

1 Friday, 6 May 2022

2 (10.00 am)

3 LADY SMITH: Good morning and welcome to the last day this  
4 week in relation to our hearings looking into the  
5 provision of foster care in Scotland.

6 Another expert today, just one expert today, but she  
7 may have quite a lot to assist us with, judging by her  
8 report.

9 I think she's here and ready to start, Ms Innes, is  
10 that right?

11 MS INNES: She is, my Lady.

12 LADY SMITH: Thank you.

13 Professor Lynn Abrams (affirmed)

14 LADY SMITH: Professor Abrams, may I begin by welcoming you  
15 back and thank you for agreeing to assist us with  
16 another area of our investigations. It's been  
17 enormously helpful to have you on board again.

18 You know the way we run evidential hearings,  
19 although you haven't been here before, but our systems  
20 are no different than they were before. Of course, the  
21 top of my list is to make sure that we do all we can to  
22 make you comfortable when you're giving evidence. If  
23 you want a break, please let me know. If you're not  
24 sure about anything, please say. It's important that  
25 you can give your evidence in the best way you can for

1           you.

2           You have a hard copy of your report. Other

3           documents and bits of your report will come up on screen

4           as you're referred to them. Use either or neither, as

5           you find comfortable.

6   A. Right.

7   LADY SMITH: If you're ready and have no other questions at

8           the moment, I'll hand over to Ms Innes. Is that all

9           right?

10   A. (Witness nodded)

11   LADY SMITH: Ms Innes.

12                               Questions from Ms Innes

13   MS INNES: Thank you, my Lady.

14           Professor Abrams, as Her Ladyship has said, you

15           previously gave evidence to the Inquiry back on

16           15 January 2015 and it was in respect of a different

17           matter to the one that we're going to cover today.

18           However, at that stage you gave evidence as to your

19           experience and we understand that you're a professor of

20           modern history at Glasgow University and you indicated

21           that essentially your area of work was as a social

22           historian of modern Britain --

23   LADY SMITH: Can I just insert one correction. It wasn't

24           2015. I think it must have been 2019.

25   MS INNES: Sorry, did I say 2015?

1 LADY SMITH: Yes. I know we've been going for years now,  
2 but 2015 was before my appointment.

3 Ms Innes.

4 MS INNES: I didn't even hear myself say that.

5 LADY SMITH: It was before your time as well, Ms Innes.

6 MS INNES: You gave evidence at that time and you provided  
7 us with a CV. You've provided us with an updated CV,  
8 which is at WIT-3-000001145, which I think just updates  
9 matters since you last gave evidence.

10 Under "Recognition" in 2020 I note that you became  
11 a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh?

12 A. That's correct.

13 Q. We understand notably in the field of child welfare you  
14 wrote a book in 1998 called The Orphan Country: Children  
15 of Scotland's Broken Homes, 1845 to the Present Day.  
16 Just in relation to that book, did that cover the period  
17 that we're looking at in your report that you did for  
18 the Inquiry, so 1948 to 1995?

19 A. It did and it didn't. I'm sorry, that's not a kind of  
20 clear answer, but it covered some aspects of that  
21 period, but not fully.

22 Most of the book covers the sort of 19th century,  
23 the Poor Law period, and then into the 20th century and  
24 there were some elements of the post-1945 period that  
25 I did address and that was mainly because quite a lot of

1 the book was based on oral history interviews with  
2 people who had experienced care in that period.

3 So it kind of partially covers that period, but not  
4 in as much detail obviously as this report does.

5 Q. You mention it was based around oral history, so  
6 interviews with people --

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. -- who had experienced care?

9 A. Yes, so the book was based on a combination of oral  
10 history interviews and archival material and press and  
11 newspaper material. I can explain the oral history  
12 interviews if you like.

13 Q. If you can just expand a little on the oral history that  
14 would be helpful.

15 A. Yeah. So I was really keen to speak to people who had  
16 experienced the care system because, as you know, they  
17 can provide a very different perspective from what one  
18 can gain from the archival evidence. So I went about  
19 that in a number of ways, I advertised in the press  
20 actually and found people who had been in residential  
21 care through press ads in the Press and Journal, mainly,  
22 but I also had contact with someone who worked for  
23 Barnado's, who was facilitating people who had been in  
24 the care system to find out more about their birth  
25 families and the reasons why they had been taken into

1 care.

2 At that time I was given a list of people who might  
3 be prepared to speak to me and some of those had been  
4 boarded out. I think it's fair to say that that  
5 wouldn't happen today because of GDPR and all sorts of  
6 issues, but this was back in the 1990s and so we were  
7 living under different regulations.

8 So I contacted some of those individuals and  
9 conducted quite lengthy oral history interviews with  
10 them, where they took me through their life stories as  
11 much as they could and we talked about their experience  
12 in the care system. As I say, mainly in foster care.

13 Q. Thank you.

14 If we move on from your CV to your report, which is  
15 at INQ-000000256, this is your report into The Historic  
16 System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Care  
17 in Scotland, 1948-1995. It's a report I think that you  
18 did for the Inquiry, together with your colleague  
19 Linda Fleming. Is that correct?

20 A. That's correct.

21 Q. If we can look on to page 6, there we see that you set  
22 out the aims and scope of your report and you note that  
23 in the context of your report you include children in  
24 a range of care provision. If we look at the first  
25 bullet point, you cover children who were in boarding

1 out or foster care.

2 A. That's correct.

3 Q. That's obviously what we're going to try to focus on

4 today.

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. If we go on to the next page, page 7, in the second

7 paragraph that we can see there:

8 "The report focuses primarily, although not

9 exclusively, on Glasgow and the West of Scotland ..."

10 Why did you focus on that geographical area?

11 A. I think we were asked to at the very outset. I think

12 initially when we were given the instructions as to what

13 the report was to cover, we were asked to focus on

14 Glasgow, but it made sense, I think, to focus on

15 Glasgow, because it was the largest Local Authority and

16 had the largest number of children under its care.

17 On the one hand, I mean I suppose you might say that

18 Glasgow isn't typical, but on the other hand, because of

19 its size and because of its complexity, it provides

20 really good insight into the ways in which the care

21 system operated in Scotland. But I don't think you

22 could extrapolate necessarily from Glasgow that that's

23 how things worked across all Local Authorities.

24 Q. Then at the bottom of this page you note the various

25 matters covered in your report.

1           Firstly, a description of:

2           "The systems and structures that existed at national  
3       Scottish Office [at that time] and Local Authority  
4       levels to regulate the care of children ..."

5           You refer to Professor Norrie's report in terms of  
6       the legislative background.

7   A.   That's correct.

8   Q.   We move on to page 8. You say that your report:

9           " ... cites the implementation of policies and  
10       procedures at the Scottish Office and by Local  
11       Authorities and identifies how and to what extent the  
12       regulatory mechanisms were executed in practice in  
13       relation to each form of care provision ..."

14        Again, one of those is boarding out?

15   A.   Yes.

16   Q.   You say you also:

17        "... examine the effectiveness of communication and  
18       operational practices between those parties responsible  
19       for children's care and protection."

20        Would that be between, for example, the Scottish  
21       Office and the Local Authorities? Is that what you were  
22       meaning?

23   A.   Yes, mainly the Scottish Office and Local Authorities,  
24       yes.

25   Q.   Then the next bullet point you note that you discuss:

1           " ... the dominant attitudes expressed towards  
2       children in care by those responsible for their  
3       well-being ... and identifies change where and when it  
4       occurred."

5           Why did you look at that aspect?

6   A. I think again we were asked to, as part of the remit of  
7       the piece of research, but also, I suppose, in order to  
8       understand the kinds of care that was implemented for  
9       children, both in foster care and in residential care,  
10      it's important to understand the attitudes towards those  
11      children, both by those who were implementing the care  
12      or putting the care into practice, and those who were  
13      caring for them, and in wider society as well. So  
14      I think there is some discussion somewhere in the report  
15      around corporal punishment, for instance, you know, so  
16      attitudes towards corporal punishment towards children  
17      in wider society as well as those responsible for care.

18   Q. Okay. Then the next bullet point is:

19           "It provides information about how appropriate  
20      qualifications and the training of staff was planned for  
21      and implemented by the Scottish Office and Local  
22      Authorities ..."

23           That's in respect of childcare officers and field  
24      staff and residential care workers across the period.

25   A. Yes.

1 Q. You don't mention training of foster carers there?

2 A. No, and I think when we started the project we really  
3 didn't know anything about the training element and  
4 I think we only really encountered discussion about  
5 training of foster carers right towards the end of the  
6 research and it cropped up right at the end, where it's  
7 discussed quite briefly in one of the documents.

8 Q. Then the final area that you cover is:

9 "... an assessment of the effectiveness of the state  
10 in its responses to intimations of mistreatment and  
11 abuse from children themselves, inspectors or third  
12 parties."

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. You then have a heading, "Methodology". I wonder if you  
15 can describe what methodology you adopted, particularly  
16 in relation to boarding out and foster care.

17 A. I'll go through the records, I think that would be the  
18 best way to do it, to talk about the different kinds of  
19 records that we looked at and what were most helpful.  
20 I guess there's a number of headings.

21 We looked at all of the records deposited in the  
22 National Records of Scotland, which mainly pertain to  
23 the Scottish Office, so the Scottish home and education  
24 departments in the main, relating to the care of  
25 children. They would generally relate to both boarding

1 out and residential care, but in the same kinds of  
2 documents.

3 We then also looked at as many documents as we could  
4 relating to Glasgow's policy and practice, mainly held  
5 in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow's record centre. So  
6 they were Local Authority records. So, for instance,  
7 records such as minutes of the Children's Committee and  
8 other materials like that, so bureaucratic  
9 administrative materials.

10 We also looked at case files of children who were  
11 brought into care under Glasgow Local Authority and also  
12 Strathclyde. They're quite difficult to access in  
13 a way. I mean, I think we would call it a random  
14 sampling because it would have been impossible for us or  
15 indeed for the archivist to have selected any particular  
16 categories of children in care, so one couldn't just  
17 identify children who had been in foster care, for  
18 instance.

19 I think we looked at approximately 100 files across  
20 the period, but lots of those files probably didn't  
21 contain very much material that was of help to us, but  
22 some of them were incredibly rich, particularly for the  
23 earlier period but also for the later period. So it was  
24 a random sample and the ones that appear in the report  
25 tend to be used as kind of keys or kind of windows into

1 particular issues.

2 Then I think the final set of records, really, or  
3 the final sources that we used were newspaper sources.  
4 Again it was kind of quite a quick survey of online  
5 newspapers, because we didn't have the time to do  
6 a really extensive survey of all the newspapers that  
7 might have reported cases of abuse or might have  
8 reported on the care system in general.

9 Q. Okay. When you were looking at children's files, of the  
10 100 files, do you know what proportion of those covered  
11 foster care or not?

12 A. Foster care? For the earlier period, so up to 1968,  
13 a good proportion would have included foster care  
14 because that was the predominant form of care that  
15 Glasgow were implementing for its children, but quite  
16 a few of them wouldn't have had very much information in  
17 them.

18 For the later period, I'm sure as you know the cases  
19 become much more complex. Foster care is often in  
20 there, but it's in there with this kind of patchwork of  
21 care that children were receiving, both at home under  
22 supervision or in some form of residential care.

23 Q. You make some comments on the possibilities and  
24 limitations of historical records at the bottom of  
25 page 11 that we're on at the moment. Let's go to the

1 bottom of that page. You make some comments in relation  
2 to that heading. Can you just explain the issues that  
3 you are trying to highlight there?

4 A. Well, historical records tell you a lot but they don't  
5 tell you everything, and the historian's job is to pull  
6 together as many sources as possible, I think, in order  
7 to provide as holistic a picture as one can of what's  
8 going on, I suppose, in this respect. It's the  
9 provision of care and the experience of care.

10 In respect of these records, I mean I think there  
11 are lots of gaps in the story. Perhaps I can give  
12 an example?

13 Q. Yes, please do.

14 A. We might come to this later, but ...

15 So in the case of Glasgow, the Local Authority  
16 records, the top-level minutes of the Children's  
17 Committee, which met regularly, are there, they're  
18 available, and one can, you know, read those. They  
19 provide a sort of blow-by-blow account of what was  
20 discussed in the Children's Committee. But we know  
21 there were subcommittees to that Children's Committee,  
22 because there was one called the boarding-out committee  
23 that was often referenced by the Children's Committee in  
24 its minutes, but we never found the boarding-out  
25 committee minutes. So we don't know whether they still

1       exist, whether they've been destroyed. They must have  
2       existed, because Glasgow Local Authority was quite  
3       a bureaucratic organisation, so we think they would have  
4       taken notes and they would have been kept until some  
5       point, but they might well have been weeded subsequently  
6       or they might be sitting in the Local Authority archives  
7       uncatalogued.

8           There are issues like that that you know that there  
9       should have been material there but you can't quite --  
10      you can't access it, so you can never really know what  
11      those discussions were. So that's one issue. You know,  
12      there will be other records that have been weeded and  
13      have been destroyed in the interim.

14   Q.   If we go over the page onto page 13, I think you cover  
15      this type of issue in your report. You talk in the  
16      first paragraph there that we see on the screen that  
17      sometimes the creator of the written record is creating  
18      a version for public consumption --

19   A.   Yes.

20   Q.   -- and you note that at the end of that paragraph that  
21      sometimes you discovered that there were -- that there  
22      was material that you found that recorded internal  
23      conversations --

24   A.   Yes.

25   Q.   -- which were perhaps revealing.

1 A. Yes. I mean, historians who use this kind of material  
2 produced by the Civil Service, basically, are often very  
3 reliant on the minute page that sits at the front of the  
4 file, because that records those internal conversations,  
5 or the sort of handwritten notes at the bottom of a memo  
6 are often quite insightful in comparison with the rather  
7 bland reports that are filed, yes.

8 Q. In the next paragraph there you make some observations  
9 in relation to children's case files and you say that  
10 they can be surprisingly scant in the information they  
11 provide. Can you just expand on that, please?

12 A. They can. They often don't give very much information  
13 why decisions were made, basically, about why children  
14 were placed in particular kinds of care.

15 We might come to this later. Particularly later on  
16 in a file where you might expect a little bit more  
17 information when an inspector has been out, in  
18 a boarding out case for instance, often there are very,  
19 very brief comments. We did discover that inspectors  
20 were often told only to write very, very brief comments,  
21 where we must assume that -- well, I assume that  
22 an inspector, a childcare officer who had visited  
23 a child who was boarding out would have on site made  
24 more extensive notes in a notebook and then they would  
25 have been transferred to the child's file when that

1        inspector was back in Glasgow; so something has been  
2        lost in the interim and I think that's in part why those  
3        children's files are very brief.

4    Q.   Does that apply more to the older period --

5    A.   Yeah.

6    Q.   -- given what you've said about later?

7    A.   It does, yes, definitely. After the Social Work Act and  
8        once children had their own social workers, then things  
9        become much more fulsome, certainly.

10   Q.   Then the next paragraph you say:

11        "Perhaps most importantly, in all the official  
12        historical records we have consulted, the authentic  
13        child's voice is invariably not present."

14        Why did you note that?

15   A.   Because it isn't. It's the most frustrating thing for  
16        an historian when you're trying to access the experience  
17        of a particular group of people and they do not appear  
18        in the official record at all. So certainly in the  
19        early records of boarding out, foster care, children's  
20        voices just do not appear at all. There is really no  
21        evidence of the children's experiences or children's  
22        opinions being taken on board.

23        Sometimes we know that is because an inspector, for  
24        instance, will not have seen that child, but other times  
25        they definitely saw the child but the child's voice

1           isn't taken on board.

2           I mean, that does change a little bit in the later  
3           period, but still, these kinds of official files about  
4           children don't include the children's voices.

5   LADY SMITH: Do they record what was done to children --

6   A. Exactly.

7   LADY SMITH: -- not what was done with children?

8   A. With children, yes, exactly.

9   MS INNES: Then if we look over the page to page 14, you  
10          have a heading, "Evidence of abuse in the historical  
11          record". I think this was to address one of the bullet  
12          points that you said that you were going to cover in the  
13          report, so looking for any evidence of abuse and to what  
14          extent were you able to find that sort of material?

15   A. It was very difficult. I suppose for a number of  
16          reasons. Partly because of the nature of the records,  
17          I think we would have only really found it in the case  
18          file -- well, we expected to find it in the case files,  
19          if anywhere, with the exception of, you know,  
20          high-profile cases where something really tragic  
21          happens, because then there is a public record. So  
22          that's really why we needed to look at the case files,  
23          and we did actually expect to find -- naively,  
24          perhaps -- some evidence of let's say mistreatment,  
25          perhaps, physical abuse, maybe sexual abuse. And we

1       only really found it in very tiny places, only very,  
2       very scantily.

3           One might read between the lines and one might read  
4       explanations or descriptions of children's behaviour and  
5       behavioural symptoms and one might interpret that as  
6       a sign that a child was not happy, but certainly there  
7       was no prima facie evidence of mistreatment or abuse in  
8       most of the cases. Does that make sense?

9   MS INNES: You note this, I think, at the bottom of page 14  
10       and going on to page 15, where you note that there were  
11       certain behavioural traits. At the top of page 15:

12           "Symptoms such as bed-wetting, self-harm, theft, or  
13       running away are today understood to signal children's  
14       emotional distress. These ... are present ... but may  
15       not have been explicitly linked to abuse or some other  
16       form of trauma by childcare officers."

17   A. Indeed.

18   Q. So there's evidence of the behaviour but why it arose is  
19       not disclosed?

20   A. Absolutely, yes. There isn't really any evidence of the  
21       ways in which the childcare officers interpreted that  
22       material. So it was generally reported to them, in my  
23       understanding, from the guardians or from the foster  
24       carers, and I think as we say maybe in this section or  
25       somewhere else, it's often treated as a problem for the

1 guardian rather than an issue for the child. And  
2 sometimes treated with punishment rather than with care.  
3 Q. I think we see in the -- on the screen that we can see  
4 three lines from the bottom at the moment:  
5 "For example, bed-wetting was often treated as  
6 a medical problem."  
7 I think you also note that nowadays we might -- and  
8 sometimes as wilful misbehaviour --  
9 A. Mm-hmm.  
10 Q. -- and sometimes today we might interpret that  
11 differently.  
12 A. Yes, that's true.  
13 Q. In terms of the framework of your report, I think you  
14 then set the historical context and then you look at the  
15 two periods, 1948 to 1968, and then 1968 to 1995?  
16 A. Yes.  
17 Q. Can I take you, please, to page 17, where you're setting  
18 context. At the bottom of that page you start setting  
19 out the historical position in relation to boarding out.  
20 Can you just briefly set out the historical context of  
21 boarding out?  
22 A. Yes. Boarding out had been the preference in Scotland  
23 for care of its homeless or orphan children since the  
24 19th century. It had been practised under the Poor Law  
25 as a form of care to prevent children being taken into

1       poorhouses, but of course that meant separating them  
2       from their parents.

3             The practice in Scotland and most particularly by  
4       the urban authorities -- we're talking here about,  
5       I suppose, Glasgow, Edinburgh, probably Aberdeen to  
6       an extent as well -- was to send children far away from  
7       what were regarded as baleful influences, in inverted  
8       commas, ie their parents and the poverty and deprivation  
9       that their parents had lived within, and sent them to  
10      rural parts of Scotland.

11            Glasgow pursued this consistently through the 19th  
12      and into the 20th century, regarding it as the best way  
13      of caring for the vast majority of homeless children or  
14      so-called homeless children. I mean, there were some  
15      subsets of children that would have been placed in  
16      residential care, more likely Catholic children because  
17      there were fewer places in foster care in Catholic  
18      homes, but it was certainly the preference right the way  
19      through the period.

20            The Clyde report noted the preference for boarding  
21      out, supported the preference for boarding out, although  
22      had misgivings about boarding children out far away from  
23      their families.

24   Q.   Okay.

25   A.   Yes.

1 Q. I think you cover that on pages 17, 18 and then into 19.  
2 You note on page 19 just below the quote at the top of  
3 the page:  
4 "Distance also ensured that 'dissolute relatives do  
5 not discover the child and visit it'."  
6 Was that a further justification that you found for  
7 the practice of boarding out to the rural areas?  
8 A. Absolutely, separation from the influences, so the idea  
9 was that a child or children were sent far away to live  
10 in a more healthy and God-fearing and hard-working  
11 environment. So it's explicitly contrasting that kind  
12 of home, the croft home if you like, with the urban  
13 environment.  
14 Q. In the next paragraph we see that you highlight:  
15 "The boarding-out system was not subject to serious  
16 debate in Scotland until the Clyde committee ..."  
17 Which you mention. You then refer to  
18 a well-publicised prosecution of guardians in Fife in  
19 1945.  
20 A. Yes.  
21 Q. You say that:  
22 " ... should have alerted the authorities to the  
23 dangers inherent in the system."  
24 Going on to deal with what you said in relation to  
25 the Clyde report, you say:

1           "Although it sought to tighten up the practice of  
2       boarding out, its criticisms of the failures of the  
3       existing system were restrained ..."

4           Why do you say that their criticisms were  
5       restrained?

6   A.   Well, they were restrained.

7           Boarding out was still regarded by the Clyde  
8       committee, but also I think more generally in Scotland,  
9       still as the best way of finding homes for children who  
10      couldn't be looked after by their birth families,  
11      because they were being placed with a family and family  
12      life was still regarded as the best way of managing the  
13      situation. So a family upbringing was always regarded  
14      as preferable to care in an institution and actually  
15      that continued to be the case pretty much all the way  
16      through the period that we're looking at.

17   Q.   If we go on to page 22, please, we see that you say:

18           "The Clyde committee allowed Scottish authorities to  
19      continue with boarding out after World War II in  
20      a modified form. Such modifications were enshrined in  
21      [the 1947 regulations] ..."

22           What was the reaction, insofar as you were able to  
23      ascertain it from the historical record, of Local  
24      Authorities to the Clyde report and the regulations?

25   A.   I don't think there is much reaction, to be honest.

1 I think they pretty much carry on as they were.  
2 Certainly in Glasgow, it seems, there's continuity  
3 rather than any fundamental change in how they manage  
4 children who came into their care.

5 Q. I think if we scroll down a little, we see a quote that  
6 you have there from the City of Glasgow, where it says  
7 the regulations have been:  
8 "... submitted to and considered by the committee  
9 but, as they are substantially along the lines of the  
10 regulations meantime operated by the department, their  
11 final approval and issue by the Department of Health  
12 will not affect the present administration to any  
13 appreciable extent."

14 A. Yes, so it's carry on as usual, really.

15 Q. Just bear with me a moment, I'm going to move forward  
16 a little bit in your report. (Pause)  
17 Again dealing with the response of Local  
18 Authorities, if we could look on to page 30 and at the  
19 bottom of the page. This is where you're talking about  
20 the Clyde recommendations and you say:  
21 " ... Clyde's recommendations easily obtained public  
22 approval."

23 I think you refer there to a newspaper article as  
24 the basis for that statement?

25 A. I'd need to be reminded what that was.

1 Q. If we can scroll down a little bit, please, we can see  
2 the footnote.

3 A. Oh right, okay, the Aberdeen Press and Journal, yes,  
4 that's right, yes.

5 Q. You go on to say:

6 "Local Authorities -- whose jurisdiction was at the  
7 heart of the new regime proposed by Clyde -- were less  
8 enthusiastic."

9 Then you refer to Glasgow, initially at least,  
10 largely rejecting many of the points raised in the Clyde  
11 report and you refer from this page onto the next page  
12 of details of a meeting that you found between the Home  
13 Department and Glasgow's director of welfare in  
14 December 1947.

15 A. Yes. Here we see -- I suppose, you know, it's kind of  
16 reiterating the point, really, that Glasgow was  
17 committed to the boarding-out system, and more  
18 specifically, to boarding out children beyond Glasgow,  
19 beyond the city, and more especially into what they  
20 described as the crofting counties.

21 I mean this is in the post-war period, rationing is  
22 still in place. They're referring there in that  
23 particular quote that children would have a more healthy  
24 upbringing in a crofting home than they would in the  
25 city. That was one of their justifications, anyway.

1 Q. Just below that quote you have a paragraph there where  
2 you refer to some statistics that you were able to find.  
3 In 1949 you found that Glasgow was employing 50 foster  
4 carers on Tiree, with 66 Glasgow-born children in their  
5 care.

6 A. Indeed. I mean Tiree is a very small island. That's  
7 actually quite an astonishing number to me, is to have  
8 50 foster carers on Tiree, but of course there were  
9 other islands and other parts of the crofting counties  
10 were there were large numbers of foster carers with  
11 Glasgow-born children.

12 Of course, many of those would have come into care  
13 before the war and were still there and there's just  
14 continuity in the ways in which they're using their  
15 foster care system, if you like, in the Highlands and  
16 Islands.

17 Q. If we scroll down a little, you say that Glasgow wasn't  
18 alone in showing resistance to change --

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. -- and you found material in relation to Aberdeen --

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. -- which I think seems to be along similar lines --

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. -- in terms of supporting the system.

25 A. Indeed. It's worth remembering, I don't know whether

1       we'll get to this, the condition of Scottish cities  
2       after the war is pretty dreadful. Housing conditions  
3       are terrible. Poverty is really extreme and many of  
4       these families that these children came from were in  
5       desperate circumstances.

6               So to take the other perspective, I suppose to take  
7       perspective of some of the people who were running the  
8       system, the councillors and so on in the Local  
9       Authorities, they would have been looking at the state  
10      of their cities and looking at the Highland counties and  
11      making a judgement that these children might well have  
12      been better cared for in those areas in those precise  
13      circumstances. But I suppose the issue is that  
14      judgement doesn't really change over time. They stick  
15      with the system.

16   Q. At the bottom of this page you go on to talk about a key  
17      element of Clyde's recommendations being in relation to  
18      staff education and training.

19   A. Mm-hmm.

20   Q. It was clear that it needed to be addressed swiftly. If  
21      we go over the page, you make some comments in relation  
22      to how this was addressed or not, as the case may be.

23   A. Yes, it wasn't addressed in Scotland at all. It took  
24      some time for Scotland to introduce more centralised  
25      training for in fact anyone involved in childcare. So

1 in England -- as we see in the report, they set up  
2 a central training council, centrally financed. There  
3 were training courses around the country. But in  
4 Scotland there was the sense that training could be done  
5 on the job, really, and maybe we'll see later on there  
6 was in-service training introduced, but it was believed  
7 that childcare workers would pick it up as they go  
8 along, would learn from people they were working  
9 alongside and there was no serious training introduced  
10 until much later on.

11 Q. You say at the bottom of this page, so page 32 and below  
12 the quote and you say:

13 "Discussion of training in Scotland was left to  
14 a subcommittee of the Scottish Advisory Council and  
15 wasn't organised until well after the 1948 legislation  
16 was put in place."

17 A. That's correct, yes. I think it's much later as well.  
18 Maybe we'll come to it, the date will crop up --

19 Q. I think we will come to it.

20 A. -- but I think it's quite a bit later, yeah.

21 Q. If we move on, please, to page 33, you start looking at  
22 the new legislation, the Children Act 1948. If we go on  
23 to page 34, you talk about the advisory council at the  
24 top of page 34, you talk about the advisory council  
25 providing guidance to the Secretary of State and refer

1 to a memorandum of one of these committees.

2 I wonder if we could have a look at that, please.

3 It's SGV-000084518. If we scroll down, I think we see

4 that this is the report of the boarding-out committee of

5 the Scottish Advisory Council on childcare.

6 If we go to page 3, under "Appointment", we see that

7 the boarding-out committee were appointed with the

8 following terms of reference:

9 "To consider the present system of boarding out

10 deprived children with foster parents and to suggest how

11 it may be improved and extended."

12 A. Mm-hmm.

13 Q. Their first meeting was on 15 September 1948.

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. If we can have a look at some of the material in this,

16 if we could move on, please, to page 5. At the bottom

17 of the page there's a heading, "Boarding out in rural

18 and in urban areas". This section of the memorandum

19 seems to be discussing the practice of boarding out in

20 rural areas --

21 A. Yes, yes.

22 Q. -- and the reasons for that.

23 A. (Witness nodded)

24 Q. At the bottom of the page, the final sentence says:

25 "It is no longer possible to say that the advantage

1       in this regard necessarily lies with the country; with  
2       the improvement of living conscience in towns and the  
3       provision now made to ensure that all children receive  
4       adequate and wholesome nourishment, a child in the town  
5       has every opportunity of developing a healthy physique."

6           I think we've seen that this started in 1948 and  
7       I think reported in 1950, and this seems to be  
8       suggesting that conditions had improved in towns by this  
9       stage? Does that reflect with your knowledge of history  
10      or not?

11    A. It depends on the town you're talking about, I think.  
12      I mean, yes and no. I think the -- the real problem,  
13      I suppose, for children of let's say working class  
14      families in a city like Glasgow is -- the problem for  
15      the Local Authority was to find foster care homes that,  
16      if you like, were good enough for those children and  
17      large numbers of people in Glasgow in the 1950s were  
18      still living in bomb-damaged accommodation, they were  
19      living in squatters' camps around the city, they were  
20      living in overcrowded tenements, so the major sort of  
21      rehousing of the working class population of Glasgow  
22      hadn't really got going until the 1960s, so trying to  
23      find appropriate accommodation in families that had the  
24      facility or the ability to take in additional children  
25      was admittedly very different for Glasgow.

1           Now, admittedly that's a separate point to the  
2           health issue, and it might well have been -- they're  
3           making, I guess, a reasonable case, if you're able to  
4           place a child in a family that has appropriate  
5           circumstances in which to provide that child with  
6           a healthy upbringing, but I think in Glasgow it's  
7           a really difficult situation in the 1950s.

8   LADY SMITH: Is it possible that these conclusions were  
9           influenced by the membership of this committee? If  
10          I remember rightly, from what we saw at the beginning  
11          Glasgow isn't represented. Is it Aberdeen, Inverness  
12          and Edinburgh are the Local Authorities represented on  
13          this committee?

14   A. Yes.

15   LADY SMITH: There's an individual who herself was  
16          boarding-out experienced, but I don't think there's  
17          Glasgow representation there.

18           Correct me if I'm wrong, Ms Innes.

19   MS INNES: I don't have the right page in front of me at the  
20          moment, but ...

21   A. I mean, I think the more general point about -- I think  
22          there's a general point to make about the people who are  
23          writing this kind of report and the people who are  
24          implementing the system on the ground. I'm not quite  
25          sure how to put this, but the people who are writing

1       these kinds of reports and who are sitting in the  
2       Scottish Office, you know, have different capabilities  
3       and different understandings of the world than people  
4       working for Glasgow City Council.

5   LADY SMITH:  And they don't live in a single end in  
6       a Glasgow tenement?

7   A.  Absolutely.  They're worlds apart.  We see this through  
8       the period actually, that advice and regulations come  
9       out from the Scottish Office, but on the ground in  
10      Glasgow, you know, things are actually very, very  
11      different.

12         That's not letting Glasgow off the hook, but it's  
13      just saying that there's a gap between the two, between  
14      what Glasgow is having to deal with in terms of the  
15      numbers of children that are coming into care and  
16      requiring their intervention, and the aspirations of  
17      people who are sitting on committees like this who,  
18      quite rightly, are imagining, if you like, a different  
19      kind of circumstance for these children.

20   LADY SMITH:  Just there's a sentence:

21         "In addition [this is in the town] there's much more  
22      advance of visiting, as an invited guest, the homes of  
23      friends of the same age, and we believe that entering,  
24      even if only to a small extent, into the home life of  
25      other children will assist in compensating the deprived

1 child for lack of a normal home life of his own."

2 Going back to my single end in a Glasgow tenement or

3 other tenements as being the environment in which

4 a child is living, I don't see that description as

5 fitting what their life playing out in the

6 bomb-damaged --

7 A. Playing out in the close.

8 LADY SMITH: In a bomb-damaged close is going to be like.

9 A. Yes.

10 LADY SMITH: You only have to look at, for example, the

11 paintings of Joan Eardley to see captured in the Samson

12 children the sort of lives that were being lived by

13 children in Glasgow.

14 A. Yes.

15 LADY SMITH: This doesn't match.

16 A. No. No, maybe they were thinking of the nice new

17 council estates that had been built around the edge of

18 Glasgow --

19 LADY SMITH: Maybe, yes.

20 A. -- you know, in the interwar period. But there's not

21 a lot of evidence of foster carers coming forward from

22 those areas. So, yes.

23 MS INNES: You mentioned housing in the post-war period,

24 that historical context, in terms of availability of

25 foster parents. Post-war, was there social change in

1 terms of women going into the workplace who would  
2 previously perhaps have stayed at home? Is that  
3 a relevant social context?

4 A. It's stated a number of times in a number of these  
5 documents, maybe this one, I can't remember, but some  
6 others, that there is a problem that women are  
7 increasingly working outside the home and therefore --  
8 married women are increasingly working outside the home,  
9 particularly when their children are older, and  
10 therefore they are not available to be potential foster  
11 parents.

12 We haven't done -- it would be really hard to do the  
13 in-depth research for that and to really figure out  
14 whether that was the case and whether that was  
15 an inhibitor for finding foster homes for children in  
16 Glasgow, to be honest. I think I'm right in saying the  
17 proportions of married women working in Glasgow were  
18 actually lower than in some other parts of the country.  
19 It might have been one factor, but my sense is that it's  
20 actually more of the economic and the material  
21 environment of the city that means that it's quite  
22 difficult to find foster parents for these children the  
23 city. I mean, they do do it later on, but having said  
24 that, you know, it remains the case that they have  
25 a system that they stand by in Glasgow, that is to send

1 children out into the city, they have a network of  
2 foster carers and guardians outwith the city and I think  
3 that makes it quite an easy process to follow. Rather  
4 than to have to recruit a whole load of new foster  
5 carers in the city and create a kind of different kind  
6 of system. So they're cleaving to what they know.

7 LADY SMITH: They also had a system at this time of sending  
8 children thousands of miles away in the child migration  
9 programme, west and east.

10 A. Yes.

11 MS INNES: If we can scroll down a little bit on this page  
12 and just above the heading, "Excessive boarding out in  
13 certain areas", there's a section in this memorandum  
14 which talks about:

15 "The transition from the conditions of city  
16 life ..."

17 The transition of city life to country life are --  
18 sorry, I had a blank screen for a moment there.

19 Yes:

20 "The transition from the conditions of city life to  
21 those of country life is often so sudden, and to the  
22 child so disturbing, that he cannot be expected to  
23 settle down without a good deal of initial tension.  
24 Even where the foster parents are sympathetic and  
25 considerate, this sudden change may lead to difficulties

1 of behaviour which may take a long time to disappear."

2 I think this is something that you highlight in your  
3 report. Is this the first time that you've seen  
4 a recognition of this type of issue for children?

5 A. Yes, I guess so. Yes, it is quite early. I mean  
6 I suppose this is probably drawing on their  
7 understanding of child psychology and child psychiatry,  
8 which became -- there was -- that was growing before the  
9 war and during the war, and so those kind of ideas are  
10 beginning to kind of come through these kinds of  
11 documents.

12 Clearly the kind of things that we were just talking  
13 about, bed-wetting and running away and those kinds of  
14 behavioural issues that were regarded as problems were  
15 certainly recognised by people sitting on these kinds of  
16 committees, yes.

17 Q. Then there's a paragraph, "Excessive boarding out in  
18 certain areas", so talking about high rations of  
19 boarded-out children to the local community.

20 At the end of that page, about five lines from the  
21 bottom, they say:

22 "We hope that it will be possible to reduce  
23 gradually the number of boarded-out children in those  
24 areas where they form a disproportionate group within  
25 the community. Sudden withdrawal of any considerable

1        number of boarded-out children from an area is not to be  
2        encouraged, but Local Authorities should wherever  
3        possible gradually reduce the number of children sent to  
4        those particular areas."

5            Then there's reference to regulations giving power  
6        to the Secretary of State to require a Local Authority  
7        to restrict the number of children in a particular area.

8    A.    Yes.

9    Q.    And it's noted that he shouldn't hesitate to use this  
10       power to do so.

11   A.    Mm.

12   Q.    I think this is again something that you highlight in  
13       your report.

14   A.    (Witness nodded)

15   Q.    Did you find any evidence that the Secretary of State  
16       did then intervene?

17   A.    No. No, I think they probably had ample opportunity to  
18       do so, but they don't. I mean, again I'm sure we'll  
19       come onto this, but what seems to happen is the  
20       Secretary of State, the Scottish Office, have a kind of  
21       regulatory and advisory role, but they don't tend to  
22       intervene in the activities or the -- yes, the  
23       activities of Local Authorities and they certainly don't  
24       seem to use their power to limit boarding out in  
25       particular areas, I suppose like Tiree, that we were

1        talking about earlier, which did have a high  
2        concentration of boarded-out children.

3    Q.  When we are looking at this document, if we could move  
4        to page 8 and the heading, "Visits by officials to  
5        boarded-out children", which I think you also consider  
6        at a different point in your report, and they say:  
7        "The extent to which the boarded-out child should be  
8        subject to visitations has given us much thought."  
9        Again, is this something that you looked at?

10   A.  Yes.  Yes, what we tried to do was to -- I suppose it  
11        was to triangulate, really, to look at what the  
12        regulation was, to look at the case files to see if the  
13        Local Authority was adhering to the regulations in terms  
14        of visitations to those children, yes.

15   Q.  I think at paragraph 12 they seem to suggest different  
16        views being expressed about the frequency of the visits.  
17        Just at the end of paragraph 12, there's reference to  
18        a children's officer inspiring in the child the feeling  
19        that there was at all times a friend in the background  
20        who should frequently meet the child on a friendly  
21        footing and see how he was progressing?

22   A.  Yes.

23   Q.  But then others were saying that there should be fewer  
24        visits?

25   A.  Yes, there seemed to be some disagreement.  The

1 frequency of visitations had increased and there was  
2 a concern of some that too many visits would disrupt the  
3 relationship between the child and the foster carers,  
4 that the child would begin to see the childcare officer  
5 as another kind of authority figure in their life or  
6 something like that. Whereas others felt that frequency  
7 of visiting was important.

8 This statement that -- the feeling that the  
9 childcare officer who was visiting would be a friend in  
10 the background, I mean that doesn't really come through,  
11 certainly, from the case files. I mean it's very  
12 difficult to kind of get at what that relationship might  
13 have been like, but as I'm sure we'll discuss, a lot of  
14 those visits were very peremptory and short and often  
15 didn't see the child at all.

16 Q. If we go on to paragraph 13, they recognise the force of  
17 the two arguments and then talk about the new Children's  
18 Committee and the children's officer. At the end of the  
19 page we see:

20 "Whatever the force of this argument, however, we  
21 are satisfied that if the foster parents have been  
22 wisely chosen in the first place or have proved  
23 themselves over a period to be good foster parents, four  
24 visits a year to each boarded-out child should not be  
25 necessary. Visits on such a scale might well be found

1       harassing by the foster parents conscientiously carrying  
2       out the undertaking given."

3           I think that touches on some of the issues that  
4       you've highlighted.

5   A.   Yes.   I suppose in that paragraph there and in that  
6       statement you've just read out there's the issue that  
7       does come up later about foster parents just continuing  
8       and not being checked again, you know, when they take on  
9       new children, so children just being moved in when they  
10      have a space.   So there's continuity, I suppose, in  
11      respect of the foster parents they use, but this  
12      statement that foster parents who have proved themselves  
13      over a period to be good foster parents I think is  
14      a problematic statement, really.

15   Q.   Okay.   At paragraph 15, if we go below that, there's  
16      some comment there that:

17           "As the work of a boarding-out officer is so much  
18      concerned with assessing the real spirit and atmosphere  
19      of a home, it is clear that many of the persons who have  
20      a real aptitude for the work will be women.   We would  
21      not in any way wish to exclude men from this sphere and  
22      indeed it may be preferable that they supervise older  
23      boys."

24           There seems to be some issue there about who would  
25      be suitable to be the person who is doing the visiting.

1 A. That's right, but I don't think I've seen anything in  
2 the Local Authority records that refer to this actually.  
3 So I don't know whether they kind of picked up on that.  
4 I mean, they were so short staffed through the period,  
5 I'm not sure they had the choice of choosing whether  
6 women or men would go and visit the children who were  
7 boarded out.

8 Q. At paragraph 16 they refer to the role of the children's  
9 officer and they say:

10 "It is essential that any officer undertaking  
11 important duties such as the placing and supervision of  
12 boarded-out children should be in all respects suitable  
13 for this specialised work and we recommend that only  
14 members of the children's officer's staff whose  
15 appointment for this work has been specifically approved  
16 by the Children's Committee should be allowed to carry  
17 out such duties."

18 Again I think we'll come onto it, but you looked at  
19 the setting up of the Children's Committee in Glasgow  
20 and the appointment of the children's officer.

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. We can leave the document aside now and move back to  
23 your report, please. Just bear with me a moment while  
24 I reorientate myself.

25 If we could move on, please, to page 37. Towards

1 the bottom of that page you have a heading,  
2 "Responsibilities of the Secretary of State" and you  
3 note:

4 "Immediately following the introduction of the Act,  
5 the Scottish Home Department produced a ten-page  
6 schedule summarising the responsibilities now placed  
7 upon the Secretary of State and those designated to the  
8 Local Authorities ..."

9 There were comments you note made subsequently by  
10 civil servants upon this item. For example, you quote:

11 "Is it correct that the legislation places a more  
12 direct responsibility on the Secretary of State? It was  
13 originally intended that Local Authorities should  
14 exercise their own functions under the Act 'under the  
15 general guidance and control of the Secretary of State'.  
16 The Act merely says 'guidance', 'control' was  
17 omitted ..."

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. If we look specifically in relation to boarding out at  
20 page 39, under (b), did you look specifically at this  
21 issue of who was responsible?

22 A. Mm. Yes. As I recall, they produced this schedule of  
23 who is responsible for what, a kind of complicated  
24 schedule, but in respect of boarding out -- I mean the  
25 Secretary of State doesn't have the kind of hands-on

1       role in regulating boarding out. So as it says here in  
2       the report, the Secretary of State's responsibility was  
3       to take steps to encourage and improve. So, you know,  
4       it issued memoranda, it issued regulations, obviously,  
5       it issued guidance and so on, but it was -- it had  
6       a kind of -- you know, there was -- it was rather hands  
7       off in that respect. It didn't intervene directly  
8       and -- yes, I won't say any more about that.

9   Q. Then you note in this paragraph that after the  
10       regulations were introduced, a memorandum to accompany  
11       them was drafted in 1948, but that was never issued.

12  A. Yes.

13  Q. Why was that?

14  A. In rather odd circumstances, I think, something about it  
15       was delayed and then -- and then they -- I can't  
16       remember why they didn't issue it at all. Sorry.

17  Q. I think you say at the bottom of this, the  
18       paragraph that we're looking at:

19       "Since this ..."

20       Well, you mention there was a delay because of paper  
21       rationing?

22  A. Yes.

23  Q. Then you note:

24       "Since this information made clear that henceforth  
25       Local Authorities would obtain 'wider scope and

1 responsibility for children', it was decided that any  
2 issue in the near future of the memorandum on boarding  
3 out would be ill timed ..."

4 And it was never published?

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. Then the next paragraph you go on to say:

7 " ... Home Department officials recognised that  
8 where Scottish Local Authorities were concerned, many  
9 effects of the Act might not be enthusiastically  
10 embraced. One official commented that to go ahead in  
11 these circumstances and publish the memorandum would be  
12 to risk the wrath of Local Authorities."

13 A. Right, yes. So they're trying to keep the Local  
14 Authorities on side. You have a new Act in place. They  
15 recognise there's quite a -- there's always quite a lot  
16 of disruption and change when you have new regulations  
17 or new legislation. Yes. So they are clearly just  
18 keeping their powder dry, I suppose, yes.

19 Q. Okay. If we can move on, please, to page 42, at the  
20 bottom of the page there's a heading, "Responses to the  
21 Children Act 1948", and you say that there was  
22 considerable resistance to the new structure, so this is  
23 talking more about the structure.

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. What did you find in relation to that? I think it goes

1           on to page 43 as well.

2   A.   Yes, I think -- so there's a lot of small authorities in  
3       Scotland who found this new legislation, setting up  
4       Children's Committee and so on and so forth, you know,  
5       they just didn't regard it as necessary and they  
6       regarded it as kind of excessive, excessive  
7       bureaucratic, excessively -- you know, new  
8       administrative requirements and so on. So there was  
9       some resistance, as you can see in the report, in some  
10      of the smaller authorities.

11           Some of them wanted to bind together and get  
12      economies of scale, I'm not sure that happened  
13      eventually. In the end, all Local Authorities did abide  
14      by the terms of the Act, but it took a little while.

15   Q.   For the new structures to be set up? Is that what  
16      you're referring to?

17   A.   Yes.

18   Q.   If we move on to page 46, you have a heading there,  
19      "Implementation: the economic and social context".  
20      I think that covers some of the material that we've  
21      already discussed in relation to the particular  
22      circumstances --

23   A.   Yes.

24   Q.   -- in Glasgow --

25   A.   Uh-huh.

1 Q. -- which impacted on implementation.

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. If we can move on, please, to the next section of your  
4 report, which starts I think at page 51. So we're  
5 moving into the part where you consider the 1948 to 1968  
6 period.

7 A. (Witness nodded)

8 Q. You start that section with a case study, child B, which  
9 we can see on pages 52 to 53.

10 You mentioned earlier that from the case files you  
11 drew out certain cases and is this an example of a case  
12 study that you drew from reading the files of children?

13 A. That's right, yes, yes.

14 Q. I think you note that this was a child who was boarded  
15 out away from Glasgow for a period. I think we see  
16 that.

17 A. Yes, I am trying to remember which one it is now, yes.

18 Q. If we look at the bottom of page 52, we see:

19 "When he was nine years old and now on his seventh  
20 placement, this boy was transferred to his third  
21 guardian -- this time on a remote Hebridean island ..."

22 A. Yes, so this is a Catholic child, which always created  
23 additional kind of obstacles, I suppose, in some  
24 respects because they always tried to adhere to the  
25 religious affiliation of a child when placing them.

1       Yes, I mean this is a child that's been moved from  
2       pillar to post several times and ends up on an island.

3   Q.   If we go on to the next page, page 53, we see in the  
4       paragraph that we're looking at there:

5       "Given the distance involved ... it was eight months  
6       before a Local Authority childcare officer visited  
7       again ... the child was not seen. Thereafter ... visits  
8       were regular -- though sometimes the boy was only seen  
9       in school, not at home and never alone."

10  A.   Yes.

11  Q.   Then it's noted:

12       "All seemed to be well until suddenly, in 1960, the  
13       child, who was by then a teenager, was reported to be  
14       wetting his bed. The guardian could not account for  
15       this change and the children's officer reported that  
16       there was no reason for this apart from laziness."

17  A.   Yes, it's part of a pattern, really. I mean, reading  
18       through these kinds of files you see this kind of thing  
19       time and time again. As children get older, you know,  
20       sometimes they begin to exhibit behaviours and symptoms  
21       which -- well, these days, you know, with hindsight,  
22       with the knowledge we have now, we would say it's  
23       a consequence of their previous experiences and then the  
24       guardians are unhappy because it's causing them problems  
25       and in this case the children's officer is taking, it

1       seems, doesn't it, the guardian's view of it, that, you  
2       know, he just seems to be lazy. Yes. So this is not  
3       an unusual situation.

4   Q. Okay. If we could move on, please, to page 56, this is  
5       where, I think, you discuss the formation of the  
6       Children's Committee in Glasgow following the Children  
7       Act 1948. You say that that began on 27 August 1948 and  
8       meetings were held regularly.

9   A. Yes.

10   Q. Below that, the next paragraph, you say that it was  
11       a year before Glasgow's children's officer was appointed  
12       in May 1949.

13   A. Mm.

14   Q. And there seemed to have been an issue about the  
15       selection of a candidate?

16   A. Yes. There was a list, the list was sent to the  
17       Secretary of State, the Secretary of State wasn't happy  
18       with it, but they did eventually find a children's  
19       officer who didn't have a background in childcare  
20       services.

21   Q. I think we see there that he has a Civil Service  
22       background and was a Higher Executive Officer for the  
23       National Assistance Board based in Hamilton.

24   A. Yes.

25   Q. If we go over the page to page 57, we see that you make

1           some comment in relation to the staffing of the  
2           Children's Department in Glasgow more generally.  
3   A.   Mm-hmm.  
4   Q.   So you were able to obtain some numbers in --  
5   A.   Yes.  
6   Q.   -- relation to the staffing and there were 38 --  
7   A.   Yes.  
8   Q.   -- staff in the various roles that you've noted.  
9   A.   Yes.  
10   Q.   In terms of people who would be visiting children, how  
11       many -- well, which roles would have involved visiting  
12       children?  
13   A.   Good question.  Actually I'm not sure, I don't know --  
14       I don't know which ones would have been at this time.  
15       I mean lots of people visited children.  The  
16       boarding-out supervisor might have done.  The male  
17       children's welfare officers I think would have probably  
18       done and the female children's officers and the  
19       children's visitors might have done, but as they were  
20       mostly adoption and child-life protection, I don't think  
21       so.  
22   Q.   Then you have administrative staff.  
23   A.   Yes, and then you have administrative staff.  
24   Q.   17 clerical staff, for example.  
25   A.   Yes.  It's fair to say too that on top of the childcare

1 officers who visit children in foster care, members of  
2 the Children's Committee who were councillors also do  
3 that.

4 Q. Do you know if they did that on their own or if they  
5 would have accompanied a children's officer?

6 A. Do you know, I don't know the answer to that question.

7 Q. Okay. You indicate the small number of staff in  
8 relation to the amount of work that they would have had  
9 to do at the time.

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. I think you found that this was not unique to Glasgow.

12 A. Uh-huh.

13 Q. If we scroll down a little, you refer to Dundee having  
14 only one children's officer and an assistant with 500  
15 children to --

16 A. Yes. You know, it's difficult to make judgements about  
17 the numbers of staff, I suppose, but later on, by the  
18 time you get to the 1960s and we have the O&M report,  
19 then we do see that they are really, really stretched in  
20 terms of numbers.

21 And throughout this period, it does look as if the  
22 numbers that are required to manage the constant churn,  
23 actually, of children who are coming in, going out,  
24 phone calls, people visiting the office and so on, are  
25 just not adequate.

1 LADY SMITH: I see that I think it's two on the list also  
2 had aftercare as part of their duties.  
3 A. Yes, I'm not sure what they were doing.  
4 LADY SMITH: Very hard to do aftercare and visiting children  
5 in care --  
6 A. Exactly, yes.  
7 LADY SMITH: -- if they're going to do proper aftercare.  
8 A. Yes.  
9 LADY SMITH: And there are only two of them, I think? Yes,  
10 two -- three, sorry. Two female officers --  
11 A. We're talking about --  
12 LADY SMITH: No, one for aftercare, I was right. Just two.  
13 A. We are talking about thousands of children though, so,  
14 mm.  
15 MS INNES: If we could move on to page 62, at the bottom of  
16 the page there you refer to a study -- this is the  
17 bottom of the page below the quote -- which looked at  
18 the everyday work of the children's work department,  
19 commissioned in 1959 and a report published in 1963.  
20 A. Uh-huh.  
21 Q. What sort of things came out of that study?  
22 A. It just demonstrated the huge workload that the  
23 childcare officers had on their desk, really, and the  
24 range of things that they were having to do. So lots of  
25 office space work, but also lots of visiting children in

1 children's homes, in foster care, in their own homes and  
2 so on, so, you know, it was -- they were overloaded.  
3 Q. I think we see at the bottom of this page that --  
4 A. Yeah.  
5 Q. -- it's noted:  
6 "The study demonstrated that the officers worked  
7 extremely long hours, with much of the time taken up  
8 with travelling and administration."  
9 A. Yeah, yeah.  
10 Q. "It was estimated by the researchers that the amount of  
11 time officers spent actually in children's homes or  
12 foster homes ranged between 7 and 24 per cent of their  
13 time, with the average being 14 per cent over the  
14 four-week period [that they looked at]."  
15 A. Yes.  
16 Q. Then you also have noted that the time spent with  
17 individual children and their carers was extremely  
18 short, often a matter of minutes.  
19 A. Yes.  
20 Q. And that came out from that research as well?  
21 A. Absolutely, yes. So lots of desk work, lots of  
22 travelling. I mean Glasgow's a big city. They're  
23 having to travel around Glasgow, if they have children  
24 boarding outside of the city, they're having to travel  
25 beyond, up into the Highlands, so, yes, not enough time

1       spent with children.

2           I suppose the other important point there is the

3       7 per cent of time that on average was spent on

4       prevention, so actually trying to stop children having

5       to come into care in the first place, which is what they

6       were supposed to be doing as well on top of all this

7       other work. And that, as you know, becomes more and

8       more important as time goes on, the kind of prevention

9       agenda, and they really find it very difficult to

10      incorporate that into their day-to-day work with

11      children.

12   LADY SMITH: Professor Abrams, at the end of that paragraph

13      you suggest that the fact of commissioning that report

14      at all might seem to indicate that central government

15      realised that all might not be well --

16   A. Indeed.

17   LADY SMITH: -- in the service that was being delivered.

18      It's hard to gainsay that, is it not?

19   A. It is hard to gainsay that, yes, I agree.

20   LADY SMITH: Why do this research otherwise?

21   A. I know, I know.

22   MS INNES: If we just go further down that page, you have

23      a heading, "Oversight by the Secretary of State", and

24      I think you note again the role of the Secretary of

25      State.

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. If we go on to page 64, you see besides the  
3 responsibilities that they had:

4 " ... the main arm of central government involvement  
5 in childcare was through inspection of children's homes  
6 and other residential care institutions and Children's  
7 Department."

8 Were you able to find some records of the Scottish  
9 Office inspecting Children's Departments?

10 A. Yes, and they did inspect, as we know, Glasgow's  
11 Children's Department, yes. But otherwise, in respect  
12 of boarding out, they didn't. I mean, the only thing  
13 they were supposed to do was hold the black list of  
14 guardians from whom children had been taken away and  
15 were not supposed to be used again, but we've never  
16 found any such list, so we really don't know whether  
17 that existed. We've certainly not seen any evidence of  
18 Local Authorities sending names to the Scottish Office,  
19 so I really don't know whether that system worked at  
20 all.

21 Q. Okay. If we could move on, please, to page 69, under  
22 a heading, "Attitudes to children in care", and we've  
23 touched on this already when we looked at the areas that  
24 you're going to cover in the report what did you  
25 discover from the records, again particularly in

1 relation to boarded-out children?

2 A. I've said here they had kind of low expectations of  
3 these children. I suppose it depends on who we're  
4 talking about, whether it's the foster carers or the  
5 people who were responsible for placing them in care.  
6 But in general there was low expectation. I mean,  
7 obviously, of course, these children might have had  
8 disruptive education anyway in the first instance before  
9 they even were taken into care, if they were in  
10 education.

11 If you have low expectations of working class  
12 children in these circumstances, then placing them in  
13 a situation where they're expected to work, where  
14 they're not expected to move beyond basic primary or  
15 secondary education, that says something about how you  
16 relate to those children, I think, and how you  
17 understand them.

18 I mean, Glasgow was very good at celebrating the  
19 successes of its boarded-out children, but given the  
20 numbers that Glasgow looked after, the numbers of those  
21 children who did well in their terms was very small.

22 Q. If we go over the page to page 70, we see I think in the  
23 first paragraph that you say:

24 "The wisdom that children needed firm discipline as  
25 well as affection and a stable home life was not

1       a notion likely to be much questioned in Scotland in the  
2       years following the Children Act."

3   A.   Yes.

4   Q.   What did you discover from looking at the records in  
5       relation to that area?

6   A.   I mean, that's actually interesting because corporal  
7       punishment doesn't really crop up very much in  
8       discussions.  It doesn't sit within the regulations  
9       around boarding out in this period.

10       In that previous paragraph, I think that's in  
11       relation to a child who was subjected to corporal  
12       punishment, where, you know, there's a kind of general  
13       popular view that a child will benefit from discipline  
14       and from being beaten occasionally, rather than not,  
15       because these children, you know, needed keeping in  
16       line.  And, you know, among certain circles that was  
17       a general view.  Parents did beat their children at this  
18       time and foster parents did too, and it wasn't really  
19       questioned.

20   Q.   If we go on to the next paragraph, you refer there to  
21       that children's bodies were given more attention than  
22       their emotional condition.

23   A.   That's absolutely true.  That's the case, I think,  
24       across the whole of the system.  That's kind of what  
25       we're saying there too.  That as soon as a child was

1 brought into care, they were placed in a reception home,  
2 they were often subjected to sort of medical  
3 interventions and looked after by nurses and so on, they  
4 were always -- there was concern to keep good medical  
5 records, but there wasn't a great deal of understanding  
6 amongst those who were responsible for children's care  
7 in the practical sense, both at Local Authority level  
8 and the guardians, about children's emotional health,  
9 certainly.

10 Q. If we look on to page 71 and at the bottom of the page,  
11 in the final paragraph, there we see:  
12 "Common in the records ... are throwaway remarks  
13 made about the overall demeanour and appearance of  
14 children."  
15 A. Mm.

16 Q. You say:  
17 "It is impossible to draw hard and fast conclusions  
18 from such evidence."  
19 A. Yes, there we're referring to visits to children who are  
20 boarded out by childcare officers and they often make  
21 a sort of general comment about how they're looking, but  
22 it's really difficult to know precisely what they meant  
23 by that.

24 Q. If we go on to the next page, you continue dealing with  
25 that and again you note:

1           "Childcare officers who had heavy case loads, foster  
2           parents whose talents were tested to the limits,  
3           overcrowded children's homes and a lack of any real  
4           insight into the challenges involved with overcoming  
5           early experiences of deprivation all conspired to  
6           encourage a very constrained view of how best to counter  
7           disadvantage."

8   A.   Yes, yes. I couldn't add anything to that. I think  
9           it's quite a good paragraph, if I say so myself.

10   LADY SMITH: Well done.

11   MS INNES: Then at the next paragraph you talk about  
12           conformity was what was expected and required.

13   A.   Mm.

14   Q.   You talk about this aim that they basically get skills  
15           to become self-supporting?

16   A.   Yes. That was built into the boarding-out system from  
17           the very start. If you remember back to what we were  
18           saying right at the beginning, about this was introduced  
19           under the system of poor relief, that children were  
20           being taken away from what were regarded as sort of  
21           dissolute families who were dependent on charity and  
22           were being sent to crofts to become hard-working,  
23           God-fearing members of the community, and certainly this  
24           kind of attitude continued. It might not have been said  
25           publicly, but it's certainly still there.

1 MS INNES: My Lady, I wonder if that would be an appropriate  
2 time to break?  
3 LADY SMITH: Would that be a good point to break. Very  
4 well.  
5 You'll probably remember, Professor Abrams,  
6 I usually take a mid-morning break, it gives us all  
7 a breather, particularly the stenographers who have been  
8 working away --  
9 A. Yes.  
10 LADY SMITH: -- and then sit again in about 15 minutes or so  
11 if that's all right with you.  
12 A. Yes.  
13 LADY SMITH: Thank you.  
14 (11.29 am)  
15 (A short break)  
16 (11.46 am)  
17 LADY SMITH: Are you ready for us to carry on,  
18 Professor Abrams?  
19 A. Yes.  
20 LADY SMITH: Thank you.  
21 Ms Innes, when you're ready.  
22 MS INNES: Thank you, my Lady.  
23 If we could move now to page 90 of your report,  
24 which is on the screen, below the quote we see that you  
25 say:

1           "While there may have been general agreement between  
2           central and local government that children already  
3           placed in rural homes and settled there should remain in  
4           this form of foster care to avoid further disruption to  
5           their lives, this was a practice that was supposed to  
6           decline sharply for forthcoming placements."

7           That's obviously something we've already seen.

8   A.   Yes.

9   Q.   You then say:

10           "Ahead of legislation, the Home Department were  
11           alert to the fact that Local Authorities might need to  
12           be pushed to meet their responsibilities fully."

13           You refer to three reports, I think carried out in  
14           the late 1940s, in respect of boarding out.

15   A.   Yes.

16   Q.   If we can just have a look at a couple of those, please.  
17           At SGV-000084524, at page 15. I think this is one of  
18           the reports that you referred to.

19   A.   Mm-hmm.

20   Q.   This is a document, "Boarding out in crofts".

21   A.   Yes.

22   Q.   There's reference to Ms Doull being accompanied on her  
23           visits of inspection to children boarded out in crofts  
24           in the Black Isle area of Ross-shire:

25           "There are many small crofts in this fertile area

1       and the crofters often combine some other occupation  
2       with crofting. Although primitive they appear well  
3       kept. With very few exceptions, we saw no sign of  
4       poverty."

5     A. Mm-hmm.

6     Q. In paragraph 2 it's noted that they visited 18 crofts  
7       and a school where a third of the children on the roll  
8       were foster children.

9     A. Mm.

10    Q. If we go further down, at paragraph 5 it's noted:

11       "The children's inspectors for Glasgow and Greenock  
12       had been around shortly before our visits, and I was  
13       surprised to learn after enquiry that although they were  
14       told of difficulties and consulted on a number of  
15       problems, hardly any of them had been disclosed to the  
16       Local Authority officials."

17       Was this one of the issues that you drew out from  
18       this report?

19    A. Uh-huh, yes. So there's a communication issue here,  
20       clearly, that the frequency of visiting seems to conform  
21       to the regulations, but when issues arise, they are not  
22       feeding back, and we certainly also wouldn't have seen  
23       any evidence of that in the records at the Local  
24       Authority end, and also -- I mean, there would have been  
25       no way of us checking the case files to see, but given

1       the fact that the notes in the case files are often very  
2       brief, there may not have been anything there either.

3   Q.   If we read on in the same paragraph, it says:

4       "Perhaps, however, this is not so surprising when  
5       one considers that these men are usually just given  
6       a period of this work as part of their public assistance  
7       training so that presumably they have no special  
8       understanding of children and their needs."

9   A.   Indeed, yes, presumably not. Well, one can't presume  
10       that. They might well have had some general  
11       understanding, but a special understanding, certainly  
12       not, because they certainly didn't have any specific  
13       training in the needs of children in care. Or children  
14       who have experienced, you know, separation.

15  Q.   Then at the next paragraph it's noted:

16       "During the two days tour, we heard a surprising  
17       number of complaints from foster parents whose feelings  
18       had been hurt or who were dissatisfied with the way they  
19       were or had been treated by the Glasgow Public  
20       Assistance Authority and I came to the conclusion that  
21       the main thing wrong with the boarding-out system in  
22       some areas, at least, is the way it is administered by  
23       the Local Authorities."

24  A.   Mm-hmm.

25  Q.   Then it notes:

1           "The Glasgow system appears to consist of a rigid  
2           code of rules enforced in a hard and fast dictatorial  
3           manner and with little or no regard for the feelings of  
4           the foster parents or the emotional welfare of the  
5           children."

6   A.   Yes.

7   Q.   I think you mention this quote specifically in your  
8           report.

9   A.   Uh-huh.

10   Q.   There we do see reference to emotional welfare of  
11           children.

12   A.   Yes, we do see reference to -- so this is a Scottish  
13           Office referring to emotional welfare, but Local  
14           Authorities don't really seem to be taking that on  
15           board. I think they give a number of examples of the  
16           rigid application of Glasgow's regulations.

17   Q.   Okay, and there's various examples given.

18   A.   Yes.

19   Q.   If we go over the page to page 16 at paragraph 8, do we  
20           see:

21           "Although there may be another side to these stories  
22           which we did not hear, they do suggest that there is  
23           a lack of humanity in the administration on the part of  
24           the public assistance Local Authority and that great  
25           changes will be needed if anything approaching the type

1 of scheme envisaged and recommended by the Clyde and  
2 Curtis reports is to be brought into being."

3 A. I mean, it's fairly stark, isn't it, really, and there  
4 were also concerns that were raised from the other  
5 reports that were carried out at this time.

6 Q. This also notes -- well, the view of the author seems to  
7 be that things can't carry on as ... or they shouldn't  
8 simply carry on as they were before, that great changes  
9 would be needed.

10 A. Well, yes, but no great changes were introduced at this  
11 time. Yes.

12 Q. I think we see that the date of that was in May 1947.

13 A. Yes, yes.

14 Q. If I can look at another report that you refer to in  
15 this document on page 3, please, headed, "Visits to  
16 foster homes in Inverness-shire in November 1949".  
17 There's a note that 16 foster homes were visited in  
18 which 50 children were boarded out, 13 had children from  
19 Glasgow.

20 A. Mm-hmm.

21 Q. Then in relation to the standards of homes, there's  
22 a comment in relation to the standard of the home  
23 itself.

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. So:

1           "Compared with average time conditions, standards  
2           were not high and there was in many cases a lack of  
3           amenity."

4   A.   Probably talking about WCs, I imagine, and sanitary  
5           conditions, I think.  Although, as we've said before, if  
6           you compared it with some conditions in inner city  
7           Glasgow, I'm not sure they would have been much worse,  
8           frankly, at this time.

9   Q.   It depends what you are comparing it to.

10  A.   It depends on what you're comparing it to, yes.

11  Q.   Then there's reference to the foster mothers:

12           "Many of the foster mothers seemed to be women of  
13           real character and appeared to have a genuine affection  
14           for the children.  Some were set in their standards and  
15           ideas and would probably not be very understanding of  
16           a child who did not conform."

17  A.   Yes, and that -- I mean, so this has come up a number of  
18           times, hasn't it, so it's this issue of the ability or  
19           inability of the guardians really to cope with children  
20           who were exhibiting symptoms of unhappiness, trauma,  
21           bed-wetting, those kinds of issues that they found  
22           difficult to deal with, because they had no training and  
23           they had experience in caring for boarded-out children,  
24           but they'd had no advice on how to do that and they had  
25           no support actually either.

1 Q. If we go under the next heading, "Education", it's  
2 noted:

3 "A number of the foster parents did not have much  
4 knowledge of the children's educational progress and  
5 spoke ... generally ..."

6 A. Mm.

7 Q. Then there's a note of a case where special school  
8 instruction was required, but at the age of 17 and a  
9 half was illiterate.

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. And another foster parent remarking that she was  
12 surprised that a boarded-out girl hadn't been sent to  
13 a higher grade school, but she'd made no enquiry.

14 A. Mm.

15 Q. You have already referred in your report to low  
16 expectations of boarded-out children. Is this the sort  
17 of thing that you were referring to?

18 A. Yes, I think so. I mean I think -- you know, there's  
19 a combination of things going on here, I think, in  
20 relation to what happens to these children when they  
21 leave foster care and the amount of education and the  
22 level of education that they achieve.

23 Certainly the expectations in general were that they  
24 would leave foster care and then they would go on to  
25 some job that was, you know, more suited to their

1 station. So boys would go into labouring work or sort  
2 of work with their hands, those kinds of things, or into  
3 the merchant navy and girls would go into other kind of  
4 labouring occupations and there are a few examples of  
5 children who did really well.

6 If I could throw in here an example, it doesn't  
7 appear in the report, but a woman I interviewed who  
8 appears in the book was fostered with a family in  
9 Aberdeenshire and she went on to do nursing training and  
10 she was very praising of the Local Authority, which was  
11 Glasgow, which had funded her through her nursing  
12 training, so that could happen, but I think it probably  
13 would have needed, you know, the support of the  
14 guardians and the support of the Local Authorities.  
15 When all that came together, it could work quite well.

16 But I think in the cases that we looked at in the  
17 case files, there's a good number of children who, you  
18 know, once they leave foster care, they end up in  
19 a hostel, you know, away from that area, maybe come back  
20 to Glasgow and they just can't cope with that and their  
21 outcomes are very poor. It's an incredibly depressing  
22 story, time after time after time, particularly boys,  
23 who really can't cope with leaving care and moving into  
24 independence, which is what was expected at the age of  
25 16 or so.

1 Q. If we move down we see a heading "Inspection" and it is  
2 noted:

3 "Only in one case did I feel that there might have  
4 been some resentment of inspection. The Glasgow  
5 official had visited most of the homes last winter, but  
6 the councillors always came between Easter and early  
7 October. The Glasgow visiting book, which is in the  
8 foster parent's possession, requires reports of  
9 cleanliness of the homes, et cetera, and it would  
10 clearly be difficult to give a bad report."

11 I assume that's because it's in the foster parent's  
12 possession, is that --

13 A. Absolutely, yes.

14 Q. "It would be better if the book showed who visited and  
15 when and which children were actually seen."

16 A. Indeed it would.

17 Q. At the bottom of the page it's said:

18 "Visits by Local Authority members and officials  
19 tend to be regular and can usually be anticipated  
20 accurately to a matter of a week or two. Our inspection  
21 is valuable in that it is much more unexpected and that  
22 it gives the foster parent a chance to say what she  
23 thinks about the Local Authority."

24 A. Do you want me to comment on that?

25 Q. Yes.

1 A. This whole issue of being able to anticipate  
2 an inspection was a constant one, really. It's  
3 a constant issue because the inspectors were travelling  
4 up from Glasgow and travelling around an area, you know,  
5 once they had visited the first one, the word would get  
6 out and everyone would know that they were in the area.  
7 That's certainly what I heard from people I interviewed,  
8 so the inspections weren't really expected.

9 I suppose the other really interesting thing about  
10 that is it gives the foster parents a chance to say what  
11 they think, but it didn't give the children a chance to  
12 say what they thought. So if Ms Whoever it was in this  
13 case, Seymour or Doull, had taken the children aside and  
14 had a conversation with them, she might have -- well,  
15 who knows what she would have heard, but, yes.

16 Q. If we look over the page to page 4, again that issue is  
17 continued in the first paragraph.

18 A. Yes, yes.

19 Q. It's noted:

20 "It is useful to know something of the child's  
21 history, as most foster parents respond better to a lead  
22 rather than being left to take the initiative."

23 A. Yes. I'm not entirely sure what she means by that.  
24 I mean, the foster parents wouldn't have generally known  
25 much, if anything, about the child's history anyway.

1       They weren't generally told anything about what had  
2       happened to those children before they came into their  
3       care. But I'm not sure whether she's saying that here  
4       or whether she's just saying it was helpful for her to  
5       give the foster parents some information and then -- I'm  
6       just not sure there, really.

7   Q. She goes on to say:

8        "In my first visits I felt strongly the need for  
9       training and experience in order to size up a home  
10      accurately."

11  A. Yes, yes.

12  Q. Does that reflect back to what you've been saying --

13  A. Yes.

14  Q. -- about the requirement for training --

15  A. Yes.

16  Q. -- in respect of people who were working in this field?

17  A. Yes, I think so. As I said, they didn't really have  
18      training, they just accumulated experience or learnt  
19      from others if they went out with others. Yes, I think  
20      that's absolutely spot on.

21  Q. We can leave that now, please, and go back to your  
22      report. If we can go to page 94 of your report, you  
23      mentioned issues in relation to recruitment, and here  
24      you refer to the committee on boarding out intimating to  
25      the Home Department that a recruitment drive was

1           necessary.

2    A.   Yes.

3    Q.   What did you find in relation to that?

4    A.   So they had plans to do it, but we don't know whether

5           they really did it because I don't think we really had

6           time to go after the information.  So they had planned

7           to go out through a number of media channels, if you

8           like, to try and recruit additional foster carers.

9    Q.   Then if we scroll down the page to the bottom half,

10          I think we see an advert that you found.

11   A.   Yes.

12   Q.   I think this was in the Fifeshire Advertiser and it was

13          an appeal by Glasgow.

14   A.   Isn't that interesting.  I can't remember -- what's the

15          date of this?  I can't remember the date of this.  It's

16          still quite -- are we in the 1950s here?  Quite early?

17          But still.

18   Q.   Yes, I think at footnote 187 it's from

19          30 September 1950.

20   A.   Yes, so there we are, after the 1948 Act, after the

21          Clyde report, and they're still -- I mean, Fife is some

22          distance from Glasgow, I would say, so they're still

23          struggling to find homes in Glasgow, or maybe not

24          making -- I don't know whether they really made

25          a concerted effort to find additional homes in Glasgow

1 at this time. We don't have evidence for that, but  
2 clearly there's evidence for them still looking further  
3 afield.

4 Q. Okay. Just bear with me a moment. I'm going to move on  
5 a little. (Pause)

6 I'm going to move on to page 101, where we have  
7 a heading, "Inspection of boarded-out children,  
8 frequency and reporting":

9 "The issue of the frequency of visitation and  
10 inspection was a thorny one. So too was the matter of  
11 who should be responsible for this."

12 I think the frequency is an issue that you've  
13 covered before.

14 A. Yes, yes.

15 Q. If we can go on to page 103, in the paragraph that we  
16 see beginning there:

17 "While in small Local Authorities, a children's  
18 officer would do all the visiting of boarded-out  
19 children, in larger places such as Glasgow this became  
20 a dedicated role."

21 You say, I think as you've already said in your  
22 evidence today, that:

23 " ... Glasgow generally did adhere to the frequency  
24 of inspections ..."

25 A. Yes, that's true. As far as you can tell, yes, from the

1 case files, because they do record them fairly well.

2 Q. Then again at the bottom of that page in the final

3 paragraph you say:

4 "Though most of the personnel who became employed on

5 this task in Scotland during the late 1940s and 1950s

6 might have experience of public assistance work that

7 included provisions made for children, they received

8 little or no accredited training for the particular

9 skills ..."

10 A. That's correct.

11 Q. Again, you mentioned that essentially experience was the

12 key.

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. You refer, I think, at the end of that page to the draft

15 memorandum on boarding out. Was that the draft that --

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. -- was never issued?

18 A. Yes, I think so.

19 Q. If we go to the top of the next page, we see an excerpt

20 from that draft at page 104 that the person should have:

21 "... personality and training for this important

22 work. She should have a natural sympathy and

23 understanding of children and young people and method of

24 approach which will win the confidence of both foster

25 parent and child. It is also important that she should

1 be familiar with behaviour problems in children, of the  
2 physical and psychological development of children and  
3 adolescents and be capable of a reliable assessment of  
4 the suitability of foster parents."

5 That's from 1948 and it's referring to psychological  
6 development, for example --

7 A. It's there. It's there in discussions and it's  
8 certainly there in discussions at the kind of Scottish  
9 Office level, but it's not really evident at the Local  
10 Authority level.

11 Q. I think you discuss that further in the paragraph just  
12 below this, where you find that:

13 " ... in 1952 representatives from Local  
14 Authorities ... expressed concern at the lack of trained  
15 personnel ..."

16 What was the Home Department's response to that?

17 A. That they already had enough people who had the  
18 experience, so they would expect people to learn from  
19 the experience. So it's all on-the-job training,  
20 really.

21 So no change was introduced until much later on in  
22 comparison or in contrast with England, where there had  
23 been the introduction of courses.

24 Q. You mention at the bottom of this page the Home  
25 Department promoted refresher courses for childcare

1 workers between 1950 and 1952.

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. One of which was for children's officers already  
4 involved in boarding out work, an annual course running  
5 for one week in Dundee.

6 A. Yes. So we don't know whether any of the Glasgow  
7 boarding-out officers attended it because we don't have  
8 any record of that at all. Whether Local Authority  
9 would have been able to release them for a week to go  
10 and do the training because they were so busy, but --  
11 I think Glasgow and other Local Authorities did run  
12 these kind of refresher courses across the whole gamut  
13 of childcare, because I think they did it for  
14 residential care workers too. So, again, it's kind  
15 of -- you know, vocational training that's part of the  
16 job rather than a course with a qualification.

17 Q. If we go on to page 106, at the bottom of that page  
18 I think we see something that you referred to in your  
19 evidence earlier.

20 A. Mm.

21 Q. So, examples of reports of visitors.

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Are these quotes from the records that you looked at?

24 A. They're from the case files. They're quite typical,  
25 really, yes. I think over the page there's one that

1       just says, "Out".

2   Q.   Yes, page 107.

3   A.   Yes.

4   LADY SMITH:  The one above it, "On the hill after sheep", is

5       saying the same thing, really, isn't it?

6   A.   The same thing, yes.

7       My guess is that quite often they wouldn't have seen

8       the children because they would have often been at

9       school, obviously, unless they were there in the summer

10      holiday -- well, they were often there in the summer

11      holidays if they went into the Highlands, because

12      I don't think they liked to travel up there in the

13      winter.  But I think quite often they would have -- I'm

14      not guessing, but I'm extrapolating from what I've seen,

15      that they wouldn't have seen the children.

16  MS INNES:  On the same page, further down, you say:

17       "The issue of disclosure is a difficult matter to

18      address historically."

19  A.   Yes.

20  Q.   You've touched on that before, but you refer back to

21      oral testimony that you obtained.

22  A.   Yes.

23  Q.   Was that during the work that you did for your book?

24  A.   That's correct, yes.

25  Q.   What did you glean from what this person told you?

1 A. I think from the quotation that I've included there from  
2 Peter, it's a pseudonym, that he described what it was  
3 like when the inspector came. He says it's just once  
4 a year, of course it might have been more frequently,  
5 who knows.

6 So they knew when they were arriving. He described  
7 his experience with actually an abusive guardian. They  
8 were beaten quite regularly and they were scared, and so  
9 they would never have revealed anything to the inspector  
10 had they had the opportunity to speak to him on their  
11 own. So I thought that was -- it's quite striking  
12 testimony, really.

13 Q. If we go to page 109, at the bottom of that page you  
14 have a section headed, "Removals", and you say:

15 "Removals of children from unsuitable guardians  
16 would be one indication that the inspection system was  
17 working. Yet it appears that few children were removed  
18 from unsuitable guardians at the instigation of  
19 inspectors, although numbers are impossible to quantify  
20 as we have not located a central record in the archive.  
21 However, a removal of a child in these circumstances was  
22 reported to the Children's Committee and any such  
23 change ... should have been reported to the Scottish  
24 Home Department ..."

25 A. Yes, yes. So from my memory, the Children's Committee

1 minutes do include the statistics on movement of  
2 children, so children removed from guardians would have  
3 been counted.

4 But I don't think in those -- I certainly don't  
5 think we have the reasons for that necessarily.  
6 Actually, no, I can't remember, so you might correct me  
7 and show me the document where they do in a minute.

8 But, as I said earlier, if a child was removed at  
9 the instigation of the inspector because they thought  
10 that something was amiss, they should have reported it  
11 to the Scottish Office, but we've not found any evidence  
12 of that.

13 Q. If we go down a little, the paragraph beginning, "It was  
14 generally believed", you note there that there was  
15 a period when annual reports produced by Glasgow's  
16 Children's Department not only gave the numbers but gave  
17 the reasons --

18 A. There we are, there it is, sorry. Yes.

19 Q. You say that those were broken down into two groups,  
20 those removed because of a change of circumstance for  
21 the guardian --

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. -- or behaviour difficulties in the child.

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. When you've got those two categories --

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. Did what you found in the annual reports -- was it just  
3 change of circumstances or did it give a bit more  
4 detail? So, for example, you have ill health?

5 A. Yeah, ill health. In the guardians, I think elderly.  
6 You know, some of them became just too elderly to cope.  
7 I think that was another reason.

8 But the behaviour difficulties in the child also  
9 kind of relates to the guardian as well. So often  
10 elderly guardians couldn't manage teenagers, so that was  
11 often when the critical point happened and the child had  
12 to be removed, because they just couldn't manage them at  
13 all.

14 Q. If we look at page 112, where you have a heading "Abuse"  
15 and you start by referring to -- I think this is  
16 an internal minute about corporal punishment from the  
17 footnote:

18 "One official at the Scottish Office commented in  
19 an internal memo that 'it seems to me that a child in  
20 a Children's Home is in less danger of receiving  
21 excessive punishment than a child in a foster home'."

22 A. That's a really interesting comment, actually, I think.  
23 I don't think we know why they said that or what  
24 evidence they had, but of course in residential care  
25 there were regulations around punishment and also --

1 I mean, they were supposed to keep punishment books so  
2 at least there might have been a trail. And also  
3 children's homes were inspected by the Scottish Office,  
4 whereas in a foster home, I mean -- as we've seen, it  
5 would have been very difficult to pick up on it. So  
6 I assume that's where it's coming from.

7 Q. Then in the next paragraph you say:

8 "Prosecutions of guardians for mistreatment reported  
9 in the press are the clearest evidence that we have for  
10 the abuse of boarded-out children in this period."

11 You refer again to the case of the Waltons in Fife.

12 You say:

13 "A search of the local press in Scotland has  
14 identified a number of prosecutions of guardians for  
15 'cruelty'."

16 That's, I assume, from the newspaper search that you  
17 undertook?

18 A. That's correct, yes. Which seems to me concerning,  
19 actually, the fact that that's the way we had to find  
20 it, rather than find it in the formal record. That's  
21 not to say it doesn't exist in the formal record, it's  
22 just that we didn't find it.

23 Q. Towards the end of that paragraph you say:

24 "What is striking in these and other such cases is  
25 that the cruelty was not identified by the Local

1 Authority boarding out inspector, but rather by other  
2 responsible adults, in these instances teachers, the  
3 police and the RSSPCC. This is a pattern that we will  
4 see repeated in the case of children mistreated in  
5 children's homes and in foster care in the 1960s."

6 A. It is indeed. Certainly we found pretty much the same  
7 in children's homes as well. I suppose we might assume  
8 that the reason for that is that these other people are  
9 on the spot all the time. Your teachers would have seen  
10 the child day in and day out and become concerned  
11 perhaps. There is a case, I think one of the cases in  
12 here is a case of a teacher who does say something about  
13 the -- is very concerned about the child, because they  
14 see them all the time. Whereas the inspector, as we  
15 have seen, was just there sort of three or four times  
16 a year and just popped in for 20 minutes and they  
17 weren't trained to recognise children suffering  
18 punishment and the children probably wouldn't have been  
19 able to divulge it.

20 Q. Then you have a heading, "Cost of care", and you say:  
21 "The elephant in the room where the preference for  
22 boarding out is concerned is that in relative terms it  
23 was cheaper than residential care."

24 A. It was, yes.

25 Q. If we go on to page 113, you have some figures from

1 Glasgow from 1949 --

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. -- showing the expenditure on children in different

4 types of care.

5 If we just go below the list of figures, you say:

6 "Although the largest single item of expenditure in

7 this budgetary statement is for boarding out, this

8 reflects the fact that in this period the great majority

9 of children were dealt with by this route ..."

10 A. Yes, so the cost per child was much less for a child who

11 was boarded out than for a child in residential care.

12 Also, of course, residential care was packed to the

13 gunwales. I mean they were really struggling with

14 places in residential care as well, so that's another

15 reason for boarding out children.

16 Q. Okay.

17 A. If we're talking about Glasgow, as we are, Glasgow is

18 always looking at its budget, it's always looking at

19 money as well. They never had enough money. So this

20 would have been a consideration, I think.

21 Q. Then from the bottom of that page on to the next page

22 you discuss what was actually being paid to guardians.

23 A. Mm-hmm.

24 Q. On page 114, if we scroll down the page a little bit, we

25 see a paragraph:

1 "Councils were always cash-strapped ..."

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. " ... and these financial facts cannot be eliminated  
4 from consideration."

5 However, you note that there was some competition --

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. -- with Local Authorities all paying different amounts.

8 A. Exactly. The Aberdeen one is really interesting,  
9 because they would have been in competition for  
10 guardians up in that part of the world with Glasgow, so  
11 if Aberdeen were paying more, they would have had the  
12 advantage.

13 Q. Okay.

14 A. I don't know whether we'll come to it, but there was  
15 also quite a lot of discussion later on about whether  
16 guardians should actually be paid rather than just be  
17 given expenses, but whether they be given what they  
18 called remuneration for looking after foster children  
19 and it was generally believed that they shouldn't be.

20 Q. Okay.

21 If we can move on, please, to page 117 and at the  
22 very bottom of that page we see a heading, "Towards  
23 prevention and reorganisation".

24 At this point you move into the 1960s and you have  
25 information that Glasgow in 1960 to 1961 received well

1 over 2,000 applications for assistance with children.

2 A. Yes.

3 Q. It had 900 foster carers on its books, which included

4 those who were kin to the children concerned, it says at

5 the top of the next page.

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. You then give some statistics in relation to staffing

8 and say:

9 "In addition to the children's officer, deputy and

10 clerical staff, there was only one senior childcare

11 officer, 13 childcare officers and 3 assistant officers

12 (possibly trainees) who were engaged both with placement

13 and supervision of children boarded out and housed in

14 residential [institutional] care."

15 A. That's correct.

16 Q. You also note:

17 "In the ... 1960s ... Glasgow still had large

18 numbers of children boarded out some distance from the

19 city."

20 A. Yes. Even by the early 1960s, I mean they had -- so

21 we're still looking at that point, I think, at long-term

22 foster care. It does change later on to much shorter

23 term, but even in the early 1960s you have children who

24 have been in foster care for most of their lives, so you

25 have the legacy of that, plus new children coming into

1       care all the time, so the numbers are still relatively  
2       high.

3   Q.   Okay.  Then you refer in the next couple of pages to  
4       various issues ongoing at the time.  At the bottom of  
5       page 119 you talk about help started to be given -- at  
6       the very bottom of page 119:

7       "Help given to problem families often included the  
8       clearing of rent arrears to prevent homelessness and  
9       assistance with non-payment of fuel bills."

10  A.   Yes.

11  Q.   You then say at the end of this first paragraph on this  
12       page:

13       "Large Children's Department could easily find  
14       themselves in conflict with their councils wherein  
15       residual attitudes towards the poor still resided."

16  A.   Mm.

17  Q.   Can you expand on what you mean by that?

18  A.   I think we meant by that that -- so what you have is the  
19       Children's Department trying to ... well, they're trying  
20       to keep families in their homes and the housing  
21       department would have a debt collection function, so  
22       there's a kind of conflict of interests there.  So the  
23       Children's Department under the prevention agenda, as  
24       I've said, were trying to keep people in their homes  
25       rather than being evicted, so they were helping with

1       rent arrears, helping with paying utility bills and  
2       those kinds of things, and that took up a lot of time of  
3       the children's inspectors and people in the Children's  
4       Department at this time.

5           I think that councils in general had conflicting  
6       views as to how these families should be assisted or  
7       not.

8   LADY SMITH:  You're talking here of the past, but I wonder,  
9       Professor Abrams, if things have really changed in that  
10      respect.

11  A.  Oh, I don't know.  Yes, quite possibly.

12  LADY SMITH:  It may be an inevitable if not eternal tension  
13      in Local Authorities, any Local Authority.

14  A.  Yes, could well be.

15  LADY SMITH:  Thank you.

16  MS INNES:  You say:

17           "The period in the run up to 1963 and immediately  
18      following brought the stresses of Glasgow's children  
19      department to a head."

20           You refer to an internal review of the work of the  
21      Children's Department.  You say:

22           "This identified a number of problems but overall  
23      its conclusions were not solely or even mainly aimed at  
24      noting where more investment was needed; rather it was  
25      about making better use of available resources."

1 A. Exactly, yes.

2 Q. If we can have a look at that report, please, it's at  
3 GLA-000001836. We see this is a review of the  
4 Children's Department, if we scroll down, by something  
5 called Organisation & Methods.

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. Was that a department within the Local Authority?

8 A. Do you know, actually, I don't know the answer to that.  
9 It might well have been. I suppose they might have  
10 carried out studies of various departments at the Local  
11 Authority, but I'm not sure. I'm sure we could find  
12 out.

13 Q. This is September 1962.

14 A. (Witness nodded)

15 Q. If we go on, please, to page 3, under the terms of  
16 reference do we see that this was:  
17 "To review the organisation, methods, staffing and  
18 salary gradings of the Children's Department."

19 A. Mm.

20 Q. If we can move on again, please, to page 11, I think we  
21 see an appendix here in relation to boarding out and  
22 adoption. One of the issues seems to be that we see  
23 underlined, the combination of the city and country  
24 boarding out sections.

25 A. Yes.

1 Q. Had there been some kind of division in the  
2 department --

3 A. I think there was a division in the department, yes, and  
4 they were trying to find ways of making it more  
5 efficient because, as I say, the inspectors were away  
6 from Glasgow for longish periods of time.

7 Q. If we scroll down a little again, please, I think we see  
8 here at point (3) something that you've already  
9 mentioned:

10 "Office visits by Glasgow foster parents are  
11 excessive and should, as discreetly as possible, be  
12 discouraged."

13 A. They did complain at some point about people constantly  
14 popping in to -- I think it was in John Street, their  
15 office, people were always calling. You have to  
16 remember at this time, most people who needed the  
17 assistance of the Children's Department wouldn't have  
18 had a telephone. That would have been the only way,  
19 really, apart from writing, that they would have been  
20 able to get help from the Children's Department, so it  
21 was constantly busy.

22 Q. Okay. Then onto the next page we see the various  
23 arguments being set out and expanded upon.

24 If we can go to page 13, I think again at  
25 paragraph 8, if we scroll down a little, we see

1 a heading, "Office callers", and then, "Report writing"  
2 just below that, and it says there:

3 "A random examination of case papers indicates that,  
4 despite exhortations from the children's officers, some  
5 childcare officers are too verbose in their reports. In  
6 a successful fostering there should be little to record  
7 other than the fact of visitation and a word picture of  
8 2-3 lines, and childcare officers should be instructed  
9 to avoid unnecessary narrative as being not only  
10 wasteful of time but also making subsequent study of the  
11 case more difficult."

12 A. Well, the final comment there is a bit bizarre, but  
13 there you are. It's odd, actually, that, because as  
14 we've seen, quite a lot of comments in the case files  
15 are not at all verbose and are very brief already. So  
16 maybe there were one or two childcare officers making  
17 so-called verbose reports, but yeah. This was all about  
18 saving time rather than improving the experience of the  
19 children. I suppose that's what I take from this. This  
20 whole O&M report is about making the delivery of  
21 children's services more efficient, really with the  
22 limited staffing that they have rather than improving  
23 the experience for children.

24 Q. Can we go on now to page 16 of the document and  
25 a heading under "Policy questions", "Frequency of

1 visits -- boarded-out cases". There's reference to the  
2 regulations, visiting having been increased from  
3 six-monthly to three-monthly.

4 A. Yes.

5 Q. "The care which attends the appointment of foster  
6 parents and the placing of children therewith and the  
7 experience of childcare officers in finding on their  
8 visits that almost invariably the association is  
9 a successful and happy one, together make quarterly  
10 visits seem excessive."

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. "Indeed, apart from administrative expense, it is felt  
13 that too frequent contact with the childcare officer  
14 must tend to impede the development of the foster parent  
15 as the child's main point of security. The children's  
16 officer is of the same opinion and we share his view  
17 that four-monthly visitation would be adequate, leaving  
18 it to his discretion to determine the need for closer  
19 supervision in specific cases. However, in view of the  
20 comparatively short time since the regulation came into  
21 operation and of the fact that visitation is even more  
22 frequent in England and Wales, it is unlikely that the  
23 Secretary of State would now entertain proposals for  
24 an amendment, but it is desirable that O&M should place  
25 their views on record in alignment with those of the

1 children's officer."

2 I think this is something that you referred to in  
3 your report as well.

4 A. Yes. I mean so new regulations have just been  
5 introduced to introduce three-monthly visitations and  
6 they're already looking to reduce them to three times  
7 a year rather than four times a year. It's interesting  
8 that the children's officer also believes that to be the  
9 case.

10 I mean, what it suggests is a degree of complacency,  
11 I think, on the part of the Glasgow children's officer  
12 and his staff.

13 Q. I think the tension that we've seen --

14 A. Yeah.

15 Q. -- between whether it's a good thing to visit more or  
16 less --

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. -- is something that we saw when we looked at  
19 documents --

20 A. Exactly.

21 Q. -- from the late 1940s.

22 A. Yes, exactly.

23 LADY SMITH: It does seem odd that they seem to be saying  
24 the status quo is producing a successful and happy  
25 outcome for the child, therefore we will divert from the

1 status quo.

2 A. Yes, I know. I know. Well, it kind of -- again, it  
3 kind of suggests complacency, doesn't it? So the status  
4 quo is producing a happy child, therefore we have happy  
5 children, so we don't need to inspect so regularly.

6 Yes.

7 LADY SMITH: But it might have been because of the  
8 inspections they were doing and the system they had in  
9 place that they were seeing that.

10 A. Yes, I know.

11 MS INNES: If we go down to the next section, there's  
12 a section, "Children boarded out in other areas", and  
13 this seems to deal with the concept of effectively  
14 delegating local visits.

15 A. Oh.

16 Q. If we go on to page 17, and at the end of what must be  
17 paragraph 17, we see there:

18 "One possible method might be for Glasgow staff to  
19 visit once yearly and for the interim visits to be done  
20 by local staff as provided by the regulations."

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. An alternative in paragraph 18 would be that Glasgow  
23 would appoint childcare officers who lived in these  
24 other areas.

25 A. Yes, they never did that. There was a fairly regular

1 discussion about how you conducted inspection and  
2 whether you sent your own officers out from Glasgow,  
3 which of course was expensive and time consuming,  
4 whether you could rely on people in the local community  
5 or indeed even childcare officers from the Local  
6 Authorities in which they were boarded to do the  
7 inspections, and that was always pulled back from  
8 because of course it was the responsibility of the Local  
9 Authority who had placed the children to check on them.

10 But discussions about this were pretty frequent up  
11 until the 1960s, just I think because -- as you see  
12 here, they still had 500 children in the early 1960s  
13 boarded out some distance from Glasgow and were trying  
14 to find ways of making it more efficient.

15 Q. We can leave that document now and go back to your  
16 report. If we go to page 121, at the bottom of the  
17 page, the paragraph:

18 "Even before the adoption of the 1963 Act, Glasgow  
19 had restructured the organisation of the Children's  
20 Department to incorporate prevention ..."

21 A. Yes.

22 Q. Then you note that there was admissions and prevention  
23 and supervision of children boarded out was split into  
24 outside and outwith Glasgow and adoptions.

25 A. Yes, by then, by 1963, there are more -- I can't

1       remember the figures, but the proportions are changing  
2       between children boarding out in Glasgow and children  
3       boarded out further afield and they were paying more  
4       attention to prevention.

5   Q.   Okay. Then you refer to a major inspection of the  
6       department which took place in 1965/1966.

7   A.   Yes.

8   Q.   If we look at the top of the next page, you say:  
9       "The results of the inspection were that both  
10      prevention and boarding-out practices came in for heavy  
11      criticism."

12  A.   Mm.

13  Q.   "... and in respect of boarding out the verdict on the  
14      department was that it was: 'understaffed at field  
15      level ... staff are not able to function at  
16      a satisfactory level and we feel that too great a burden  
17      is being placed on their shoulders ... case loads [too]  
18      high ..."

19       It was said that this was disturbing.

20  A.   Yes, it was pretty damning I think in looking at the  
21      numbers of staff that they had and the amount of time  
22      that they were really able to spend dealing with the  
23      children in their care and there was quite a lot of  
24      discussion about the amount of admin that they were  
25      having to do and those kinds of things. Was it in this

1 or was it in the O&M report where they looked at the  
2 typical day of a childcare officer and -- well,  
3 I suppose it might be something we might recognise  
4 today, actually, but hugely overworked.

5 Q. On page 122 and at the bottom of the page, you say:  
6 "It would take a highly publicised tragedy involving  
7 the severe mistreatment of a boarded-out child in the  
8 care of Glasgow to expose much of what had been going  
9 wrong in childcare for almost 20 years."

10 A. Mm-hmm.

11 Q. Then you also refer to deaths of two children in foster  
12 care, which were never publicised.

13 A. Yes.

14 Q. If we can deal first of all with the prosecution if we  
15 go on to page 123. You have a case study, "The failures  
16 of boarding out".

17 A. Yes.

18 Q. If we go on from there to page 124, in the second  
19 paragraph that we see there:  
20 "X was admitted to hospital in 1967. The admitting  
21 doctor believed that the child had been subject to  
22 severe beatings and was dehydrated and malnourished; his  
23 condition at the time was described as serious. It  
24 later transpired that his bowels had been perforated  
25 because of physical assault. The Browns were

1           subsequently prosecuted."

2           And both were imprisoned.

3   A.   Yes.

4   Q.   You say:

5           "A large number of inadequacies and errors are  
6           attached to this case, but it received no real publicity  
7           on a nationwide scale at the time it was uncovered."

8   A.   Mm.

9   Q.   Do you say that because you couldn't find anything in  
10       your searches?

11   A.   Yes. I think so, yes. Yes.

12   Q.   You say that it did attract attention from professional  
13       social workers.

14   A.   Yes.

15   Q.   I think you then go on to refer to material that you  
16       found within the Scottish Office?

17   A.   That's correct.

18   Q.   If we look down in that paragraph you say:

19       "Staff at the Scottish Office were aware of the  
20       challenges experienced by Glasgow's Children's  
21       Department. The childcare officer in Glasgow who had  
22       charge of the case was dangerously overloaded and  
23       undoubtedly under pressure. He acted with expediency by  
24       placing the child with his sibling in an unvetted foster  
25       home, rather than looking more closely at the

1       suitability of the foster parents. It turned out that  
2       the husband had previous criminal convictions including  
3       one for indecency."

4       Then you refer to a circular sent out by the Social  
5       Work Services Group about the need to take greater care  
6       in selection. I wonder if we could have a look at that,  
7       please.

8   A. Yes.

9   Q. SGV-000084520 and page 5.

10  A. Oh, this is the one that's hard to read.

11  Q. At page 5 we see a letter from the Social Work Services  
12       Group on 5 October 1967:

13       "Childcare circular letter."

14       At paragraph 1:

15       "All children authorities will be well aware of the  
16       recent tragic case, which received wide publicity, in  
17       which a foster father was found guilty of cruel  
18       treatment of a two-year-old child placed in his care by  
19       a Local Authority."

20  A. Mm.

21  Q. Did you understand that to mean the Glasgow case that --

22  A. Yes.

23  Q. -- you've looked at?

24  A. Yes, that's correct.

25  Q. What did this circular try to cover?

1 A. Do you know, you'll have to remind me. Can you scroll  
2 down?

3 Q. If we go down to paragraph 3 --

4 A. I think this is mainly about vetting, isn't it, and  
5 ensuring that the foster home is appropriate and that  
6 the foster parents have been checked out.

7 Q. At paragraph 3:

8 "In the meantime the purpose of this circular is to  
9 remind Local Authorities that the existing regulations  
10 place a very wide duty on them to satisfy themselves in  
11 all practicable ways that prospective foster parents are  
12 of good character and in all respects suitable ...".

13 A. Thank you.

14 What had happened in this case was the child had  
15 been placed in a family with no real -- I think the  
16 other child was already there and this was a kind of  
17 an expedient case really just to kind of move the child  
18 into foster care with no checks being undertaken.  
19 Of course that had happened a lot of times in the past  
20 and we don't know whether they also maybe had bad  
21 outcomes, but they often moved children around quite  
22 quickly like that if a child had to be removed. So this  
23 case kind of shines light on that particular issue,  
24 I think.

25 Q. I think they go on in paragraph 4 to remind Local

1 Authorities of the need:

2 " ... when considering the suitability of  
3 a prospective foster home, to see all the members of the  
4 foster family in their own home, both before a child is  
5 placed with them and afterwards, to make sure that the  
6 family as a whole will receive the child well. It must  
7 also be remembered that because one child is already  
8 being properly looked after, it cannot, unfortunately,  
9 be assumed that the foster parents will treat equally  
10 well another child placed ..."

11 A. Yes.

12 Q. I suppose that picks you on what you were saying in your  
13 evidence earlier about if somebody's a foster parent,  
14 they're not reassessed, another child is just placed  
15 with them.

16 A. That's correct, yes. Once they are assumed to be  
17 an okay foster carer, then they're on the list, really,  
18 and then they can be used for other children if they  
19 have a space, yes.

20 Q. Then at the top of the next page, page 6, there's  
21 reference to a specific article, "The battered baby", at  
22 which it says:

23 "The staff of Children's Departments should again be  
24 alerted to the implications of this article."

25 A. Mm-hmm. Although whether that happened or not, I don't

1 know.

2 Q. Okay. If I can go back to your report again, please,  
3 and after your consideration of this case, so page 127  
4 of your report and at the bottom of the page:  
5 "The single positive observation [you say] that  
6 might be made in the aftermath of [this case] is that  
7 police checks on foster carers resident in Glasgow were  
8 instituted; henceforth all such potential guardians  
9 would be subject to criminal record checks ..."

10 Then you say:  
11 " ... (although this did not prevent the placement  
12 of children with a foster carer with a criminal record  
13 just a year later ..."

14 A. That's correct.

15 Q. " ... something only revealed by the death of those  
16 children)."

17 Then you say at the top of the page:  
18 "ACCO also lobbied for checks to be rolled out  
19 across Scotland."

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. Is that something that you looked at more broadly?  
22 A. Actually, I don't think so. I can't remember what that  
23 reference is now.

24 Q. I think if we go down to the footnote, "Police Checks to  
25 be Sought on Baby Cases", an article from the Edinburgh

1 Evening News on 14 September 1967 seems to be the source  
2 of that.

3 A. Do you know, it's so long ago we did this, I actually  
4 can't remember. I can't remember what the outcome of  
5 that was. Sorry.

6 Q. That's okay. If we can move back up -- no, sorry, if we  
7 can move on, you referred a moment ago to the death of  
8 children in foster care.

9 A. Yes.

10 Q. At the bottom of this page:

11 "Less than two years after [the previous case,  
12 I think] the deaths of two children just months apart in  
13 the care of the same foster parents shone the spotlight  
14 yet again on the failings in the city of Glasgow in  
15 respect of the protection of vulnerable children. This  
16 time, however, the Scottish Office did not hold back in  
17 its criticism, albeit the case never reached the public  
18 domain."

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. Did you discover this in the context of your searches?

21 A. There's a huge file on the case in the Scottish Office  
22 files, so there was lots of discussion about it  
23 subsequently and discussion with/meetings with Glasgow  
24 children's officers and so on about the case.

25 Q. Okay. If we can look, please, at SGV-000084517. If we

1 can look at page 4 we see a document here headed,  
2 "Glasgow Children's Department Inquiry re Death of  
3 [a child]".

4 There is reference to a visit to Glasgow Children's  
5 Department in June 1968 and a discussion with  
6 a Ms Houston.

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. ACCO, would that be senior childcare officer?

9 A. Yes, yes. I think this is after the death of the first  
10 child, yes.

11 Q. There's reference there to the fact that the child was  
12 boarded out and I think at paragraph 5 in the part  
13 that's underlined, I think that we see that --

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. -- there had been convictions for theft.

16 A. That's right. Of the father, I think, yes.

17 Q. Yes, so sorry, if we just look back at this, so it says:

18 "Ms Houston agreed that [the child] should remain  
19 with the ..."

20 A. Sorry, this is the child that -- I'm just doing this for  
21 my own kind of --

22 Q. Yes.

23 A. This is a child that had been in residential care. The  
24 foster mother had been, I think, like a visitor or  
25 a foster aunt as they often called them, at that

1 residential institution and the child had spent holidays  
2 and time with them, and then that child had eventually  
3 been boarded out with that couple. That's correct,  
4 isn't it? Yes.

5 Q. Then here at number 5, Ms Houston was saying she took up  
6 their application as foster parents. They seemed to be  
7 based in Grangemouth?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. So the county children's officer was asked for his  
10 observations. Mr Poor notified Ms Houston that the  
11 father had two convictions for theft, one when he was 17  
12 and one four years ago. He asked Ms Houston not to  
13 reveal the source of information.

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Then there's a reference to her visiting and discussing  
16 the convictions, I think, with the prospective foster  
17 carers as well as their reasons for wanting to look  
18 after a foster child.

19 A. Mm-hmm.

20 Q. If we look on to page 5, at the top of the page I think  
21 we see a little about the accident, as it's described.

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. "... whilst standing ironing at an ironing board, she  
24 had swung around with the iron in her hand [the child]  
25 had at the same time had run behind her and she had hit

1 his head with the iron, whilst there was no bruising at  
2 the time and the boy, although hurt, seemed quite  
3 well ..."

4 But then ultimately it describes that he died.

5 A. Yes.

6 Q. At paragraph 10 it's said that the death was reported to  
7 the Children's Committee.

8 A. Mm.

9 Q. Then at paragraph 11 it's noted:

10 "Ms Houston is quite satisfied that Mr and  
11 Mrs [so-and-so] are good foster parents, and she is  
12 considering placing another child with them when they  
13 have had time to recover from the accident."

14 Is that one of the things that you noted when you  
15 were looking at this case?

16 A. This is a really tragic and difficult case to read,  
17 isn't it? I mean, yes. So when we were reading this  
18 document, I mean that -- it was just completely shocking  
19 that they should consider placing another child with  
20 that family so quickly after the death of the first  
21 child, and having accepted pretty quickly that the death  
22 was an accident rather than inflicted on the child.

23 Then the next point about:

24 "They are particularly interested in taking  
25 a coloured child."

1           It also kind of raised alarm bells, I think, going  
2           back to that whole story about the mother taking  
3           an interest in the child when the child was in  
4           residential care. Yes.

5   Q.   If we go down to paragraph 14, at the conclusion it  
6           says:

7           "Subject to Dr Mitchell's study of the medical  
8           background to this case, there appears to have been no  
9           gross neglect on the part of the Children's Department.  
10          Three points emerge however:

11          "(a) there was no continuity of care in that  
12          different CCOs were supervising the boy when he was  
13          boarded out."

14   A.   Uh ...

15   Q.   Then at (b) there's reference to the connection that had  
16          been made when he was in residential care that you've  
17          mentioned.

18   A.   Yes.

19   Q.   It says:

20          "There was some doubt about their suitability, but  
21          the child was in the foster home during the time it took  
22          to obtain the relevant background information."

23   A.   So that must be about the criminal record, I think.  
24          I think that must refer to the criminal record that they  
25          knew about.

1 LADY SMITH: Was there any evidence of the death of the  
2 child being reported to the police or giving rise to any  
3 police investigation?  
4 A. I don't think there was in this case. I don't think so.  
5 No.  
6 MS INNES: At (c) it's noted:  
7 "Ms Houston remains firm in her favourable appraisal  
8 of the foster parents. She has ruled out any negligence  
9 and was impressed by the couple's dignity during and  
10 after the accident. She intends to place another ...  
11 child in the home."  
12 A. Yes.  
13 Q. Then over the page at the recommendation, the  
14 recommendation is no further action.  
15 A. (Witness nodded)  
16 Q. I think this is a document we looked at at the  
17 beginning, it's an inquiry into the death of this child,  
18 held in the records of the Scottish Office.  
19 A. Yes. Well, it's internal, it's not public.  
20 LADY SMITH: Not even a recommendation about any particular  
21 form of supervision or check as and when they do get  
22 another child, as is intended.  
23 A. I know, yes. I know.  
24 I suppose it's also interesting that they do draw  
25 attention to the problem of people becoming friendly

1 with children who are in residential care because their  
2 motives -- I think there's some concern about people's  
3 motives in that case. But there seems to be a more  
4 obvious thing that they should have been focusing on  
5 here, and they didn't.

6 LADY SMITH: I wondered whether there was a hint there from  
7 them saying that there was a need in some cases to  
8 anticipate the application to be foster parents, of them  
9 in hindsight realising perhaps they felt pressured into  
10 leaving the child in foster care because they put the  
11 child in the foster home before they had finished the  
12 work they needed to do before they could approve those  
13 people as foster arrangements.

14 A. Exactly. Maybe, yes. Yes.

15 MS INNES: If we move on to page 16 of this document,  
16 I think we see a memo if we scroll down dated  
17 August 1968. I think this is it, if we can just go up  
18 to the top again, this seems to be an internal memo.

19 A. (Witness nodded)

20 Q. It says:

21 "We discussed earlier this week the action we  
22 propose to take arising out of our concern over the  
23 apparent increase in the number of deaths of children in  
24 care, the lack of prompt information from Local  
25 Authorities about these incidents and the defects which

1       some of the case histories coming to us show in the  
2       standard of Local Authority childcare services. I now  
3       attach a draft submission to Mr Millan proposing the  
4       issue of a general circular to Local Authorities and  
5       a letter to Glasgow in particular urging them to get on  
6       with the expansion of their Children's Department."

7   A. Exactly, yes. So there's general recognition that  
8       Glasgow is not coping, really, it doesn't have  
9       sufficient staff and sufficient trained staff in order  
10      to manage its childcare services properly.

11   Q. Then in the next paragraph she says:

12       "I should say that Glasgow are not the only  
13      authority who emerge badly from our investigation of the  
14      various deaths. One of the Edinburgh cases in  
15      particular gives cause for concern, and Edinburgh's  
16      Children's Department seem to have shown a regrettable  
17      tendency to think that the case was none of our  
18      business."

19       So it wasn't just Glasgow?

20   A. It seems it wasn't just Glasgow, yeah, although we  
21      haven't seen any of that other material and I don't know  
22      what the number of deaths was across the sector and  
23      where they were happening. I can only really comment on  
24      the Glasgow situation.

25   Q. Then in the final paragraph, do we see that she notes

1       there:

2               "The difficulty of tackling Glasgow at this point is  
3       of course twofold. It is not unreasonable for Glasgow  
4       to wish to pause at this moment to wait until they have  
5       appointed their new director of social work and until he  
6       can form some idea of the needs of his now combined  
7       department."

8               This is 1968.

9       A. Yes.

10      Q. "Secondly, the Secretary of State is urging on Local  
11      Authorities the need for strict economy at the present  
12      time and an increase in staff of the Children's  
13      Department may therefore have to be counteracted by  
14      a decrease in staff elsewhere in the Glasgow  
15      departments."

16      A. Mm-hmm.

17      Q. Again, does that bring to the fore the issue of funding  
18      and how the resources are to be shared?

19      A. Yes, particularly in Glasgow, yes. They never had --  
20      I've said this over and over again. They were always  
21      incredibly stretched in terms of staff and they never  
22      really had the budgets they needed and the Children's  
23      Committee doesn't seem to be able to argue for the  
24      budgets that the Children's Department needed.

25              I suppose the other point here is that the Social

1       Work Act is about to be implemented and so whether that  
2       holds off action, you know, they're kind of hoping that  
3       the Social Work Act will really lead to reorganisation  
4       and then there will be a kind of change in approach.

5   Q.   Okay. We see at the end of that note:

6        "In my view, the improvement of Glasgow Children's  
7       Department is essential if we are not to see more damage  
8       to children in care."

9   A.   That's a correct observation, I would have said.

10  Q.   After, we obviously saw a moment ago that a child placed  
11       with these foster carers had died and there was a plan  
12       to place another child with them.

13  A.   Yes.

14  Q.   What happened then?

15  A.   Then they placed the other child with them and that  
16       child also died.

17  Q.   If we look on to page 17, I think we see there a note:

18        "Mr Gillespie told me this morning that  
19       Ms Grace Hamilton, Glasgow childcare officer, had told  
20       him yesterday (██████ 69) that another foster child placed  
21       with [foster parents] has died. The cause was stated as  
22       falling from a swing."

23  A.   Yes.

24  Q.   There's reference to obtaining a file, I think probably  
25       in relation to the previous case.

1 A. Yes.

2 Q. "The file indicates that, following the death of [the  
3 first child] two more foster children were placed with  
4 [the carers]; and you will wish to ensure that Glasgow  
5 are taking all necessary steps to safeguard the life of  
6 any other foster child still with [the carers]."

7 A. I think they were siblings, the two that were  
8 subsequently placed.

9 Q. Okay.

10 If we move on, please, just to the start of this  
11 document to put it in context, page 18, first of all  
12 I think we see reference to:  
13 "Death of a child."  
14 Summary of events, notification was achieved in  
15 [REDACTED] 1969, there was a report submitted to the  
16 Children's Committee, there's a post-mortem report and  
17 then there's some details about the circumstances.

18 If I can move on to page 22, just below the  
19 chronology. We see that it says there:  
20 "It would seem to be easy having read these papers  
21 to arrive at the conclusion that this placement was  
22 unwise and that the standard of case work was poor."

23 However, it's suggested that the person would want  
24 to have access to the case papers --

25 A. Yes.

1 Q. -- and discuss matters with the children's officer and  
2 the supervising officer, and they wanted to see further  
3 material in relation to the references for the foster  
4 parents.

5 A. That's right.

6 Q. Did you look at the file for that?

7 A. I don't think we saw the references for the foster  
8 parents.

9 Q. Okay. Then there's reference there to:

10 "In view of the seriousness of this case which could  
11 lead to criticism of the chief officer I recommend that  
12 an official letter ... saying that I will be making  
13 arrangements to visit him to examine the [records] ..."

14 A. Yes.

15 MS INNES: We've finished dealing with that chapter,  
16 my Lady.

17 LADY SMITH: I think we should stop now for the lunch break.  
18 You're probably ready for that, Professor Abrams.  
19 Thank you for bearing with us thus far. I'll sit  
20 again at 2 o'clock.

21 (1.03 pm)

22 (The luncheon adjournment)

23 (2.00 pm)

24 LADY SMITH: Professor Abrams, welcome back. I hope you've  
25 managed to draw breath and are ready for the final

1 stretch, yes?

2 A. Yes.

3 LADY SMITH: Thank you.

4 Ms Innes.

5 MS INNES: Thank you, my Lady.

6 In your evidence this morning, Professor, you  
7 mentioned an inspection of the Glasgow Children's  
8 Department that took place, I think, in 1966, which you  
9 deal with in your report. Can I ask you to look at some  
10 excerpts of the report at SGV-000084516.

11 If we can move on to page 6, I think we see that  
12 this is entitled:

13 "Glasgow Children's Department Inspection of  
14 Childcare Services, January/February 1966."

15 Is this the inspection you refer to in your report?

16 A. That's right.

17 Q. Under, "Introduction", do we see that between certain  
18 dates:

19 "... by arrangement, the Glasgow childcare service  
20 was inspected by [certain people]. The inspection  
21 included examination of the organisation and function of  
22 the service and the work of each officer of the staff.  
23 Several case records of each childcare officer were  
24 examined in detail and at least two of the foster homes  
25 or families being supervised by each childcare officer

1           were visited by an inspector accompanied by the  
2           childcare officer concerned."

3           I think you mentioned in your evidence earlier that  
4           there was some analysis of a typical day of a childcare  
5           officer?

6   A.   Yes, that's correct.

7   Q.   I think this may have been in the context of this  
8           inspection?

9   A.   I think you're right, yes.

10   Q.   If we move on to page 7, there's certain information  
11          there again about the staffing of the department in 1964  
12          and 1965.

13   LADY SMITH: We don't need to go back, but it's striking  
14          that the population of Glasgow at that time was in  
15          excess of a million. It was stated on the previous  
16          page. If I remember rightly, it stayed around that  
17          level for quite a while after this stage.

18   A.   Yes.

19   LADY SMITH: Before dropping to -- I don't know exactly what  
20          it is now, but I don't think it's a million.

21   A.   No.

22   LADY SMITH: It's a little bit less.

23                Sorry, Ms Innes.

24   MS INNES: That's okay.

25                If we look at the staffing at 4, there's a list of

1 staffing again which I think you reiterate in your  
2 report.

3 A. Mm-hmm.

4 Q. Then reference, I think, to discussions with  
5 Mr McLeish --

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. -- who was the children's officer at the time.

8 If we go down the page a little, and there's  
9 a paragraph helpfully marked with an X that says:

10 "Mr McLeish is conscious of the heavy demands made  
11 on all members of his field staff, who carry heavy  
12 workloads, and feels bound by the establishment laid  
13 down as a result of an O&M inspection carried out prior  
14 to his appointment as chief officer."

15 Do you think that refers back to the 1962 report  
16 that we looked at earlier?

17 A. I think it does, yes.

18 Q. It says:

19 "He succeeded in increasing his staff by the  
20 addition of two childcare officers who have taken up  
21 duty during the course of our inspection, but feels that  
22 this is totally inadequate."

23 A. That's right, yes.

24 Q. And --

25 A. Perhaps I could say also, it's notable that Mr McLeish,

1 I think he's the second childcare officer after I think  
2 it's Brough.

3 Q. Yes.

4 A. He did had some background, he did have some training,  
5 I can't remember it's at the top, a childcare diploma or  
6 something like that, so he has a bit more of  
7 a qualificatory background than previously.

8 Q. Okay. Then if we go on to page 9 and towards the bottom  
9 of page 9, I think we see a section, a narrative,  
10 essentially, in relation to the boarding-out section:

11 "This team consists of one senior childcare officer  
12 and nine childcare officers and they deal entirely with  
13 boarding out in the city and areas outwith the city and  
14 the visiting of the foster families concerned."

15 It says:

16 "The senior childcare officer Ms G Hamilton,  
17 although of outstanding ability, is able to offer only  
18 limited leadership and case work consultation due to the  
19 pressure of work. She carries a case load of 107  
20 boarded-out children. There is much informal  
21 consultation and Ms Hamilton's advice is frequently  
22 sought by members of her team."

23 Then there's reference to the staff being divided  
24 over the city, each member of the team covering certain  
25 wards, but also supervising boarded-out children outwith

1       the city?

2   A.  Yes, I can't remember how many, they have fewer children  
3       outwith the city now, but they're still having to do  
4       that inspection and supervision of children some  
5       distance away.

6   Q.  I think at the final paragraph under this heading:  
7       "All the officers in this section showed much  
8       ability and competence but their case loads are too high  
9       and the officers were concerned at the limited time they  
10      were able to give to the children they were supervising  
11      and to the foster parents."

12  A.  Yes.

13  Q.  It seems to be that these concerns were being expressed  
14      by the people themselves --

15  A.  That's right.

16  Q.  -- who are doing the work?

17  A.  Yes, that's right.

18  Q.  If we can move on to page 11, I think we see some  
19      information there about the Children's Committee and the  
20      make up of that.  It meets every alternate Monday, it  
21      says.

22      There's reference here to subcommittees, and is  
23      that -- when you mentioned earlier --

24  A.  Yes.

25  Q.  -- there were subcommittees and you couldn't find any of

1           their materials?

2   A.   Yeah, that's right, and there's the visitation of  
3       boarded-out children subcommittee, which we've never  
4       found.

5   Q.   Okay.  If we can move on again to page 20, at the bottom  
6       of the page there's a heading, "Foster care", and  
7       I think here we see some figures in relation to boarding  
8       out.  In the first paragraph:

9           "During the year ended 31 November 1965, 272  
10       children were placed in foster homes from children's  
11       homes and in addition 219 were direct placements or  
12       fostered in the care of relatives."

13           So 491 in total.

14   A.   Yes.

15   Q.   Then in the next paragraph:

16           "There has been a gradual reduction in the number of  
17       children fostered in remote areas."

18           Then reference to specific areas.  1,306 children in  
19       1950, 467 by 1959 and 292 by 1965, is that what you were  
20       referring to --

21   A.   Yeah, it's quite a significant reduction, isn't it?  
22       I think as children grew up and left those homes, then  
23       they gradually stopped using them and began to find more  
24       homes within Glasgow.

25           As the first paragraph there indicates, I think

1       they're finding more foster placements with relatives as  
2       well.

3   Q.   Okay.  If we go on to the next page, page 21, round  
4       about the middle of the page, I think there's reference  
5       at the top of the page to allowances and then (a):

6       "Foster homes.  All foster homes visited during the  
7       inspection were of good standard and offered the  
8       children concerned a satisfactory standard of care."

9       That would be the ones that the inspector --

10   A.   Exactly, yes.

11   Q.   -- had seen?

12   A.   Yes.  I presume they were in Glasgow, but I don't know  
13       whether they were outwith Glasgow to be honest, because  
14       I don't know whether they say.

15   Q.   Then case work, they refer to certain aspects, so first  
16       of all the child and they say:

17       "The standard of case work done by the childcare  
18       officers affecting the children varied from good to only  
19       fair, due to limited contact and involvement because of  
20       high case loads."

21       Was that one of the points that you took from this  
22       report?

23   A.   Yes, it is, yes.

24   Q.   Then (ii) parents:

25       "The natural parents where they exist are not

1       greatly involved with their children after fostering.

2       In those cases where case worker involvement with the  
3       parent is desirable the childcare officer is often  
4       prevented from pursuing this because of lack of time.  
5       The same can be said for other close relatives."

6   A.   It's hard to know what to say about that really.

7       I suppose we're in a kind of period where there's  
8       beginning to be a bit of a shift from separating  
9       children absolutely and irrevocably from their birth  
10      family, to a kind of understanding that for some  
11      children it's important to maintain contact with their  
12      family and after 1968 you're increasingly getting  
13      children staying with their own family as much as  
14      possible and maybe having respite care or being fostered  
15      for short periods of time. This is a bit of  
16      an interregnum I think, so it's quite clear that they  
17      could have done that more but they just didn't have the  
18      resources to do so.

19   Q.   Then, thirdly, siblings:

20        "Where natural families of children are not fostered  
21      together, pressure of work on the childcare officers  
22      prevent them from keeping some of these children in  
23      touch with each other. The childcare officers are aware  
24      that this is unsatisfactory and regret it."

25   A.   The same issue, isn't it? Same issue. Not enough time,

1 not enough resources to devote to individual cases,  
2 really. I think there are plenty of cases where if you  
3 speak to people, they say, "The rest of my family were  
4 boarded somewhere else, didn't know where they were,  
5 didn't have contact with them until I was older".

6 Q. Can we move on to the next page, please, page 22, foster  
7 parents:

8 "These were generally felt to be satisfactory, but  
9 would benefit from closer contact and involvement with  
10 the childcare officers concerned. Pressure of work  
11 prevents childcare officers in most cases from making  
12 other than statutory visits."

13 Again reference to case loads.

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. They say although they found some lapses in statutory  
16 visiting:

17 " ... the department has evolved a safeguard in the  
18 form of a system whereby all visits are recorded and  
19 checked at intervals by Mr Marshall."

20 A. I don't really know what that means. I haven't seen  
21 that recording and checking, so I don't really know what  
22 that refers to.

23 Q. Then (v):

24 "There is no laid down policy for regular review  
25 other than by the childcare officer concerned with the

1 child. It is the childcare officer's responsibility to  
2 assess the child's progress in consultation with the  
3 appropriate people concerned, children's officer,  
4 headmaster [et cetera]. Individual cases are discussed  
5 with the senior childcare officer, depute or children's  
6 officer as the case demands. The convener ... is  
7 brought in on special cases where there is press  
8 publicity or any emergency of a serious nature."

9 I suppose what it notes there is no regular review  
10 policy.

11 A. Yes. I suppose what that implies is that there is  
12 a tendency for children to stay in care when maybe  
13 they -- you know, a review might have suggested  
14 an alternate solution to the situation. I'm not sure,  
15 but children are being allowed to kind of just stay in  
16 foster care without any kind of attention being paid to  
17 particular circumstances, I suppose.

18 Q. Then if we go on to page 23, and to a heading, "Foster  
19 home book":

20 "The personal history of the child will start in the  
21 family case paper, which is retained at the office ...  
22 on being fostered, a foster home book will be used to  
23 continue the personal history ..."

24 In the next paragraph we see:

25 "The foster home book is retained in a foster home

1 folder by the boarding-out officer who records in it his  
2 visits to the foster home. If only one child is visited  
3 in the foster home, this will constitute a case record  
4 and could be returned to the family case paper folder if  
5 the child left the foster home. However, where more  
6 than one child is fostered in the home, and these can be  
7 at different times, the foster home book is still  
8 maintained by the officer for all the children in the  
9 home. Some childcare officers see merit in this in that  
10 their visit to no more than one child in the same home  
11 can record details of all the children and thus save  
12 them time. Others say that it means histories of  
13 children are scattered in foster home books and presents  
14 difficulties and lack of continuity if children have to  
15 leave foster homes in advance of going out of care. If  
16 a child leaves one foster home, as some do, and is  
17 refostered, his personal history is recorded in two  
18 separate books and perhaps by two different childcare  
19 officers."

20 A. You've lost me. I've never seen a foster home book, so  
21 I don't know what they look like. They're probably just  
22 a -- I don't know whether you've seen one. They're  
23 probably just a little notebook. I wonder whether that  
24 might help explain why the case files are sometimes so  
25 difficult to follow and why siblings' stories get

1           divided -- I don't know. It just seems incredibly  
2           complicated to me.

3   Q.   Yes. I wondered whether that would have an impact on  
4           the types of issues that you mentioned earlier on?

5   A.   (Witness nodded)

6   Q.   That if all of the records about the child aren't held  
7           in one place --

8   A.   Yes.

9   Q.   -- then they become divided or lost?

10  A.   It might do, yes, it might do.

11  Q.   Okay.

12  A.   I couldn't say as I haven't seen these sources, so it's  
13           quite hard to visualise what's going on here.

14  LADY SMITH: Well, what you can see is nobody's looking at  
15           this from the point of view of the child who, in  
16           adulthood, might just want to find out about their  
17           lives.

18  A.   No. I was going to say that goes without saying, but we  
19           do need to say it now. But no one -- I mean, there is  
20           never any discussion of that in these documents.

21  MS INNES: When you spoke to people that you interviewed for  
22           your book, did that sort of issue arise, them trying to  
23           piece together their history from records?

24  A.   Yes, yes. Really, really difficult for them. Really  
25           difficult. They needed help to do it from the start,

1 but very disparate material and being told different  
2 things, because of course they've been told certain  
3 things by their foster carers which often wasn't true.  
4 Then they might meet up with some kind of birth family  
5 later on in life and have been told something else and  
6 then they find the records and then it's a real shock to  
7 them, that all the stories they've been told, none of  
8 them were true, and never really having a full picture.

9 Q. Can I ask you to move on to page 32 of this report. We  
10 see a heading, "Training". It says here:

11 "Training provided by the Glasgow service can best  
12 be examined at two levels. (1) in-service training  
13 which includes the use of the department's refresher  
14 courses ..."

15 Are those the courses that you referred to earlier?

16 A. Yes, I think so, that's the same, yes.

17 Q. And:

18 "The use of Glasgow Children's Department by  
19 training courses for practical placements for their  
20 students."

21 A. Mm.

22 Q. In terms of in-service training do we see below that  
23 it's noted:

24 "There is no formal scheme of in-service training  
25 for the staff but Ms Hamilton, who has responsibility in

1       this field is able to accomplish much on an informal  
2       basis through informal discussion with all field staff  
3       and by making herself available for consultation. She  
4       has the support of the children's officer and it is only  
5       through having insufficient time that a more formal  
6       in-service training scheme is not in operation. She has  
7       outstanding ability in this field and it is a great pity  
8       that her talents cannot be used more in this direction."

9           Then again there's reference to the refresher  
10       courses and encouraging staff to use them.

11    A. Yes, yes.

12    Q. And certain other courses.

13           Then, finally, on page 37, towards the bottom of the  
14       page under the heading, "Recommendations", do we see  
15       that it's recommended first of all:

16           "That the committee give urgent consideration to  
17       increasing substantially the professional field staff."

18    A. Uh-huh.

19    Q. Then the other two recommendations are to do with the  
20       organisation of the service, it appears?

21    A. Yes.

22    Q. Did you -- sorry.

23    A. That decentralisation of the teams, I think they do do  
24       that later on, probably when they're under Strathclyde  
25       rather than just Glasgow. I think that's right.

1 Q. I was going to ask you, to what extent did you follow  
2 through or were you able to follow through how this was  
3 followed up?

4 A. I don't think we have really been able to systematically  
5 do that, just because of the nature of the record  
6 keeping and particularly once you get post-1968 and once  
7 it's Strathclyde it's just so huge it's very difficult  
8 to do that, particularly in the time that we had.

9 Q. Can I ask you to look at SGV-000084515 next and page 3  
10 of this. This seems to be a note of a meeting on  
11 26 January 1968, with the subcommittee of the Children's  
12 Committee set up to investigate matters arising out of  
13 the inspection.

14 A. Yes, this is the follow-up, isn't it?

15 Q. Yes.

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. I think that you refer to this in your report.

18 A. Mm.

19 Q. There's a discussion about this and if we can move on to  
20 page 5, under the heading "Foster parents":

21 "The subcommittee said that all foster parents  
22 within Glasgow selected within the last 18 months had  
23 been reviewed and checked against police records.  
24 Altogether 257 cases had been reviewed and so far no  
25 convictions for other than minor traffic offences had

1           come to light. No steps had yet been taken to check up  
2           on foster parents outwith Glasgow."  
3   A. Yes.  
4   Q. Does that seem to follow on the issue of police  
5       checks --  
6   A. Yes.  
7   Q. -- that I think you highlighted following the  
8       prosecution and the deaths of children?  
9   A. Yes, that's correct. Yes.  
10   Q. Possibly maybe in terms of the chronology, it might be  
11       after the prosecution as opposed to the deaths, because  
12       I think this is from January 1968.  
13   A. Right.  
14   Q. Then the next document in this file at page 6, there's  
15       a note of a meeting with representations of the  
16       Association of Childcare Officers on 9 April 1968 in the  
17       House of Commons and this seems to be a meeting with  
18       a Mr Bruce Millan, parliamentary undersecretary of  
19       state, with some people from the Social Work Services  
20       Group, Ms Cox and Ms Jones and then four other people.  
21       Was this something that you looked at?  
22   A. Yes. We looked at this document, yes.  
23   Q. Can you recall, were you able to tell us anything about  
24       how it was being raised at this --  
25   A. I think they were really concerned about what was going

1 on in Glasgow. I can't remember whether this is the  
2 document where someone says that the chair of the  
3 Children's Committee didn't seem to understand what  
4 modern childcare practice was supposed to be like or  
5 something like that. It might be this one, it might be  
6 somewhere else, but there were serious concerns as to  
7 the situation in Glasgow.

8 Q. If we just scroll down this page to the final  
9 paragraph -- sorry, if we scroll back up a little bit:

10 "Ms Sugden thanked the Minister for the opportunity  
11 to discuss the problem."

12 A. That's the bit, that's the bit I was referring to.

13 Q. Yes. So I think it's:

14 "Ms Hunter and Ms Hiddleston said that the point  
15 that had caused them great concern was the concept of  
16 modern childcare practice seemed to come as a complete  
17 surprise to the convener of the Children's Committee in  
18 the course of the discussion."

19 We then see Mr Milan's response to that and he says  
20 had has to be remembered that the convener had only  
21 taken up office shortly before the case arose:

22 "She was naturally as yet not fully acquainted with  
23 childcare principles and practice ..."

24 A. I guess, but still. I suppose what we have to remember  
25 is there's the Children's Committee and the Children's

1 Department, and the Children's Committee would have been  
2 chaired by someone who wasn't necessarily -- well,  
3 hadn't had experience in childcare practice perhaps but  
4 that was the statement that just jumped out from this  
5 document.

6 Q. I suppose, as you said a moment ago, it highlights the  
7 level of concern that there was at this point.

8 A. Definitely, definitely.

9 Q. If we move on to page 10, I think we see a document  
10 headed, "Childcare arrangements -- report following  
11 meetings between officials of the Social Work Services  
12 Group and representatives of the staff of the Children's  
13 Department".

14 If we move on to page 17, at the bottom of the  
15 page I think we see a summary of observations and  
16 recommendations covering the role of the Children's  
17 Committee.

18 Then over the page, page 18, there's reference to  
19 how the department should be organised --

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. -- and the decentralised area officers.

22 I think we saw that in the inspection and then you  
23 mentioned that you thought that was something that was  
24 taken forward?

25 A. Yes, that's right.

1 Q. At (5):

2 "It is recommended that a vigorous and effective  
3 scheme of training be established within the department  
4 to provide an acceptable form of student supervision,  
5 a speedy and organised programme of secondment,  
6 in-service training for existing and newly recruited  
7 members of field and administrative staff and for the  
8 mounting of an in-service training scheme for  
9 residential staff."

10 This seems to be signed by Mr McLeish, the  
11 children's officer at the time.

12 A. Yes. He was clearly on board with all of these changes,  
13 yes.

14 Q. Right, we can leave that document now and I would like  
15 to -- I was going to say move forward in time, but we're  
16 just going to move from 1968 to 1968 again, as it were  
17 but --

18 A. It is the critical year.

19 Q. Yes. You move on in the second part of your report to  
20 look at that period between 1968/1969 and 1994, and  
21 I think in terms of your file review over that period,  
22 am I right in thinking that you weren't able to identify  
23 any cases from the sample that you took of children in  
24 foster care?

25 A. Yes, that's right. Yes. We looked, but it was

1 impossible to identify cases by type of care, so it was  
2 calling up random files just to see whether we found  
3 any -- and strangely we didn't, and we don't really know  
4 why that was. Clearly the number of longer-term foster  
5 care cases was smaller by then and, as I said before,  
6 post 1968 children's experience of care becomes even  
7 more complex, as they're in and out of different kinds  
8 of care at different times in their lives, so that might  
9 be why.

10 Q. In this section of your report, I'd just like to take  
11 you to a section which focuses on foster care and  
12 certain materials issued by Strathclyde. If we can move  
13 to page 221 of your report and the bottom half of the  
14 page under, "Foster Care". You make reference to  
15 a social work report which didn't say anything about  
16 foster care, and you then go on to talk about:

17 "The difficulty of finding suitable foster carers  
18 had been ongoing for decades in Scotland."

19 A. Yes.

20 Q. You refer back to what you've said previously about the  
21 economic situation. By the time that we are into the  
22 1970s and the Strathclyde era, can you give us a picture  
23 of what the social and economic context was?

24 A. Well, somewhat better, I think, by then. As I've said  
25 here, there's improvements in welfare -- provision of

1       the welfare state, for a start, and also housing in  
2       Glasgow is appreciably improving from the sort of  
3       mid-1960s right the way through the 1970s into the  
4       1980s, in terms of moving people from dilapidated and  
5       temporary overcrowded housing into more modern council  
6       housing. Not necessarily all of it would be suitable  
7       for families taking in foster children, because quite  
8       a lot of the new council housing was quite small, but  
9       still, I mean there's something of a sea change in  
10      Glasgow, I guess, making it somewhat easier, I think, to  
11      find foster homes for children.

12           I think it was still a struggle, but the situation  
13      has changed.

14   Q.   You note at the bottom of that page that for children  
15       brought into care in Glasgow, rates of fostering were  
16       still high in comparative terms?

17   A.   Mm.

18   Q.   The reason that you cite is that some of the figures,  
19       the foster care figures, included children who were  
20       being cared for by kin, I think --

21   A.   Yes. I think they're increasingly trying to do that and  
22       counting that. I mean, my impression is, but I'm not  
23       sure, that there were likely children fostered by kin,  
24       various relatives, that might not have been counted or  
25       weren't really included in the official figures. So

1       it's a bit tricky to know what's going on here, but that  
2       looks like what's happening.

3   Q.   Okay.  Then if we move to the bottom of page 223, the  
4       final paragraph here, you say:

5       "By the mid 1970s, although the numbers of children  
6       in care of some type ... had evidently climbed during  
7       the period following the introduction of a social work  
8       department, before moving back to around their pre-1968  
9       level, the use of foster care generally can be seen as  
10      ... in consistently gradual decline within statistics  
11      produced ..."

12  A.   Yes.

13  Q.   I think we can see the figures that you refer to over  
14      the page at the top of page 224.

15  A.   Uh-huh.

16  Q.   Between 1973 and 1976, I think we see a decrease in the  
17      total number of children in care and also a decrease in  
18      the number of children in foster care?

19  A.   That's correct, yes.

20  Q.   Then you note just below that:

21      "Over a decade on, the downward trend ... was noted  
22      in a report for [a committee] in 1981."

23      You then say in the next paragraph:

24      "The shortage of foster carers was a problem that  
25      continued to grow."

1 A. Mm-hmm.

2 Q. You refer to a report called Room to Grow, which was  
3 published at the end of the 1970s.

4 A. (Witness nodded)

5 Q. What was the purpose of that report? How did that come  
6 about?

7 A. I'm not sure how it came about, but it was a report that  
8 really talked about the kind of ideal situation that  
9 needed to be provided to give children a much better  
10 standard of care if they had to be taken away from their  
11 natural family. I suppose it was a product of the kind  
12 of growing expertise within social work by then around  
13 the problems with families and the kind of needs that  
14 children had, not just physically but by then  
15 emotionally. I think that was encapsulated in that  
16 report.

17 Q. I think again at the bottom of the page of 224, and then  
18 on to 225, you note that it highlighted various  
19 difficulties again in finding suitable foster parents  
20 and some of the issues arising, families having  
21 a preference for pre-school children, lack of  
22 flexibility in council housing policy --

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. -- inadequate allowances and even the nature of  
25 recruitment campaigns.

1 A. What's happening by then is that they're targeting  
2 different kinds of families, obviously. We've moved  
3 away from the idealisation of the croft, where you have  
4 this group of people who either have a kind of tradition  
5 of taking in foster children, particularly from Glasgow,  
6 are looking for some work or some additional money, to  
7 a group of people who are not in that position at all.  
8 It's a very different group of people you're trying to  
9 recruit. By the 1960s, there's more work about. People  
10 don't necessarily need to take in foster children for  
11 the money.

12 Q. You then have a heading, "Recruitment of foster parents"  
13 and you refer to guidelines produced by Strathclyde in  
14 1976.

15 A. Yes.

16 Q. You quote some material from that, we're just going to  
17 go to it in a moment.

18 A. Uh-huh.

19 Q. You say in the next paragraph:

20 "The process was now considerably more rigorous than  
21 in the days where a potential foster parent could send  
22 a letter and submit a couple of testimonials."

23 A. (Witness nodded)

24 Q. Within the document that you saw, there were 19 separate  
25 standard documents --

1 A. Yeah.

2 Q. -- that might be used, countless visits by social  
3 workers, report writing and information gathering were  
4 all part of the application process?

5 A. Yes, it was much more extensive than it ever had been  
6 and it was more of an assessment process of the foster  
7 parents and gave them an opportunity to withdraw and so  
8 on. So yeah, it was much more in-depth.

9 Q. Can we have a look at this document, it's at  
10 GLA-000001846. We see here Strathclyde Regional  
11 Council, "Foster care -- notes of guidance on  
12 procedure". Under, "Recruitment of foster parents" we  
13 see:

14 "It is the policy of the department to try to  
15 recruit foster parents locally."

16 That seems to be a change from the earlier period?

17 A. Yes, definitely.

18 Q. There's reference to a proposal from COSLA that each  
19 regional authority should try to recruit its foster  
20 parents from within its own boundaries, and that's been  
21 approved by Strathclyde.

22 Then in the next paragraph it says:

23 "Publicity may well attract from other regions, in  
24 such cases enquiries should be directed immediately to  
25 the appropriate authority."

1           Again, quite a clear --

2   A.   There's a clear change, isn't there?

3   Q.   A clear change.

4           Then there's further reference to policies and

5   procedures.

6           If we can move on to the second page, I think we see

7   there a list of forms and letters relating to foster

8   parent applications. I think they are further on in

9   this document, but a checklist, an application form,

10   interdepartmental enquiries, police inquiry, area health

11   board letter to referees, a report form for referees,

12   letter to family doctor, outwith region enquiry, consent

13   to disclosure of information and some further forms.

14   These, I think, are the ones that you mentioned in your

15   report?

16   A.   Yes. I've seen the forms obviously because they're at

17   the end of this horrendously long document, I think, but

18   I don't think -- I'm pretty sure we haven't seen them in

19   use. So I presume they were used, but I don't know

20   whether, if they were recruiting foster parents they

21   would have used all of these forms for every person,

22   I've no idea.

23           I don't know whether they still exist. They might

24   do, but they will be very confidential, so ...

25   Q.   The policy goes on from there, but if I can take you to

1 page 8, so there's been reference to an assessment  
2 report and at the top of page 8 we see, "Recommendation  
3 of assessment panel":  
4 "Applications should be considered at a meeting of  
5 a foster care selection panel of not less than three  
6 people, including area officer or delegated senior, the  
7 social worker making assessment should be present at  
8 discussion. In order to make best use of available  
9 expertise, area officers may wish to join with other  
10 areas in establishing a suitable panel."  
11 We know that fostering panels were established in  
12 regulations in 1985 --  
13 A. Mm.  
14 Q. -- but is this the first time that you had seen --  
15 A. Yeah.  
16 Q. -- reference to a panel --  
17 A. A panel.  
18 Q. -- within the Glasgow material?  
19 A. It is. Whether they might have used it before --  
20 I don't know, but this is about the time that they would  
21 have started to do that kind of thing, I think. Yeah,  
22 it's the first time I've seen it in a document.  
23 LADY SMITH: This year is now 1979?  
24 MS INNES: 1976.  
25 LADY SMITH: 1976, thank you.

1 A. I don't know whether those panels are documented either,  
2 I don't know whether there's a paper trail for those.  
3 MS INNES: Okay.  
4 If we go on to page 9, at the bottom of the page we  
5 see a specific provision:  
6 "Foster parent file":  
7 "A file should be opened for each new approved  
8 foster home."  
9 In the next paragraph, I think you quote this in  
10 your report:  
11 "Assessment is a continuing process and foster  
12 parents develop and change as they gain experience of  
13 the work. Social workers should write a summary of each  
14 placement when a child is discharged from foster home.  
15 These summaries should be kept in the foster parent  
16 files, along with any other information which would help  
17 to build up a picture of how the foster home functions."  
18 A. There's a kind of shift of emphasis, isn't there, at  
19 this point onto the foster home and the continuing  
20 development of that foster home, whereas in the past  
21 that hadn't happened at all.  
22 But I haven't seen them either, so ...  
23 LADY SMITH: You think that was a positive step, that they  
24 were starting to think in those ways?  
25 A. I think so, because in the past, as we've seen, a foster

1       home was approved, in inverted commas, and then children  
2       were just kind of moved into it willy-nilly if they had  
3       a place and there never seemed to be any regular review  
4       of that. Whereas this, you would imagine, would keep  
5       a foster home kind of under review. If they write up  
6       the notes and they continually refer to it. Unless they  
7       just put them in a file and forget about it.

8   LADY SMITH: Of course.

9   A. There's something to be said for bureaucracy, but it  
10       doesn't always affect practice.

11   LADY SMITH: No.

12   MS INNES: If we can look on to the bottom of page 227 in  
13       your report, we can leave that document aside and go  
14       back to your report at page 227.

15   A. I think it's 237.

16   Q. 227.

17   A. We're on 237.

18   Q. 227, so the bottom of the page. You note there:

19       "The issue of direct childcare experience is also  
20       relevant in respect of social work departments. In  
21       1978, CAS ..."

22       The Central Advisory Service?

23   A. Yes.

24   Q. " ... organised a workshop party to discuss fostering."  
25       There were then discussions about different aspects

1       and you say they were written up by participants and  
2       subsequently published.

3   A.   Mm.

4   Q.   Was there anything of note that you observed from that?

5   A.   You'd have to remind me, actually. I can't remember  
6       what they were talking about.

7   Q.   I think again at the bottom of this page you say:

8        "In one section of the booklet it is commented that  
9        although prior to 1968 most people working in this area  
10       were not qualified, they learned through experience."

11  A.   Yes.

12  Q.   Then going over the page, you say:

13        "... post 1968, the situation was totally different,  
14       with:

15        "... the increased number of social workers, the  
16       varied nature of their work and resultant lack of  
17       experience in fostering has, coupled with a high rate of  
18       breakdown and conclusions reached in research work,  
19       drawn attention to the need to develop the team approach  
20       in caring and placement and to formalise systems of  
21       working."

22  A.   Yes. So -- sorry. So what that's referring back to is  
23       that kind of traditional approach I suppose they had of  
24       people learning from members of the team, all that kind  
25       of in-service, informal mentoring, all of that stuff

1       that's presumed to go on within teams of social workers  
2       or childcare officers, but they're referring to the fact  
3       that the job or the range of jobs has just become much  
4       more complex post 1968 and also the cases have become  
5       much more complex I think as well. That was certainly  
6       borne out in the cases -- one or two of the cases that  
7       we did look at, later ones which were really, really  
8       complex stories, with lots of different people involved.  
9   Q.   Then just below this, so just the last paragraph that  
10       we're seeing on this screen:  
11        "In Strathclyde region, in 1985, a handbook on  
12       fostering was published."  
13   A.   Yes.  
14   Q.   If we can have a look at that document, please, it's  
15       GLA-000001843. If we go to the third page, the  
16       foreword.  
17   LADY SMITH: This is the booklet that, as you point out,  
18       runs to 166 pages, whereas its predecessor managed a sum  
19       total of 9 pages.  
20   A.   Exactly.  
21   LADY SMITH: Quite a change.  
22   MS INNES: Here in the foreword from FE Edwards, who was  
23       then the director of social work at Strathclyde, it  
24       begins by saying:  
25        "It is the policy of Strathclyde Regional Council

1       that every child should have access to family life and  
2       that if the child is unable to remain with his own  
3       family he should be able to be cared for and to grow and  
4       develop in a substitute family through fostering or  
5       adoption."

6           Again, that seems to be putting fostering at the  
7       heart of --

8   A.   Yes.

9   Q.   -- the childcare strategy.

10  A.   That's right.

11  Q.   There's then reference to:

12           "The policies achieved considerable momentum as  
13       a result of a real commitment at all levels of the  
14       department to placing children in families."

15           At the end of this paragraph:

16           "The development of the foster care service has  
17       created greater expertise in recruitment, assessment,  
18       preparation and continuing support for families and the  
19       children placed with them."

20           Then further down the page, the second-last  
21       paragraph, he says:

22           "The guidelines contain policies, practice and  
23       procedures relating to fostering in Strathclyde, their  
24       production and distribution to all social workers  
25       emphasise the importance placed on foster care service

1 as a recognition for the need for continuing  
2 development."

3 It says:

4 "It brings together existing policy and procedures  
5 and introduces new ones."

6 This seems to have been a document for the benefit  
7 of social workers.

8 A. Yes. I suppose one of the important things is about --  
9 it's emphasising the kind of partnership working between  
10 the social work service and foster parents. It's a sort  
11 of rather different kind of relationship now to what  
12 there had been before, where really foster parents were  
13 just being left to get on with it.

14 Q. If we can just look on to page 4, first of all, to get  
15 a sense of what's included in this. We see under  
16 section 2 a heading, "Prospective foster parents", and  
17 a section about recruitment, assessment and preparation,  
18 decision-making process.

19 If we go on to the next page --

20 A. That's pretty comprehensive.

21 Q. -- we see many more headings --

22 A. Oh!

23 Q. -- in relation to the child, support for the foster  
24 home, moving on from foster care and such like.

25 A. Yes.

1 Q. As you say, this is a much more comprehensive document  
2 than we saw even in 1976.

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. So this is 1985.

5 A. Yes, that's true.

6 Q. Okay.

7 A. Sorry, one thing that's just jumped out at me, I was  
8 just looking at that section on health and medical  
9 issues and it's interesting that there isn't anything  
10 there on I suppose psychological care, Child Guidance,  
11 that kind of stuff. I know they did use Child Guidance,  
12 children were referred to Child Guidance and that --  
13 I don't know how much, but certainly that service  
14 existed, child psychiatric services/psychological  
15 services. I don't know whether it's somewhere else in  
16 this very comprehensive document or not.

17 MS INNES: Thank you very much, Professor. I don't have any  
18 more questions for you.

19 A. Are you sure?

20 LADY SMITH: Well done.

21 Well, nor do I.

22 Professor Abrams, that's been so helpful. As I said  
23 earlier, as has the entire content of your report. I'm  
24 really grateful to you, not just for the hard graft  
25 you've done but for the evident real live interest you

1       have in this subject. Dare I say, it's almost  
2       infectious.

3   A. Oh, I'd just like to say I'm really, really pleased that  
4       the Inquiry is addressing foster care, actually, because  
5       it seems to have been a bit of a poor relation in these  
6       kinds of inquiries and yet the vast number of children  
7       historically have gone through foster care rather than  
8       residential care.

9   LADY SMITH: You're absolutely right and this has been  
10       flagged up to us by others this week. It's an area of  
11       potentially high risk for children --

12   A. Yes, yes.

13   LADY SMITH: -- because of the isolated operation of  
14       individual foster homes.

15   A. Absolutely, absolutely.

16   LADY SMITH: Really difficult to address so far as devising  
17       safe systems is concerned, I suppose.

18   A. Yes.

19   LADY SMITH: It's very easy for us in the cold light of day,  
20       wearing a retrospectoscope, to see where failings were  
21       and where risks were that were not being recognised, but  
22       nobody has suggested that anything was ever done or not  
23       done in bad faith.

24   A. No.

25   LADY SMITH: It takes us back to how challenging it is to

1           recognise the risk.

2    A.   Mm.

3    LADY SMITH:   So thank you very much.

4    A.   It's a pleasure.

5    LADY SMITH:   I'm able to let you go with our grateful

6           thanks.

7    A.   Thank you, and good luck for the rest of this part of

8           the Inquiry. I'll be really interested to see what

9           comes out of it at the end. Thank you.

10                   (The witness withdrew)

11   LADY SMITH:   So, now, until Tuesday. Remind me, we start on

12           Tuesday morning, obviously 10 o'clock as usual, with?

13   MS INNES:   The Care Inspectorate and then the SSSC.

14   LADY SMITH:   And then the SSSC, very well.

15           Thank you for attending today, it's been good to see

16           the representation here.

17           I'll rise now until Tuesday morning and I hope you

18           all have a good weekend.

19   (2.54 pm)

20                   (The Inquiry adjourned until 10.00 am on

21                   Tuesday, 10 May 2022)

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I N D E X

Professor Lynn Abrams (affirmed) .....	1
Questions from Ms Innes .....	2

