new social movements; more difficult is grasping the nature of the more subtle changes taking place within ideologies and discourses.'[14] Wills went on to identify a permissive ideology of reform emerging in probation in the sixties. In particular, probation homes began to increasingly prioritise the welfare and happiness of the offender, replacing a pre-war mentality of 'making men for the nation'.[15] Although it was argued that this transformation in the project of reform came about as a result of the demise in holistic visions of society, this thesis has attributed this key development to the arrival of a new generation of university-educated probation officers entering the Service in the sixties. In contrast to Marwick, who suggested that there was no link between the welfare state and the permissive society (permissiveness, he argued, was something created from within society whereas the postwar welfare state was something granted to people by governments[16]), this thesis has argued the opposite. The necessary precondition for flourishing of 'permissive' ideologies amongst the 1960s university graduates was the postwar 'democratic settlement' itself: a reformation conceived primarily in terms of its benefit to the individual was part of a wider recognition of social rights alongside political and economic ones enshrined in the postwar settlement.

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[10] John Gummer, *The Permissive Society: Fact or Fantasy?*, (London, 1971), p. 92
[11] Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (eds.), *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Postwar Britain*, (London, 1976).
[12] Collins, 'Introduction', p. 16.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[14] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 159.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 159.
[16] Arthur Marwick, 'The International Context' in Marcus Collins (ed.), *The Permissive Society and its Enemies, Sixties British Culture*, (London, 2007), p. 169.

Contrary to what Wills suggested, the pre-war mentality of 'making men for the nation' did not disappear in the sixties. Throughout the decade and beyond, the university graduates worked somewhat awkwardly alongside an older generation of probation officers. Having joined in the pre-war period and as a second career, the older generation had little or no formal training having previously worked elsewhere. They consequently had a common sense approach to supervision where psychology had been 'tolerated but marginalised'.[17] As a result, they were more preoccupied with a reform project premised on the disciplining of character rather than offering a permissive therapeutic approach.[18] For the university graduates, coming of age in the peaceful and prosperous postwar years, reclaiming individuals 'for the nation' was an outdated concept at odds with the new reality of social rights and universal welfare. The burgeoning public sector in the 1950s and 1960s offered the young graduates, motivated by the new welfare state and what it could do to achieve social justice, with an opportunity to help those less fortunate and provide public service. Trained in psychoanalysis, the university graduates looked for deep-seated psychological problems in offenders and offered a therapeutic relationship on a Probation Order to overcome the particular issues that had led to their offending behaviour. As a result, by letting individuals be themselves rather than conform to a rigid character ideal, the university graduates embodied the defining characteristics of permissiveness. In this sense, Marwick was correct in arguing that permissiveness did not just affect simply a minority of affluent teenagers.[19] In addition to the above, their association with permissiveness could also be interpreted from their disdain for old authorities: the university graduates typically regarded the criminal justice system as punitive and anachronistic, for example.

Despite their apparent permissive attitudes, however, when it came to attempting to persuade magistrates, the university graduates' SERs closely resembled those written by their pre-war and second career colleagues. Chapter two looked at reports on young adult men. It showed that although working-class youths had long been viewed as dangerously autonomous and licentious,[20] with the postwar young particularly being distinguished by their greater economic independence and assertive refusal to be marginalised by their elders,[21] the way that both generations attempted to persuade magistrates was ultimately by indicating if the young adult man was suitably submissive to his parents. This was the case whether or not it was apparent from the nature of the offence that the offender had participated in subcultures or had enjoyed the fruits of greater affluence and entertainments of the London scene.[22] In particular, the older generation of probation officers based their recommendations on the extent to which the young man conformed to a normative masculinity

[17] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 180.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 180; Vanstone, *Supervising Offenders in the Community*, p. 106-107.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[20] Geoffrey Pearson, *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears*, p. 1.
[21] Bryan Wilson, 'The War of the Generations' in *The Youth Culture and the Universities*, (London, 1970), p. 97; Richard Weight, *Patriots: National Identity in Britain, 1940-2000*, (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 393, 396.
[22] Collins, 'Introduction', p. 17-18.

which closely resembled the notion of *mens sana in corpore sano* outlined by Wills in her article.[23] By discussing their apparent strength of character, physicality, restrained heterosexuality, and disciplined work ethic, SERs effectively painted a picture that indicated if the offender was a delinquent in need of intervention. More importantly still, in describing the single man's adherence to these various characteristics that made up *mens sana in corpore sano,* it was carefully revealed to the magistrate whether or not the offender was suitably submissiveness to his parents. As a result, where intervention was considered necessary for corrective purposes, SERs by the pre-war and second career probation officers highlighted the single man's lack of submissiveness to his parents at the same time as showing his failure to conform to *mens sana in corpore sano*.

Despite their permissive conceptions of reform, however, the university graduates attempted to persuade magistrates almost identically to their older colleagues. They recommended that cases involving young adult men could be dealt with by a caution or small fine, for example, by highlighting creatively evidence of submissiveness to parents while describing their apparent strength of character and work ethic. Lack of submissiveness was similarly highlighted when the university graduates regarded some kind of intervention was needed. Indeed, while some reports contained a psychodynamic discourse that reflected their training in psychoanalysis, other university graduates effectively concealed psychology in their SERs for fear of antagonising magistrates who were unfamiliar with theories of delinquency. These particular reports were therefore more akin in style and discourse to the common sense approach favoured by the older generation of probation officers. Finally, attitudes to social class were another area which revealed the similarities between the different generations of probation officers. Unlike their working-class equivalents, there was an assumption that middle-class young adult men had bright futures, or were at least expected to have bright futures. To make their recommendations more compelling, both generations of officers drew attention to this while indicating their adherence to a submissive masculinity.

Permissiveness and affluence did not bypass teenage girls. Single young adult women may have been trying to achieve freedom in their private lives, either by engaging in youth subcultures or leaving home, for example. There have also been previous studies which have explored girls' participation in the affluent society with consumption of music being regarded as a creative and fulfilling activity.[24] Chapter four therefore looked at the way that probation officers portrayed young adult women convicted of a wide variety of offences in SERs. It was argued that the pre-war and second career women probation officers were historically very similar in values and motivations to female practitioners in girls' institutions.[25] Far from using their position of authority to challenge

[23] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 159.
[24] Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, and Gloria Jacobs, *Re-Making Love: The Feminization of Sex,* (London, 1986); Angela McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture,* (Basingstoke, 1991).
[25] Cale, 'Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger in the Victorian Reformatory System', pp. 201 – 217; Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare: Bad Girls in Britain, 1900-1950*; Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family:*

conventional gender stereotypes, they applied them and, if oral interviews are anything to go by, this probably reflected their own social values too – conceiving respectable femininity as entailing submissiveness to parents and sexual restraint. Regardless of the nature of the offence or previous convictions, recommendations were based on their apparent submissiveness at home while describing their strength of character and work ethic. This closely resembled how single young adult men were portrayed with the exception that the defining characteristics of strength of character were often gendered. For example, the way individuals spent their leisure time was frequently used as a window onto their submissive good character. Whereas helping their mothers at home with domestic chores was taken as an indicator of submissive femininity for young adult women, spending time with their fathers in the garden or playing sports was the equivalent way of demonstrating a submissive masculinity for young adult men.

Reports that could be attributed to the university graduates were no different in this respect. This is perhaps surprising considering readings of the post-war period have identified significant social-sexual change with a softening of attitudes towards pre-marital sex as a facet of the late 1960s.[26] Liberal legislation in this period helped create an impression that sexual morality had been redefined; abortion was legalised in 1967, and the National Health Service (Family Planning) Act of 1967 extended access to contraception regardless of marital status.[27] Half of sexually active teenage girls took the Pill by 1975.[28] However, despite these apparent wider changes in social attitudes, university graduates praised submissiveness to parents and indicated approvingly of sexual restraint when trying to convince magistrates of their good character. When intervention in the lives of young adult women was considered necessary for corrective purposes, graduates invoked gendered anxieties about promiscuity and sexual danger in order to persuade magistrates. These findings are perhaps especially surprising considering the onset of feminism in the Probation Service from the late 1960s. Indeed, although early feminist thinkers believed that the permissive society had excluded and exploited women, and that feminists were undoubtedly permissive[29], there is no evidence of SERs being used as a platform to express views about female oppression (though more research is undoubtedly needed in this area).

Chapters three and five looked at how probation officers portrayed married men and women. Marriage has been portrayed as an institution undergoing significant change in the 1960s. The

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Britain, 1850-1940; Zedner, *Women, Crime and Custody in Victorian England*; D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 149.

[26] Collins, 'Introduction', p. 3; Claire Langhamer, 'Feature: Sexual Politics in Mid Twentieth-Century Britain, Adultery in Post-war England', *History Workshop Journal,* 62 (2006), pp. 87-115; Martin P. M. Richards and B. Jane Elliott, 'Sex and Marriage in the 1960s and 1970s', in D. Clark (ed.), *Marriage, Domestic Life and Social Change,* (London, 1991).

[27] Collins, 'Introduction', p. 2.

[28] Lara Marks, *Sexual Chemistry: A History of the Contraceptive Pill,* (New Haven, 2001).

[29] Collins, 'Introduction', p. 22; Beatrix Campbell, 'A Feminist Sexual Politics: Now You See It, Now You Don't', *Feminist Review,* 5 (1980), p. 2; Frank Musgrove, *Ecstasy and Holiness: Counter Culture and the Open Society,* (London, 1974), p. 29.

Divorce Reform Act of 1969, which dissolved marriages that had undergone 'irretrievable breakdown' (after two years in consensual cases and five years in contested ones), was one piece of liberal legislation deemed permissive in the sixties.[30] Moreover, Collins described that advocates of permissiveness, from radical theologians and cultural commentators, to anarchists, were vocal in rejecting deference to traditional institutions such as marriage. They argued that the primacy given to freedom, pleasure, and sexuality necessitated a rethink of morality and religion.[31] Indeed, official reports on marriage in the sixties showed the traditional assumption that its preservation was in the interests of society increasingly challenged.[32] Callum G. Brown regarded the 1960s as a pivotal decade in the de-Christianisation of Britain, where the Church of England reconciled itself to the 'New Morality' and to its waning authority over matters of personal conduct.[33] The policy paper on divorce, *Putting Asunder* (1966) was a key text in this regard; not only did the report lift the church's opposition to no-fault divorces, it also conceded that, because practising Christians were no longer in the majority, it was 'unjust' and 'socially disruptive' for the church to lay down the law for others.[34]

These wider changes and debates were not reflected in SERs about married men and women, however, where the ideal of companionship between man and woman continued to have salience throughout the sixties.[35] Assuming magistrates were likely to respond positively to hearing about married men embracing their role as husbands and fathers, or that there were loyal and dutiful wives on hand to support their partners, both generations of probation officers creatively drew this out in SERs when they wanted to make a favourable impression. This ideal of the domesticated family man was linked to a desire to consolidate family life in the context of the social dislocations of wartime, post-war reconstruction and affluence.[36] Where a domesticated masculinity was perceived to be lacking for whatever reason, both generations of probation officers invoked this for the purposes of intervention. In particular, violent behaviour, alcoholism, and a poor work ethic were considered weakness of character in married men. As a result, narratives advocating intervention could be made more compelling by showing married men flouting their responsibilities in a way similar to how some women historically have been punished more severely for transgressing gender norms.[37] Finally, similar to what was seen in chapter two, social class had a significant impact on how married middle-class men were perceived. In particular, both generations of probation officers made their narratives in SERs more compelling by framing offending behaviour in relation to the respectability derived from a superior social background.

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[30] Collins, 'Introduction', p. 2.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 8-9.
[33] Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*, (London, 2001).
[34] Collins, 'Introduction', p. 8.
[35] Young and Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London,* p. 30.
[36] Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men,* pp. 2-3.
[37] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 15.

Wives on the other hand were supposed to be submissive and excelling in their roles as housewife and mother. This feminine ideal can be traced back to the Victorian period at least.[38] When a caution or small fine was being advocated as a sufficient punishment, for example, married women were praised by both generations of women probation officers for being submissive to their husbands at home. Favourable narratives could be made more compelling if the SER could describe a domestic situation in which the husband was suitably supportive and ultimately dominant over his wife. In contrast, where husbands were found to be obviously neglectful for whatever reason, supervision could be advocated for supportive purposes. Demonstrating appropriate femininity was equally important for women in more marginal positions. Although it is questionable how much attitudes towards pregnancy and single motherhood changed as a result of permissiveness[39], it seems both generations of women probation officers understood their precarious position and acted accordingly. In the absence of a conventional marriage to praise, probation officers who wanted to help single mothers drew attention to other indicators of appropriate femininity such as caring for children, for example. Such observations could be made to appear all the more compelling when fathers were absent for whatever reason. However, when intervention for corrective purposes had been desired for women offenders, both generations could invoke the stigma of sexual promiscuity and single motherhood in order to justify such recommendations.

Why did SERs by the permissive university graduates closely resemble those written by the pre-war and second career generation? It is certainly true that many of the offenders written about in these SERs would not have been part of the 'alternative scene' associated with the permissive society; SERs simply reflect that many offenders had led relatively conventional lives with ambitions and values not that dissimilar to their parents. Young people were never as iconoclastic as the media made out.[40] Surveys conducted in the late 1950s and 1960s, for example, revealed young people to harbour 'conventional ambitions for families and careers…Majorities of older and younger respondents condoned coffee bars and divorce reform and condemned narcotics and the counterculture.'[41] Permissiveness should also be seen as a relative construct amongst university graduates. For example, it has been shown elsewhere that graduates would have regarded homosexuality differently in the sixties; interviews suggested that some saw it as an illness requiring treatment whereas others believed homosexuals should be left alone (either way, recommendations to magistrates were still based on evidence of normative masculinity).[42]

This does not mean that permissiveness was an illusion, however. The point has already been made that the university graduates increasingly understood reform 'primarily in terms of its benefit to

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[39] Marwick, 'The International Context', p. 169.
[40] Davis, *Youth and the Condition of Britain*; Marwick, *The Sixties*, p. 55.
[41] Marwick, 'The International Context', p. 23. See also, Thelma Veness, *School Leavers: Their Aspirations and Expectations*, (London, 1962); Frank Musgrove, *Youth and the Social Order*, (London, 1964).
[42] Lunan, 'Probation Officers, Social Enquiry Reports, and Importuning in the 1960s', p. 800.

the individual.'[43] If they were permissive, why did they reinforce conventional gender norms in SERs? There are several reasons for this. First, trainee probation officers learnt how to write reports during their practical experience on the Home Office course.[44] Learning on the job therefore often resulted in a more pragmatic approach to writing reports. On many occasions the university graduates would have adopted tried and tested methods acquired from their older colleagues. This point was reflected in several interviews with retired probation officers.[45]

However, the most important reason why the university graduates invoked conventional gender norms in SERs was due to their common perception of magistrates. Regardless of how liberal or not the public became in their attitudes to permissiveness (polls suggest that public opinion was mixed on a number of issues[46]), the 1960s courtroom was not considered by the university graduates to be a place where a rethink of morality had occurred in this period. Garland has argued that the penal-welfare establishment typically regarded the criminal justice system as punitive and anachronistic throughout the postwar decades.[47] This perception was demonstrated in all the interviews which frequently characterised the magistracy as socially conservative. Indeed, being attached to local courts as well as serving the legal system more generally, probation officers acquired an awareness of magistrates as often being socially conservative. Matrimonial conciliation was one particular area of probation work where university graduates understood that courts valued the institution of marriage and prioritised its preservation. This helps explain why reports on married men and women were preoccupied with the postwar ideal of companionship between husband and wife. Therefore, no matter how permissive the university graduates were, all probation officers invoked conventional gender norms in SERs because they believed it was likely to be the best way to achieve the desired outcome in court.

This reasoning was particularly salient in circumstances like the City of London's Justice Rooms. Probation officers from across London and beyond had been sending reports into these particular courts unsure about the magistrate. The reason why the SERs sent to the Guildhall and Mansion House attempted to persuade magistrates in strikingly similar ways was ultimately because they had all been written under the common assumption that the City's magistrates had probably been socially conservative and would therefore likely respond to assertions about normative character ideals. If there had been permissive magistrates working in some courts, and the local university graduates had been aware of this, then future research could consider whether permissive probation officers capitalised on that? Perhaps only when it was believed magistrates were receptive to

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[43] Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', p. 159-160.
[44] Home Office Circular No. 98/1965, *Recruitment and Training of Probation Officers*, HOC 98/65; Page, *Crimefighters of London*, p. 282.
[45] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012; Interview with Peter McNeal, recorded by JL, London, 8 February 2012.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[47] Garland, *The Culture of Control*, p. 28.

alternative ideas that reinforcing conventional gender norms as a strategy for influencing outcomes in court disappeared in SERs?

Although previous studies have generally argued that women were treated differently from men – which is undoubtedly true considering that their offending behaviour was often sexualised and viewed in relation to their social roles of motherhood and household[48] – there are still benefits to be had from comparative studies. In particular, this thesis has shown that there were remarkable similarities in the definition of appropriate masculinity and femininity for single men and women with submissiveness to parents being the keystone of their good character. Where these definitions significantly diverged was in the realm of adulthood where husbands were expected to be breadwinning and in control of their households while wives were supposed to be submissive and excelling in their roles as housewife and mother. This thesis has also shown how the significance of social class was uneven, making more of a difference to how males were perceived than females. Assumptions about bright prospects of middle-class single men, or the respectability derived from careers of middle-class married men, set them apart from their working-class equivalents. This was not replicated to the same extent for females, however, all of whom were considered destined to motherhood and housewifery despite their particular social backgrounds.

With London having an increasingly diverse racial and ethnic population in the postwar decades, race and ethnicity is an area worthy of further study.[49] Retired probation officers described the 1960s as a period when having to confront and being challenged by racial prejudice both within and external to the Probation Service.[50] To what extent racial stereotyping intermeshed with postwar gender norms in SERs needs investigation. The City of London is not ideal for this because it generated a relatively small proportion of offenders from minority backgrounds.

Finally, although this thesis has avoided a discussion about SERs which reduced them to showing either leniency or harshness, it seems to support the view that those who conformed to conventional gender norms were treated more lightly. Moreover, by exploring how they drew out creatively evidence of appropriate masculinity and femininity in what were quite often delinquent backgrounds, we can begin to see what Gerry Matthews meant when he humorously described the probation officer's job in the sixties as being 'the burglar's mate'.[51] However, as this thesis has demonstrated, responses to offending were varied and complex, shaped by gender ideologies and by cultural assumptions about social roles. If non-intervention could be justified on the grounds that the individual and their family conformed to conventional gender norms, then intervention could also be advocated because they had failed to do so. Both generations of probation officers invoked gendered

[48] D'Cruze and Jackson, *Women, Crime and Justice in England since 1660,* p. 2.
[49] John Davis, 'Rents and Race in 1960s London: New Light on Rachmanism', *Twentieth Century British History,* 12 (2001), pp. 69-92; Marcus Collins, 'Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies,* 40 (2001), pp. 391-418.
[50] Interview with John and Irene Walters, recorded by JL, London, 18 July 2012; Interview with Will Watson, recorded by JL, London, 7 March 2012.
[51] Interview with Gerry Matthews, recorded by JL, London, 17 February 2012.

anxieties in order to intervene even in circumstances when the offence had been dismissed as an aberration. As a result, there are instances where probation officers might not necessarily have been on the side of the offender after all, rendering the concept of ‘the burglar’s mate’ problematic and any simple assertion of leniency and harshness in reports meaningless.

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