# On the Case of Youth: Case Files, Case Studies, and the Social Construction of Adolescence

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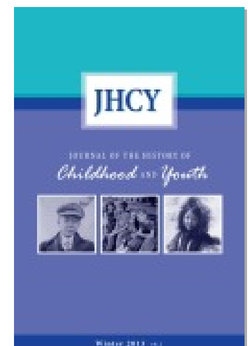


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# ON THE CASE OF YOUTH: CASE FILES, CASE STUDIES, AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF ADOLESCENCE

Case files and case studies occupy a significant place in histories of mental illness, sexuality, and "delinquency," and historians have considered the ways case files and case studies construct subjective categories and social problems. This paper foregrounds questions of age, and I ask how young people have been conceptualized within New Zealand case files and case studies between 1900 and 1960. I suggest that, within the case record, the texts of adolescent subjectivity reveal wider concerns around work, discipline, respectability, and social order, along with changes in social science research and writing. At the same time, I argue that case files and case studies have played an active role in the social construction of adolescence in New Zealand's past.

## INTRODUCTION: CASES

Ronald Grant Gilbert stares at the photographer, eyes wide open and his mouth set on a straight line. This seventeen-year-old porter was arrested in 1908 in Wellington, New Zealand's capital city, for breaking, entering, and theft. His likeness features in a volume of police photographs of prisoners, and one of his two pictures is a little more wistful than the other (figure 1). The accompanying text reveals that Gilbert was born in Tasmania, had brown hair, blue eyes, and a "small scar on left wrist, burn mark on right arm," and two arrests for theft. On another page we meet Charles Thomas Scoringe, also seventeen, a freckled tinsmith of Italian descent (figure 2). Scoringe's entry details his previous form for theft. Committed to Burnham Industrial School as a youngster, he escaped on several occasions. Each time he went a-thieving, and each time was apprehended.[1]

Gilbert and Scoringe were not unique. There are a great many other adolescent boys in this leather bound volume, held in New Zealand's national archives. Many of the boys were aged between sixteen and nineteen; most were convicted for theft.

Figure 1: Ronald Gilbert. P 27 4, Archives New Zealand.

Gilbert and Scoringe had committed crimes, but other adolescents generated case files for different reasons.[2] Those committed to reformatories, hospitals, and mental health facilities appeared in logbooks or loose-leaf files that record their individual particularities: name, age, history, class background, and behavior. Such records "keep track" of their subjects, assisting warders and doctors to monitor young people over a period of time. They illustrate the institutional power of the case file, an apparatus of authority that interpellated its subjects in highly specific ways.[3]

The case study is the case file's social scientific cousin. While the case file focuses on institutionalized individuals, the creators of case studies weave individual lives into a wider narrative in order to illustrate a broader theoretical or empirical point. During the twentieth century, social workers, educational psychologists, and sociologists used case studies to further their analysis of social "problems." In the process, these professionals laid down their own claims to knowledge and authority. While the case file reflected the rise of institutionalization, the case study signalled an increasing social science focus on social 'problems'.

This article explores the case file and the case study in relation to New Zealand's young people between 1900 and 1960. Both of these mediums, I will suggest, did more than record individuals and groups. Instead, they actively constructed their participants as certain kinds of subjects. More broadly still,

Figure 2: Charles Scoringe. P 27 4, Archives New Zealand.

case files and case studies played an important role in the construction of adolescence as a distinct phase of life. When we read case files and case studies, we see how adolescence has been constructed as a category that changes over time and how young people have been interpellated into the discourses and practices of their society. Petty thieves Ronald Gilbert and Charles Scoringe are but two figures whose files evoke the history of adolescence.

In the following sections of the article, I consider the ways in which adolescence can be said to be socially constructed on a number of levels, with a focus on historical processes. Then I move on to explore several case files and case studies that illustrate these dynamics in some detail. First I peruse the principal's records at the Otekaieke Special School and drop in on the immigrant boys of rural Wanaka. Next I visit Wellington's wharves, byways, and bedrooms with the capital city's adolescent girls. These examples draw upon unrestricted records held in public depositories and represent both genders and a mix of geographical locations.

Ways of knowing young people, I contend, parallel the social construction of youth itself. This point comes into focus when I consider the case study, a method that closely tracks the development of social science in New Zealand and internationally. Developments in psychology, social work, and sociology—new understandings of personality, adjustment, and maturity, along with the professionalization of knowledge of adolescence—dovetail with a mid-century

focus on the "problems" of the newly constituted "teenager." In other words, epistemological shifts reinforced new ontologies of adolescence.

There is a governmental dimension too. Throughout our period, adolescents were expected to govern themselves in the Foucauldian sense, to interiorize the values and expectations of their society.[4] They learned how to be acceptable, to constitute themselves as moral subjects of their own actions.[5] Case files and case studies highlighted the moral conduct required by custodians, doctors, and researchers who judged their subjects' success. The following pages tease apart the relationships between constitutions of individual subjectivity and social prescriptions. Still, as Foucault points out, regimes of power never preclude resistance. This article ends with a consideration of the extent to which some young people questioned the constructions in which they were embedded.

## CONSTRUCTIONS

To say that adolescence is socially constructed is to cut across some tenacious assumptions.[6] Adolescence is often conflated with puberty, and defined in biological terms. Bodily changes, "raging hormones," and notions of sexual "maturity" are its key themes; adolescence is "a developmental stage characterized by physiological surges."[7] However, this everyday understanding of adolescence ignores the importance of economic influences, linguistic practices, and social relationships. In challenging the prevailing biological view, social constructionists contend that young people's bodies and behaviors are enabled and circumscribed by, and made meaningful within, their social contexts and interactions.[8]

Adolescence has a history, as both a category and a set of social experiences. This history is profoundly influenced by cultural, institutional, and spatial processes.[9] Some scholars argue that the modern European and North American concept of adolescence took shape during the late nineteenth century.[10] Middle-class boys and girls began to spend more time in secondary schooling and less in the workplace, and this implied a new balance between dependence and freedom.[11] In New Zealand, the school leaving age was thirteen until 1901, and it rose from fourteen to fifteen in 1944.[12] Although young people in their teens remained financially dependent on their parents, they were free to form school-based, youth-centered cultures with their age mates.[13] The stricter "age grading" of schools assisted this process; no longer did primary and secondary-age children mix in the same institutions.[14] Over time, ever-increasing numbers of adolescents, in their half-way state between "childhood" and "adulthood," forged their own social milieux.

Psychiatrists, educators, and social reformers debated new understandings of adolescence. In his 1883 book *Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases*, Thomas

Clouston—a leading psychiatrist and superintendent of the Royal Edinburgh Asylum—outlined the pertinent developmental processes.[15] For boys, his concerns ranged from reading preferences—Dickens was appropriate and accessible, but not Shakespeare—to the perils of "masturbational insanity." Adolescent girls, Clouston wrote, were susceptible to hysteria and "reflex neuroses."[16] Granville Stanley Hall, psychology professor at Johns Hopkins University, is best known for his elaboration of the idea that adolescence is a time of great "storm and stress."[17] Like Clouston, Hall worried about the risk of "adolescent insanity." Neither man was idiosyncratic in his views. At the end of the nineteenth century, Nancy Lesko suggests, "adolescence became a handy and promiscuous social space, that is, a place that people could endlessly worry about, a space that adults everywhere could watch carefully and that could be imagined to have many visible and invisible instabilities."[18]

The social construction of adolescence is a continuous process, not a static one. While the concept took on a particular importance in the late nineteenth century, understandings of adolescence, its meanings, and particularities—and the lives lived by young people—continue to change over time. New meanings and materialities have emerged, and old ones are rearticulated. The following discussion will flesh out this argument.

## CASE FILES: FROM OTEKAIEKE TO WELLINGTON

Case files are institutional records. Some, like those of Ronald Gilbert and Charles Scoringe, have been generated by the authorities of law enforcement. Other young people's files relate to industrial schools and reformatories, mental and medical hospitals. Still others serve private institutions. Most of these organizations, Iacovetta and Mitchison suggest, are "entrusted with the task of categorizing and assessing certain populations, usually with the purpose of supervising, treating, punishing, servicing, and/or reforming individuals deemed in some way deviants or victims."[19] The case file, then, constitutes an apparatus of authority. Its creator applies features and conventions that allow comparisons between individuals and behaviors; it documents the extent of compliance with institutional rules and reveals transgressions. In Lunbeck's words, the institutionalized person comes to have "a history, a diagnosis, and an imputed future."[20] A case file's audience consists of those responsible for creating the record—police, doctors and judges—and other professionals who seek to intervene in treatment, punishment, and so on.

The mode of recording sometimes served the interests of a particular professional group. For instance, the case file furthered psychiatrists' claim to know and discipline their subjects.[21] At the same time, case files reflect wider social

preoccupations; they condense and reproduce wider social anxieties and ideologies. Their claims about acceptable and unacceptable behavior, for instance, draw upon and reinscribe the norms of their culture.

This becomes clear in the example of Otekaieke Special School, sited near the small town of Kurow in the rural South Island of New Zealand. Otekaieke opened in 1908 for boys of "low grade" mentality. The school was as an alternative to the lunatic asylum, a means to train "educable mental defectives" instead of committing them to custodial care. In 1911, soon after Otekaieke came into being, the government shifted responsibility for this group from the Mental Hospitals Department to the Education Department. Most pupils were sent to Otekaieke at the behest of teachers and principals in the mainstream education system, and they took part in the regimented routines of school and farm work, recreation, and occupational therapy.[22]

Principal George Benstead tracked the boys' progress in a large case book. He recorded his attempts to shape Otekaieke's pupils into rational, acceptable, socially useful citizens, and two particular concerns came to the surface. Walter Andrews, twenty-one, committed to Otekaieke after stealing in the city, exemplified the first. His first entry, from 1910, reads:

> A tall undernourished lazy and indolent type often to be found in the back streets of the larger towns in New Zealand . . . Apparently he has lived a more or less idle life & has rarely applied himself to work for any length of time. Consorting with the hooligan & larrikin young men of the city he has developed lazy and most undesirable habits.[23]

According to a progress report, Andrews' conduct improved over time:

> He was taught to see that he must work continuously to enable him to earn his own living . . . During the latter portion of his stay at Otekaieke he had developed into a fairly good worker & took an interest in outdoor farm and garden work.[24]

While a newspaper had earlier reported that Andrews "was shown to be of weak intellect," Benstead's diagnosis was more positive.[25] In being "taught to see that he must work continuously to enable him to earn his own living," the lad proved receptive to Otekaieke's—and New Zealand society's—first rule of masculinity: work and financial independence would make a boy into a man.[26] Andrews was released after a year at Otekaieke.

In his "special school" deep in the New Zealand countryside, Benstead reinforced the demands of the wider society. He defined a pupil's "usefulness" by his ability (or otherwise) to work on the farm and in the woodwork shop. On the records of unenthusiastic boys, he wrote "no ambition" or "absolutely no

'go' in him." A physically or mentally incapable pupil was a "custodial case," never to be released from institutional control. Nineteen-year-old Oscar Fry arrived at Otekaieke the same year as Walter Andrews, but Benstead quickly gave up on him:

> Lazy, indolent boy much given to loafing, cigarette smoking, hanging round street corners, an admirer of the music halls. Not feeble minded but merely a larrikin who would probably have developed into a complete street hooligan at home [in Wellington]. Educational attainments very fair. Likely to have a very bad influence on other boys. Transferred to Burnham Industrial School May 2nd 1910.[27]

Not all cases were this clear-cut. Eleven-year-old Gordon Maltley was younger than Fry and Andrews and needed further training and encouragement. "My original prognosis of this case was that I had hopes of him earning his own living," Benstead wrote. "I still think eventually he may be given a chance to go out into the world."[28] Ultimately, labor power, rather than age, defined Otekaieke's pupils.[29] Benstead made no use of such terms as "adolescent" or "youths." Incoming pupils, and those in training, were "boys" and "lads," even those nearly twenty years of age. Their institutionalization, it seems, along with their ambivalent relationship to independent paid work, deprived them of adult status.

Benstead expected discipline and self-mastery in matters other than work, and his register evokes a second failure of self-control. "Self-abuse," he suggested, lead to diffidence, nervousness, moral waywardness, and a weak physique. Douglas Coleman, seventeen, was "much prone to solitary habits [and] on slightest pretence would absent himself to try to indulge in the solitary vice which is sapping his strength and manhood." A progress report insisted that "his pernicious habit of self-abuse has sapped what small amount of energy and willpower he ever possessed."[30]

Benstead claimed some success in "curing" masturbation, although he did not specify the precise nature of his "judicious treatment." In the case of twelve-year-old William Heslington, the principal "fixed" the two most vexing problems. "Habit of loafing, but now a better worker," Benstead noted in the case book. "Habit of self-abuse almost cured."[31] Others, like fourteen-year-old Ernest Varcoe, were not so easily rescued:

> He is not a good boy—somewhat deceitful—the result of a bad early life—inclined to be of an immoral nature—& given to dirty actions with boys similarly inclined . . . Morally this lad is somewhat degenerate and would be for that sole reason unable to be left alone in the outside world as he would assuredly get into serious trouble probably through interfering with girls of a tender age.[32]

While mutual masturbation signaled a lack of self-control, it also raised the specter that "weak-willed" boys might be "contaminated." From there, unfettered and indiscriminate sexual habits would spread to those outside of the institution ("girls of a tender age," for instance). Benstead was not alone in his concern. A 1906 inquiry into conditions at Burnham Industrial School, near Christchurch, claimed many adolescent inmates were "sexual degenerates," "hopelessly bad boys" who constituted "a constant source of contamination to the others."[33]

Such fears revealed widely-held beliefs about sexual continence and self-mastery. Benstead agreed with Clouston and Hall; all demanded the male youth curtail his bodily desires and apply himself to a life of hard work and moral rectitude. These men—and their preoccupations—spoke to the internationalization of ideas about adolescent morals. Hall was American, Clouston was British—and so too was Benstead, who had been recruited in London for the Otekaieke post. Others advanced similar arguments. Frederick Truby King, a New Zealand–born and English-trained psychiatrist and asylum superintendent, cited Clouston in his jeremiad against "immoral" publications and their deleterious effect on the juvenile mind.[34] Auckland medical doctor Herbert Barraclough wrote of "the omnipresent problem of sex" and warned of "vicious habits" that need to be corrected during the teens lest they "become fixed and irremovable."[35] Sometimes these men referenced one another and sometimes they did not, but clearly ideas about adolescence seeped backwards and forwards across national boundaries.

The contents of the Otekaieke case book also reveal something of the production of adolescent subjectivities. In Foucauldian terms, Benstead's record illustrates "the techniques of naming, studying, diagnosing, predicting, and administering an identifiable adolescent population."[36] The principal's discussion of transgressions (laxity, larrikinism, smoking, and masturbation) reveals the social norms to which he (and other professionals) adhered. It also tells us something about governmentality and state care. The Otekaieke boys learned to discipline their conduct and forge their subjectivities in relation to the values of the school and, ultimately, the wider social order. If only the lads would start to work hard—and stop masturbating—they would interiorize Benstead's discipline and recast their understandings of themselves and their place in the order of things.

While the Otekaieke files offer one example of the state's control of adolescents, the case file format made its way into the private sector too. An archived notebook titled "Sargood Social Experiment" is the record of twelve adolescent boys brought to New Zealand from England in 1914 on board the SS *Tainui*. Percy Sargood, a philanthropist and landowner in the rural settlement of Wanaka, paid their passage. In Sargood's "social experiment," the twelve boys from disadvantaged urban backgrounds became farming cadets.[37] A

wholesome, robust New Zealand rurality, Sargood hoped, would offer an alternative to an English life of grime and urban waywardness.[38]

Sargood's "casebook" offers a standard documentation for each boy: date of birth, height, weight, state of health, religion, and employment. It also includes observations on the boys' behavior on the *Tainui* during transit and in Wanaka upon arrival. Inside the book's front cover is a photograph of eleven of the boys along with Mr. Vorley, their chaperone on board the ship (figure 3).

The behavior of Charles Cook, sixteen, merited a detailed entry. "A big, curly-hair [*sic*] boy, rather playful, very strong," Cook had worked as an office boy and a packer for a boilermaker at the Union Docks in London. Aboard the *Tainui*, Cook was a mischief-maker, apparently "the only mis-behaved and unruly member of the party":

> Vorley states that he [Cook] was always the cause of the other boys being unruly. This has been corroborated by all the boys during conversations I have had with them. Cook had, on one occasion on board the "Tainui," to be turned away from the dinner-table, because of his piggish behaviour. He is also reported to have thrown a bed-chamber into the sea, and to have thought it great fun when told [*sic*] about it.[39]

Bad table manners and the offloading of a chamber pot seem minor transgressions. However, their recording reveals a clear disciplinary regime. In learning compliance and malleability, the boys would be prepared for the colonial training that awaited them. Cook broke other rules too:

> He was also found to have stolen the sum of £1–6-6 from Vorley's coat pocket when the latter had left it on Cook's berth. A search was made of his box some two days after and £1–1-9 found. Cook had meantime been spending money freely, saying that it had been given him by one of the stewards for services rendered. Vorley had Cook court-marshalled in front of all the boys, and also brought him before the Purser. Finally, Cook returned the balance of the money, and the matter ended.[40]

Theft was more serious than Cook's earlier misdemeanors. Once again, punishments served to highlight the bounds of acceptability. One mystery remains, however: what was the precise nature of the "services rendered"? Was Cook hinting at a sexual involvement with the purser? Such exchanges were not uncommon between men and boys on ships, and this explanation would explain his having spending money denied the others.[41] The possibility of adolescent sexual desire remains unnamed here, and this case file refuses to give up all its secrets.

Cook's photograph reveals his cheekiness and self-assurance (he is third from the right in the top row in figure 3). Once settled in Wanaka, he did as he

Figure 3: The boys from the SS *Tainui*. Vorley, the chaperone, is seated in the center of the front row. S11–523a, Hocken Collections.

pleased much of the time. His supervisor found him "lax in general behaviour, idle and slow," and if not closely watched he would "shirk work." Although the local shopkeeper had been advised not to sell cigarettes to the boys, "Cook however managed to get them by some means or other" and smoked them in defiance of the rules.[42] These were familiar themes: laxity and disobedience, finessed through the art of trickery and manipulation. Lunbeck notes the widespread assumption that men would "outgrow the dissolute masculinity of youth and embrace the respectable masculinity of adulthood." Cook, it seemed, was a reluctant adherent to this philosophy.[43]

Despite its private sector setting, Sargood's casebook bears a remarkable similarity to the records of state-run institutions. The case file transcended the apparent difference between institutional and non-institutional settings and became a cultural form on its own account. Notes on behavioral progress (or regress) followed the provision of basic personal information: history, physical features, and metrics. These notes served as both tracking devices for those with authority over young people and reminders about the necessity of constant vigilance in particular instances. Charles Cook and his companions were cast in a similar mold to the Otekaieke boys.

Adolescence was—and remains—a highly gendered arena.[44] Benstead's Otekaieke case book and the notebook of the "Sargood social experiment" both show that physical labor and self-control paved the pathway to manhood.

Three court files from Wellington offer up some clues about the construction of adolescent girls' sexuality, and they reveal the "residues" of girls' accounts of their encounters.[45] The court file differs from the case book entry in several respects.[46] It originates in the police station and court room, not the asylum or training programme; its primary purpose is the establishment of guilt or innocence, not the supervision and reform of its subjects.[47] Unlike the case book, a court file offers up numerous, interwoven voices: those of police officers, probation officers, doctors, witnesses, and complainants. Still, both types of file construct their subjects in particular ways. Both encode assumptions about proper conduct, and these assumptions reflect professional power.

In 1901, fifteen-and-a-half-year-old Jessie Franklyn, an office assistant, had sex three times with public works employee Edward Pierard. Franklyn had met Pierard some months earlier, she later told the court: first on the street and then, with her mother, at a carnival. Pierard became friendly with the girl and her mother, and visited the family on numerous occasions. He phoned Franklyn at her office and began to visit early on a weekday morning, when she had the place to herself. At first, the girl's mother could see no harm in the friendship, although Franklyn's brothers did not approve. But the tenor of the relationship soon changed. At the office, Jessie recalled, Pierard "used to kiss me and talk about love," and asked several times "to have connection with me." She agreed, the pair had sex, her mother soon suspected an "improper intimacy," and Jessie confessed. Worried she may be pregnant, she was taken to a doctor, and the police became involved.[48]

The material in this court file suggests two interesting—and highly moveable—social boundaries. Notions of propriety underpinned the first. Jessie Franklyn's mother's tacit support gave way to concern when a "friendship" between Edward Pierard and her daughter segued into something "improper." At first Jessie's mother trusted Pierard, but this trust evaporated and she told the man: "If there's anything there [i.e., a baby] you will have to maintain it."[49] The second shifting boundary was a legal one. In 1896, sixteen replaced fourteen as the age at which an adolescent girl could legally consent to sexual activity with a man.[50] Had Edward Pierard and Jessie Franklyn become sexually involved only four years earlier, the encounter would have been legal. This was a time of shifting understandings about the age of sexual maturity and, accordingly, the age markers of childhood and adulthood. The court process reflected these ambiguities. Pierard's case went to trial three times, and each time the jury failed to return a unanimous verdict.[51] The man was set free.

Other court files reveal different tensions around gender, age, and sexuality. One afternoon in April 1910, bottle collector Robert Anderson called at the

home of fourteen-year-old Florence Stant. Anderson offered the girl two shillings if he could have intercourse with her. Stant refused, Anderson upped his price to three shillings, and she agreed. Soon Florence's sister Edith, a laundress, came home from work. "Accused appeared to be having sexual intercourse with my sister," Edith later told the court. "Immediately I went into the room I said 'Florrie you dirty little wretch.' Accused jumped up off the bed and said 'O, Christ.' I went out to the kitchen and I came back again and said 'If that dirty wretch does not get out of this I'll send for the police.'" Edith carried out the threat anyway and summoned a policeman.[52]

This type of situation was not uncommon. Mary Gillingham's analysis of early twentieth-century New Zealand court cases records other instances of this casual exchange of sex for money, between men and girls, and men and boys.[53] Yet, Edith Stant's response suggests a fluid notion of responsibility. Her first response, "Florrie you dirty little wretch," attributes shame to her younger sister, while her reference to "that dirty wretch" attaches it to Robert Anderson. There is no clear assumption that an adult man must be the guilty party and an adolescent girl the innocent. In terms of sexual responsibility at least, Edith Stant drew no clear line between adult and adolescent.

A third case hints at a further blurring of adolescent agency and adult attributions of moral responsibility. Mary Stephen, thirteen, often dropped in on ships visiting Wellington's harbor. "I visit any warship I can get on," she claimed proudly.[54] By her own admission she befriended the sailors and enjoyed their company. One seafarer gave her a nickname: "X Rays May," after an x-ray photograph she had admired. One autumn Sunday afternoon in 1909, on board the ship HMS *Challenger* with a girlfriend, Mary met twenty-four-year-old sailor David Johnston. She agreed to see him again, at 3:30 the following Thursday, and on the Monday she wrote him a letter:

> Wellington 3/5/1909
>
> Dear Mr Johnson,
>
> Expect me down by the "Challenger" at ten to four on Thursday afternoon. I will be there even if it rains all day. This afternoon I walked up Lambton Quay four times to see if I could see you in town, but I suppose you were not ashore on Monday. I've been thinking of you ever since yesterday, and I'm longing to see you again. I must close now and remain with much love.
>
> Your own sweetheart
> X Rays May[55]

On the Thursday, "X Rays May" and David Johnston met up, wandered around town, and ended up under a tree next to a railway line. Mary later

recalled that the seafarer put his hand inside her bloomers, unbuttoned her drawers, and touched her legs and then her breasts. He then "exposed himself to me, saying 'Look here'" and "said if I was eighteen he would marry me tomorrow." Two men saw the pair. One later told the court "I called out to the sailor 'Why don't you get one out of the cradle?'" The other recalled: "When I first saw them they were only kissing, apparently enjoying it." He then noticed that Mary had "got hold of his [Johnston's] person," and the accused "started to move his body similar to a man having connection with a woman."[56]

Mary Stephens and the two witnesses agreed on the timing and sequence of events. However, they attributed different meanings to the situation. One witness, a carrier, concluded the pair "apparently enjoy[ed] it," and he saw nothing remiss in the situation until the contact became genital. At that point—by which forty-five minutes had elapsed—he spoke to the sailor. Johnston claimed "that the girl was his sister and I replied that no respectable man would do that to his sister."[57] The second witness, a laborer, acted differently: he accused the sailor of cradle-snatching. The laborer's accusation was a cat-call of derision, not an expression of concern, and he walked away.

Divergent perspectives emerge through the case record. Although Otekaieke principal George Benstead worried about sexually wayward young men "corrupting" girls, these working-class witnesses were rather less resolute on the subject. While the carrier was reasonably happy to watch the pair kissing—if somewhat intrigued that "neither was taking any precaution to prevent people seeing them"—he would not countenance genital contact between a thirteen-year-old girl and a man of twenty-four.[58] The laborer, though, was unfazed. The age-based rules of sexual engagement were far from uniformly held. The importance of class is worthy of consideration here too.[59] Did many working-class men hold to different ideals than middle-class professionals?

The physical and emotional confidence of "X Rays May," as Stephens styled herself, is palpable. "I go in a lot for physical culture and am well developed," she told the court, "and I can box." Her account disrupts notions of adolescent girls as passive and helpless. I will return to this theme, but it is worth noting that the court file, like other case files, affords us an insight into adolescent motivations as well as adult prescriptions. On the one hand, as files of authority and apparatuses of governmentality, these records inscribe the bounds of normality. However, governmentality is rarely totalizing. Sometimes, while attempting to reinforce social boundaries, the creators of case files also revealed elements of transgressive subjectivities. Either way, the files reveal that the boundaries around adolescence are partial, complex, and liable to be contested.

## CASE STUDIES: LAX GIRLS AND AIMLESS WIDGIES

Case files tend to be individual in their character. Even if they are bound together in a buckram casebook, share a file box, or jostle for attention in a notebook, each one represents a single person. Their bond is their creation in a particular institution, their common orientation to disciplinary power, and their creators' desire to know, surveil, and sometimes mold those who feature in them. The case study takes this orientation in new directions: each case becomes one of many in a written analysis that groups together individuals in order to put forward a systematic argument about society.[60] These are public or semi-public documents. Some are written to be read by professionals, others by the newspaper-reading or book-buying general public. This is not a wholesale change, though. As I will show in the following section, the case file's governmental aims are rearticulated: to understand youth society is to formulate attempts to fix its "problems."

Case studies reflected the development of new forms of "scientific" knowledge about individuals and their societies. During the early decades of twentieth century, psychiatrists began to address the world beyond the asylum.[61] They wrote of the pathologies of everyday life and competed with social workers to define social problems and offer solutions.[62] Both groups used a case study approach, and so too did sociologists. In Chicago University's sociology department, for instance, Ernest Burgess declared "the case study was to sociology what the microscope was to biology."[63]

New Zealand trailed developments in Chicago. Social workers did not organize professionally until the early 1950s, and the first university sociology degree became available in 1957. However, the medical and educational literatures hinted at a rudimentary case study analysis. A 1922 government inquiry into venereal disease referred to a number of girls "infected with gonorrhoea [who] without any semblance of reserve or decency, would discuss arrangements for further intercourse with men."[64] Concerned by such cases, committee members worried about girls "with no will-power or sense of restraint," the "restlessness of the age," and "a good deal of laxity among young people of all social conditions."[65] This was as much case study detail as was offered, however, and other 1920s studies of adolescent sexuality offered no case study material at all.[66] Nevertheless, the inquiry revealed a continuing concern: moral laxity in a restless age.

Social scientists slowly turned their attention to adolescence during the 1930s and 1940s. Every fifth-year medical student at Otago University conducted a piece of individual research. During the 1930s, topics included the

health and physical wellbeing of adolescent school children, the inhabitants of a YMCA camp, and residents of a Catholic boy's home.[67] During and immediately after the Second World War, researchers addressed school pupils' health, institutions for "backward children," and university students' living accommodation.[68] One project explored the shop and factory lives of "working girls." The researchers spent time in workplaces and described working conditions. They went to Easter camp with a number of the young women in order to describe their social life. Still, they focused on group activities and elided individual lives.[69]

During the late 1940s, a new subject made its way onto the research agenda. In Otago University's medical school and a new social work program at Victoria University in Wellington, research students took up the topic of "juvenile delinquency." Initial dissertations were quantitative studies which tabulated statistics on household size and family type, socioeconomic background and school attendance. These projects included two suggestively titled examples: "Catholics and Delinquency" and "The Young Incorrigible."[70] Anxieties over "juvenile delinquency" loaned themselves to a case study approach. One medical school dissertation, from 1949, offered brief discussions of several thirteen-year-old "delinquents." Many of these young people, the researcher contended, had a penchant for theft and loitering in the unlicensed cafes commonly known as "milk bars." The writer sought out the common causes of such "delinquency": "feeblemindedness," familial "immorality," and a range of "moral defects."[71] That same year, a child welfare official tabulated cases of six adolescent boys "subject to the influence of adult homosexuals over brief periods". Almost all the youths, he noted, possessed "poor physique" and "weedy" posture, and most were prone to lying, listlessness, and daydreaming.[72]

These developments heralded a change in adolescents' social scientific status. No longer individualized cases in a file, they took a new place in discussions on the "problems" facing society in general and youth in particular. In these particular examples, milk bar delinquents and proto-homosexual youngsters illustrated the need for social scientific knowledge and, ultimately, social reform.

R. Goodland's 1953 study of the inmates of the girls' training center at Burwood, in the South Island city of Christchurch, exemplified this new approach. This institution began in 1900 as "Te Oranga Home," an industrial school.[73] In 1944 the staff at the newly renamed "Girls' Training Centre Burwood" moved away from the overtly moral language of the reformatory and made increasing use of a psychological discourse of "diagnosis, treatment and prognosis."[74] New Zealand lagged behind once again; as Pols suggests, this psychological approach had emerged in North America during the 1920s and

1930s.[75] Goodland wrote her dissertation—*Five Case Histories of Girls Discharged from Burwood*—in the new School of Social Science at Victoria University, a social work department with close links to psychology.[76]

Goodland was well aware of gendered constructions of adolescence. In the United States, she noted, boys were often arrested for stealing and girls apprehended for "being ungovernable," committing "sex offenses," and "running away." Still, the researcher did not submit these constructions to any degree of critical scrutiny. Her interest was instrumental, and boldly stated: to research "the problem of juvenile delinquency" in the New Zealand context.[77] This construction was articulated most forcefully a year later, when the government's "Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents" investigated "juvenile immorality" in the rapidly expanding suburbs. The committee's written summary (widely known as the "Mazengarb Report" after committee chair Oswald Mazengarb) decried a "wave of sex crime" sweeping across the globe. The report denounced the "precocious" girls and "delinquent" boys running riot in the streets, homes, and "second rate theatres" of New Zealand's cities. Most New Zealand households received a copy of the report in the mail.[78]

In writing *Five Case Histories*, Goodland found no shortage of material. The pseudonymous Mary "wore pigtails and looked rather demure," but was a witness "in a carnal knowledge case at the Magistrate's Court in which ten men and youths were charged." She admitted sexual intercourse with "various men" at the seaside.[79] Having noted that girls' sexual behavior was socially controlled more closely than that of boys, Goodland joined in the search for answers. Mary "is easily led and has not the strength of character to withstand that which she knows is wrong," the researcher wrote, before attributing causality: Perhaps if Mary had chosen her friends more carefully, "this may never have happened."[80] Pat was even more troublesome. In Goodland's words, she "had committed sexual misconduct and was generally out of control," sometimes let forth with "a flow of obscene language," and "showed some pride in the fact that she was the talk of the village."[81]

Susan, "an attractive girl with a pleasing manner," went out with the "wrong" kinds of men. These included a Pacific Islander, "who the parents considered was not fit company for her."[82] In using this phrasing, Goodland distanced herself from the parents' apparent racism, but she concurred that Susan did need the discipline that Burwood staff provided. "It is probable that had she not been admitted to Burwood she would never have adjusted herself to life and just gone on drifting from one situation to another."[83] The researcher's own language echoes the shift in the wider social debate, with its

psychological underpinnings: a discourse of failed "adjustment" replaced a language of moral failure.

Not all transgressions were sexual, however, and Goodland analyzed other forms of laxity and rebellion. Susan "admitted stealing" and "boasted . . . that she smoked ten cigarettes a day."[84] Ann was fired from a job with a dressmaker for being "too cheeky," and "took to wandering aimlessly round the streets either on foot or by bicycle at all hours of the night."[85] After her discharge from Burwood, police arrested Ann for the theft of a bicycle valued at £18. "The day she was to appear before the Magistrate she rode a bicycle round and round on the lawn outside the Court and refused to go into Court when she was called." Following this display of strong will and independence, a psychologist diagnosed Ann with "a psychopathic personality."[86]

To some degree, Goodland's social scientific approach to her subjects echoed the views of Burwood staff. Both the institution's own reporting and Goodland's dissertation are "ideologically saturated records that reflect predominant class, gender, and racial norms and contemporary professional categories of knowledge, treatment, and punishment."[87] Burwood staff attempted to place young women "back on the road to respectable womanhood," while the researcher assessed—and ultimately affirmed—the "need" for "treatment."[88] Once again, however, there are glimpses of young people talking back. Some adolescent girls reveal their pride in smoking and their sexual reputations, and the bicycle appears as a motif of independence and resistance to regimes of governmentality.[89]

When we consider the wider influence of these social scientific studies, questions of audience re-enter the frame. Aside from a research supervisor, an examiner, and other staff members in the School of Social Science, very few people would have read Goodland's work. While the dissertation is a useful barometer of the trends in social scientific writing, its influence was limited.

Dorothy Crowther's *Street Society in Christchurch*, from 1956, reached a wider audience.[90] This "Psychological Report" was published at Canterbury University two years after the Mazengarb committee released its findings. Crowther's title echoes that of *Street Corner Society*, William Foote Whyte's 1943 study of Boston's youth gangs. (Whyte's study, in turn, followed in the footsteps of the Chicago examples: Frederic Thrasher's *The Gang* and Clifford Shaw's *The Jack Roller*.[91]) Still, like the doctor Herbert Barraclough some forty years before her, Crowther did not name her inspiration.[92] Methodologically, she employed the "natural history model" of psychology popular in North America, in which real-life spaces provided the research environment.[93] Crowther's research assistants—second-year psychology students—posed as curious onlookers in inner

city Christchurch, watched young people coming and going, and asked them about their lives.

Goodland had worked with institutionalized adolescents, but Crowther's researchers sought out a different focus: the burgeoning youth cultures of Christchurch's central business district. They described a number of "loosely overlapping" adolescent types. The "Teddy Boy" was "a member of a closely knit gang" and wore "a black drape coat, peg bottom trousers, black shoes with thick rubber soles, and a string tie." "Teddy Girls" decked themselves out in "a man's shirt with cuff links, a tight slitted black skirt, and flat back shoes." The "milk bar cowboy" was less tidy than the Teddy Boy, his "leather jackets and trousers tucked into the tops of wool-lined boots." His interests were clearly delineated: motorcycles and cars.[94] Male "bodgies" and female "widgies" wore their hair "long and brushed back," and, Crowther suggested, their "behaviour tends to be more boisterous and attention provoking."[95]

Crowther and her co-researchers described a youth geography as well as an adolescent taxonomy. Specific hang-outs included the Crystal Palace in Cathedral Square and a milk bar in Colombo Street, but often her subjects "wander[ed] around the same set of streets, stopping every now and then for a word with another wandering group."[96]

> One Teddy Boy (that is one youth dressed in Edwardian style clothing) was reported. Between 7:45 and 9:00 p.m. on Friday the twentieth, accompanied by a youth dressed in check jacket and slacks, he wandered round the central shopping area, covering the same area several times. He twice stopped to talk for a moment to two youths, and once had several minutes conversation with a young, heavily made up girl. Finally he and his friend rode away on bicycles.[97]

Two groups of youths attacked each other, in a "playful sort of way", on the corner of Gloucester and Colombo Streets, restricting other pedestrian traffic in the process. Then,

> [a] group of three youths are lounging outside a Milk Bar. They are dressed fairly quietly, but wearing "soft" shoes and long hair styles. A man and his wife are walking by when one youth flicks a cigarette on to the woman and it falls to the footpath. The man tells his wife to walk on; he stops and says to the boy, "I could twist your nose." The boy looks a bit sick. The man says "you know what I mean?" He lectures the boy on manners, then drags him to his wife several chains down the street and makes him apologise. Other boys from the group follow excitedly.[98]

The researchers recorded conversations in adolescent spaces and tried to capture the local idiom:

> After bagging her seat [a nineteen-year-old] moved to the counter for her order. On her way she swayed her hips past Reg [a seventeen-year-old] who asked her if she was coming out with him tonight. She paused, posed in the manner of a Hollywood star and said, "Reg, the night I go out with you, I need my head read."[99]
>
> First youth: "What ar-ya-doin' tonight?" Second youth: "Oh, a-dunno." The first: "Yi goin' to the Maori Club?" The second: "Oh, a-dunno." The first: "'Ave-yi-gotta car? Couldja getta car? Yiv gotta car, haven't ya?" The second: "Me, no. I smashed mine up." The first: "What about yer mother's?" The second: "Don' be silly. Takes me all ma time to get hers any night, let alone a Sunday night." The first: "Couldn't ya get one then?" The second: "No, I couldn't get one." The first: "Oh, _______ ya."[100]

In writing *Street Society in Christchurch*, Crowther moved away from attempts to diagnose a social "problem," and she sought to contextualize the life worlds of young people. At the same time, she constructed adolescence as a linguistically and spatially particular phenomenon marked out by clothing and activities. Sometimes Crowther's adolescence had different standards and priorities than the adult world, and this difference gave rise to conflict.

In other respects, Crowther built upon Goodland's approach. Both projects documented youth mobility. Crowther's youths' bikes had motors, unlike those of Goodland's subjects, and their appeal transcended gender. Mary hoped for a two-stroke motorbike for Christmas.[101] Carol frequently went for late-evening jaunts on the back of boys' motorcycles and "was impervious to restraint and directions as to what hour she should be home."[102] Other young people dreamed of greater mobility. Brian immersed himself in travel books and longed to head overseas.[103] Crowther also made normative judgements about her subjects. Fifteen-year-old Dorothy "is very fat," she wrote. "She admits to a weight of nine stone two, but this is probably a gross underestimate."[104] Nineteen-year-old Brian was "definitely not a steady worker; he will work flat out for a time and then slack. Also he shirks any form of responsibility."[105] Even as Crowther sought to understand adolescents on their own terms, she drew upon familiar tropes of impaired self-direction and familial lack. "The behaviour of these young people is apparently aimless," she wrote, "but it must be recognised that it is not so in their eyes. The street provides some satisfaction which is otherwise lacking in their lives."[106]

In 1958, two years after Dorothy Crowther released *Street Society in Christchurch*, a commercial publisher produced A. E. Manning's study *The Bodgie: A Study in Psychological Abnormality*.[107] Anyone could buy a copy of *The Bodgie* in their local bookstore. Manning, a psychologist, closely tracked Crowther's social scientific approach. He interviewed thirty New Zealand and

Australian adolescents, presented their lives in case study form, and developed a theory about youthful "abnormality." Manning's discussion made extensive use of a language of abnormal psychology. Fay was "very alert mentally" but had "obsessional ideas," Graham was "an hysteric," and Gail "looked painfully childish while aping sophistication."[108] Still, Manning was not consistent. Sometimes he pathologized adolescents, and at other times he defended them. "Mischief has been mischief through all ages, and though the style changes, the impulses remain the same," he wrote. "There is no more immorality today than at the time of [Admiral] Nelson." "Let it be said that the children of today are the best that these countries, Australia and New Zealand, have ever produced. They are freer, they think more, they know more, and they reason more."

As far as Manning was concerned, adolescent pathology was not inevitable. The bodgie and the widgie, Manning suggested, "are simply emotional disasters who could be useful, happy people."[109] No longer was the recorder of cases trying to keep track of young lives, scribbling notes in a casebook in a reformatory institution. Manning, with his eye-catching orange cover and inclusion of evocative sketches of bodgies and widgies riding motorbikes, dancing, and drinking beer, broadcast his conclusions to a wide audience. His case study, with its appeals to Admiral Nelson, was written as a contribution to the public discourse.

## VOICING ADOLESCENCE

The work of A. E. Manning and Dorothy Crowther is significant, and not only for the way it introduced the case study method to a reasonably wide audience. When these researchers published their findings, they also allowed their subjects' voices to be heard. As Peter Stearns notes, youthful voices often disappear when adult ideas about young people set the research agenda.[110] With the hindsight afforded by history, we can consider to what extent adolescents' voices have complemented—and challenged—those of adults. Ultimately, we might ask whether youth perspectives cause us to rethink the social construction of adolescence in particular times and places.

The voices contained in the post–Second World War social scientific record show that institutional power and social scientific knowledges are rarely—if ever—total, and that power relations between knowers and the known-about are dynamic and fluid.[111] In Dorothy Crowther's study of inner-city milk bars, the young locals talk of hanging out and going out, getting cars and getting together, while adults look on. At the same time, adolescent perspectives are recuperated into adult researchers' frameworks. Graham, one of Manning's interviewees, told the researcher that "psycho-analysis and psycho-therapy

were simply 'confession,' and 'confession' is just a form of religious humbug to put more power in the hands of high priests." Manning was not impressed. He reincorporated Graham into his own therapeutic milieu, diagnosing him as "arrogant" and "opinionated."[112]

There was a constant interplay between youth voices and their adult framings. Auckland adolescents failed to escape researchers' structuring of their views on sexuality. In 1954, the year of the government's "Mazengarb Inquiry," the *Auckland Star* newspaper commissioned case study research from the Gallup polling company. E. Dumbleton, the Gallup researcher, sent a written report to the newspaper's editor, and this included the following examples:

> I don't like being with dirty minded girls. All the girls in my class are filthy minded. They go around and pull boys' flies undone. They do these things behind teachers' backs. They play with one another in the buses. Boys play with boys and boys and girls play with one another . . . Boys and girls meet after school to feel each other in a local park . . . There's a girl I see at church—a nice, clean minded girl—with whom I can have such fun. I'd like to marry her one day (Boy, 13).[113]

> Boys and girls meet at pictures. Boy takes girl home. They meet again in a local park and really have sex. I do. Most of my boy-friends do this too. I have had sexual relations with two girls (Boy, 15).[114]

> Once or twice boys have been fresh with me but I have not let them do anything except little things. I have never felt like doing anything more than that. I know a lot of girls who do everything and one I know has been doing it since she was about thirteen. Her mother and father don't know about what she is doing, but lots of the girls at school know all about it. Some girls talk about the boys and what they are like doing certain things (Girl, 15).[115]

These excerpts are powerful accounts of sexual life and moral judgement, but they were not allowed to stand without editorial comment. On the basis of these and other teenagers' opinions, the report's writer claimed that "we have uncovered considerable evidence of sexual malpractices on the part of young people." Unsurprisingly, he expressed his anxiety about the extent of the "problem"—and the *Auckland Star* would not publish the case study material. Instead, the newspaper editors—who proved more bashful than Manning four years later—contented themselves with articles that suggested eighty percent of parents supported sex education but wanted it confined to the home, that most teenagers liked comics and adventure books, and that the vast majority idolized their parents.[116]

Photographs also afford us glimmers of young people's self-understanding—although these, too, are embedded in a highly constraining framework.

In John Tagg's words, such images are "portrait[s] of the product of the disciplinary method; the body made object, divided and studied . . . made docile and forced to yield up its truth; separated and individuated; subjected and made subject."[117] Still, the institutionalized adolescent subject reacts to the eye of power in a range of ways. He or she may show "disgruntled incomprehension" or "melancholic resignation," or radiate "louche defiance" or "cavalier indifference."[118]

In figure 3, curly haired Charles Cook smirks—cheeky and irrepressible—at the camera. He announces his presence without reserve, while his mentors' texts record his wayward escapades. Thieves Ronald Gilbert and Charles Scoringe (figures 1 and 2) hold their ground too and reveal their unflappability under arrest.

In yet another police station, posed in front of a wrinkled canvas sheet, John Hinton—a thief from the small provincial city of Timaru—impresses himself into the photographic record (figure 4). He is dapper, well dressed, his bowler hat an expression of both social status and style. In the shot on the left hand side, we see him as if in conversation, about to talk to—or talk back to—the authority that renders him an object of surveillance. The modern researcher cannot hear Hinton's voice, but, through the lens of the police photographer's camera, we can glimpse his presence in the situation. Once again, regimes of governmentality fail to discipline their subjects completely, and the case file reveals something of the interrelationships between agency and control.

Figure 4: John Hinton, aged twenty-two, apprehended in Timaru in 1906 for theft. P 27 4, Archives New Zealand.

## CONCLUSION

Case files and case histories serve as contact points. In their textual and visual forms, they bring together individual lives and institutional expectations, be they medical, penological, psychological, or sociological. Each case file presents and tracks "problem" individuals. In New Zealand, the institutions that spawned these files—the reformatories, asylums, and schools—were well established by the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The case file lived on beyond that time, but government agencies restrict most files from the last one hundred years in order to protect subjects' privacy. A more extensive analysis will have to wait for the future. In the second quarter of the twentieth century, by which time youth cultures began to exercise adult minds, the case study emerged as an element in a social scientific method. This was a new way to mobilize the case history, to continue its governmental impulses, and to stitch it into the social fabric.

Case files and case studies have a formative function, constituting the adolescence of which they speak. The reports of Goodland, Crowther and Manning—like those of their international counterparts—not only reflect the preoccupations of their time, but also help to create a field of inquiry and experience. They too are powerful social constructions.[119] As sociologist Ken Plummer points out, case material never describes phenomena in a neutral way. Instead, it offers up "textual productions" that embody the particularities and power relations of their time.[120] The social sciences in general, and case studies in particular, are "embedded in, produced by, and productive of the social."[121]

Readers could peruse the social scientists' revelations and use them to shape their sense of what adolescence meant to themselves and others. This process of construction was bi-directional, as professional opinion drew upon and reconfigured more widely circulating ideologies. In declaring that Dorothy was "very fat," for instance, or that Brian "shirked any form of responsibility," Dorothy Crowther replicated and reinforced popular notions about hard work and bodily self-control.

So, which came first: the chicken of adolescence, or the egg of medical, penological, and social scientific knowledge? This is a tantalizing question to consider in the New Zealand context in particular, where international ideas were followed and rearticulated—even if the reference points were not always named. "Teenagers" hit the headlines during the 1940s, and government officials began to worry about a sexualized adolescence influenced by the corrupting consumer culture of rock and roll, comic books, makeup, and milk bars. Post-war affluence facilitated the spread of such pleasurable opportunities. At the same moment in history, a New Zealand social science scene began to

consolidate.[122] The newly minted social scientist emerged to diagnose the newly visible teenager who hung out on street corners, smoked, rode motorbikes, and had sex.[123] It is difficult to say which came first.

Much changed over the period between 1900 and 1960. Although adolescents stayed at school for longer as the years went on, they also gained greater visibility. The 1940s term "teenager" signaled a new social specificity. Older ideas about a person's "character" gave way to the psychological concept of "personality," a concept, Lunbeck suggests, that proved rather more suited to the emerging culture of mass consumption.[124] Otekaieke principal George Benstead wrote of the extent to which his boys followed his direction, but psychologist A. E. Manning described the personalities of his interviewees. The purported nature of social malaise shifted too, away from instances of individual failure and toward "delinquency" as a social "problem."

Still, youthful misdemeanors—sensuality and a lack of application—were hardly new in themselves.[125] If one trope continued through the period, it was laxity, and the city provided the greatest temptations. Benstead warned against the "hooligans and larrikins" of the back streets, "X Rays May" did what she shouldn't with the sailors in port, and the milk bars provided a ready setting for the transgressions of the 1950s. Office assistant Jessie Franklyn had little interest in forgoing life's pleasures, and she entertained a gentleman caller on weekdays before her workmates arrived. The extent to which teens were able and willing to govern themselves—and check their desire for ease, fun, and sensuality—was the yardstick of acceptable adolescence. Still, as I have shown, some of the subjects of adult authority talked back, some out-stared their photographers, and at least one young woman rode her bicycle around and around on the courthouse lawn.

Charles Scoringe never did what was expected of him. Having been arrested on the streets of Wellington and sent to Burnham Industrial School, he later made his way across the Tasman Sea to Sydney, Australia. Time and again he broke into houses, forced safes and made a series of "sensational escapes" from custody, and time and again the police chased him.[126] On one occasion he was caught dangling from a downpipe, in an attempt to escape the long arm of the law. According to Australian newspaper *The Argus*, "authorities regard him as one of the most daring men who have passed through their hands."[127] In the police records and the newspapers, Scoringe was repeatedly reinterpellated as a case. A new location, and continuing transgressions, led to new constructions.

Like Scoringe's criminal career, the social construction of adolescence continued its own trajectory through time and space. From milk bars to hotel bars, underage sex to internet pornography, bicycling to fast car racing, adolescents

locate themselves at the heart of social anxieties. Today, as in earlier decades, their lives are enmeshed in broader social trends and changes. Some generate case files, some case studies, and all will allow future historians to assess adolescence's ongoing construction and significance.

## NOTES

1. Both of these cases can be found in "Photographs of Prisoners, 1903–1907," P 27 4, Archives New Zealand (ANZ). "Scorringe," as appears on the photograph, appears to be a misspelling.
2. On case files in New Zealand mental health institutions see Catharine Coleborne, *Madness in the Family: Insanity and Institutions in the Australasian Colonial World, 1860–1917* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Barbara Brookes, "Women and Madness: A Case-study of the Seacliff Asylum, 1890–1920," in *Women in History 2*, eds. Barbara Brookes, Charlotte MacDonald, and Margaret Tennant (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 1992), 129–47; Barbara Brookes, "Men and Madness in New Zealand, 1890–1916," in *New Countries and Old Medicine*, eds. Linda Bryder and Derek Dow (Auckland: Pyramid, 1995), 204–10. For a discussion of a girl's reformatory see Bronwyn Dalley, "From Demi-Mondes to Slaveys: Aspects of the Management of the Te Oranga Reformatory for Delinquent Young Women, 1900–1918," in *Women in History 2*, eds. Brookes, Macdonald, and Tennant, 148–67.
3. Louis Althusser provided the classic account of interpellation: Althusser, *On Ideology* (London: Verso, 1971).
4. c.f. Thomas Lemke, "Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique," *Rethinking Marxism* 14, no. 3 (2002): 49–64.
5. Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Ethics, the Essential Works 1* (Middlesex: Allen Lane, 1997), 263.
6. Nancy Lesko, *Act Your Age! A Cultural Construction of Adolescence* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2001); Joseph Kett, "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2, no. 2 (1971): 283–98; Janice Irvine, "Cultural Differences and Adolescent Sexualities," in *Sexual Cultures and the Construction of Adolescent Identities*, ed. Janice Irvine (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 3–29; Jon Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth, 1875–1945* (London: Pimlico, 2007).
7. Irvine, "Cultural Differences," 8.
8. Irvine, "Cultural Differences," passim; John Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations 1770-Present* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), x.
9. Philippe Aries offered the classic account of the historical emergence of childhood and adolescence: Aries, *Centuries of Childhood* (New York: Vintage, 1965).
10. John Demos and Virginia Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 31, no. 4 (1969): 632–38.
11. Gillis, *Youth and History*, 100–101.
12. J. C. Dakin, *Education in New Zealand* (Auckland: Fullerton, 1973), 21, 32, 59.
13. Kelly Schrum, *Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergence of Teenage Girls' Culture, 1920–1945* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 11.

14. Gillis, *Youth and History*, 102–3.

15. On Clouston, see Allan Beveridge, "Madness in Victorian Edinburgh: A Study of Patients Admitted to the Royal Edinburgh Asylum Under Thomas Clouston, 1873–1908, Part I," *History of Psychiatry* 9 (1995): 21–54.

16. T. S. Clouston, *Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases* (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1887 [1883]), 544–45.

17. G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (New York: Appleton, 1904), 267. On Hall, see Sheldon White, "G. Stanley Hall: From Philosophy to Developmental Psychology," *Developmental Psychology* 28, no. 1 (1992): 25–34. Hall is sometimes credited with coining the phrase "storm and stress" in relation to adolescence, but it was in circulation during the 1880s, including in New Zealand: *Tuapeka Times*, 25 September 1889, 5. The *Tuapeka Times* piece is a reprint of a piece by psychologist William Burnham, attributed to *Scribner's Magazine*, although my own online search of that magazine failed to locate it.

18. Lesko, *Act Your Age*, 6.

19. Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, "Introduction: Social History and Case Files Research," in *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*, eds. Iacovetta and Mitchinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 3.

20. Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender, and Power in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 134. For Michel Foucault's formulation of this point see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage: New York, 1995 [1975]), 190–94. See also Jan Goldstein, "Foucault Among the Sociologists: The 'Disciplines' and the History of the Professions," *History and Theory* 23, no. 2 (1984): 23.

21. Lunbeck, *Psychiatric Persuasion*, 5, 21, 24, 131; Maynard, "On the Case of the Case," 68.

22. Sandy Bardsley, "The Otekaieke Special School for Boys, 1908–1950," in *"Unfortunate Folk": Essays on Mental Health Treatment 1863–1992*, eds. Barbara Brookes and Jane Thompson (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2001), 123–36.

23. Register—Principal's Case Book, 1908–1916, CAJG D16 129, ANZ, 65.

24. Register—Principal's Case Book, 65.

25. *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 6 June 1910, 5.

26. Erik Olssen, "Working Gender, Gendering Work," in *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890–1939*, eds. Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper, and Robin Law (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003), 53.

27. Register—Principal's Case Book, 61.

28. Register—Principal's Case Book, 37.

29. This fitted the pattern of the wider community. See, for instance, Caroline Daley, *Girls and Women, Men and Boys: Gender in Taradale 1886–1930* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999), 86.

30. Register—Principal's Case Book, 7.

31. Register—Principal's Case Book, 1.

32. Register—Principal's Case Book, 14.
33. "Burnham Industrial School: Report of Commissioner," *Appendices of the Journals to the House of Representatives*, E-3B, 1906.
34. F. Truby King, "A Plea for Stringent Legislation in the Matter of Corrupt and Immoral Publications," *New Zealand Medical Journal* (October 1890): 16–29.
35. Herbert Barraclough, "The Causation of Insanity," *New Zealand Medical Journal* 3, no. 2 (1904): 335–50, esp. 336.
36. Lesko, *Act Your Age*, 69.
37. Irvine Roxburgh, *Wanaka Story: A History of the Wanaka, Hawea, Tarras, and Surrounding Districts* (Dunedin: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1957), 170. See also Jim McAloon, "Sargood, Percy Rolfe—Biography," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, URL: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s3/1.
38. Since the mid-nineteenth century, New Zealanders had advocated the role of farm training in making "successful colonists." See, for instance, "What to do with Our Boys," *Wairarapa Daily*, 19 November 1888, 2.
39. Notebook, MS-0577, Hocken Collections, no pagination.
40. Notebook, MS-0577, Hocken Collections, no pagination.
41. William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006), 85. On sex between men and boys ashore, see Steven Maynard, "'Horrible Temptations': Sex, Men, and Working-Class Male Youth in Urban Ontario, 1890–1935," *Canadian Historical Review* 78, no. 2 (1997): 191–235.
42. Notebook, MS-0577, Hocken Collections, no pagination.
43. Lunbeck, *Psychiatric Persuasion*, 230.
44. Schrum, *Some Wore Bobby Sox*, 4.
45. Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880–1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 12.
46. Court files are among the oldest of case files, created in the context of criminal justice rather than psychiatry. By the fourteenth century, trial documents included information on the motivations and self-understanding of individuals. See, for example, Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, "The Middle Ages," in *Gay Life and Culture: A World History*, ed. Robert Aldrich (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 57–77.
47. On the court file and its use as a source of case material, see Steven Maynard, "On the Case of the Case: The Emergence of the Homosexual as a Case History in Early-Twentieth Century Ontario," in *On the Case*, eds. Iacovetta and Mitchenson, 65–87.
48. Trial File, Edward Pierard, 1901, AAOM W3265 2341, C414 467, unpaginated.
49. Trial File, Edward Pierard, unpaginated.
50. Barbara Brookes, "A Weakness for Strong Subjects: The Women's Movement and Sexuality," *New Zealand Journal of History* 27, no. 2 (1993): 140–56.
51. "A Much Tried Case," *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 May 1901, 2.

52. Trial File, Robert Anderson, 1910, AAOM W3265 3, C414 329, unpaginated.

53. Mary Gillingham, "Sexual Pleasures and Dangers?: A History of Sexual Cultures in Wellington 1900–1920" (master's thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, 1998).

54. Trial File, David Johnston, 1909, AAOM W3265 2297, C414 425, unpaginated.

55. Trial File, David Johnston, unpaginated.

56. Trial File, David Johnston, unpaginated.

57. Trial File, David Johnston, unpaginated.

58. Trial File, David Johnston, unpaginated.

59. On the significance of class in histories of youth, see Peter Stearns, "Challenges in the History of Childhood," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1, no. 1 (2008): 35–42.

60. See Jennifer Platt's discussion of the role of the case study in social scientific analysis: Platt, *A History of Sociological Research Methods in America, 1920–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 45–48.

61. Lunbeck, *Psychiatric Persuasion*, 21.

62. On the rise of social work as a profession, and the tensions between psychiatrists and social workers, see Lunbeck, *Psychiatric Persuasion*, 37, and Regina Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890–1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

63. Kenneth Plummer, *Documents of Life 2* (London: Sage, 2001), 108.

64. "Venereal Diseases in New Zealand: Report of the Committee of the Board of Health Appointed by the Hon. Minister of Health," *Appendices of the Journals to the House of Representatives*, H-31A, 1922, 7–8.

65. "Venereal Diseases in New Zealand," 20–21.

66. For instance, E. P. Neale, "A New Zealand Study in Sex Delinquency," *New Zealand Journal of Science and Technology* 7, no. 1 (1924): 19–24; Henry Field ("Aglow"), "A Consideration of the Problem of Sex Education with Special Reference to New Zealand Conditions" (dissertation for Honours in Education, University of New Zealand, 1927).

67. For instance, W. R. Carswell and J. S. McVeigh, "A Study of the Health of the Adolescent School-child of Dunedin" (Preventive Medicine dissertation, Otago University, 1937); J. D. Matthews, "Y. M. C. A. Camp Adair: A Public Health Study of a Youth Camp at Hunua, Auckland" (Preventive Medicine dissertation, Otago University, 1939); G. F. Hall, "St. Joseph's Boys' Home, Waverley, Dunedin: A Physical and Mental Survey" (Preventive Medicine dissertation, Otago University, 1939).

68. For instance, R. D. Rowe and B. A. McLaughlin, "Survey of the Findings on the Examination of a Group of Adolescents (11–14 years of age)" (Preventive Medicine dissertation, Otago University, 1943); Noel Roydhouse, "Otekaike [*sic*] Special School. (Pupils and Their Education, and Public Health Aspects of the Institution)" (Preventive Medicine dissertation, Otago University), 1949; D. W. Lowe and R. T. Wade, "An Investigation into the Health Aspects of Student Life in an Institution: A Social Study," (Preventive Medicine dissertation, Otago University, 1948).

69. Aileen Maxwell and Ada Gilling, “The Working Girl of New Zealand” (Preventive Medicine dissertation, Otago University, 1942).

70. D. P. O’Neill, “Catholics and Delinquency” (Diploma of Social Science dissertation, Victoria University College, 1950); N. E. Bardwell, “The Young Incorrigible” (Diploma of Social Science dissertation, Victoria University College, 1953).

71. B. F. Cupit, “Juvenile Delinquency: An Illustration of the Position Obtaining in New Zealand at Present” (Preventive Medicine dissertation, Otago University, 1949).

72. J. Ferguson, “A Study of Six Boys Involved With Homosexuals,” *New Zealand Science Review* (20 May 1949): 70–72.

73. Dalley, “From Demi-Mondes to Slaveys,” 149.

74. R. Goodland, “Five Case Histories of Girls Discharged from Burwood” (School of Social Science dissertation, Victoria University College, 1953), 2.

75. Hans Pols, “Between the Laboratory and Life: Child Development Research in Toronto, 1919–1956,” *History of Psychology* 5, no. 2 (2002): 135.

76. J. R. McCreary, “The School of Social Science—The Martians,” *The New Zealand Social Worker* 7, no. 1 (1971): 9–17; McCreary, “The School of Social Science. Part II—The Minions,” *The New Zealand Social Worker* 7, no. 2 (1971): 41–52. An academic sociology department later emerged from this configuration.

77. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 12.

78. Oswald Chettle Mazengarb et al., “Report of the Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents,” Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1954, H-47. For good discussions see Maureen Molloy, “Science, Myth and the Adolescent Female: The Mazengarb Report, the Parker-Hulme Trial and the Adoption Act of 1955,” *Women’s Studies Journal* 9, no. 1 (1993): 1–25; Redmer Yska, *All Shook Up: The Flash Bodgie and the Rise of the New Zealand Teenager in the Fifties* (Auckland: Penguin, 1993).

79. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 19–20.

80. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 21.

81. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 22–24.

82. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 31.

83. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 33.

84. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 31.

85. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 27.

86. Goodland, “Five Case Histories,” 28.

87. Franca Iacovetta, “Parents, Daughters, and Family Court Intrusions into Working Class Life,” in *On the Case*, eds. Iacovetta and Mitchenson, 315; on the disciplining of female adolescent bodies in such contexts, see Tamara Myers, “Sex, Gender and the History of the Adolescent Body: 30 Years After ‘The Crime of Precocious Sexuality,’” *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 1 (2009): 96.

88. Dalley, “From Demi-Mondes to Slaveys,” 159. On the control of female sexuality in New Zealand’s asylums see Brookes, “Women and Madness,” 140–41.

89. Jennifer Terry offers a wonderful discussion of subjects' resistance in the context of professional knowledge and control: Terry, "Theorizing Deviant Historiography," *differences* 3, no. 2 (1991): 55–74.

90. Dorothy Crowther, *Street Society in Christchurch* (Christchurch: Department of Psychology, Canterbury University College, 1956).

91. Frederic Thrasher's *The Gang*, from 1927, examined the lives of members in 1,313 Chicago gangs, and he illustrated his analysis with photographs of groups of lads, hang-outs and "gang loot": Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942 [1927]), and see the discussion in Greg Dimitriadis, "The Situation Complex: Revisiting Frederic Thrasher's *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago*," *Cultural Studies, Critical Methodologies* 6, no. 3 (2006): 335–53. Clifford Shaw's *The Jack Roller*, from 1930, shows how one runaway boy's "own story" reveals the "traditions, customs, and moral standards of neighbourhoods, institutions, families, gangs, and play groups" on the Chicago streets: Shaw, *The Jack-Roller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 7, and see also the discussion in Ian Shaw, "Rereading the Jack-Roller: Hidden Histories in Sociology and Social Work," *Qualitative Inquiry* 15, no. 7 (2009): 1241–64.

92. William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955 [1943]).

93. On the "natural history method" see Pols, "Between the Laboratory and Life," 137.

94. Crowther, *Street Society*, 2.

95. Crowther, *Street Society*, 3.

96. Crowther, *Street Society*, 6.

97. Crowther, *Street Society*, 5.

98. Crowther, *Street Society*, 7.

99. Crowther, *Street Society*, 10.

100. Crowther, *Street Society*, 14.

101. Crowther, *Street Society*, 30.

102. Crowther, *Street Society*, 33.

103. Crowther, *Street Society*, 35.

104. Crowther, *Street Society*, 28.

105. Crowther, *Street Society*, 36.

106. Crowther, *Street Society*, 39.

107. A. E. Manning, *The Bodgie: A Study in Abnormal Psychology* (Wellington: Reed, 1959).

108. Manning, *The Bodgie*, 50, 52, 54.

109. Manning, *The Bodgie*, 88–89.

110. Stearns, "Challenges in the History of Childhood," 36.

111. Coleborne, *Madness in the Family*, 151; Iacovetta and Mitchenson, "Introduction," 11.

112. Manning, *The Bodgie*, 52.

113. Report by Public Opinion and Gallup Polls (NZ), 12 August 1954, AAFD 7523 W4198 Box 172 part 1, ANZ, 3.

114. Report by Public Opinion and Gallup Polls, 3.

115. Report by Public Opinion and Gallup Polls, 1–2.

116. "Juvenile Sex Problems: What Parents Have to Say," *Auckland Star*, 7 August 1954, 1 & 3; "Children's Reading Habits," *Auckland Star*, 10 August 1954, 1; "Mum and Dad the Favourites," *Auckland Star*, 14 August 1954, 1, 3.

117. John Tagg, "Power and Photography: Part One, A Means of Surveillance: The Photograph as Evidence in Law," *Screen Education* 36 (1980): 24. For a recent extended treatment of Australian police photography, see Peter Doyle and Caleb Williams, *City of Shadows: Sydney Police Photographs 1912–1948* (Sydney: Historic Houses Trust, 2005).

118. Doyle and Williams, *City of Shadows*, 16.

119. Shaw, "Rereading the Jack-Roller," 1244.

120. Plummer, *Documents*, 115.

121. John Law and John Urry, "Enacting the Social," *Economy and Society* 33, no. 3 (2004): 392.

122. An indigenous social science writing took its first faltering steps during the 1920s, and really found its feet during the 1950s. I discuss this movement in more detail in Chris Brickell, "Those 'Other Sociologists': Social Analysis Before Sociology," *New Zealand Sociology* 22, no. 2 (2007): 195–218.

123. See, for example, A. E. Manning, *The Bodgie*.

124. Lunbeck, *Psychiatric Persuasion*, 69.

125. Chris Brickell, "Sexuality, Morality and Society," in *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. Giselle Byrnes (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009), 465–86.

126. See, for instance, "Scoringe Caught," *The Cairns Post*, 1 October 1923, 5; "Unusual Compliment," *Evening Post*, 5 October 1923, 7. There is a later photograph of Scoringe—from 1922—in Doyle and Williams, *City of Shadows*, 176.

127. "Daring Criminal," *The Argus*, 29 September 1923, 36.