Hell in Connaught:
Surviving St. Joseph's Industrial School, Letterfrack.

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Declaration

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Acknowledgements

Summary

The objective of the present study was to examine (through the use of detailed semi-structured interviews, thematic analysis, and psychometric testing) the lived experiences (according to retrospective reports) of six former Letterfrack industrial school detainees. The research questions focused on survivor coping and examined (1) the coping strategies utilised by boys while in detention, in order to survive in a violent institution, and (2) how those experiences of abuse and neglect impacted participants psychologically and socially in their lives thereafter. Data collection and analysis techniques provided rich data on both the lived experiences of victims/survivors and insight into the impact of their experiences in the long term. In addition, it presents unique data derived from interviews with a Christian Brother who worked at Letterfrack as a teacher.

The thesis presents biographies of the six participants and of the Brother (referred to as 'Brother Xavier') to acknowledge their personal stories and to contextualize the results of both psychometric testing and thematic analysis. Participants were asked to describe how they had coped while in detention. In terms of results, thematic analysis of the data revealed a number of coping strategies that were utilised by detainees and strategies they observed other boys utilising during their period of detention; in particular, it revealed the existence of a culture of peer abuse (*coping by physically abusing peers; coping by sexually abusing peers*) and a culture of same sex relationships (*coping by engaging in peer consensual sex*). In common with previous research on coping (e.g. Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), *coping by seeking social support* was also utilised by participants in this study, although perhaps limited by the extreme conditions that existed within the isolated institution. Because of the abusive nature of the regime and the ever-present threat of assault by adults *coping by complying* was also identified as a coping strategy utilised by all detainees to one extent or another. Participants were then asked to describe how their experiences of detention impacted them upon release. Thematic analysis of the transcripts of survivor interviews revealed four post-institution themes: (1) *a lack of preparation for the world;* (2) *anger;* (3) *loss;* and (4) *post-traumatic symptomatology.*

In addition to the study of the coping strategies of victims and the effects of institutional life on survivors post-release, this thesis seeks to develop a theoretically informed

framework for approaching an understanding of the abuse perpetrated by Christian Brothers against detained children and adolescents, based on the Bandura (2016) social cognitive model of moral disengagement. Eight mechanisms through which moral disengagement is deemed to occur are presented and it is argued that through these the perpetrator or bystander absolves himself of moral self-sanctions, thus allowing abuse to commence or to continue without intervention. These mechanisms are: (1) moral, social and economic justification; (2) advantageous comparison; (3) euphemistic language; (4) attribution of blame; (5) disregard, distortion and denial of harmful effects; (6) diffusion of responsibility; (7) displacement of responsibility; and, (8) dehumanisation.

The theoretical approach serves as an interpretive framework for understanding the results of the thematic analysis. This study includes carefully collected first-person accounts (the lived 'whats' of participants) with theoretically informed input (potentially, some of the 'hows' and 'whys' of what happened). The overall contribution of the thesis is to expand our knowledge of the nature of the Irish industrial school system and, in particular, to elucidate what detainees experienced and to shed new light on how, as child detainees, they coped with their experiences of neglect and abuse that occurred in a particular residential institution. In addition, the thesis examines how those experiences of neglect and abuse impacted survivors psychologically and socially post-release.

In the first piece of research of its kind (to this researcher's knowledge) and after a formal request to the Congregation of Christian Brothers in Ireland, a Christian Brother (now retired) who had worked in Letterfrack agreed to be interviewed by me. Data from these interviews were thematically analysed, as were data derived from a copy of a lecture Brother Xavier had delivered in the early 1970s (gifted by the interviewee), outlining his experience of and approach to teaching boys in the industrial school system. The aims of this analysis were (1) to ascertain how he coped with living and working in the industrial school environment; (2) to compare and contrast the coping strategies he utilised with those utilised by the six survivor participants; (3) to ascertain if there was evidence of moral disengagement that could add credence to the model proposed in this thesis to explain the chronic neglect and abuse of children in Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools over a period of a century. Results revealed

sharply contrasting coping strategies as utilised by the Chrisian Brother; amongst others the resourced adult utilised (1) *coping by seeking social support*; (2) *coping by seeking professional support*; and (3) *coping by taking time out from the stressful situation*. A thematic analysis of the transcripts of the Brother's interviews and an analysis of the text of the 1971 lecture delivered by him and pertaining to his approach to teaching in an industrial school revealed that at the time of the lecture there was evidence of moral disengagement and some 45 years later evidence of moral disengagement was still to be found in his thinking.

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Preface

Nearly fifty years after the reformatory / industrial school system in Ireland was dismantled and over forty years after St. Joseph's industrial school, Letterfrack closed its doors on children and adolescents for the last time, what happened in these places still resists understanding. Some of what happened to these boys and girls in the complex of residential institutions has been investigated and exposed by the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (CICA, 2009) during a nine-year trawl of the evidence. First-hand accounts by male survivors of Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools (the concern of this study) have been published, providing invaluable but harrowing personal testimony of abuse endured (e.g. Clemenger, 2009; Ellis, 2012; Hogan, 2008; Joyce, 2004; Touher, 2001, 2008; Wall, 2013). Perhaps indicating the harshness of their experiences, a number of accounts have been written by former detainees of the industrial school at Letterfrack (e.g. Finn, 2011; Franklin, 2007; Flynn, 1983, 2003; Tyrrell, 2006). Scholars, too, have examined and described the industrial school system (e.g. Arnold, 2009; Ferguson, 2007; Raferty & O'Sullivan, 1999). However, the 'why' of the catalogue of abuse and neglect inflicted on thousands of Irish children and adolescents by predominantly Roman Catholic religious orders has remained tantalisingly unanswered.

This study did not begin as an attempt to explain the 'why.' As Hayes (2017) noted in relation to the genocide of World War II: "To say that one can explain the occurrence of the Holocaust seems tantamount to normalising it." This was my biggest concern when my supervisor challenged me to look at the 'why' and I began that portion of the project. Left to my own devices I might have avoided miring myself in the theories pertaining to how people do evil to others. And yet I knew somewhere inside that my personal history, clinical experience (I am a Chartered Psychologist and Accredited Counsellor) and scholarly interests were leading up to that endeavour.

I was clear about one aspect of the undertaking: I did not want to disrespect survivors and in some way diminish or belittle their experiences by explaining away or excusing what their abusers did. Although my professional training and abiding interest in social psychology led me to believe that these men were not simply 'monsters', I did not want to explain their sins (of commission or omission) away. After all, for survivors some of

these 'men of God' were monsters that still haunted their waking and sleeping lives. Neither was it my intention or place to make them believe otherwise. Finally, with a fifteen-year commitment to counselling survivors of institutional abuse, I did not wish to appear disloyal to survivors by proposing explanations other than the narratives they were familiar and comfortable with. [1] I knew how much trust and loyalty meant to these men. However, like Hayes, I realised that it would be a big task to take on and I also realised that there was an element of self-protection at play: after all, incomprehension tends to be the default position in the face of such monumental offences against children, and this position – my position for many years – effectively "blocks the possibility of learning from the subject" (Hayes, 2017, p. xiii).

The second gap that I identified in the literature was that no researcher had looked to survivors themselves for their understanding and therefore had not directly asked the them two important, questions: (1) how had they had coped while they were in the institution? and, (2) how had their detention in the institution affected them post-release? I set out to ask those questions, and analyse the data, both qualitatively (using thematic analysis) and quantitatively.

In some ways the origins of this study lie in events that occurred in my childhood, many years ago.

1961: I was born in Galway city, three kilometres from St. Joseph's Industrial School, Salthill, and 80 kilometres from St. Joseph's Industrial School, Letterfrack.

1966: I am five years old, and I am in the junior infants class in the Mercy Convent primary school, Killarney, Co. Kerry. I'm in the yard playing with my classmates. I see other children in the distance, beyond a wall and fence, playing in another yard. Someone tells me they are the orphans. We don't play with them in their yard. They don't play with us in our yard. I don't know what an orphan is.

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[1] I have counselled survivors of institutional abuse through my involvement with *Towards Healing*, an organization set up in 1999 in the wake of the revelations about child abuse in Roman Catholic residential institutions.

1967: I am seven years old, and I am in senior infants in the Mercy Convent primary school, Killarney, Co. Kerry. I am standing at the front of the class. The nun, my teacher, is facing me. She is very close. I can smell her black religious clothing (known as a *religious habit*) and the smell of chalk she uses to write with on the blackboard. I feel a sharp, painful sensation on my left cheek. I feel that my whole head is hot. I realise that she has slapped me across the face. This has never happened to me before. I don't know why she hit me. I say nothing.

1976: I am fifteen years old, and I am watching the documentary series *The World at War*. I am haunted by the narration of Sir Laurence Olivier, the Carl Davis theme music, and the black and white montage during the opening credits, culminating in an image of a boy. I am disturbed at how man can commit such acts of violence against his fellow man.

Format of the thesis

Chapter 1 presents an account of the historical context to the recent scholarly interest and research on institutional abuse, beginning with a more general outline of the knowledge base pertaining to abuse and neglect, and gradually leading up to the developments in the more specific area of concern for us, that is, abuse and neglect perpetrated by clerics in residential institutions for children and adolescents.

Chapter 2 presents a Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) of research carried out on clerical historical institutional abuse.

In Chapter 3 an exploration of the peer physical and sexual abuse in the Irish industrial school system operated by the Christian Brothers for boys is presented, and some theoretical underpinnings for its occurrence are proposed.

In Chapter 4 Bandura's (2016) social cognitive theory of moral disengagement is outlined as a theoretical lens through which one can attempt to understand some the specific patterns of neglect and abuse perpetrated by Christian Brothers on child detainees in Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools over a period of 100 years.

In Chapter 5, the methodology used in this study is outlined, including a description of psychometric tests used and the Braun and Clarke (2006) process of thematic analysis used.

Chapter 6 presents the results of a thematic analysis of data generated from semi-structured interviews with six survivors of industrial school abuse. Eleven coping strategies emerge as those that were utilised by participants in this study as children and those they witnessed others employing to deal with their experiences of abuse and neglect in Letterfrack. A thematic analysis of data and the results of psychometric testing of those survivors are presented in order to reveal the nature and extent of psychological impact post-release. In addition, a thematic analysis of data derived from interviews conducted with a Christian Brother who had worked in Letterfrack industrial school is presented, with a view to ascertaining the coping strategies he employed while living and working in Letterfrack. Finally, I present an analysis of data generated from

interviews with Brother Xavier and from a copy of a lecture he delivered in 1971 to check for the presence of moral disengagement. [2]

In Chapter 7 a discussion of my findings in relation to both survivor participants and the Christian Brother participant is presented, and some implications of these findings for organisational awareness, service provision in relation to this vulnerable population, and areas for further research are suggested.

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[2] 'Brother Xavier' is a pseudonym

CHAPTER 1

Child abuse and the Roman Catholic Church: A historical perspective

1.1 Introduction

Abuse by clerics (priests, brothers and nuns), like abuse perpetrated by other adults, can be physical, sexual or emotional in nature (World Health Organisation, 2017). The WHO also recognises the withholding aspect of adult behaviour inherent in neglect, defining it as "failing, despite having the means, to provide medical care, education, shelter or other essentials for a child's healthy development." One could argue, therefore, that neglect is not a less serious 'sin of omission' but as it is based on a decision to withhold is, like emotional, physical and sexual abuse, a 'sin of commission.'

Much recent attention from both media and researchers has focused on clerical sexual abuse (Berry, 1992; Farrell, 2009; Frawley-O'Dea, 2007; Frawley-O'Dea & Goldner, 2007; Harris, 1990; John Jay Report, 2011; Keenan, 2012; Lueger-Schuster et al., 2013; Pilgrim, 2012; Plante, 1999). This may be because sexual abuse is a phenomenon that begets revulsion and dread (Hoffman, 1999), has always been the great unspoken hurt, and causes what Shengold (1989; 1999) refers to as 'soul murder'.

In addition, studies have demonstrated that in the vast majority of cases abuse perpetrated by clerics was sexual in nature. For example, Bottoms and colleagues (1995), in a large American survey of mental health professionals who had encountered religious child maltreatment, found that of their cases 94 per cent were classified as sexual in nature. In terms of the setting for the abuse it was found that 42 per cent of sexual abuse incidents took place on 'holy ground' such as a church, church school, or rectory. [3]

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[3] Bottoms et al (1995) found that over half (53 per cent) the cases of abuse by religious authorities involved perpetrators and victims who were Roman Catholic, even though, as the authors note, Roman Catholics "comprise only around 25% of the U.S. population".

Shengold (1989) notes that children are vulnerable to, and are easy targets for, abuse and neglect, and focuses our attention on a devastating consequence of child abuse, namely, the tendency for the victim to engage in the defence mechanism of identification. He argues that because the child cannot escape from the abuser, he/she must submit to and identify with the abuser. This survival strategy, although it may be adaptive at the time, can have negative consequences for that child's later life, resulting in feelings of shame and self-loathing.

Although most media attention has tended to be directed to cases of physical and, in particular, sexual abuse, neglect is the most commonly reported form of child maltreatment in the general population, with 61 per cent of 1,256,600 children in the U.S. who came to the attention of the *National Incidence of Child Abuse and Neglect* (NIS-4) between 2005 and 2006 meeting the stringent 'harm standard' definition for neglect (Sedlak et al., 2010)[4]. A further 44 per cent were abused. Of those who were abused, 58 per cent were physically abused, 24 per cent were sexually abused, and 27 per cent were emotionally abused.

Authors generally agree that deficits in meeting a child's basic needs constitute neglect (Barnett et al., 2011). Subsets of neglect can include: health care neglect, personal hygiene neglect, nutritional neglect, neglect of household safety, neglect of household sanitation, inadequate shelter, abandonment, supervisory neglect, educational neglect, emotional neglect, and fostering 'delinquency' (Barnett et al., 2011). It is interesting to note that the number of children who were regarded as meeting the harm standard for abuse declined by 26 per cent from the NIS-3 report (1996) to the NIS-4 report (Sedlak et al., 2010). This decline in prevalence of abuse appears to mirror results emanating from the John Jay (2011) study on clerical sexual abuse, showing a steady decline in clerical abuse since the 1980s.

In her review of eleven separate meta-analyses on the effects of parental corporal punishment on children, Gershoff (2002) notes that in the United States, forty-eight states and the District of Columbia specify that which constitutes corporal punishment in their legal definitions of child abuse. Although the line of demarcation between corporal punishment and physical abuse is not always clear, Gershoff (2002)

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[4] The 'Harm Standard' requires that an act or omission result in demonstrable harm in order to be classified as abuse or neglect.

summarises current American thinking: behaviours that do not result in significant physical injury are considered to be corporal punishment, whereas behaviours that risk injury (punching, kicking, burning) are considered to constitute physical abuse. [5] Straus (1994) points out the irony of corporal punishment, namely, that it is an almost invisible part of life because almost everyone has been physically punished or physically punishes. For Straus this means that corporal punishment is so ubiquitous that few people give it much reflection. Gershoff (2002, p.540) adopts the Straus (1994) definition of corporal punishment: "the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for the purposes of correction or control of the child's behavior.

Bottoms and colleagues (2003), outline the research findings on the detrimental impacts of physical abuse on psychological health in childhood and adulthood. In the case of children, effects include lower self-esteem, externalising problems such as increased aggression and internalising problems such as depression and hopelessness. Barnett and colleagues (2011), in their extensive review of research, also add infant attachment problems, defiance, difficulties making friends, substance abuse, and diminished school performance. In the case of the ongoing impact on adults Bottoms and colleagues (2003) note that effects include aggression, violence, criminal behaviour, antisocial personality disorder, anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation. Barnett and colleagues (2011) also note substance abuse, relationship violence, PTSD, and ADD.

In terms of child physical abuse by clergy, Bottoms and colleagues (2003) found that of those adult women in their sample whom they labelled victims of religion–related child physical abuse, only 35 per cent regarded the actions as abusive. Of the participants who experienced non-religion-related child physical abuse, only 22 per cent considered the actions in their childhood to have been abusive. The authors see this as reflecting the degree to which society accepts the physical abuse of children. Bottoms and colleagues (2003) found that religion-related abuse impacted people more. In terms of psychological effects, victims of religion-related physical abuse reported more depression, anxiety, hostility, psychoticism, phobic anxiety, and paranoid ideation. The authors theorise that the religious contexts in which the abuse occurs and

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[5] In Scandanavian countries trying to differentiate between types of physical chastisement is a thing of the past as corporal punishment has been outlawed in *all* care situations for many years - Sweden in 1979, Finland in 1983 and Norway in 1987 (Durrant, 2000).

the justifications given by the perpetrator may result in victim minimisation of harm, cognitive dissonance and guilt, as well as generating an additional sense of betrayal

All forms of clerical abuse and neglect taken together form what Heimlich (2011) has called *religious child maltreatment*. Heimlich (2011) identifies certain types of religious cultures as a major factor in the perpetration of abuse and describes the characteristics of such cultures: the culture adheres to a strict, authoritarian social structure; the culture is based on fear; the culture is separatist; there is a belief in an angry, vengeful god, or what Shea (2005) refers to as the 'superego god'; there is a belief in child sinfulness; there is an obsession with child obedience, and a belief in the use of corporal punishment, both to punish and to instill fear. Bottoms and colleagues (2003) note that religion provides specific directives for positive moral action. However, Bottoms and colleagues (1995) are also of the opinion that religious beliefs can also encourage and justify abusive behaviour and they believe that encouragement for violent, physically child-rearing practices can be traced to Bible passages such as those from Proverbs, extolling the virtues of not sparing the rod.

 Many of these religious underpinnings of child maltreatment stem from a traditional belief that it is necessary for adults to break the will of children to gain their respect and obedience (Greven, 1991). However, Greven argues the case for the opposite view, namely, that the physical assault of children inevitably leads to rage and hostility in children, which even if repressed, results in a range of negative psychological impacts. It seems that the religion-based view that it is better for children to face a temporary hell from their loving parents than an eternity burning in the fires of hell for their sins persists in some people's child-rearing mind-set and practices (Bottoms et al., 1995).

Coming from a similar theoretical viewpoint the psychoanalyst Alice Miller (1983) has labelled this traditional approach to child rearing 'poisonous pedagogy' and as well as physical punishment it also includes emotional manipulation. Straus (1994) also refers to the religious underpinnings of some corporal punishment practices, which he states are based on notions of original sin and possession by the devil. These practices are, therefore, justified as a form of exorcism. Noting the power invested in the clerical abuser by congregants, Capps (1993) believes that clerical abuse is inherently different from other forms of sexual abuse because of (1) the power of access to vulnerable people; (2) the power that comes with not being supervised; and (3) the power of

personal information about members of their congregation, which could even be derived from confession.

Clerical sexual abuse can and has been perpetrated on children, adolescents and adults. The perpetrator of clerical sexual abuse can be any religious 'leader', that is, any man or woman who holds religious authority over others. In this sense perpetrators can include pastors or priests, seminary religious lecturers or administrators, members of religious orders (i.e. brothers or sisters), youth ministers and other congregational leaders (Garland, 2006). Inappropriate sexual contact between a clergyperson and a member of the congregation of his/her church has become known as *clergy sexual misconduct* and in the United States at least thirty-six denominations now have an official policy which classifies such sexual misconduct as being subject to church discipline (Garland & Argueta, 2010). The same authors have viewed studies of prevalence, which give figures ranging between one and 15 per cent, but note that the study with the largest, stratified, random sample of the U.S. population showed that over three per cent of women who attended religious services regularly had been the object of a sexual advance by a clergyperson or religious leader in their own congregation.

The priest and psychologist Richard Sipe (2003) studied reports of or from 2,776 priests in the United States. He estimated that 30 per cent of Roman Catholic priests were involved in on going heterosexual relationships or patterns of behaviour, despite their vow of chastity, and an additional 15 per cent were involved with homosexual relationships or patterns of behaviour. How many of these relationships could be described as abusive is not clear but Garland (2006) draws our attention to a common misconception about the nature of clerical sexual abuse when the victim is an adult woman, namely, that if there is no physical coercion then the relationship is consensual. The author is clear that any attempt by a cleric to engage in sexual relationships with those over whom they have power constitutes abuse and, although it may be adult-adult, it cannot be viewed as consensual. Garland (2006) adds that even in situations where the congregant initiates the sexualising of the relationship, the responsibility to maintain strict professional boundaries still lies with the cleric. Garland and Argueta (2010) found that the impacts of clerical sexual misconduct on adult (overwhelmingly women)

victims included self-blame, shame, spiritual crisis, loss of friends and community, loss of faith, family crisis, divorce, and psychological distress.

The stages of the process whereby perpetrators of abuse exploit vulnerable (adult) persons are outlined by Carnes (1998). The first stage is 'grooming', which makes the victim feel special and draws them into an inappropriate relationship. The abuser provides a 'sustaining fantasy' or 'supportive script' that justifies on-going contact with the victim. Its goals are always the same: to desensitise the victim to gradually increasing levels of inappropriate behaviour, and to reward his/her tolerance of that behaviour.

From the abuse of adults I now turn to the abuse of children, an entirely more vulnerable group in society. A study of the history of childhood reveals that child protection is a relatively recent concern. This is because, as de Mause (2006, p.3) states, "The history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken". In his historical analysis of childhood he concludes that a large percentage of the children born prior to the eighteenth century were what we would refer to as *battered children*. In addition, the author traces a long history of the commonplace sexual abuse of children, dating back to Greek and Roman times

Child protection as a concept and in practice is a phenomenon of the late nineteenth century, ironically occurring at the very time when the complex of industrial schools was expanding in Ireland. It was not until 1875 that the world's first organisation devoted specifically to child protection and welfare was established in the United States, that is, *The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* (Myers, 2011). Just over 10 years later, in an effort to distinguish children from adults in terms of their responsibility for crimes committed and the appropriate places for incarceration, the world's first juvenile court was established in Chicago in 1899 (Myers, 2011). The SPCC opened in Ireland in 1889 (Goode et al. 2003) and its inspectors or 'cruelty men' became instrumental in determining which children should be placed in industrial schools (Buckley, 2013). During the nineteenth century American children regarded as unsafe were placed in orphanages or almshouses, but debate on the merits of foster care over institutional care raged from the 1850s to the early part of the twentieth century. Ultimately, the orphanage and almshouse system

was dismantled and the system of foster care prevailed. It was to be a further 70 years before the Irish system was to follow a similar approach.

In Ireland, from the late nineteenth century to the mid-1970s children could find themselves detained for long periods of time in a variety of institutional settings: in county homes with their unmarried mothers, in mother-and-baby homes before they were put up for adoption, in industrial schools, and in reformatories. Maguire (2009) argues that parents of these children were deprived of their parental rights with ease, often for no other reason than poverty. She concludes that life could be particularly precarious for children of single mothers or 'illegitimate' children as they were known, as a result of poverty and prejudice. However, she notes that it could also be precarious for 'legitimate' children whose parents were too poor to provide adequately for them, who had lost one or both parents as a result of death or desertion, or who were neglected or abused by their parents. Maguire (2009) points out that the Irish state and the laws it enacted did not, in fact, protect and uphold the institution it purported to revere, namely, the family. Quite the opposite, it shattered family life when that family failed to conform to the prevailing middle-class norms and expectations.

In the twentieth century the history of professional interest in the abuse and neglect of children can, perhaps, be traced to the publication in the United States of an article by a paediatric radiologist, John Caffey. His textbook, *Pediatric X-Ray Diagnosis*, first published in 1945, became the seminal work in this field for decades. His classic article (Caffey, 1946) described multiple fractures in the long bones of six infants suffering from chronic subdural haematoma. He noted that none of the parents reported any knowledge of falls or injuries. Although he did not directly claim that the children were abused, it seems Caffey certainly suspected it, even though the evidence was inadequate to prove or disprove his suspicion.

As a result of his work as a paediatrician, Henry Kempe introduced the concept of the 'battered child syndrome.' [6] Quickly following on the heels of the article by Kempe

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[6] Kempe was a German Jew who fled as a teenager to the United States in the wake of Nazi persecution. He was no stranger to victimisation. Later, as a paediatrician, his landmark article *The Battered Child Syndrome* (Kempe et al., 1962) brought the issue of child abuse into the national consciousness. The findings were based on a nationwide survey of hospitals over a one-year period. Amongst the replies from 71 hospitals, 302 cases were reported. Of these, 33 of the children died as a result of their injuries and a further 85 were left with permanent brain injury (Kempe et al., 1962).

and his colleagues (1962), the first laws mandating professionals to report suspected cases of child abuse were enacted in the United States in 1963, and by 1967 all states had such laws and reporting grew rapidly. In 2000 alone there were approximately three million reports of child abuse and neglect in the United States (Myers, 2011).

1.2 Child sexual abuse: Prevalence and impacts

Sexual offenders have been studied sporadically in the United States since the 1930s, where most samples were drawn from detainees in either psychiatric institutions or prison (John Jay Report, 2011). In relation to victims of abuse, as far back as the 1950s, Kinsey et al. (1953) were reporting that nine per cent of women in their classic study of female sexual behaviour reported some form of sexual contact with an adult before the age of 14. Because of the shame-inducing nature of sexual abuse and the fact that survivors of abuse have only felt safe and able to speak of their experiences in the later years of the twentieth century, most research in the area of child sexual abuse has involved a retrospective approach with adult samples. An adult disclosing a history of child sexual abuse is regarded as more reliable because, for reasons concerning the dynamics of abuse: (1) children may not disclose at all; (2) if questioned children may deny that abuse ever occurred; (3) children may produce a series of disclosures of abuse, followed by recantations of these same disclosures (London et al., 2005).

The prevalence and impact of child sexual abuse have been studied in earnest since the 1970s (particularly in North America) and have emerged into the public domain in a very forceful way. There appear to have been five factors in this emergence: (1) The public discourse on the problem of child sexual abuse was championed by the women's movement and the children's protection movement (Finkelhor, 1984; Ring, 2017); (2) Evidence about child sexual abuse came from professionals working with victims in therapeutic settings and, later, abusers in treatment programmes (3) The introduction of reporting laws resulted in increasing numbers of professionals reporting reasonable suspicions of abuse, both current and historical; (4) Researchers asked specific questions about people's experiences of child sexual abuse in a way they had not done before; and (5) The media took a particular interest in reporting the phenomenon. Some important theory developments are discussed at this point.

Burgess and Holmstrom's (1974) article, *Rape Trauma Syndrome,* was a breakthrough in describing a pattern of victim psychological symptoms, including adult women's shame, self-blame, and secrecy in the aftermath of rape. In what Summit (1983) described as "vanguard observations", Burgess and Holmstrom (1975) went on to describe a somewhat similar and recognisable pattern in child victims of sexual abuse. They concluded that the typical emotional reactions of child victims came from the tension of keeping the abuse secret, and the helplessness of being unable to stop the abuse.

In terms of bringing research to the attention of both the professional community and the public at large, and instigating changes in the approach to child protection, the pre-eminent researcher in the field has been David Finkelhor. His study of a sample of 796 social science students from six New England colleges and universities in the U.S. is seminal. Using an extensive questionnaire format, he found that 19.2 per cent of women, and 8.6 per cent of men, had been sexually abused as children (Finkelhor, 1979). Putting the lie to the popular perception of the stranger abusing girls, he found that over three quarters of girls (76 per cent) had been abused by someone they knew Where boys were concerned, a similar pattern prevailed, with 70 per cent having been abused by someone known to them Most victims reacted with fear, shock and surprise at their assaults.[7]

Summit (1983), following in the tradition of Burgess and Holmstrom (1974; 1975), identified the *Child Sexual Abuse Accommodation Syndrome*, describing typical reactions of children to being sexually abused. These included secrecy, helplessness, entrapment and accommodation, delayed, unconvincing disclosures, and retraction of the allegations. This model helped to explain how children's reactions to sexual abuse, though perceived by adults as 'difficult', contradictory and even inappropriate, were, in reality, normal, adaptive coping strategies.

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[7] Finkelhor (1979) found that 58 per cent of girls reacted with fear to their abuse, and 28 per cent with shock, with about 20 per cent reporting surprise. A small group (8 per cent) reported experiencing pleasure. However, because respondents could choose more than one response, reactions are not mutually exclusive. Overall, women rated their experiences more negatively than men, indicating that the experience of sexual abuse was more traumatic for them. Most study participants had not revealed what had happened to them as children. Finkelhor found that 63 per cent of girls, and 73 per cent of boys, had never told anyone about their experiences of sexual abuse prior to the research study. This study was the first to reveal that a substantial number of boys had also been sexually abused in childhood, although girls were seen to be the primary targets of offenders.

In general, studies carried out in the 1980s and 1990s by researchers wishing to raise awareness and advocate for services tended to focus on the prevalence of child sexual abuse and demonstrated that a significantly higher number of females reported being sexually abused as children (e.g. Badgley, 1984; Baker & Duncan, 1985; Beezley et al., 1981; Finkelhor et al., 1997; Russel, 1983). Large scale studies emerged in the following decade (e.g. Finkelhor et al., 2009).[8] More recently large-scale longitudinal studies have been carried out (e.g. MacMillan et al., 2013).[9]

The latest evidence from England and Wales (Office for National Statistics, 2016) suggests that at least one in 14 adults (7 per cent) was sexually abused as a child. In relation to the ONS (2016) study, with the exception of physical abuse, female respondents were significantly more likely to report that they had suffered all other forms of abuse asked about during childhood than males. This was most marked with regard to sexual abuse, where females were four times more likely than males to be a survivor of such abuse during childhood (11per cent compared to 3 per cent).

Perpetrators were most likely to be a parent for those that had suffered psychological abuse (father: 35 per cent; mother: 40 per cent) or physical abuse (father: 39 per cent; mother: 29 per cent). In contrast, however, survivors of sexual assault by rape or penetration reported that the perpetrator was most likely to be a friend or acquaintance (30 per cent) or other family member (26 per cent). For other types of sexual assault, the perpetrator was most likely to be a stranger (42 per cent). For sexual assault by rape or penetration, male victims (15 per cent) were more likely than females (4 per cent) to

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[8] The large-scale American study (Finkelhor et al. 2009) used a national sample of 4,549 children aged up to seventeen years in the *Nationally Representative Survey Of Children Exposed to Violence*. The study was designed to obtain a one-year and a lifetime prevalence estimate of a wide range of types of childhood victimisation. Results showed that exposure to violence, crime, and other forms of victimisation were widespread in the child population. An overall total of 60.6 per cent of the children in this sample had directly experienced, or witnessed, one or more types of victimisation in the previous year. In the previous year 6.1 per cent had been exposed to sexual victimisation (males: 4.8 per cent, females: 7.4 per cent). The researchers also found that 9.8 per cent of children reported sexually abusive experiences in their life to date (males: 7.5 per cent, females: 12.2 per cent). Once again it was found that girls were more likely to report being sexually victimised, and especially fourteen to seventeen-year-old girls (7.95 per cent in the past year, and 18.7 per cent over the lifetime).

[9] MacMillan and colleagues (2013) outlined the results from the longitudinal province-based *Ontario Child Health Study in Canada*, where 1,893 subjects retrospectively answered questions about their exposure to childhood physical and sexual abuse. Males reported significantly more child physical abuse (33.7 per cent) than did females (28.2 per cent), whilst females reported significantly more child sexual abuse (22.1 per cent) than did males (8.3 per cent).

report that they had been abused by a person in a position of trust or authority, such as a teacher, doctor, carer or youth worker.

Where Ireland is concerned, and contrary to the myth that there was no awareness at any level of the nature and extent of the sexual abuse of children – this was certainly the argument of the religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church - we can go back to 1930 to find the first attempts to grapple with the issue. Appointed on 17 June 1930, a committee of inquiry, under the chairmanship of William Carrigan, sought to review the Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1880-1885 and to investigate, among other matters, the problem of juvenile prostitution in Ireland (Carrigan, 1931). Their remit did not include investigating intra-familial abuse or institutional abuse. General O'Duffy, Commissioner of the Civic Guard reported to the committee, after contacting and getting information from over 800 police stations around the country (p.13). He noted the alarming amount of sexual crime increasing yearly against children under sixteen years of age and including many cases of children under 10 years of age. Dorney (2010) calculated from O'Duffy's figures that between 1927 and 1929, sexual assaults against females had risen by 63 per cent, and on males by 43 per cent. Dorney (2010) extrapolates from the figures O'Duffy provided to the committee that approximately 6,000 children had been sexually abused in this three-year period. It is clear from the report that the sexual abuse of children was known at the highest government levels and was perceived as a not uncommon occurrence.

Under the heading *Outrages on Decency* (p.23) the committee included offences against both girls and boys, recognising that boys were also abused. The committee noted the legal difficulties in prosecuting such cases because of the private nature of the offence and the corresponding uncorroborated evidence of the witnesses. In a remarkable passage in the report (p.28), there seems to be a tacit acceptance of the recidivistic nature of child sexual abuse, describing certain offenders as 'habitual' and 'systematic.' The report concluded with the committee making a number of laudable, child-centred recommendations that pre-empted future legislation and included a further reference to the serial abuser, namely, that when two or more sexual offences were committed by the same individual abuser, against two or more children under sixteen, they should be tried together as evidence of a habitual tendency to offend.

Ultimately, the Department of Justice recommended that the report not be published, and it remained suppressed until it was released to the National Archives in 2000. Whilst the members of the Carrigan committee were of the opinion that revealing the controversial facts assembled by them would create healthy public debate, it appears that the Irish state and the dominant Roman Catholic Church were uncomfortable with the possible effects of the explicit findings of the report on the citizens of Ireland (CICA Report, 2009). It would also not look good for the fledgling Irish state or for the image of the Catholic Church if the extent of sexual crime in Ireland (including the sexual abuse of children) and the level of sexual activity in general (particularly between unmarried people) were to come into the public domain.[10]

The first research on the prevalence of child sexual abuse in Ireland took place in the 1980s (Market Research Bureau of Ireland, 1987) and only four studies were carried out in the following decade (Irish Marketing Surveys, 1993; Lalor, 1999; McKeown and Gilligan, 1991; Research Team, 1990).

The most comprehensive study of the prevalence of child sexual abuse in Ireland to date remains that of McGee and colleagues (2002). Using a randomly selected sample of 3,118 Irish adults the *Sexual Abuse and Violence in Ireland Survey (SAVI)* they found that one in five women (20.4 per cent) reported experiencing contact sexual abuse in childhood, with one in ten men (10.0 per cent) also reporting non-contact sexual abuse. These are the highest Irish rates to date and they are revealed in the largest representative sample of Irish people. In over a quarter of cases of contact abuse (5.6 per cent) the experiences included penetration. One in six men (16.2 per cent) reported experiencing contact sexual abuse in childhood, with a further one in fourteen (7.4 per cent) reporting non-contact sexual abuse. In one out of every six cases of contact sexual abuse (2.7 per cent) the abuse experienced included penetration. Overall, almost a third of women and a quarter of men reported some level of sexual abuse in childhood. The issue of re-victimisation emerged clearly from the results of this study. For women

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[10] This view of the state's approach to matters of a sexual nature at that time is supported by recent research. In a study on newspaper reporting of sexual crimes against children in 1929, Keating (2002) found that sexual crimes against children or adults, other than homosexual acts (known euphemistically as 'grave offences' or an 'unnatural acts'), were noticeable by their absence. Though it did not see publication, Gwynn Morgan (CICA Report, 2009, Vol. IV) believes that the work of the Carrigan committee led ultimately to a more enlightened piece of legislation, namely, the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1935.

who experienced penetrative sexual abuse as a child there was a sixteen-fold increase in risk of adult penetrative sexual abuse and a five-fold increase in the risk of adult contact, non-penetrative sexual violence. In the case of men, experiencing penetrative sexual abuse in childhood resulted in a sixteen-fold increase in the risk of adult penetrative sexual violence and a twelve-fold increase in the risk of adult contact non-penetrative sexual violence.

In terms of impacts about one in three women (30 per cent) and one in four men (18 per cent) in the sample reported that their experiences of sexual abuse, either in childhood, adolescence or as an adult, had had a moderate or extreme effect on their lives to date. Of those who reported being abused 25 per cent of women and 16 per cent of men reported symptoms consistent with a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) at some point in their lives. Those who had experienced sexual violence were significantly more likely to have used medication for anxiety or depression and to have been admitted to a psychiatric hospital, than those people with no history of sexual violence. In terms of the category of abuser, clergy accounted for 3.2 per cent of sexual abusers, with 21 per cent perpetrated by strangers and a further 2.5 per cent by the victim's father. McGee and colleagues (2002) conclude that the abusers about whom Irish society appear to be most concerned (i.e. strangers, fathers and clergy) constituted a minority of all abusers. Returning to the SAVI sample three years later, McGee and colleagues (2005) found that eight per cent met the diagnostic criteria for PTSD. [11]

As a result of demand from parents of children who had been sexually abused, the Rape Crisis Centres in Ireland began to see children for therapy in 2006. In a study, *Hearing Child Survivors of Sexual Violence: Towards a National Response*, (Rape Crisis Network Ireland, 2013) 192 children, aged between 4 and 17 years, attending centres in Ireland in 2012 were studied. This Irish research is noteworthy for a number of

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[11] The researchers returned to a sample (n=221) of participants from the SAVI study to ascertain whether there were long-term effects of disclosing a history of sexual abuse to the researchers (McGee et al., 2005). Long-term was defined as three years after the original interview. The majority of participants (79 per cent) responded that it did not affect them, 12 per cent reported that it affected them 'a moderate amount' and 10 per cent were affected 'a lot' or 'extremely'. However, 36 per cent of those who had experienced penetrative sexual abuse reported that it affected them 'a lot' or 'extremely', compared to only 4 per cent of those who had experienced non-contact abuse. Participants' mental health was measured by an abbreviated version of the *Rand Mental Health Inventory* (MHI-5). Scores were higher in this study than in the SAVI (McGee et al., 2002) study, indicating an improvement (across all groups) in psychological functioning in the interim period. On a measure of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) 80 per cent of participants who had been abused did not meet the criteria, while 12 per cent had some symptoms but were sub-clinical. Finally, 8 per cent met the criteria for a diagnosis of PTSD.

reasons. It demonstrates that in Ireland the vast majority of minors attending therapeutic services are female (90 per cent in this study). This 10% per cent figure for boys attending is much lower than the figure for the percentage of male victims of sexual abuse in the general Irish population, which is 16.2 per cent (taking the McGee and colleagues, 2002 figures). The data also show that the likelihood of experiencing rape increased with the age at which the survivor first experienced the abuse, from 20 per cent of those first abused under the age of 5 to 75 per cent of those first abused between 13 and 17. While the majority of incidents of sexual abuse (65 per cent) were perpetrated by a single individual on a single occasion, the data reveal that in a further 21 per cent of incidents a single perpetrator abused the child on more than one occasion, and multiple perpetrators were present in 14 per cent of incidents. Finally, this study showed that 31 per cent of sexual abuse was perpetrated by family members, with friends/acquaintances/neighbours accounting for a further 39 per cent, and strangers accounting for only seven per cent. Someone known to the victim perpetrates the majority of abuse.

In terms of this review of the international and Irish prevalence rates for child sexual abuse outlined above, one finding that is obvious but worth noting is that prevalence rates vary considerably between countries and even between studies within a particular country. What accounts for this variation in prevalence rates? One possibility is that differing results may reflect true differences among various populations, and different countries, or geographic regions within countries. Research by Finkelhor (1986) tends to reject this view, however, and suggests that the two most important factors in prevalence variation across all studies are the definitions and methodologies used.

Although I have, in the course of outlining the prevalence studies on child sexual abuse, noted some impacts on victims, this section outlines the results of the impact research more comprehensively. International and Irish research outlined above (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1975; IMS, 1993; Lalor, 1999; McGee et al, 2002; MRBI, 1987; Summit, 1983; Research Team, 1990) clearly shows that children experience negative psychological sequelae in the wake of sexual abuse. A huge body of research now corroborates this conclusion. A review of 45 studies (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993) found conclusively that sexually abused children had more symptoms than non-abused children, with abuse accounting for 15-45 per cent of the variance. Penetration, the

duration and frequency of the abuse, the level of force used, the relationship of the perpetrator to the child, and maternal support affected the degree of symptomatology. According to the authors, the two most common indicators of child sexual abuse are sexualised behaviour and post-traumatic stress disorder. The authors state that more than 33 per cent of children who have been sexually abused meet the DSM-IV (2000) criteria for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

Noll and colleagues (2003) studied the long-term effects of childhood sexual abuse by a family member on a group of 77 women, 10 years after disclosure. Results supported the belief that experiencing intra-familial sexual abuse may be a risk factor for early and risky sexual behaviour as well as teenage motherhood. In comparison to the control group sexually abused participants reported being significantly younger at the age of voluntary sexual intercourse, reported less birth control efficacy, were younger at the birth of their first child, and were more likely to be teenage mothers. In relation to early and risky sexual behaviour the authors speculate:

> It is possible that by adolescence negative sexual labels (stigmas) associated with being a victim of childhood sexual abuse are integrated into the self-concept, facilitating the formation of a compulsive replication of certain sexual feelings and experiences learned from the abuse. These repetitions may be played out in situations that resemble the abuse, resulting in an overgeneralisation of the abuse experience to other close relationships. Such ideas may result in an inability to glean non-sexual or emotional rewards from relationships, therefore placing victims in potentially risky or exploitive situations.

In relation to early motherhood the authors speculate that having a child may function as a way of compensating for feelings of inadequacy and loneliness. In this way having a baby is perceived as redemptive and healing. The study found that participants who had experienced childhood sexual abuse also endorsed more attitudes indicative of sexual preoccupation than those in the control group. This preoccupation can find expression in the use of pornography, excessive masturbation and an overactive sexual fantasy life. However, it can also be displaced and expressed through other obsessive-compulsive behaviours and anxiety disorders. On the other hand, sexual aversion may develop as distressing memories, thoughts and feelings associated with traumatic sexualisation become associated with subsequent sexual arousal. Participants abused by their birth father, in the absence of physical coercion, at young ages and for longer

durations, showed evidence of greater sexual aversion than other abused and comparison participants. The authors conclude:

> It is likely that the betrayal of trust experienced by this subgroup is profound… the child may overgeneralise the abuse experience to all or most men, resulting in sexual and social withdrawal.

Finally, sexual ambivalence can result when sexual preoccupation and aversion occur simultaneously and such individuals may maintain a seemingly contradictory compulsion to recreate the sexual arousal associated with sexual abuse.

Roberts and colleagues (2004) investigated the links between childhood sexual abuse (before 13 years) and later mental health, analysing results from the English *Avon Longitudinal Study of Parents and Children.* The sample of women was large (n=9138) and the results showed a significant association between child sexual abuse and the type of family the mother currently lived in. Those mothers in non-traditional family types (especially single mother and stepfather families) were significantly more likely to have had a prior history of child sexual abuse than those in traditional families. Over a quarter (26 per cent) of women reporting child sexual abuse first became pregnant in their teenage years. Those women reporting child sexual abuse were also more likely to report a history of physical cruelty (22 per cent versus 2.3 per cent) and emotional cruelty (29.1 per cent versus 6.2 per cent) in childhood than those who did not report child sexual abuse. Those women who reported a history of child sexual abuse later reported higher levels of depression and anxiety, as well as lower levels of self-esteem. They reported less satisfaction and poorer communication in their relationship with their partner, and in relation to the specified child they reported greater negativity in their relationship and less maternal confidence.

Barnett and colleagues (2011) in their review of the sexual abuse impact literature, state that investigators have identified a wide range of emotional, cognitive, physical, and behavioural effects in CSA victims occurring within two years of the abuse, depending on the developmental level of the victim. Initial impacts, associated with the sexual abuse of pre-school children included sexualised behaviour, hyperactivity, nightmares and aggression. In relation to the initial effects associated with the sexual abuse of school age children, the authors noted symptoms that included regression/immaturity, social withdrawal, suicidal ideation, tics, poor concentration, fears and obsessions. The

authors noted the following long-term effects, associated with child sexual abuse: anxiety, substance abuse, low self-esteem, depression, suicidal ideation, and alcohol misuse.

In their rapid evidence assessment of the research literature on the impact of child sexual abuse for the England and Wales *Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse*, Fisher and colleagues (2017) conclude (1) that being a victim of child sexual abuse is associated with an increased risk of adverse outcomes in all areas of victims' lives and (2) that the negative impacts can endure for the duration of the victims' lives. The authors categorised the outcomes into seven spheres: (1) physical health; (2) emotional wellbeing, mental health and internalising behaviours; (3) externalising behaviours; (4) interpersonal relationships; (5) socio-economic; (6) religious and spiritual belief; and (7) vulnerability to revictimisation.

Research conducted more recently in this country (Barrett & Kamiya, 2012; Barrett, Kamiya & O' Sullivan, 2014) used data from those people between 50 and 65 in a sample of over 8,000 people aged 50 and above in the *Irish Longitudinal Study on Ageing* and found a prevalence rate for child sexual abuse of 5.6 per cent for men and 6.7 per cent for women. They also found a large and statistically significant link between childhood sexual victimisation and men being out of employment due to being ill and/or permanently disabled. Physical and mental symptoms of illness and disablement were measured in this regard. In fact, male victims of child sexual abuse were almost three times more likely to be out of the labour force due to illness or disability than those who had not suffered abuse. They found no significant effects on the later economic outcomes of women and they believe this may be due to the fact that for many older Irish women extended time out of the labour force was the norm. The experience of childhood sexual abuse was associated with lower household incomes and the estimated effect was large, at over 40 per cent for men. Victims of child sexual abuse were more likely to have alcohol problems, were more likely to exhibit anxiety, and more likely to exhibit moderate or severe symptoms of depression. Mental and economic effects as a result of child sexual abuse are, therefore, long lasting and this fact has implications when considering the issue of calculating compensation for individual victims, either in the courts or through a state redress scheme for survivors. Boys, like girls, are more likely to be abused by males.

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Anderson Jacob and McCarthy Veach (2005) also note particularly male effects such as externalising behaviours (e.g. anger and aggression, commitment volatility, risky sexual behaviours) and sexual orientation and male gender identity confusion. While male victims of childhood sexual abuse have not been studied to the same extent as female victims (Sorsoli et al., 2008), a review of the existing literature on male victims (Watkins & Bentovim, 1992) noted that while they reported themselves as being significantly less damaged by their abusive experiences than female victims, there was strong evidence to suggest that long-term effects such as depression, suicidal ideation, anxiety, substance abuse, low self-esteem and relationship difficulties were common among male victims.

1.3 Child sexual abuse and boys

Because all six Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools detained only boys and because, as a result, the six participants of this study were all boys in Letterfrack, this section focuses on the impacts of child sexual abuse on males. In one of the first efforts to examine the impact of child sexual abuse on males, Rogers and Terry (1984) described behavioural responses that they saw as particular to male victims of child sexual abuse. These were: (1) confusion/anxiety over sexual identity; (2) inappropriate attempts to re-assert masculinity; and (3) recapitulation of the victimising experience/identification with the aggressor.

Referring to the prevalence literature, Hunter (1991) suggested that the sexual abuse of boys was grossly under-reported and under-recognised, particularly because males tended to have a definition of abuse "which does not include what happened to them". The author speculated that males do not define sexual abuse as abuse because any sexual experience is seen as acceptable in male culture. More recent research confirmed that men were less likely to disclose child sexual abuse during childhood compared to women and that they made fewer and more selective disclosures (Hunter, 2011; O'Leary & Barber, 2008). Referring again to how males define abuse, a large-scale Canadian study (Dubé & Hébert, 1998) showed that despite being subjected to severe physical violence and emotional damage, two-thirds of 511 male victims of sexual

abuse denied that their experiences constituted abuse and they blamed themselves for what had occurred.

The Briggs and Hawkins (1996) Australian study examined 84 male sex offender prisoners who self-reported child sexual abuse and 95 male non-prisoners who self-reported child sexual abuse but did not go on to become abusers. Half (50 per cent) of non-offenders spoke of feelings of shame, embarrassment, being different, and being dirty as a result of the abuse in comparison to only 12 per cent of prisoners. This suggests a higher level of acceptance, amongst abusers, of their own abuse experiences as children. A large majority of men (88 per cent of offenders and 68 per cent of non-offenders) thought their abuse experiences were normal. Of the offenders 69 per cent claimed to have liked the experience of childhood sexual abuse, while a smaller number of non-offenders (17 per cent) claimed they had liked the experience. Once again the data suggest greater acceptance of child abuse by offenders. However, the acceptance level of men who were abused as children but did not become offenders also gives cause for alarm.

Briggs and Hawkins (1996) suggest factors which may lead to boys keeping secrets, such as, male sex role conditioning, homophobia, lack of societal encouragement to report and seek help, and fears of being stigmatised. Sorsoli and colleagues (2008) note the particular problem boys and men may have with disclosing and talking about their history of abuse, thus exacerbating symptoms and delaying disclosure and recovery. Their research, on sixteen male survivors, revealed distinct personal   (e.g. lack of cognitive awareness, intentional avoidance and shame), relational (e.g. fears of negative consequences, isolation), and socio-cultural (e.g. lack of acceptance for men to experience or acknowledge victimisation) reasons for their struggles with disclosure. In a qualitative study Alaggia (2005) analysed the disclosure narratives of both men and women. He discovered unique themes in their respective narratives that inhibited or precipitated disclosure. For men these themes were: (1) fear of being seen as homosexual; (2) feelings of isolation due to the belief that boys are rarely victims; and (3) fear of becoming an abuser.

Other researchers have also found evidence of the inhibiting effect of the male ethos of self-reliance on disclosure, as well as a fear of being perceived as homosexual, a fear

of being seen as weak and unable to resist the abuser, and a fear of being perceived as the instigator of the abuse (Dorahy & Clearwater, 2012; Foster et al., 2012; Price-Robertson, 2012; Spetano et al., 2001).

Steever et al. (2001) found evidence that male victims of child sexual abuse were more likely than their female counterparts to have been victims of same sex abuse, to have experienced a greater degree of physical violence and harm during the abuse and to have been more likely to have been victimised by multiple perpetrators. Fisher and colleagues (2017), in their assessment of the literature on impact, also found some gender differences in the prevalence of mental health conditions, with females being more likely to demonstrate internalising behaviours and males more likely to demonstrate externalising behaviours.

1.4 Institutional abuse and the Roman Catholic Church

Early research (Rindfleish & Rabb, 1984) examined the problem of resident abuse and neglect in child welfare institutions in the United States. They noted that little agreement existed at that time about the size and importance of child maltreatment in residential settings for children and adolescents. They also noted that awareness about the need to protect children in out-of-home care had increased modestly since the *First National Conference on Institutional Abuse and Neglect* in 1977. They surveyed 1,700 residential childcare facilities and found that complaint rates ranged from 25 to 55 per 1,000 children and adolescents (with an average rate of 39 per 1,000). However, observations of on-site visitors suggested that only one out of five 'complainable situations' was reported to child protection agencies. The authors concluded:

> The issue of institutional abuse and neglect deserves a higher priority…because children and youths in residential facilities are vulnerable to harm and have typically been placed through state action into socially organised and publicly funded programs against their wishes.

For the purposes of this study I am adopting the Penhale (1999) definition of institutional care as:

> [C]are provided within a home that is not owned by the individual, and where the locus of control lies beyond the individual living in that environment… the individual lives

with others and there is often likely to be little or no choice as to who those individuals are. Control over the structure, function and organisation of the home is not within the power of the individual but is exercised by members of staff who are not ordinarily resident in that environment (p. 6).

Stanley and colleagues (1999) go on to conceive institutional abuse as occurring at three different levels: abuse between individuals within the residential setting, abuse arising due to the regime of the institution, and abuse arising at a system level or the level of broader social structure, in which the safety of individuals within institutional care cannot be guaranteed.

Specifically relating to abuse in institutions, but not necessarily residential ones, Wolfe and colleagues (2003) have identified five factors influencing the effects of abuse on a child: (1) the significance of the institution to society; (2) the role of the perpetrator within the institution; (3) the extent of child involvement with the institution; (4) the degree of voluntary or mandatory involvement a child has with the institution; and (5) how the institution responds to the disclosure. The authors also note that survivors of abuse in institutions describe unique trauma-related symptoms, specifically associated with the institution in which the abuse occurred. For example, if the abuse occurred in a school setting adult survivors often expressed fear or disinterest in learning, a reluctance to send their own children to school, or entering any academic environment. The authors identified five specific themes: (1) Loss of trust / fear of intimacy; (2) shame, guilt and humiliation; (3) fear/disrespect for authority; (4) avoidance; and (5) vicarious trauma.

In relation to how clerical sexual abuse might, in addition to the above, impact upon a victim, the John Jay report (2011), echoing Wolfe and colleagues (2003), draws our attention to the sense of betrayal victims feel and how they may distance themselves from the abuse:

> Child sexual assault by a clergy member may be particularly devastating given the position of trust that the clergy member holds…[revealing] a deep sense of betrayal felt by the victims. Moreover, as a result of the abuse, many victims distanced themselves from God and the church or renounced Catholicism altogether (p.94).

A further issue worth noting is that while the priest or member of a Roman Catholic religious order is recognised as being in a position of great moral authority, he is, in

addition, also regarded as God's representative on earth (Rossetti, 1995) and, as such, is a person of unusually special significance, as well as someone who is expected to be completely trustworthy and exemplary in his own behaviour. van Wormer and Berns (2004) refer to sexual abuse by clerics as 'sanctuary molestation' and argue:

> the damage goes beyond disillusionment with a father figure because the exploiter-abuser was a priest, a 'god-like' person, who occupied a position of sacred trust to the youth and his or her family. Furthermore, the victim had not only been violated but his or her source of spiritual support in a time of trouble – the church and its representative - had been rudely swept away (p.54).

They conclude that sexual abuse by a cleric is the ultimate violation of personal trust. One anonymous survivor of clerical abuse (in Plante & McChesney, 2011) succinctly describes this unique dynamic, inherent in clerical sex abuse:

> Like some other survivors, I believed that because the perpetrator had been a priest, it must mean that he was blameless and I was guilty. He couldn't be guilty. He was a priest – good, holy, and loved by many. So I absorbed the shame and the guilt for the one who had victimised me (p.4).

The global Roman Catholic population stands currently at 1.285 billion (The Tablet, 2017), many of them in the western 'developed' world, where researchers were brave enough to challenge the status quo, where supports were put in place for survivors, and where laws on reporting were enacted. It is not surprising, then, that clerical abuse by Roman Catholic clergy has emerged in those countries first.

The connection between Ireland and clerical abuse throughout the world lies in the number of clerics who self-identify as being Irish or of Irish heritage. Relating to the United States, for example, Sipe (1998) investigated the ethnic makeup of the clergy in the 1960s and 1970s, when the majority of sexual abuse of children by clergy occurred. He found that while Irish Americans represented 17 per cent of the overall population of the United States, a disproportionate 54 per cent of priests identified themselves as Irish American, as well as 75 per cent of bishops and 85 per cent of archbishops.

As mentioned above, the crisis of clerical sexual abuse first emerged in the United States and the majority of research has been carried out on American victims and

perpetrators. Sipe (1995) estimated that at any one time, only two per cent of U.S. Catholic priests actually achieved celibacy, that is, were able to fully integrate it into their personalities and priestly lives. He also estimated that two per cent of priests were paedophiles. He later adjusted this figure to six per cent, after a study of 2,776 active and resigned priests (Sipe, 2003). Of the priests who abused children, one third had a heterosexual orientation and two thirds had a homosexual orientation. He notes, however, that homosexual men are no more likely to be abusers than heterosexuals. From this research he also concluded that 30 per cent of priests are involved in heterosexual relationships or patterns of behaviour, and a further 15 per cent of priests are involved in homosexual relationships, or patterns of behaviour. It is not surprising, then, that Sipe (2003) considers the major problem in the Roman Catholic world to be one of celibacy in crisis. Berry (1992) disagrees. Placing clerical sexual abuse in the context of all sexual abuse against children, he reminds us that research continues to show that the majority of cases of child sexual abuse occur within the home. He insists, therefore, that celibacy does not cause priests to molest children any more than marriage can be blamed for the greater number of men who commit incest.

Although it had not been commissioned, in the mid-eighties three concerned men, a canon lawyer, a priest-psychiatrist and a lay lawyer, presented a report to the American hierarchy on the sexual abuse crisis (Mouton & Doyle, 1985). The authors gave a copy of this document to every American bishop in December 1985 (Doyle, Sipe & Wall, 2006)[12]. It concerned itself with the "extremely serious situation" of clerical sexual abuse. The authors explicitly warned the church that it faced extremely serious financial consequences as well as significant injury to its image as a result of the sexual abuse of children by clerics (Doyle, Sipe & Wall, 2006). The report was clear that the welfare of the abuse victim was of paramount importance and should be given priority status by the bishops (Doyle, Sipe & Wall, 2006). As well as noting that clinical experience and some research to date had shown that abuse had a profound effect and that this effect is long lasting, the report acknowledged that there were also spiritual impacts since the perpetrators of the abuse were priests and other clerics. The report was "ignored or rejected by the majority of bishops at the time of its release" (Sipe, 1995) and in this way it was effectively suppressed (Doyle, Sipe & Wall, 2006). The existence

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[12] The report became known as 'the manual'.

of the 1985 report now acts as evidence of the fact that the Roman Catholic Church was fully aware of the on-going problem of sexually abusing clerics and as evidence of the lengths the system was/is willing to go to protect abusers and themselves from exposure (Doyle, Sipe & Wall, 2006).

While the American Roman Catholic Church authorities later developed five action principles, that each diocese should follow in the wake of an allegation, it was in 1994 that they issued their first public report[13] on clerical sexual abuse, and it was to be twenty years after the first revelations of clerical sexual abuse of minors. In order to more seriously address this continuing crisis, bishops met in Dallas, Texas in June 2002, and issued the *Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People* (Chopko et al., 2011).[14] The bishops also commissioned two extensive research projects.[15]

 The following summary of research is from the first published report: *The Nature and Scope of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Catholic Priests and Deacons: 1950-2002* (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2004). Information was gathered from 97 per cent of Catholic dioceses in the United States (representing 99 per cent of the Catholic population), and 64 per cent of religious congregations (representing 83 per cent of religious priests). The number of priests against whom allegations of sexual abuse were made between 1950 and 2002 was 4,392 out of 109,694. This number converts to four per cent of all priests and deacons in active ministry between 1950 and 2002 in the United States. Most of these men (69 per cent) were diocesan priests. A total of 4.27 per cent of diocesan priests had allegations made against them while 2.7 per cent of all religious order priests (including Christian Brothers) had allegations. Data collected for this study revealed that 43.5 per cent of the diocesan priests who were later accused of sexual abuse of a child were ordained before 1960. Men ordained in the 1980s

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[13] Restoring Trust, Volume 1 (1994).

[14] In it the Roman Catholic Church in the United States acknowledged that it was experiencing a crisis without precedent and that the manner in which the sexual abuse of children by clergy was handled had caused enormous pain, anger, and confusion. It identified a pervasive approach of secrecy as being responsible for an atmosphere that "inhibited the healing process and, in some cases, enabled sexually abusive behaviour to continue. The charter mandated a zero-tolerance policy for the perpetrators, outlined plans to offer support to victims and their families, ordered regular audits of each diocese's compliance with the charter, and called for research to determine the nature, scope, causes, and context of the abuse crisis in the Church (Plante & McChesney, 2011).

[15] Both projects were carried out by the John Jay College of Criminal Justice (2004; 2011).

accounted for a much smaller 7.1 per cent of abusers, and those ordained after 1989 represent just 1.95 per cent of accused priests.

Overall, there were 10,667 individual allegations of sexual abuse made against priests up to early 2003. The number of allegations relating to abuse that occurred in a specific year reached a peak in the late 1970s and then declined sharply after 1985. This decline was evident in all regions of the country. It is postulated that this decline coincided with the period in time when allegations of sexual abuse by priests were first revealed (1982 onwards) and the church began to respond to the crisis with protective measures for the public as well as consequences for abusers. The generally low rate of reporting sexual abuse is seen from the fact that 10,667 incidents of sexual abuse out of the total number reported up to 2002 had been perpetrated before 1985 (i.e. 80.5 per cent) and only 810 of those incidents had been reported by 1985. [16]

The authors concluded that the phenomenon of clerical sexual abuse in the United States was "in large part a historical problem – concentrated between 1965 and 1985". The majority of clerical abuse victims (80.9 per cent) were found to be male. This is an interesting phenomenon as it is in stark contrast to other studies of people abused by lay people, where it is generally found that females are three times more likely to be abused than males.

The report notes that like sexually abusive men in the general population, abusive priests admitted to committing sexual acts ranging from touching outside the clothes to penetration. Nearly all priests who abused committed more than one type of abusive act. Abuse occurred primarily in the priest's home (41 per cent). Few (6.8 per cent) abusive priests reported that they themselves had been sexually abused as a child, putting the lie to the commonly held belief that most abusers were themselves abused in childhood. Only 384 out of 4,392 (8.7 per cent) accused priests were later charged with a criminal offence.

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 Subsequent research would reveal the fact that if all incidents of clerical sexual abuse reported between 1950 and 2009 in the United States were counted, 93 per cent of them were perpetrated before 1990 (Terry et al., 2011).

The second report published was the *Causes and Context of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Catholic Priests in the United States, 1950-2010* (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2011). It discusses the prevalence of sexual abuse in society, and gives particular credence to the research results on abuse and neglect from the *National Incidence Study* (NIS) and the *National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System* (NCANDS). These studies have been carried out at intervals: NIS-1 (1979 & 1980), NIS-2 (1986 & 1987), NIS-3 (1993 & 1995), NIS- 4 (2005-2009). There has been a significant decrease in maltreatment over the last 20 years, according to their figures. The number of children abused physically, sexually and emotionally decreased 26 per cent from the NIS-3 (1993) to the NIS-4 (2009). The rate of sexual abuse decreased 44 per cent between NIS-3 and NIS-4. The rate of physical abuse decreased 23 per cent between NIS-3 and NIS-4 and the rate of emotional abuse decreased 33 per cent in the same period.

Taken together, data from the NIS and the NCANDS (in John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2011) show a significant decrease in clerical child sexual abuse since the 1990s. The report notes that, like most of the previous literature on sexual abuse by non-clergy, girls were more likely to be sexually abused than boys. The authors conclude that the incidence of child sexual abuse has declined in both the Roman Catholic Church and in society in general, although the rate of decline is greater in the Roman Catholic Church during the same timeframe.

In terms of impact, Ponton and Goldstein (2004) studied 26 adolescent boys and adult men who, as children, had been sexually abused by Catholic priests. On average the men waited 18 years before disclosing the abuse, either to get psychological help or to take legal action. The authors found themes of loss of spirituality, sexual difficulties, severe depression, and substance abuse in the men's lives.

In terms of the characteristics and motivations of sexual offenders, Haywood and colleagues (1996a) studied a sample of 107 male participants including 30 Roman Catholic clerics and 39 non-clerics, who were alleged to have sexually abused minors, and 38 normal control subjects. The 39 non-clerical abusers were divided into two groups: 13 incestuous child abusers and 26 primarily non-incestuous abusers. The purpose of the study was to compare levels of sexual functioning between groups. The clerical child molesters were found to be significantly older and more educated than the

lay abusers and the control group. In terms of victim gender 77 per cent of clerics were alleged to have abused boys versus 50 per cent of non-incestuous child molesters and 38 per cent of incestuous child abusers. Victims of clerical abusers were, on average, older than those of non-clerical abusers. Non-incestuous child abusers had the highest number of victims (median=15). Clerical and incestuous child abusers had significantly fewer (median=2). While 50 per cent of non-incestuous child abusers admitted to additional paraphilic acts[17], no clerical abuser admitted to these behaviours and as a group they reported a lower variety of heterosexual experiences and lower sex drive than non-clerical child abusers. The researchers concluded that clerical abusers tended to be less psychologically disturbed than non-clerical abusers and held a significantly more conservative attitude toward sex than normal controls.

Haywood and colleagues (1996 b) studied a sample of 45 lay sexual abusers, 40 lay men who were non-abusers, 24 clerical abusers (priests and brothers), and 48 clerical, non-abusers, with a view to seeing if there was any correlation between a history of sexual abuse in childhood and subsequent offending behaviour as an adult. Overwhelmingly, boys were the victims of clerical offenders. Of all clerical abusers 92 per cent had male victims as opposed to 56 per cent for non-clerical abusers. Clerics tended to have older victims than non-clerical abusers. Non-clerical offenders reported more severe psychopathology than their clerical counterparts[18], including depression, psychopathy, paranoia, schizophrenia and social anxiety. The authors postulate that clerical sexual abuse may be more related to psychosexual adjustment and development issues as opposed to mental disorder. The odds for a cleric who reported being sexually abused as a child becoming a child abuser as an adult were 6.05 times higher than the odds for a cleric who did not report being sexually abused as a child. The equivalent odds for the lay abusers were 5.42 times. Therefore, exposure to sexual abuse in childhood was seen to be associated with becoming a child abuser for both cleric and non-cleric abusers. The authors acknowledge that offenders may, of course, be motivated to exaggerate their reports of childhood adversity in order to reduce their sense of their own responsibility for their crimes against children and to gain sympathy and support. They note that other research has suggested that clerics may be particularly

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[17] Sexual paraphillias include voyeurism and exhibitionism.
[18] The instrument used to measure psychopathology was the *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory* (MMPI).

prone to rationalisation and minimisation of undesirable traits and to deny behaviours that would potentially result in their removal from ministry.

Langevin and colleagues (2000) also wished to explore any possible differences between clerical and non-clerical sexual abusers. They studied 24 male clerics accused of sexual offences and compared them to male sex offender controls and a general sample of sex offenders (n = 2125). Clerics had an average of 5.83 victims versus 3.13 of non-clerical controls. More than three quarters (79.2 per cent) of both clerical and non-clerical abusers had abused boys. In terms of physical force used in the commission of the offences, five per cent of clerics used force while none of the non-clerics reported using force. Physical abuse used while committing sexual offences included punching, slapping, use of a strap, kicking, and demeaning the victims as a means of providing offender control and sexual stimulation.[19] The majority of clerical abusers (70.8 per cent) were sexually deviant (mostly homosexual paedophilia), as determined by phallometric testing and the *Clarke Sex History Questionnaire.*[20] The authors postulate that a combination of loneliness, social isolation, and substance abuse (particularly alcohol) may have driven those clerics who were not paedophilic to act out in a sexual way with (mostly) boys and/or may have disinhibited them. Of the sample of clerical abusers, 29.2 per cent reported alcohol abuse and, in fact, a third of all three groups in this study reported alcohol abuse. The authors note that this figure is typical of child sexual abusers in general.

Using all Royal Canadian Mounted Police crime reports of clergy who had been charged with a sexual offence between 1995 and 2002, Firestone and colleagues (2009) explored characteristics of the offender, victim and the crime itself, as well as comparing clerical offenders who abuse single and those who abuse multiple victims. Of the total of 33 male clerics 39 per cent had multiple victims (ranging from 1-20). There were no adult victims. Of those 31 whose sexual orientation was revealed, 20 self-identified as homosexual, six were bisexual and five were heterosexual. The preponderance of clerical offenders who identify themselves as homosexual in orientation concurs with previous research (e.g. Haywood et al., 1996; Langevin et al.,

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[19] The element of sexual stimulation resulting from the use of physical violence while sexually abusing the child may be pertinent to the industrial school experience in Ireland, where physical abuse and sexual abuse often co-existed.

[20] Phallometric testing involves placing a device round the penis and measuring changes in volume in response to graded items of a sexual nature presented to the subject visually.

2000). Like much of the research on clerical abuse (Haywood et al, 1996; Langevin et al., 2000) most victims (67 per cent) were male. The authors believe that there are two practical reasons for this, namely, access to boys participating in religious activities, and a common trend for Catholic clergy to self-identify their sexual orientation as homosexual.

Of particular interest in the context of this thesis is the finding that almost a quarter of victims (23 per cent) were residing in residential schools or group homes at the time of the abuse. The authors speculate that the reason for this might be the absence consistent and close supervision provided by parents or guardians. They note that the cleric in the residential institution may have been the supervisor in such instances of abuse. Unlike the Langevin and colleagues (2000) study most victims (88 per cent) did not sustain any physical injuries during assault. In terms of targeting and grooming of victims, most offenders (90.9 per cent) used their authority as clergy, almost half (45.5 per cent) befriended the victim and almost a quarter (24.2 per cent) offered the victims jobs, money or gifts.[21]

From her extensive review of the available research on the differences between clerical and non–clerical sex offenders, Keenan (2012) concludes that the broad consensus in the psychological literature is that Roman Catholic clerical sexual offenders represent an atypical group of child sexual offenders.

1.5 Clerical sexual abuse in Ireland

The *Sexual Abuse and Violence in Ireland* study (SAVI) is the only one based on a large, nationally representative sample to date. The SAVI Report (McGee et al., 2002) found that 3.2 per cent of adults in their Irish sample were sexually abused as children by clergy – 5.8 per cent of male respondents, and 1.4 per cent of female respondents. Clerics and religious teachers constituted the largest single category of authority figures as abusers of boys. The Ferns Report (Murphy et al., 2005) identified over 100 allegations of child sexual abuse against 21 priests working in the Diocese of Ferns

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[21] Garland and Argueta (2010) refer to grooming as involving a cleric's behaviour that functions to develop a close relationship with the victim. Grooming can include expressions of admiration and concern, affectionate gestures and subtle touching, talking about a shared interest or project, and sharing of personal information. It is designed to desensitise the victim to increasingly inappropriate behaviour and rewards the victim for tolerating that behaviour.

between 1962 and 2002. The *Irish Independent* (Quinn, 2005) contacted all Catholic dioceses in relation to available information on allegations of abuse against diocesan priests, in the immediate aftermath of the publication of the Ferns Report. Out of 26 dioceses, 23 responded, and the results showed that a total of 241 priests had at least one allegation of child sexual abuse against them. This translated to 4 per cent of 3,200 diocesan priests then working in Ireland at that time. The *Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse* (CICA, 2009) named (albeit using pseudonyms) 800 mostly clerical sex offenders who worked in 26 of Ireland's residential industrial and reformatory schools. The Murphy Report (Murphy et al., 2009) received complaints, suspicions or knowledge, from over 320 people, of child sexual abuse in respect of 172 named priests and 11 unnamed priests in the Dublin Archdiocese. The *Cloyne Report* (Murphy et al., 2010) received complaints in respect of 32 named priests and one unnamed priest. Of the 163 priests listed in the *Diocese of Cloyne Diocesan Directory* for 1996, allegations were made or concerns expressed in relation to 12 priests (7.6 per cent).

Randall and colleagues (2011) studied 30 clerics and 73 laymen who had sexually abused children and were participants in a treatment programme. The researchers were interested in examining whether there were personality differences between the two groups of offenders.[22] They found that the only difference was on the factor of conscientiousness. Clerics were more conscientious, that is, in the domains of *sense of competence, orderly, dutiful, achievement-striving, self-discipline, and deliberation*. The authors concluded that clerical and lay child sexual abusers are more similar than different and that the profile of the clerical sex offender is of a man with low self-esteem, denying sexual interests and urges, but who is agreeable and empathically concerned about others. However, it must be noted that being agreeable and empathic, allied to their powerful position as clerics, can assist with targeting, grooming and ultimately abusing children. Both clerical and lay groups showed significantly lower levels of self-esteem and sexual social desirability (indicative of denial of sexual interests) than the control group and, compared to the control group, lay offenders showed significantly greater levels of neuroticism, less extraversion, and less openness. However, both groups also showed higher levels of agreeableness and empathic concern than the control group.

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[22] The instrument used to measure personality was the *NEO Personality Inventory* (Revised).

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The results from this Irish study confirm previous research evidence, which shows that clerical sex offenders have lower levels of psychopathology than lay offenders and lower levels of sexual drive than non-offending controls (Haywood et al., 1996 a; Haywood et al., 1996 b; Langevin et al., 2000) and the view of Keenan (2012), who noted that Roman Catholic clerical sexual offenders were atypical in the overall realm of sexual offenders. However, we cannot rule out elements of denial and minimisation on the part of offenders when they are questioned for research purposes.

The Goode and colleagues (2003) study showed that participants viewed clergy particularly badly in terms of the prevalence of abusers. The study found that 59 per cent of a sample of 1,081 participants thought the level of sexual abuse by Irish clergy was the same as (43 per cent) or lower than (16 per cent) non-clerical men. However, some 32 per cent thought that clergy abused children more frequently than non-clerical men. Participants were also asked to estimate the percentage of Catholic clergy involved in sexually abusing children. While 67 per cent of respondents believed that less than 20 per cent of clergy have sexually abused children, a further 11 per cent felt that over 50 per cent of clergy had sexually abused children. As noted earlier, Irish and international prevalence studies reveal considerably lower figures. As noted previously, the SAVI Report (McGee et al., 2002) found that the figure for Irish people who reported that clergy abused them was 3.2 per cent, while the most accurate and up-to-date research from the United States (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2011) indicated that four per cent of priests had one or more allegations of child abuse against them.[23]

Further data provided by the Goode and colleagues (2003) study on victims is of interest here. Of the 3,120 people who participated in the McGee and colleagues (2002) study 39 reported that clergy had sexually abused them, with 30 describing this abuse as occurring when they were children. Of these, 14 were ultimately followed up and interviewed. Impacts directly attributable to the abuse included depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation and relationship problems. Additional impacts included a decline in confidence in the Roman Catholic Church as an institution and in Catholic clergy as a

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[23] This does not prove that they were sexual offenders, only that they were accused of having offended.

group in society. The authors note that some victims of clerical sexual abuse lost their religious faith.

A survey by Amárach Research (2011) also found that a significant number of Irish people continue to over-estimate the prevalence of clerical child sexual abuse. A total of 42 per cent estimated that the number of sexually abusive priests in Ireland was over 21 per cent of the overall population of priests. Of this group 27 per cent believed that the figure for abusive priests exceeded 40 per cent and a further 17 per cent put the figure at 50 per cent or more. The mean estimation of Irish priests guilty of child abuse was 28 per cent. It appears that Irish views of the clergy have become more negative between the Goode and colleagues (2003) study and the Amárach (2011) study. This may reflect the on-going fallout from the CICA Report (2009) and a succession of diocesan reports on clerical abuse (e.g. Cloyne, 2010; Ferns, 2005; Murphy, 2009).

Keenan (2012) reported on her own research on a small sample of Roman Catholic clerical sex offenders in a treatment centre in Dublin. The sample (n = 9) consisted of seven priests (five of whom belonged to unspecified orders) one religious brother (order not stated) and one Christian Brother. Seven of the sample had already been convicted for sexual offences. The other two, while not yet convicted, had admitted to their sexual offences. None of the men were working in a clerical role at the time of the research. All victims of these men except one were male. The ages of victims ranged from twelve to eighteen years of age. However, one cleric abused or attempted to abuse up to five seminarians in their early twenties. Abusive acts extended across the sexually abusive spectrum and two perpetrators admitted to abusing up to 25 children each.

Jones (2014) refers to the *Health Service Executive* report for 2013, which shows that in contemporary Ireland the world was still an unsafe place for many children: 6,462 children were in care and 1,547 children were on the *Child Protection Notification System*. In 2014 the HSE expected to receive about 40,000 child protection referrals to the *Child and Family Agency*. While the Roman Catholic Church has had strict protocols in place to deal with allegations of clerical sexual abuse for a number of years, people are still reporting clerical abuse. Between April 2013 and March 2014 there were 164 allegations made against priests and religious to the *National Board for Safeguarding Children*. It is not clear whether these allegations are current or historical. Either way the problem of clerical sexual abuse has not gone away.

Although the first piece of research on institutional child abuse, that catalogued the number of reported cases of institutional abuse in ten federal U.S. regions, was carried out in the 1980s (Rindfleisch & Rabb, 1984) it was to be another decade before research in this area gained prominence, often in response to scandals (Timmerman & Schreuder, 2014). The most extensive research project to date on Irish clerical sexual abuse, and the only large-scale study on institutional abuse in the industrial and reformatory school system, was carried out in conjunction with the *Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse* (Carr, 2009; Flanagan et al., 2009). The researchers studied the responses of 247 survivors (roughly equal numbers of men and women) of abuse by priests, brothers, nuns and other non-religious employees in residential institutions, with a view to discovering, among other things, patterns of resilience. Some of the study's significant findings are summarised below:

1) On the total scale of the institutional version of the *Childhood Trauma Questionnaire* (CTQ), 99.2 per cent of the participants were classified as having experienced child abuse in an industrial school or reformatory.

2) In the CTQ institutional version sub-scales, 97.2 per cent of participants were classified as having been physically abused; 47 per cent as having been sexually abused; 94.7 per cent as having been emotionally abused; 97.6 per cent as having been physically neglected; and, 95.1 per cent as having been emotionally neglected.

3) All participants in the study had experienced one or more significant life problems subsequent to their experiences in a residential institution, with mental health problems (74.1 per cent), unemployment (51.8 per cent) and substance abuse (38.1 per cent) being the most common.

4) The overall rates of psychological disorders were double those found in a community sample.

5) The majority of participants showed clinically significant post-traumatic symptomatology, as measured by the *Trauma Symptom Inventory* (TSI).

State inquiries into historical clerical abuse, both in community and residential settings, have generated commissioned research projects. Some state inquiries have focused exclusively on child sexual abuse (e.g. Australia, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands) while others (including Ireland and Scotland) have examined physical, emotional, and

sexual abuse (Carr et al., 2017). Research into the nature, prevalence and impacts of sexual violence, in particular, on both adults and children has continued at pace (Allroggen et al., 2016). The negative impacts of child sexual abuse on victims in terms of physical health, mental health, internalising and externalising behaviours, interpersonal relationships, religious and spiritual beliefs, socio-economic outcomes, and vulnerability to re-victimisation have been firmly established (Blakemore et al., 2017; Carr et al., 2017; Fisher et al., 2017; Mendez Sayer et al., 2018).

Research on the impacts of child maltreatment in residential care are equally clear, showing associations between a history of neglect and physical health outcomes, cognitive development deficits, attachment difficulties, mental health issues, and that the severity of adverse outcomes may be partially influenced by the duration and severity of institutional deprivation and a cluster of risk and protective factors (Carr et al, 2017; Mendez Sayer et al., 2018). In addition, victims of physical and sexual abuse in institutions have a range of negative psychological outcomes, including anxiety disorders, PTSD, depressive disorders, personality disorders, self-harm, suicidality, OCD, and alcohol and drug dependence (Blakemore et al., 2017; Carr et al., 2017; Fisher et al., 2017). Social impacts include relationship problems, anger management issues, parenting difficulties, sexual problems, criminal behaviour and re-victimisation (Blakemore et al., 2017; Carr et al., 2017).

In conclusion, using a historical narrative this chapter tells the story of the awakening and development of awareness of child abuse and neglect, both in society in general, within the Roman Catholic Church and in Ireland. It ultimately focuses on the specific area of concern for this study, namely, the clerical abuse and neglect of children, and finally concerns itself with the abuse in institutional settings. The following chapter consists of a Rapid Evidence Assessment of the available research on the specific area of clerical sexual abuse of children occurring in residential institutional care.

CHAPTER 2

Rapid Evidence Assessment of the literature on clerical institutional abuse

2.1 Introduction

Child maltreatment (emotional abuse, physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional and physical neglect) has emerged in a variety of settings, in organisations (both secular and religious) serving children, such as churches, schools, nursery schools, sports and voluntary organisations (Wolfe et al., 2003; Pilgrim, 2012). There is a consensus of professional opinion that it poses a significant risk for the adult's subsequent mental health, including such negative outcomes as PTSD, depression, anxiety, substance abuse, and personality disorders (Blakemore et al., 2017; Carr et al., 2017; Fisher et al., 2017; Kessler et al., 2010). Wolfe and colleagues (2003) summarise the particular dimensions of harm suffered by victims of institutional abuse in terms of: (1) a sense of betrayal and diminished trust beyond the interpersonal realm; (2) shame, guilt and humiliation; and (3) fear of or disrespect for authority.

A premise of the present thesis is that distinct forms of abuse traumatology (based on it occurring in a residential institutional setting and on the role of the abuser within that context) generate trauma characteristics that are not accounted for by existing conceptions of trauma (such as PTSD). I refer here to my outline of the development of trauma theory and particularly to recent understanding in the areas of attachment trauma and Complex PTSD in chapter 4. Accordingly, for this review of the literature I wanted to summarise the data gleaned from studies where the child abuse was perpetrated by clerics and where the abuse took place in a residential institutional setting. As such I was particularly interested in research on polyvictimisation perpetrated in an entrapment situation and over a period of time. I concur with Pilgrim (2012) that religious sites are sites of particular vulnerability for children and I am also of the opinion that residential religious sites are places of even more vulnerability.

The Roman Catholic Church, for example, has had a major involvement in education and social services worldwide. Within that global organisation the Christian Brothers, since the late 19th century, have been ubiquitous in the provision of education and childcare across 26 countries (including the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia), with an accompanying regime of harshness (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999). I assumed that there would be considerable research on abuse in religiously affiliated residential settings.

However, in comparison to the large body of research on other survivor populations such as adult survivors of incest or survivors abused by non-clergy in the community, the body of research on clergy-perpetrated abuse has until recently been relatively small (Fogler et al., 2008). A special issue of the *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* (2008, 3-4) and a special issue of the *Child Abuse Review* (2012, 21 (6)) reflected increased research interest in this area and encouraged scholars to investigate further. However, Astbury (2013) noted that the institutional abuse or clergy abuse of children continued to be under-researched and found that only 1.3 per cent of all peer-reviewed research into child sexual abuse in a Medline search of published literature was concerned with institutional and clergy-perpetrated abuse.

One reason for this may be the particular reluctance of victims of clerical abuse to disclose their experiences. Wolfe and colleagues (2003) outline the factors that may contribute to victim harm as a result of abuse occurring specifically in religiously affiliated institutional settings and their potential effects on disclosure:

(1) The significance and role of the institution in society: When the organisation is highly valued by society at large or by the local community disclosure of abuse may be more difficult.

(2) The role of the perpetrator: Where the perpetrator holds a position of power in the organisation disclosure may be more difficult as a result of fear of not being believed, fear that there will be negative consequences for them as a result of the disclosure, and fear that the perpetrator will make life difficult for them or that they will be out of favour with the perpetrator.

(3) The victim's involvement with the organisation. Victims may feel powerless to escape or believe that what is happening to them is normal.

(4) Abuse and post-abuse effects. There is potential for loss of community support, as well as the potential for vilification and isolation.

Other distinctive elements of the harm suffered by victims of religiously affiliated institutional abuse, according to Wolfe and colleagues (2003), include a loss of trust extending to other organisations / institutions, a crisis of faith or abandonment of religion, the possibility of further abuse resulting from a rallying of support for the perpetrator or the institution, and the development of fear of or disrespect for authority in general.

Rapid evidence assessments adopt the robust and defendable principles of a systematic review, while employing tighter parameters to ensure the review can be undertaken within a shorter timeframe or with fewer available resources (Fisher et al., 2017). This rapid evidence assessment (REA) of the published research literature was undertaken in the knowledge of the relative lack of research on the area of abuse and neglect in religious order-operated institutional settings and in the knowledge that most of the research has been carried out over the last 10 years. In addition, a large amount of grey literature pertaining to the research area was excluded by this REA because it was largely descriptive in nature. However, empirical studies involving participants accessed by state inquiries into historical clergy-perpetrated abuse in institutions are included here: The CICA report (2009) on residential institutions in Ireland, the Law Commission of Canada's *Restoring Dignity* report (2000), and in relation to Australia, the final report of the *Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse* (2017). Although a number of government-commissioned inquiries (e.g. those carried out in various states within Australia) provided important contextual information on history, structure, systems, policies, procedures and institutional reactions, they were excluded from this evidence assessment because they did not provide raw data on either the impact of abuse on detainees or the coping strategies utilised by detainees.

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Finally, specific research on institutions operated by the Roman Catholic Church in Australia, carried out at the behest of the Royal Commission, are included here because the data are relevant and unique. The parameters of review were thus narrowed, while, I believe, still capturing the relevant data. The review aimed to answer the following research questions:

- What psychological and social impact did their historical experiences of abuse and neglect in a residential institution have on this group of men?
- While residing in the institution, how did children and adolescents cope with the abuse and neglect they were experiencing?

In the relevant peer-reviewed journal literature clergy-perpetrated child abuse is divided into abuse perpetrated in residential institutions for children (e.g. industrial schools, reformatories, orphanages, group foster homes) and that perpetrated in a parish or community setting (e.g. victim's own home, church building, priest's house, monastery, sports club, scout hall, day care centre, day school). The former setting is what concerns us in this evidence assessment and consequently empirical studies referring only to abuse occurring in parish or community settings were excluded.

A definitional issue arose while carrying out the evidence assessment. Many researchers define institutional abuse in the broad sense of an organisation or body that provides activities or services of any kind for children and adolescents and through which adults have contact with children (e.g. Royal Commission, 2017). From this perspective institutional abuse can occur in both residential and non-residential settings. Trying to ascertain whether the abuse was perpetrated in a residential or non-residential setting would prove difficult in the case of some journal articles. Sometimes both types were included but no comparative analyses were undertaken. For the purposes of this REA I define institutional abuse in the same way as the Law Commission of Canada (2000) as "abuse inflicted on a child residing in an institution" (p.15) and I define clerical institutional abuse as that abuse perpetrated by a priest or religious brother or sister against a child or adolescent, occurring in or in the context of a religiously affiliated residential institution. Carr et al. (2017), in their literature review of the outcomes of child maltreatment for the *Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry*, chose to deal with definitional difficulties by using relatively liberal inclusion and exclusion criteria. In

contrast, this review did not compromise in this regard and studies were included only if it could be reasonably ascertained that abuse took place in religiously affiliated residential institutions.

I also discovered that the literature on institutional child abuse is divided along two further distinct lines, namely, those studies that include people who have experienced physical, or emotional or sexual abuse (e.g. Carr et al., 2010; Gavin Wolters, 2006; Pembroke, 2013, 2017; Wolfe et al., 2006) and those that only concern themselves with populations that have experienced sexual abuse (e.g. Bode & Goldman, 2012; Deetman et al, 2013; Goldman & Bode, 2012; Rassenhofer et al, 2015; Royal Commission, 2017; Spröber et al., 2014). A number of state inquiries have focused on sexual abuse alone, including those carried out in the Netherlands (Deetman et al., 2013), Germany (see Spröber et al., 2014) and Australia (Royal Commission, 2017). This is alarming as the deliberate exclusion of survivors who may have suffered grievous harm from emotional and physical abuse may send them the message that their experiences of abuse and neglect were inconsequential. Perhaps by not addressing these abuses of children it is a means of avoiding confronting the thorny history of adults' traditional sense of entitlement in relation to physically assaulting and emotionally abusing children. By excluding physical and emotional abuse from such inquiries states normalise and even endorse physical and emotional child abuse.

2.2 Search strategy

The REA was carried out using multiple approaches to the search strategy.

(1) 'Snowball' bibliographic search

The author commenced with a number of key texts derived from the research conducted in conjunction with the CICA (2009) in Ireland (i.e. Carr, 2009; Carr et al., 2009; Carr et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2010; Flanagan et al., 2009; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009) and from this point, using a 'snowball' approach to bibliography search, identified further relevant studies.

(2) Electronic Search Strategy

The two standard psychology-related electronic databases - PsychARTICLES and PsychINFO - were screened, as well as Google Scholar. All three have been utilised in recent rapid evidence assessments undertaken in relation to state and independent inquiries into child abuse (e.g. Blakemore et al., 2017; Fisher et al., 2017; Mendez Sayer et al., 2018; Walker et al., 2018) and an extensive systematic literature review undertaken as part of the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry (Carr et al. 2017). The search parameters were fixed to include relevant studies published in the English language, from 1990 until April 2018. This decision was based on the knowledge that the first academic studies addressing physical and particularly sexual abuse in residential institutions were conducted in the 1990s (Timmerman & Schreuder, 2014). The following keywords were used: [child abuse], and [clerical] with the Boolean operator: AND. Later these articles were cross-referenced by examining the bibliographies with a view to identifying any additional studies of relevance. In addition, I used the internal search facilities in four selected journals (*Child Abuse & Neglect*, *Sexual Abuse, Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, and *Child Abuse Review*) pertaining to child abuse to identify further material.

(3) Electronic database

A University College Cork electronic database search was conducted.[24] The search included relevant studies published in the English language as recently as April 2018. The following keywords were used: [clerical sexual abuse], [institution] and [coping] with the Boolean operator: AND. Later these articles were cross-referenced by examining the bibliographies in order to identify any additional studies of relevance.

2.3 Eligibility Criteria.

To be included in the REA papers had to meet the following criteria: (1) they were original studies; (2) they had been published in peer-reviewed journals; (3) they were studies of abuse perpetrated by clerics (e.g. priests, religious nuns, religious brothers)

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[24] I had a technical problem with accessing the TCD electronic database and used the UCC one, which I also had access to, for convenience and to expedite the completion of REA in April 2018 as part of my thesis revisions.

on children and adolescents; (4) the abuse had been perpetrated in a residential institutional setting; (5) studies were in English; (6) the studies addressed my research questions, that is, they concerned themselves at least in part with the impact of childhood abuse experiences and of coping strategies utilised by children in residential care; (7) the review focused on a number of purposively selected countries such as Ireland, Great Britain, Canada, United States, and Australia, where Irish Roman Catholic religious orders (and in particular, the Congregation of Christian Brothers) would have had a strong presence, but was extended to include research conducted in Germany, Austria and the Netherlands that emerged during the lifetime of this study and were published in English. [25]

The titles and abstracts were examined, and full-text articles of potentially relevant studies were obtained. After initial inclusion and exclusion criteria were applied, the selected articles were chosen for the evidence assessment. Types of articles excluded were: studies not concerned with child physical, sexual or emotional abuse; studies not concerned with child abuse by clerics; studies not concerned with abuse perpetrated in a residential setting; studies not concerned with abuse perpetrated by clerics or lay

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[25] In Ireland the Christian Brothers were the largest provider of primary and secondary level day education for boys and were also the largest provider of industrial school places for boys – certified to contain 1,750 boys in their six institutions (CICA, 2009, Vol. 1, p.70). The majority of allegations of abuse against male religious brothers were made against Christian Brothers – over 700 (CICA, 2009, Vol. 1, p. 71). As a result of mass emigration in the wake of the Great Famine (1845-1849) religious orders such as the Christian Brothers followed the Irish diaspora and established day schools and residential institutions in the main pockets containing Irish people abroad, first to England and then to Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States, but also to places such as India and Italy (CICA, 2009, Vol. 1, p. 70) and ultimately being represented in 26 countries (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999).

 In Canada the most high-profile examples of clerical abuse occurred in residential institutions operated by the Christian Brothers, such as that which occurred at Mount Cashel (Harris, 1990). A Royal Commission commenced in 1989. Harris noted that by the time the Commission had finished it had "laid bare a stunning, collective failure of the judicial, police, religious, media and social service establishments to protect the interests of hopelessly vulnerable and cruelly abused children" (Harris, 1990, p. xxvi).

In Australia the Royal Commission (2017, Vol.16, Book 1) found that clerical child sexual abuse was most common in religious schools and residential institutions providing educational and social welfare services to large numbers of children (p. 14). The Commission heard from 6,875 survivors in private sessions, of whom 4,029 (58.6 per cent) reported experiencing child sexual abuse in religious institutions. Of these 2,489 (61.8 per cent) disclosed a history of sexual abuse in Roman Catholic institutions (p.16).

Of the 4,029 survivors reporting a history of child sexual abuse in religious institutions, 35.2 per cent revealed that the abuse occurred in a residential institutional context (p.20). Roman Catholic Church claims data in Australia, accessed by the Commission, revealed that nine out of the 10 Roman Catholic institutions identified as having the most claims of child sexual abuse were residential institutions (p.22). The Christian Brothers operated four of these 10 institutions in Western Australia.

workers employed by a religious order in a residential setting; studies focusing on offenders alone; studies focusing on adults abused in residential care; studies concerned with clerical sexual misconduct with adult congregants in a community setting; opinion pieces; theoretical formulations; literature reviews; unpublished dissertations; author replies. However, the bibliographies of these studies were utilised to identify potential additional studies reporting relevant original research.

Phase 1: Ninety-two (92) articles were initially screened for relevance, with 44 titles identified as potentially relevant. Examination of the full text of these articles found that while all examined institutional abuse many studies concerned themselves with abuse perpetrated under the auspices of church-related activities in community settings, or the abuse had been perpetrated against adult congregants, or both.

Phase 2: The tranche of articles identified after all but two inclusion criteria (residential setting and religiously affiliated and preferably Roman Catholic perpetrators) were applied resulted in a significant amount of research material being excluded, resulting in 34 peer-reviewed journal articles, three state reports and one non-governmental organisation report being deemed to meet the inclusion criteria for this study. They are summarised in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Key studies on impacts of institutional child abuse and coping strategies utilised by detainees

	Study	**Description**
1	Carr et al. (2009)	Quantitative analysis of assessments of the long-term impacts of child sexual abuse in religious residential institutions on psychological, educational and social outcomes
2	Lueger-Schuster et al. (2014a)	Quantitative analysis of psychological impacts on adult survivors of child abuse in the Austrian Catholic church
3	Rassenhofer et al. (2015)	Quantitative analysis of data from case records on survivors of child sexual abuse in the Catholic Church in Germany: psychological impact.
4	Bottoms et al. (1995)	Quantitative analysis of survey data of psychological symptoms from survivors of child sexual abuse by religious professionals
5	Knefel et al. (2015)	Quantitative analysis of psychological symptoms from survivors from the survivors of child sexual abuse in the Catholic church

6	Flanagan-Howard et al. (2009)	Quantitative analysis of interviews of adult survivors of abuse within religious institutions on psychological, social and spiritual impacts
7	Wolfe, Francis, & Straatman (2006)	Qualitative and quantitative analysis of data from semi-structured interviews and case reviews of male adult survivors of physical and sexual abuse in religious institutions on psychological impacts
8	Lueger-Schuster et al. (2014b)	Quantitative analysis of case review data and adult psychological measures of adult survivors of institutional abuse in the Catholic church on psychological impacts
9	Weindl et al. (2018)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of institutional abuse in Austria: impact on self-efficacy, self-esteem and emotion regulation.
10	Carr et al. (2010)	Quantitative analysis of data from interviews with survivors of religious institutional abuse on psychological impacts
11	Knefel & Lueger-Schuster (2013)	Quantitative analysis of interview with survivors of child sexual abuse in the Catholic Church on psychological impacts
12	O'Riordan & Arensman (2007)	Qualitative analysis of witness reports of cases of institutional child sexual abuse on psychological outcomes
13	Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (2009)	Irish Government report, including quantitative analysis of witness reports from adults who were abused as children in institutions, on psychological impacts
14	Spröber et al. (2014)	Quantitative analysis interview data of adult survivors of institutional sexual abuse on psychological impacts
15	Fater & Mullaney (2000)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult male survivors of clergy sexual abuse; psychological impact.
16	Van Wormer & Berns (2004)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult female survivors of clerical sexual abuse: spiritual impact.
17	Lueger-Schuster et al. (2015)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of institutional abuse in Austria: social support, disclosure and psychological impact.
18	Isely et al. (2008)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult American men abused as children by Roman Catholic clergy: psychological impact.
19	Flynn (2008)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult women who were sexually abused by clergy: psychological and spiritual impact.

20	Allroggen et al. (2017)	Quantitative analysis of data from adolescents in residential care in Germany: Prevalence of sexual victimization.
21	Lueger-Schuster et al. (2012)	Quantitative analysis of data from interviews with adults who experienced sexual violence committed by occupational forces in World War II on psychological impacts
22	Carr (2009)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of abuse in Irish religiously operated residential institutions
23	Langeland et al., (2015)	Quantitative analysis of data from online population sample of adult survivors of clerical abuse in the Netherlands: prevalence.
24	Flanagan et al. (2009)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of abuse in Irish religiously operated residential institutions on psychological impact and coping/resilience.
25	Fitzpatrick et al. (2010)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of abuse in Irish religiously operated residential institutions: comparing impact of sexual, physical and emotional abuse experiences.
26	Kantor et al. (2017)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of institutional abuse in Austria: help-seeking attitudes.
27	Gavin Wolters (2006)	Qualitative analysis of therapists' perceptions and experiences of working with Irish adult survivors of religiously operated residential institutions.
28	Goldman & Bode (2012)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult female survivors of abuse in Australian religiously operated institutions: Lifelong educational impact.
29	Bode & Goldman (2012)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult male survivors of abuse in Australian religiously operated institutions: Lifelong educational impact.
30	Hobbs et al. (1999)	Retrospective quantitative analysis of data pertaining to children who experienced physical and sexual abuse in residential institutions in England: risks for maltreatment.
31	Gluck et al. (2016)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of institutional abuse in Austria: PTSD symptoms.
32	Knefel et al. (2013)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of institutional abuse in Austria: CPTSD symptoms.
33	Farrell (2009)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult men sexually abused by Roman Catholic clergy in England: psychological and spiritual impact.

34	Royal Commission+ into Institutional responses to Child Sexual Abuse report (2017)	Mixed methods analysis of data from adults abused in religiously operated residential institutions: psychological impact and coping strategies.
35	Feely (2010)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult survivors of religiously operated residential institutions in Ireland: Impact on literacy.
36	Pembroke (2013)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult survivors of religiously operated residential institutions in Ireland: Background of detainees.
37	Pembroke (2017)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult survivors of religiously operated residential institutions in Ireland: Post-release experiences.
38	Law Commission of Canada (2000)	Canadian Government report, including quantitative analysis of witness reports from adults who were abused as children in institutions, on psychological impacts.

Phase 3: Upon further inspection and the application of the final two inclusion criteria it was found that a large number of these studies were not completely relevant to this analysis as it became clear that survivors had not been detained in residential institutions and / or had not been abused by clergy. In some cases it was not possible to ascertain from the journal articles whether the survivors had been abused in a residential setting or a non-residential setting and / or whether the institution was operated by the state or by clergy (i.e. priests/brothers/nuns). Although they were all informative about various aspects of the dynamics of institutional child abuse it may be instructive in terms of future research to outline the studies excluded from this REA in the third search phase and the reasons for their exclusion:

- Farrell (2009). This is a qualitative study of 12 adult English males reporting historical child sexual abuse by Roman Catholic priests or religious brothers or nuns. There is no reference as to whether the abuse occurred in residential or non-residential settings but it seems that it occurred in the community.

- Bottoms et al. (1995). The study does not differentiate between religious affiliations and the historical child abuse perpetrated by 'religion-related' personnel takes place in non-residential settings.

- Isely et al. (2008). While the authors do interview nine adult male survivors of historical clerical abuse, the abuse reported did not take place in a residential setting and there is no reference to religious affiliation.

- Weindl et al. (2018). Participants in this study were "mainly or partly" raised in institutional care settings maintained by the city of Vienna, Austria. All had experienced "prolonged interpersonal childhood trauma in institutional settings." However, it appears that these were state-operated institutions rather than religiously affiliated ones and may have included small group homes and individual foster care placements.

- Sigmon et al. (1997). The historical abuse took place in community settings rather than residential facilities.

- Allroggen et al. (2017). While abuse reported in this German study of 322 adolescents from 20 "residential care facilities and 12 boarding schools" did take place in residential settings there is no breakdown and separate analysis of abuse that took place in the elite boarding school setting and abuse that occurred in residential care facilities. There is no reference to whether the institutions were run by the diocesan priests, religious orders or were state- operated.

- Terry & Freilich (2012). This study is primarily concerned with abuse perpetrated by American Roman Catholic priests and deacons between 1950 and 2002. Priests affiliated to religious orders are included but not religious brothers and sisters. Historical abuse was thus perpetrated in religious and community settings. There is no reference to abuse perpetrated in residential settings.

- Fater & Mullaney (2000). This is a qualitative study of seven American adult male survivors of clerical sexual abuse but the perpetrators were both Roman Catholic and Episcopalian priests and the reported abuse took place in non-residential settings.

- Rossetti (1995). The study is concerned with child sexual abuse perpetrated by Roman Catholic personnel but occurring in non-residential settings.

- Van Wormer & Berns (2004). This is a qualitative study of nine women survivors of Roman Catholic clerical abuse, but only "some" women had been abused in childhood and all the abuse was reported to have taken place in non-residential settings.

- Kantor et al. (2017). This study of survivors of institutional abuse perpetrated during their childhood in Austrian foster care institutions. It may have included individual family placements and small group homes and does not specify if the institutions were religiously affiliated or state-operated.

- Flynn (2008). This is a qualitative study of 25 adult American women who reported being sexually abused by clerics. However, 18 participants reported being abused as adults and seven as children and there is no comparative analysis and no reference as to whether the participants abused as children were abused in a residential setting. There is no information in relation to the religious affiliation of the perpetrators, although we know that the participants were from "Christian backgrounds."

- Hobbs et al. (1999). This is a study of the case files of 158 English children living in the Leeds area who had experienced "physical and or sexual abuse" in foster care placements or residential institutions. The nature of the residential children's homes (religiously-affiliated or state-operated) is not given but it appears they are state-operated.

- Higgins (2001). Although it is a single case study of sexual abuse occurring "within a church community," further review reveals that the abuser was a layperson, with no authority role in the church and that the abuse took place in a non-residential setting.

It is important to note that research into the abuse of children in either state-run residential institutions or religiously affiliated institutions has historically emerged as a

direct result of commissions of inquiry into crimes of the past and the response of the state and the Church to those crimes. For example, the types of inquiries carried out in Australia include those conducted by the Senate, federal or state parliament and a Royal Commission (Death, 2015). Consequently, a number of studies emanating from an inquiry data may be reporting results from the same participant sample, for example, in the Irish context and of those that met the inclusion criteria: Carr, 2009; Carr et al., 2009; Carr et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2010; Flanagan et al., 2009; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009 and in the Austrian context and of those that did not meet the inclusion criteria: Glück et al., 2016; Knefel et al., 2013.

In addition to peer-reviewed journal articles a significant amount of 'grey' literature on this research area was reviewed, that is, primarily reports emanating from state-initiated reviews and commissions of inquiry as well as those carried out by non-governmental organisations such as survivor support or advocacy groups. This literature was either familiar to the author, was recommended by my supervisor and colleagues or was accessed through an extensive trawl through bibliographies in relevant journal articles and books.

Ultimately, I limited my focus to grey literature emanating from Ireland, Canada and Australia (e.g. CICA, 2009; Law Commission of Canada, 2000; Royal Commission, 2017) but I also examined research papers prepared for those inquiries, especially the Australian inquiry (see Astbury, 2013; Blakemore et al., 2017; Breckenridge & Flax, 2016; Death, 2013; Katz et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2016) because these countries' commissions of inquiry noted the significant involvement of Roman Catholic religious orders in providing out-of-home care for children and adolescents and, therefore, the ensuing reports focused significant attention on abuse perpetrated in residential institutions operated by Roman Catholic religious orders (e.g. Royal Commission into Institutional Responses into Child Sexual Abuse, 2014: Case study No. 11 on the Congregation of Christian Brothers).

Table 2 below presents the citation details of the 22 studies/reports that met all criteria for inclusion in this REA and a brief description of them. As can be ascertained from the table, key studies of the impact of, primarily, Roman Catholic clergy-perpetrated residential institutional abuse and of how victims coped with their experiences during

detention include 18 peer-reviewed journal articles, three reports to statutory commissions of inquiry and one non-governmental organisation report.

Table 2: Final list of material included in the evidence assessment

	Study	Description
1	Carr et al. (2009)	Quantitative analysis of assessments of the long-term impacts of child sexual abuse in religious residential institutions on psychological, educational and social outcomes
2	Lueger-Schuster et al. (2014a)	Quantitative analysis of psychological impacts on adult survivors of child abuse in the Austrian Catholic church
3	Rassenhofer et al. (2015)	Quantitative analysis of data from case records on survivors of child sexual abuse in the Catholic Church in Germany: psychological impact.
4	Knefel et al. (2015)	Quantitative analysis of psychological symptoms from survivors from the survivors of child sexual abuse in the Catholic church
5	Flanagan-Howard et al. (2009)	Quantitative analysis of interviews of adult survivors of abuse within religious institutions on psychological, social and spiritual impacts
6	Wolfe, Francis, & Straatman (2006)	Qualitative and quantitative analysis of data from semi-structured interviews and case reviews of male adult survivors of physical and sexual abuse in religious institutions on psychological impacts
7	Lueger-Schuster et al. (2014b)	Quantitative analysis of case review data and adult psychological measures of adult survivors of institutional abuse in the Catholic church on psychological impacts
8	Carr et al. (2010)	Quantitative analysis of data from interviews with survivors of religious institutional abuse on psychological impacts
9	O'Riordan & Arensman (2007)	Qualitative analysis of witness reports of cases of institutional child sexual abuse on psychological outcomes
10	Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (2009)	Irish Government report, including quantitative analysis of witness reports from adults who were abused as children in institutions, on psychological impacts
11	Spröber et al. (2014)	Quantitative analysis interview data of adult survivors of institutional sexual abuse on psychological impacts

12	Lueger-Schuster et al. (2015)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of institutional abuse in Austria: social support, disclosure and psychological impact.
13	Flanagan et al. (2009)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of abuse in Irish religiously operated residential institutions on psychological impact and coping/resilience.
14	Fitzpatrick et al. (2010)	Quantitative analysis of data from adult survivors of abuse in Irish religiously operated residential institutions: comparing impact of sexual, physical and emotional abuse experiences.
15	Gavin Wolters (2006)	Qualitative analysis of therapists' perceptions and experiences of working with Irish adult survivors of religiously operated residential institutions.
16	Goldman & Bode (2012)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult female survivors of abuse in Australian religiously operated institutions: Lifelong educational impact.
17	Bode & Goldman (2012)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult male survivors of abuse in Australian religiously operated institutions: Lifelong educational impact.
18	Royal Commission into Institutional responses to Child Sexual Abuse report (2017)	Mixed methods analysis of data from adults abused in religiously operated residential institutions: psychological impact and coping strategies.
19	Feely (2010)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult survivors of religiously operated residential institutions in Ireland: Impact on literacy.
20	Pembroke (2013)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult survivors of religiously operated residential institutions in Ireland: psychological impact
21	Pembroke (2017)	Qualitative analysis of data from adult survivors of religiously operated residential institutions in Ireland: Post-release experiences and psychological impact.
22	Law Commission of Canada (2000)	Canadian Government report, including quantitative and qualitative analyses of witness reports from adults who were abused as children in institutions: psychological impacts.

Research on survivors of residential institutional abuse, including clerical abuse in a residential context, has consistently focused on the type, nature, severity and long-term impact of abuse experiences (Blakemore et al., 2017). Of the 22 studies included in this

review all examined impact in one or more manifestations: psychological, social, educational/economical, and spiritual.

In all the studies included in this assessment survivors were mainly or all abused within religiously affiliated residential institutions, with a range from 51 per cent to 100 per cent. Nine studies out of 22 involved 100 per cent clergy abuse within Roman Catholic residential institutions. There was only one comparative study carried out, in which participants had been child victims of sexual abuse in Roman Catholic (38 per cent), Protestant (12 per cent), and non-religious residential institutions (Spröber et al., 2014).

2.4 Results: Impact of clerical institutional abuse

Research consistently finds a direct and significant link between a history of child maltreatment and significant, long-lasting detrimental effects for survivors in the areas of physical health, mental health and psychosocial adjustment (Carr et al., 2017). Consistent with this finding a number of studies and state reports in this review report long-term mental health difficulties for survivors of institutional abuse (Carr, 2009; Carr et al., 2010; CICA, 2009; Deetman et al., 2013; Lueger-Schuster et al., 2014 a,b; Royal Commission, 2017; Spröber et al., 2014; Wolfe et al., 2006). Of those studies that measured for a lifetime diagnosis of DSM IV disorders rates varied between 33 per cent (Deetman et al., 2013) and 88.2 per cent (Wolfe et al., 2006). In the Lueger-Schuster and colleagues (2014a) study 84.9 per cent of participants reported clinically significant psychopathological symptoms on at least one of the *Brief Symptom Inventory* (BSI) scales.[26] When measured, the rates of current co-morbid disorders varied between 22 per cent (Wolfe et al., 2006) and 34 per cent (Carr, 2009).

Of those studies that measured for PTSD rates varied for a current diagnosis of between 16.6 per cent (Carr, 2009) and 48.6 per cent (Lueger-Schuster et al., 2014a). As reported by Lueger-Schuster and colleagues the rate of 48.6 per cent stands in stark contrast to the prevalence rate of 2.5 per cent for PTSD in the normal German community population. In addition to survivors who met the diagnostic criteria for current PTSD,

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[26] The BSI is a self-report measure of psychopathology.

Knefel and colleagues (2015) also identified a distinct group that could best be described as meeting the criteria for CPTSD more precisely than by regular PTSD. [27]

In terms of a lifetime diagnosis of anxiety disorders (including PTSD) rates varied considerably from 13 per cent (Spröber et al., 2014) to 34.4 per cent (Carr, 2009; Carr et al., 2010). Carr and colleagues found that in their Irish sample of survivors the three most common anxiety disorders were social phobia (current: 19.8 per cent; lifetime: 10.9 per cent), generalised anxiety disorder (current: 17 per cent; lifetime: 6.9 per cent), and PTSD (current: 16.6 per cent; lifetime: 8.5 per cent). These rates were found to be far in excess of those in large epidemiological studies of normal community populations. The effects of child sexual abuse appear to be particularly damaging and can exert long lasting effects on brain development, psychological and social functioning, self-esteem, mental health, personality, health, and risk behaviours such as substance use, self-harm and even life expectancy (Astbury, 2013; Fisher et al., 2017).

Fitzpatrick and colleagues (2010) found that survivors who reported that sexual abuse was the worst thing that had happened to them (24 per cent of the sample) were characterised by higher rates on all forms of maltreatment on the CTQ, as well as higher rates of PTSD, alcohol and substance abuse, antisocial personality disorder, trauma symptoms (as measured by the TSI), interpersonal anxiety, and life problems than those survivors who reported that physical abuse or emotional abuse as their worst experience. Similarly, Lueger-Schuster and colleagues (2014) found that survivors who had experienced anal or vaginal penetration and other forms of contact sexual abuse were significantly more likely to meet the criteria for a diagnosis of PTSD.

The rates for a lifetime diagnosis of depressive disorders varied from a low of 13 per cent (Spröber et al., 2014), moving to 36 per cent (Carr et al., 2010) and a similar 37 per cent (Wolfe et al., 2006). Interestingly the Carr and colleagues (2010) study revealed that current rates for anxiety disorders and mood disorders (44.9 per cent and 26.7 per cent respectively) were over six times higher than European rates for normal community populations. Carr et al. (2010) were the only researchers included in this

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[27] Knefel and colleagues (2015) used the proposed International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11) criteria for CPTSD.

evidence assessment that tested for DSM IV personality disorders. They found a current rate of 30.4 per cent – over twice the European rate in a normal community sample. Of those who had a personality disorder, 21 per cent met the criteria for avoidant personality disorder; 6.9 per cent had antisocial personality disorder; and 5.7 per cent had borderline personality disorder.

Katz et al. (2017), summarising the work of the Royal Commission in its survivor private sessions, state that mental illness was the most frequently reported adverse impact (reported by over 80 per cent of survivors), the most common forms being depression, anxiety, and PTSD. One-fifth of survivors in the Commission's qualitative analysis reported that mental health issues had resulted in self-harm or attempt suicide at some point in their lives.

Of particular concern are the reported rates of suicidal ideation and suicide attempts among the survivor population. Indeed, Blackmore and colleagues (2017), in their literature review of institutional sexual abuse (including sexual abuse perpetrated by clerics), high rates of suicidal ideation and attempts occur across sources. O'Riordan and Arensman (2007) focused on the issue of suicide in an Irish sample and concluded that survivors found that alcohol and substance use, as well as social isolation, contributed to the risk of suicidal ideation and attempts. They also noted that many survivors they interviewed [no numbers or percentages provided by the authors] had experienced the trauma of a friend and fellow survivor attempting to or taking their own lives.

Although the Carr (2009) study, commissioned by the CICA and consisting of a sample of survivors who gave evidence to the Committee, found that 17.8 per cent of participants reported a history of self-harm, it was found that just over half (51 per cent) of witnesses who gave evidence to the CICA referred to their own suicidal ideation, self-harm or suicide attempts, as well as the death by suicide of other survivors. Qualitative studies described different types of impact: less likely to be employed and being more 'damaged' than victims from non-residential settings (as reported by their therapists); having a non-trusting/negative view of the world, being less emotionally developed than those abused in non-residential settings, having underdeveloped coping resources; having a greater sense of hopelessness than those abused in non-residential

settings; and being angry (Gavin Wolters, 2006); feeling criminalised, disempowered and stigmatised (Pembroke, 2013); equating affection with sexual abuse, being unprepared for the world, and disconnection from the support of the Church (Pembroke, 2017).

In support of the existence of anger towards the world, Lueger-Schuster et al. (2015) noted that hostility was one of the main social affects in over half (60.1 per cent) of their participants. The evidence for anger directed outwards may be seen in other life problems experienced by the Irish survivors: intimate partner violence (25.9 per cent), anger control issues with children (13.4 per cent), involvement in violent crime (10.1 per cent), and incarceration for violent crime (7.3 per cent). Wolfe and colleagues (2006) also found evidence of violent criminal behaviour in over a third (39.4 per cent) of their participants and a sexual criminal history in the case of 5.5 per cent of participants.

In terms of social and health impacts a range of life problems identified by Carr (2009) included unemployment (51.8 per cent), substance use (38.1 per cent), frequent illness (29.6 per cent), frequent hospitalisation for physical health problems (28.3 per cent), homelessness (21.1 per cent). Other studies also find alcohol and drug abuse as impacts (Carr et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2010; O'Riordan & Arensman, 2007; Wolfe et al., 2006). The health of survivors was also an issue in Germany, with 20 per cent of the participants in the Spröber et al. (2014) study reporting significant health problems in adulthood. The issue of unemployment was also highlighted by Death (2013), who found that 42 per cent of Australian survivors in her sample were unemployed at the time of the study. Carr (2009) found that just under a quarter (24 per cent) of Irish survivors were unemployed at the time of his study.

Tobin (2015) has noted the consequences of limited education and poor literacy levels of those leaving residential institutions in Ireland. Also noted in the literature is that finding employment may have been difficult for survivors due to inadequate or incomplete vocational training, some survivors referring to themselves as being institutionalised in their employment, that is, staying in the same job, even if it was unsatisfactory (O'Riordan and Arensman, 2007). The authors refer to a number of Irish survivors who joined the defence forces, for example, after being released from a

residential institution. Other researchers propose as an explanation that the survivors who were incarcerated (as reported in Carr, 2009; Fitzpatrick et al., 2010; Wolfe et al., 2006) and those who found themselves in jobs in other institutions operated by religious orders, such as convents, monasteries, retreat houses, convalescent homes and hospitals, may also have, consciously or unconsciously, sought the familiarity of further institutionalisation (O'Riordan & Arensman, 2007; Pembroke, 2017).

Researchers in Ireland and Australia have examined the effects of institutional abuse on adult literacy levels. The Carr (2009) study showed that participant survivors were predominantly of lower socio-economic status at the time of the study, with 24 per cent unemployed, as noted above. Of those in employment, the majority were at the lower end of the spectrum in terms of education and training required - 15.4 per cent were working at the unskilled manual labour level, 28 per cent as semiskilled manual workers, and 12 per cent at the skilled manual worker level. Indeed, since being released from the industrial school system the highest socio-economic status achieved by most participants was, in parallel to their employment level, at the lower end of the spectrum. The inadequate education they received while institutionalised very likely contributed in no small way to this reality for survivors. Agreeing with this view, Raftery and O'Sullivan (1999) argued that children left institutions with a higher proportion of unmet literacy needs than did their peers in day schools. In Feely's (2010) qualitative study of 28 survivors she found that unmet needs were not always addressed post institution: 13 survivors out of the 28 she studied had attained little or no literacy following on from their industrial school experience.

In the Australian context, studies by Bode and Goldman (2012) and Goldman and Bode (2012) refer to the findings of the *Queensland State Commission of Inquiry* (Forde, 1999), which found that in the 150 residential institutions examined many children had received poor quality education and that this was one of the "most profound and enduring losses suffered by former residents" (Forde, 1999, p. vi). In the Bode and Goldman (2012) study nine of the 10 adult male respondents perceived that their educational development had been stunted (in most cases irretrievably) by the institutional sexual abuse suffered. Ten out of 10 adult female participants in the Goldman and Bode (2012) were of the same opinion and note critical factors that affected participants' learning, including the fear of sexual and physical abuse, social

isolation, and hunger. The Australian state report (Royal Commission, 2017) refers to many survivors giving accounts of poor nutrition and medical neglect.

Male participants in the Bode and Goldman (2012) study also referred to factors detrimentally affecting their learning in residential institutions such as the amount of time spent at forced labour on the farms and that the limited training they received in one area of work - farm labouring - prepared them for only one job in life. The Royal Commission (2017) heard directly from survivors that forced labour included cleaning, cooking, labour as punishment, building work for the institution, farm work and commercial trades work and that this profile of child labour mirrored the history of exploitation outlined in previous Australian inquiries for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and child migrants.

Research on the abuse of children by clerics in residential or community settings has tended to focus on sexual abuse alone (e.g. Blakemore et al., 2017; Calkins et al., 2015; Farrell, 2009; Pargament et al., 2008; Rossetti, 1995) and therefore research on the impacts of clerical abuse on a person's spirituality has tended to be in relation to the impacts of sexual abuse. The sexual abuse of a child by a cleric has been described as "a sinister assault on that person's psychological and spiritual wellbeing," the impact of which is amplified when the perpetrator is "sheltered and supported by a larger religious community." (McMackin et al., 2008, p.198). Research on spiritual abuse has tended to focus on that perpetrated by clerics in community settings rather than in residential settings (e.g. Calkins et al., 2015; Fater & Mullaney, 2000; Flynn, 2008; Isely et al., 2008; Rossetti, 1995; van Wormer & Berns, 2004) and there has been some research in relation to the broader area of physical abuse of children as part of religion-related abuse perpetrated by both clerics and lay people alike (e.g. Bottoms et al., 1995; Bottoms et al., 2003).

Spiritual abuse occurring in a residential setting introduces a new and potentially profoundly damaging element to a child's experience due to the powerful role the adult plays in the child's life, the entrapment situation that exists in a place of detention and, consequently, the level of access the abuser has to the child victim. This review of the evidence identifies four of the existing studies of clerical institutional abuse included in this assessment as describing and documenting spiritual abuse (Carr, 2009; Flanagan

et al., 2009; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009; Wolfe et al., 2006). Effects included a sense of betrayal and loss of trust that included a loss of faith in God, a lower opinion of the Church, loss of faith in the Church, ending the practice of individual prayer, and ending the practice of attending mass or church service. Perhaps disengagement from religion was an inevitable result for some as the experience of being taught the tenets of religion in residential institutions was inextricably linked to physical abuse. One survivor recalled: "religion was hammered into you without any meaning. I knew the catechism from back to front but it didn't mean a thing to me." (Pembroke, 2017, p. 461). Totally rejecting religion, another survivor expressed her strong feelings: "I hate it with an undying hatred. I hate everything it stands for. There is no good in the Catholic Church" (Pembroke, 2017, p. 468). Pembroke concludes that the daily rituals attending religious worship only served as a means to discipline and control detainees rather than encourage them in religious practices.

For the duration of the existence of the complex of industrial schools (mid-1870s to the mid-1970s) Ireland was overwhelmingly a Roman Catholic country, and with this ideological powerbase the Church ensured near universal compliance in terms of the observance of its rules and regulations (Inglis, 1998). Evidence from the Carr (2009) study may hint at the spiritual impact on adults abused as children and adolescents in Irish residential institutions. Survivors in this study (n=247; mean age = 60.05) were born and raised in this era of Church control. Carr found that in terms of how participants now viewed what had helped them most in facing life's challenges, a relationship with God or a spiritual force (10.3 per cent) came third after self-reliance (58 per cent) and a relationship with partner and family (25.9 per cent). At the time of the study a relationship with God or a spiritual force was the thing that meant more to survivors in their lives in only 2.9 per cent of the sample.

Although they do not provide a specific figure, Wolfe and colleagues (2006) report that of their sample of survivors of clerical sexual abuse "almost all men…expressed a sense of betrayal and loss of trust, which extended beyond the interpersonal realm to include a loss of faith and a devaluing of the Church" (p.209). Themes of distrust of the Church in tandem with a deep anger towards the Church and its representatives were also evident across all government reports examined (Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, 2009; Law Commission of Canada, 2000; Royal Commission, 2017).

In terms of the impact on interpersonal relationships the research concludes that the intimate relationships of survivors of institutional abuse have been characterised as being unstable and unhealthy (Blackmore et al, 2017) and that the harm associated with this childhood trauma can extend to adverse outcomes for partners, families and children of survivors, as well as those who witness or are aware of the abuse occurring in their institution (Wolfe et al., 2003). Evidence from survivors in relation to witnessing abuse, being fearful of becoming the next victim, being somehow complicit in maintaining silence, not intervening in the assault on a peer and, consequently, feeling shame and a sense of remorse at their own non-intervention and, therefore, collusion with child abuse is evident in all three state reports (CICA, 2009; Law Commission of Canada, 2000; Royal Commission, 2017). The impact of clerical child abuse and neglect on the community in which or near which the institution was located has not been researched to date.

Carr and colleagues (2010) found that less than a fifth (16.6 per cent) of survivors in their sample were classified as having a secure attachment style. Perhaps not unsurprisingly, given the terror experienced in residential institutions, a fearful adult attachment style, characterised by high interpersonal anxiety and avoidance, was the most common insecure attachment style (44.1 per cent). Dismissive adult attachment style (26.7 per cent) and preoccupied adult attachment style (12.6 per cent) were also in evidence. Flanagan and colleagues (2009), using the same participant sample, found that significantly more participants regarded as resilient (0 or 1 per DSM-IV diagnoses) had a secure attachment style. Using the same participant sample Carr and colleagues (2009) found that adult survivors with a secure adult attachment style showed evidence of better psychosocial adjustment in terms of quality of life, global functioning, marital satisfaction and marital stability. The corollary was seen to be true for survivors with a fearful attachment style. Difficulties in interpersonal relationships can be extrapolated from the Carr (2009) study in relation to data on intimate partner violence and violence directed at children, as noted above. Rassenhofer and colleagues (2015) found that child sexual abuse perpetrated by clerics affected 16 per cent of their survivor participants in terms of relationship problems and their sexuality. It is not clear from the study, however, whether 'sexuality' refers to problematic sexual behaviour, sexual functioning difficulties, or issues pertaining to sexual orientation.

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Wolfe and colleagues (2006) were more specific in this regard, finding that just over a quarter (27.5 per cent) of their male Canadian participants reported a history of confusion concerning their sexual orientation (typically in their late teens and early 20s), and that at the time of the study about one in five (21.5 per cent) were experiencing confusion or uncertainty. Over two thirds (66.2 per cent) of the sample reported a history of sexual problems in their intimate partner relationships and at the time of the study just under half (46 per cent) were experiencing difficulties. Difficulties included desire issues such as hypersexuality (8.3 per cent) and hyposexuality (31.7 per cent), as well as feelings of inadequacy (6.7 per cent).

A pattern of post-institution abuse was noted by Spröber and colleagues (2014), who found that females and individuals younger than 40 at the time of the study were more likely to report that penetrative sexual abuse had taken place and that they were also experiencing current abuse. This lead the authors to conclude that for some victims the abuse suffered in childhood may be associated with an increased chance of revictimisation in adult relationships. A pattern of adult re-victimisation was also noted in a sample of Irish survivors, some of which was found to have been triggered by disclosure of the childhood abuse to a partner (O'Riordan and Arensman, 2007). According to Spröber and colleagues (2014) the two most commonly reported psychosocial problems were health issues and relationship difficulties. O'Riordan and Arensman (2007) noted that marital disharmony or separation were reported frequently by the survivors they interviewed. The authors speculate that this may result from years resident in single sex institutions and not gaining experience at forming lasting relationships, as well as having no model to learn from in institutions operated by celibate religious brothers or sisters.

In the Irish context O'Riordan and Arensman (2007) also found that participants they interviewed referred to difficulties in parenting their own children, such as trying to give them everything without establishing boundaries, difficulties expressing affection, and being too regimental and having boundaries that were too rigid. Once again the authors speculate that the lack of appropriate adult role models may have played a part in these survivor difficulties. Participants from both the Bode and Goldman (2012) and Goldman and Bode (2012) studies also spoke of how the lack of educational

opportunities impacted on their own children, with difficulties arising such as not being able to help them with their schoolwork. One participant in the Goldman and Bode (2012) study stated, "My children have paid a high cost for my childhood because I am so withdrawn and ill-equipped to deal with a lot of things." It is important to note that because the evidence points to institutional childhood abuse and neglect affecting survivors' capacity to parent their own children then we are firmly in the realm of intergenerational impact.

Finally, in an interesting piece of qualitative research by Gavin Wolters (2007), the researcher interviewed 10 therapists who had experience (a minimum of two years working with both categories of clients) of counselling both adult survivors of residential institutional abuse and survivors of abuse in non-residential settings. Therapists were of the opinion that in comparison to the non-institutional group survivors of institutional abuse were more psychologically damaged, had less social support, lacked coping skills, had a less trusting view of the world, and suffered from a lack of education and employment opportunity. Consequently, two of the most challenging aspects of the work, as reported by the therapists, were gaining the survivors' trust and dealing with long-term issues arising from attachment difficulties.

Summary

Research into abuse and neglect in a worldwide network of residential institutions operated by religious orders over the last century is relatively recent. In their literature review of the impacts of child sexual abuse Fisher and colleagues (2017) noted that the vast majority of studies have been carried out since 2006. The same is true for abuse (sexual, physical and emotional) and neglect in religiously affiliated institutions. An analysis of the material, both quantitative and qualitative, included in this assessment clearly demonstrates that the impacts of such experiences are severe and long lasting for the individual and can be felt across a range of survivor outcome domains, including mental health, physical health, externalising behaviours, interpersonal relationships, socio-economic, and spiritual.

2.5 Results: Coping strategies utilised by child detainees in response to clerical institutional abuse

The studies that have been carried out on the abuse and neglect experiences of children in residential institutions operated by religious orders have focused primarily on the prevalence of abuse, as well as the nature and impact of the abuse - particularly sexual abuse (e.g. Blakemore et al., 2017; Carr et al., 2017). Of all studies known to have been carried out on clerical institutional abuse, the issue of how children coped while resident in these institutions has only been examined to any extent in the Irish context (Carr, 2009; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009) and they both report on the same sample of participants. The Carr (2009) report, a study commissioned by the CICA, is the most detailed and is used here. All other studies to date, as far as this author is aware, if they examined coping, focused on how survivors coped as adults in their post-institution lives (e.g. Katz et al., 2017; Lueger-Schuster et al., 2014b; Pembroke, 2017) but have not explored how children coped while they were detainees. Perhaps this is because some of these studies were carried out in conjunction with, or involved data generated by, government inquiries that were concerned with (among other objectives) the issue of measuring long-term impact and securing financial redress for survivors.

Most research in the last twenty years on carceral settings has focused on adult populations and how they adapt to prison life (e.g. Crewe, 2009; Edgar et al., 2003; Ireland, 2002, 2005; McCorckle, 1992; Ricciardelli, 2014, 2015) and what research has been carried out on juveniles in detention environments during that period of time has concerned itself with non-clerical residential care facilities, as religious orders have had a diminished involvement in the residential care of children and adolescents (e.g. Barter, 2011; Barter et al., 2004; Kendrick, 2011).

Derived from the research base to date on how people coped with experiences of abuse and especially based on the theoretical formulation of Wolfe and colleagues (2003) and the only study of adult survivors of child abuse in religiously affiliated residential institutions (i.e. Wolfe et al., 2006), Carr (2009) developed scales to measure 'functional and dysfunctional' coping strategies in this population (CICA report, 2009, Vol. V, p. 211). Aside from one scale that measured traumatisation (measuring

traumatisation, betrayal and loss trust, shame and guilt, and disrespect for authority) the coping scales were:

1) Re-enactment: a nine-item scale that assesses re-enactment of abuse, powerlessness, coping by opposing, and coping by using alcohol and drugs.

2) Spiritual disengagement: a five-item scale that assesses disengagement from religious practice, and not using spiritual coping strategies.

3) Positive coping: a nine-item scale that assesses coping through planning, skill mastery and social support.

4) Coping by complying: a three-item scale that assesses coping by complying with the wishes of those in authority.

5) Avoidant coping: a three-item scale that assesses coping by avoiding thoughts and situations associated with abuse.

The psychometric test that emerged was the *Institutional Abuse Processes and Coping Inventory* (IAPCI). Two versions (the past and present versions) of the inventory were completed by survivors: one pertaining to how they coped while resident in the institution and the second pertaining to how they coped currently. According to Flanagan-Howard et al. (2009), although confirmatory factor analysis supported the factorial validity of the scales and an evaluation supported the "acceptable levels of reliability of the scales" (Carr et al., 2017, p.135), only its traumatisation and re-enactment scales had strong support for reliability, and although Carr (2017, p. 135) claims that it is a "reliable and valid instrument" for assessing trauma and coping processes in survivors of institutional abuse, Flanagan-Howard and colleagues (2009) conclude that the ICAPCI may be used cautiously with adult survivors of institutional child abuse.

Results gathered from 247 participants showed that from childhood to adulthood survivors reported a reduction in the psychological processes of traumatisation, re-enactment of abuse, coping by complying, and avoidant coping. They reported an increase in the use of positive coping strategies and spiritual disengagement.

Other aspects of the inventory are curious and it seems the focus was firmly on adult coping rather than how children coped. For example, measuring the strategy of *coping*

through the use of alcohol and drugs is a legitimate area of concern and ought to be measured by the adult version of the scale as it is evidence-based (e.g. Ponton & Goldstein, 2004; Wolfe et al., 2006) but it seems strangely out of place in the childhood version of the scale, given the level of supervision endured by detainees and the fact that children and adolescents in residential institutions did not have access to alcohol or drugs, either within the confines of the institution or in the local community and so could not have used it as a coping strategy. Likewise, *coping by spiritual disengagement*, in the form of not praying or not attending mass/services, is an evidence-based impact (e.g. Bottoms et al., 1995; Lawson et al., 1998; Pembroke, 2017; Wolfe et al., 2006) and therefore a legitimate coping strategy to examine in the adult version of the scale but in the world of the total institution children and adolescents were coerced into praying in groups at various times of the day – first thing in the morning, before and after meals, every hour on the hour, and at night the rosary and on their knees beside their beds in the dormitories before sleep (Pembroke, 2017). [28]

In addition, they were forced to attend services in the local church, in many instances on a daily basis. They were not given the option of disengaging spiritually. This is perhaps one factor in the finding that there was for all participants an increase in *spiritual disengagement* from childhood to adult life. It seems that adults could feel free to express their disillusionment with the Church. Likewise, the decrease in *coping by complying* from childhood to adult life is understandable when as children the harsh regimes demanded compliance and severely punished non-compliance.

Another coping strategy - *coping through positive planning* - is regarded by Carr (2009) as a functional or adaptive coping strategy, that involves "planning each day very carefully to avoid abuse and make good things happen." Examples given include: "having a laugh, getting well fed, and keeping warm" (Vol. V, p. 223). Although planning is regarded as a positive coping strategy in most non-entrapment contexts, it tends to be impossible for disempowered children within the confines of a total

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[28] A series of prayers usually said in the evening. The prayers that comprise the Rosary take a good deal of time to recite and are arranged in sets of ten *Hail Marys,* referred to as *decades.* Each decade is preceded by one *Lord's Prayer* and followed by one *Glory Be.* During the saying of each set, thought is given to one of the *Mysteries of the Rosary,* which recall events in the lives of Jesus and Mary. Five decades are recited per rosary. Rosary beads can be used as an aid to saying these prayers in the proper order.

institution that controls every aspect of their lives. When violence is ubiquitous, unpredictable and uncontrollable and where conditions of severe neglect, such as inadequate heating, clothes and food, are unavoidable, planning in the way described in the IAPCI may be next to useless as a strategy. The finding by Carr (2009) and Flanagan-Howard and colleagues (2009) that there was an increase in the use of positive coping strategies from childhood to the time of the study may, therefore, be true but not reflective of choices made.

Fitzpatrick and colleagues (2010) found that survivors had different adult outcomes depending on their evaluation of the worst thing that had happened to them in the institution. Those victims who had been sexually abused and who stated that the sexual abuse they experienced was the worst thing that had happened to them in the institution had experienced more overall trauma in their childhood (as measured by the CTQ) and were significantly more traumatised as adults by their experiences (as measured by the TSI) than those who stated that physical or emotional abuse were the worst things that happened to them. This more traumatised group contained significantly more males and significantly more members of this group had spent time in institutions managed by religious brothers. They had the highest rates of PTSD, alcohol and substance abuse, as well as Antisocial Personality Disorder (DSM-IV). Given the level of boundary violation involved in sexual abuse and the adverse effects, both in the short- and long-term that have been clearly identified (Fisher et al., 2017) it is perhaps not too surprising to find that in terms of coping strategies employed, this group was characterised by the highest levels of ICAPSI *past re-enactment*. This indicates that as detainees these children were more likely to re-enact their abuse inwards upon themselves as thoughts or actions of self-harm or outwards as thoughts or actions of harming others.

Using the same sample of survivors, Flanagan and colleagues (2009) found that what they described as resilient survivors (those with 0 or one DSM-IV diagnoses) differed significantly from a 'very poorly adjusted group' (in which survivors had four or more DSM-IV diagnoses) on many variables. They had reported suffering less total sexual and emotional institutional abuse (as measured by the CTQ), had fewer current trauma symptoms (as measured by the TSI), had a higher quality of life and global level of functioning and were more likely to have a secure adult attachment style (as measured by the ECRI). In terms of coping strategies, this resilient group engaged in less *past re-*

enactment and less *past avoidant coping* (i.e. avoiding thinking about the abuse as a detainee; avoiding situations that reminded them of abuse as a detainee).

It is sad to think that it must have been next to impossible for a child in detention to avoid people and situations that reminded them of abuse they were experiencing (referred to as *past avoidant coping* in the IAPCI). Indeed, one could argue that avoidant coping – trying to avoid places associated with trauma and the perpetrators of abuse in an abusive residential institution, although it was almost bound to fail, provided the detainee with a sense that he/she was at least trying, and in this way may have been adaptive. At the time of the study the resilient group's mean scores for *present traumatisation* and *present re-enactment* were also significantly lower than the other two groups. However, the three groups showed equal levels of *past and present spiritual disengagement* and the use of *positive or compliant coping* strategies, indicating, contrary to the researchers' expectations, that these types of coping strategies were not seen to impact resilience.

Data from qualitative studies that met the criteria for inclusion in this evidence assessment indicate that compliance was a prominent coping strategy, probably to avoid (if possible) physical abuse and/or sexual abuse. In an Irish example, David described being ordered to make silage on the farm in Letterfrack industrial school in a bizarre way:[29]

> …we had to jump down into a great big circular barn to trample down the hay to make the silage. We went up ladders, jumped in and we would trot along like cattle stamping the stuff down (Pembroke, 2017, p.460).

Forced labour in residential institutions was designed to make the institutions self-sufficient to a large extent and to prepare young people for work in certain menial jobs, which ultimately left them exposed to further exploitation. For boys it consisted in the main of inadequate training in the trades such as carpentry, tailoring, baking or cobbling and hard manual work on the attached farms, in preparation for work as 'house boys' or live-in farm labourers (Bode & Goldman, 2012; CICA, 2009; Law Commission of

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[29] Silage is cut grass or other green fodder that is compacted and stored in airtight conditions, typically in a silo or outdoors under plastic covering. It is used by farmers as animal feed during the winter months.

Canada, 2000; Royal Commission, 2017). In female industrial schools the forced labour was aimed at the domestic service market and work included cooking, cleaning, dressmaking, and laundry (CICA, 2009; Goldman & Bode, 2012; Law Commission of Canada, 2000; Pembroke, 2017; Royal Commission, 2017). 'Jim,' detained in another Irish industrial school, summarised the level of compliance he was forced to maintain:

> …the training was excellent…When the whistle went I knew to stand. When the whistle went I knew I could sit. When the whistle went I knew I could eat food…better than any dog (Pembroke, 2017, p. 459).

Silence and compliance were strategies utilised by 'Rory' when being sexually abused by a Brother in Letterfrack: "I remember deciding not to say anything to anyone" (Pembroke, 2017, p. 463). His hope was that if he stayed silent the Brother might treat him favourably in future. When 'Kieron' was being sexually abused in Artane industrial school he said nothing:

> …none of the staff in Artane showed me any affection except for the individual who led me to believe, 'I'm looking after you;' I'm caring about you.' The affection was a prelude to the sexual abuse…(Pembroke, 2017, p. 463).

A recurring theme in the testimony of survivors studied by O'Riordan and Arensman (2007) was that they did not disclose the abuse they suffered because of a fear that they would not be believed. Likewise, in the German context, those survivors who had tried to disclose sexual abuse reported that they were not believed or were punished for making an accusation against an adult of high prestige and power (Spröber et al., 2014). Many victims of sexual abuse in Australian institutions also tried to disclose but were accused of lying, punished for lying and so the abuser was free to continue. Some were made to feel that they had instigated the abuse and were responsible for what had happened (Royal Commission, 2017). Intervening in the case of another child being physically or sexually abused by an adult was fraught with danger. When 'Fred Michael' noticed that the Marist Brother was assaulting Aboriginal boys he tried to intervene: "…he took particular liking to laying into those blokes…and then, if I stood up for 'em, I'd cop it too" (Royal Commission, 2017, p. 67).

O'Riordan and Arensman (2007) also heard of much residential physical and sexual abuse occurring at night in the dormitories and they noted that many survivors they

interviewed still found it difficult to sleep at night. Although insomnia was a long-term impact of their abuse experiences, in detention it may have been the natural coping strategy of hyper-vigilance, that is, a heightened state of alertness to danger, with a view to being able to avoid catastrophe. Unfortunately for many being alert to the danger did not prevent the inevitable from occurring.

Not disclosing abuse could extend to not intervening or disclosing about witnessing others being abused, including those being abused by an older/more powerful peer. Silence about witnessing abuse being perpetrated by a peer was based on the fear that if you intervened on behalf of the victim there was a risk of becoming the next victim (O'Riordan & Arensman, 2007).

Two studies included in this assessment noted that clerical abusers had used their powerful position within the religious organisation to obtain the child's compliance and that they had also used verbal coercion to terrorise children by telling them that abusive acts were in some way ordained by God or that God would punish them if they did not do what they were told to do (Spröber et al., 2014; Wolfe et al., 2006). 'Seymour' recalled how his clerical abuser explained how abuse was a part of his progression in the Church:

> He used to invite me over to his presbytery after mass…I distinctly remember him telling me, 'You are no longer a boy. Now that you are part of the Church you're an altar boy now and you have to go through this sort of business…He told me it was quite normal for boys and priests to do this…He told me, 'By the way, this is a secret. You can't tell people that we're doing this' (Royal Commission, 2017, p. 80).

Trying to predict how an adult might behave was a coping strategy used by children, perhaps giving them the sense that they were prepared in some small way for what might happen. Children tried to gauge the moods of adults in charge in institutions to calculate the chances of abuse in one form or another. Kevin recalled his fear of his teachers: "And like you would be looking at them to see if they were in a bad mood. There was always somebody getting a right beating. And you were tense all through the class and afraid" (Feely, 2010, p. 82). Feely (2010, p.84) maintains that cleric/teachers in these institutions subscribed to the widely held cultural perception that these children could at most subscribe to "a life of subservience" and that, as a result, they did not need to be literate, not to mind educated. This is what the

Queensland inquiry also concluded, namely, that there was a perception among care providers/teachers that the children "deserved no better" (Ford, 1999, p. v). Sexual abuse in an Australian residential institution left some female survivors fearful of male teachers, resulting in difficulties in concentration and the ability to learn. One survivor recalled, "I was young and frightened of male teachers." A second survivor was vigilant for any warning signs of an impending assault: "You were always on red alert. You couldn't watch the blackboard." (Goldman & Bode, 2012, pp. 209-210).

It was common for victims of abuse and neglect in residential institutions to withdraw and self-protect by erecting a barrier to contact in fear of adult or peer physical and/or sexual abuse. Carol described trying to disappear: "I would keep nice and quiet and still and I wouldn't be picked on or bullied or any of those other things" (Feely, 2010, p. 81). Life in a residential institution left little time or space for friendship (Feely, 2010). Liam, a survivor of the Irish industrial school system, describes the opposite of the coping strategy of seeking social support in relation to difficulties in learning he experienced in an atmosphere of fear and emotional neglect:

> It would be very hard to learn if you feel that nobody cares about you. You are bound to build that wall and make sure that nobody gets in – because that was my little nest where nobody could touch me. To me it is like I was deaf. I couldn't hear anybody. I blocked people out and didn't want to have anyone coming near me…(Feely, 2010, p. 78).

Compliance as a survival strategy was probably the normal mode in places of extreme violence and some detainees saved their rebelliousness to when they were released at 16 years of age. Kieron, a detainee in Artane industrial school, is aware that this was his strategy: "Did I rebel when I was in Artane? The answer is a categorical 'no.' Did I rebel when I came out of Artane? The answer is a categorical 'yes'" (Pembroke, 2017, p 466).

Although power in the residential institutions was overwhelmingly in the hands of adults, there are some examples of courageous acts of resistance evident in the material included in this assessment. Children disobeyed rules and fought back against those who physically abused them, even when they knew that retribution would be swift and severe (Law Commission of Canada, 2000). Aboriginal children in Canada continued to speak their own language and partake in their cultural practices among themselves

when they could, but by far the most common method of resistance was running away. Truancy or absconding was a chronic problem for school administrators and the report praises the courage of aboriginal children, stating that it is remarkable that truancy persisted given the severe punishment for being caught and the sometimes-tragic consequence whereby children died from exposure, drowning or other accidents attempting to escape (Law Commission of Canada, 2000, pp. 33-34).

In Australia aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children were punished for speaking their languages and practising their culture, as were child migrants from Malta (Royal Commission, 2017).   In the Irish context 'June' recalled stealing apples from the convent orchard and 'David' recalled furtively eating raw vegetables from the fields due to hunger. 'Kathy' recalled combing through the rubbish bins after the adult staff had eaten and before the remains were given to the pigs on the farm: "…we used to go down and rob the pig's food" (Pembroke, 2017, p. 462). Because children in residential institutions were frequently hungry and the food they received was generally of poor quality, adult survivors were particularly concerned about having sufficient food in their daily lives (O'Riordan & Arensman, 2007). 'Ethel' fought back against physical and sexual abuse throughout her time in the residential institution. She tried to escape on numerous occasions but was always caught and severely punished. Her main abuser continued to sexually abuse her until she bit his penis. "She said, 'you ever touch me again, next time I'll bite it off'" (Royal Commission, 2017, p. 77).

Survivors described being compliant or freezing so the perpetrator of sexual abuse might be less physically violent (Royal Commission, 2017). 'Clay David' described his elaborate strategy against his sexual abuser, which ultimately failed to stop the abuse:

> I'd put my pyjamas on backwards so he couldn't get to me doodle. And then I'd put my dressing gown on backwards as well, and tie it in a big knot, and I'd lay on my stomach so he couldn't get to my front. But in the end he just started rolling me over and having his way with me (Royal commission, 2017, p. 77).

Summary

The empirical study evidence on how children coped while detained in residential institutions is limited to one quantitative Irish study but fortunately grey literature pertaining to state inquiries and qualitative studies give us an insight into children using a variety of coping strategies in a (usually vain) effort to minimise or avoid abuse and survive their ordeal. Although the literature on coping (e.g. Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) refers to adaptive and maladaptive coping strategies I take the view that in the extreme entrapment environment of the residential institution, where children were subject to polyvictmisation and re-exposure to trauma, such demarcations may not be helpful.

Chapter 3

Enabling abuse: Christian Brothers and the Irish industrial school system for boys.

"The Brothers shall regard themselves as the visible guardian angels of the children, among whose possessions innocence holds the first place"

(*Directory and Rules of the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Ireland,* 1927, p.294)

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the links between the religious order of Christian Brothers and the industrial school system for boys that they came to dominate in Ireland. I will argue that the specific parameters of how the industrial school system developed in Ireland and how Christian Brothers were trained rendered detainees powerless and voiceless, and that these factors ultimately facilitated the physical and sexual abuse of child and adolescent detainees by adults in these institutions. I will also explore the issues of peer physical and sexual abuse that also occurred in these schools. I argue that such patterns of peer abuse are best understood as occurring within the psychosocial contexts of primary adjustment, modelling and repetition compulsion.

The industrial school system in Ireland involved the detention of generations of children in bleak, inhospitable institutions, run entirely autocratically by the religious orders and socially (and sometimes geographically) marginalised from the rest of Irish society (Maguire, 2009). With the hand-in-glove relationship that existed (and some would argue, still exists) between Church and state in Ireland, the publication of survivors' accounts of these institutions (e.g. Clemenger, 2009; Finn, 2012; Flynn, 1983, 2003; Touher, 2001, 2008; Tyrrell, 2006; Wall, 2013), and official investigations into what took place (CICA, 2009), have been features of only the last 20 years. What has emerged is a picture of chronic, systemic neglect, allied to emotional, physical and sexual abuse, which continued for over 100 years in these institutions (CICA, 2009).

3.2 The development of the industrial school system in Ireland

Historically, the system of industrial schools in Ireland owes much to the workhouse model established during the 1840s as a response to the poverty caused by the Irish Famine. It can be traced back to the work of pioneering penal reformer, anti-slavery activist and educationalist, Mary Carpenter, who had been moved by the plight of destitute children and juvenile offenders she had seen in the Bristol of the 1840s. Carpenter rejected the then-common practice of committing children to prison for offences, arguing that magistrates and judges should instead send convicted children to reform schools (Carpenter, 1851/2013). Carpenter founded her first 'ragged school' in 1846, and her first reformatory in 1852, based firmly on principles of rehabilitation rather than retribution. The establishment of these schools led, ultimately, to the passing of the Youthful Offenders Act (1854) and the Industrial Schools Act (1857), formally establishing the network of residential institutions in England. Ireland's Industrial Schools Act (1868), which was based entirely on the British Act of 1857, established residential institutions in Ireland to care for neglected, orphaned and abandoned children from age 6 to 16 years (Arnold and Laskey, 1985). The main objective of the system was to inculcate in children the habits of industry, self-denial, and self-control (O'Sullivan & O'Donnell, 2007).

Institutionalisation was seen as a legitimate and effective response to the large numbers of vagrant children left without parents during and after the Great Famine (1845-1849). These children were drawn to the cities where, in order to survive, they engaged in begging and stealing. For example, in 1852, one-twelfth of annual committals were of juveniles under the age of 16 (Barnes, 1989). Public concern at juvenile criminality became so pronounced that any official concerned party could request a committal order. Hence, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), and subsequently (following Ireland's independence), the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (ISPCC) sought committal for cases involving lack of proper guardianship. This category included neglect of the child, very often as a direct result of poverty and this was especially the case in Dublin, where the slums were described as being the worst in Europe at the time (Buckley, 2013). School attendance officers, too, sought committal for non-attendance. Maguire (2009) notes that judges were only too willing to grant committal orders, with little investigation into family circumstances and background and few efforts to help needy families in ways that did

not involve removing children to industrial schools. Hence, the Gardaí (the national police force of the Republic of Ireland), the school attendance officer and the NSPCC/ISPCC representative (known colloquially as the 'cruelty man') were feared by many children and were often used as threats against them by parents, teachers and other figures of authority (Buckley, 2013).

For many Irish children the threat was not an idle one. In the century from 1868 to 1969, over 105,000 children were detained in Irish industrial schools, having been committed by the courts. Section 58(1) of the Children Act, 1908 (as amended by the Children Acts, 1929 and 1941), allowed for the detention of a child or young person under three broad categories: 'lack of proper guardianship', 'non-attendance at school' and 'indictable offences' (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999). By 1966, a fourth category of 'uncontrollable' had been added (Tuairim, 1966). Children who had committed indictable offences were brought before the courts by the Gardaí like their adult counterparts. Prior to the Children Act (2001), by which it was raised to 12 years of age, the age of criminal responsibility in Ireland was seven. Offences could be at the mild end of the scale; and, whilst a parent was required by law to be present at the hearing, the children were almost always legally unrepresented, and were usually not questioned or consulted in any way before the order for detention was made (CICA, 2009). A further 16,000 children, the vast majority of whom were boys, were committed to reformatories during the period 1868-1969 (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999). With the inclusion of children detained in other residential institutions such as county homes, mother and baby homes and a remand centre, the total number of children so committed amounted to more than 200,000 (Luddy & Smith, 2014). Thus, residential institutional care involved approximately 1.2 per cent of the age cohort for the relevant time (CICA, 2009).

The institutions themselves were operated, in the main, by Roman Catholic religious orders, the largest providers being the Congregation of Christian Brothers for boys and the Sisters of Mercy for girls. The development of the industrial school system was, therefore, inextricably tied in with the vision of the predominant church, whose efforts were aimed at "increasing its influence and control over the hearts and minds of its 'flock,'" with the religious orders acting as its "foot soldiers" (Chapman & O'Donoghue, 2007, p. 563). Lynch and Burns (2012) concluded that the Irish state

simply handed these children over to the Catholic Church, without any effective system of accountability or safeguards. With such a proportion of the nation's children being detained, the complex of industrial schools became extensive, with 71 institutions scattered throughout the country and detaining approximately 8,000 children at its peak operating capacity in 1898 (Kennedy, 1970). The creation and rapid proliferation of the schools can be seen as either a genuine desire to help the needy in society or a need to control those whom the authorities deemed a threat to the existing order (CICA, 2009).

Barnes (1989) states that children were committed to the schools to ensure that they became decent, law-abiding citizens, and that legislators were concerned with protecting society from crime and rescuing children from a life of sin and moral degradation. If not reformed, such children would grow up to become members of the dangerous classes, ready to prey on polite society. Miller (2013) argued that by the mid-nineteenth century, the industrial schools and reformatories in Ireland served as the key sites of bodily, psychological and moral reform for potential adult criminals. He referred to them as 'moral hospitals', noting that at the time child criminality was believed to have organic causes, and that industrial schools and reformatories constituted the systematic effort to reform children physically, mentally and morally.

All of this reforming took place in an atmosphere controlled by strict codes of military-style order, reinforced by severe punishments (Coldrey, 1991, 2000). Detainees were meant to accept their status as morally corrupt, internalise the superior values of the Christian Brothers, agree with the methods used to rehabilitate them, and generally be quiet, compliant, and respectful, in accordance with middle-class management expectations (Coldrey, 1991, 2000). Barnes (1989) concludes that the whole process amounted to an exercise in social genetics. Ferguson (2007) concludes that children in residential institutional detention were so stigmatised that they were seen as the moral dirt of Irish society, and that preying on the fears of the general public was how the residential institution concept was sold to them.

3.3 The involvement of the Christian Brothers in the Irish industrial school system

Buckley and colleagues (1997, p.2) hold that from the establishment of the reformatory school system (under the *Reformatory School (Ireland) Act,* 1858) and the industrial

schools system (under the *Industrial Schools Act,* 1868) "the primary mode of dealing with the welfare and care needs of children was the placement of such children in residential care". In addition to the largest industrial school in Ireland at Artane (which commenced operation in 1870), the Christian Brothers also operated industrial schools at Carriglea Park, Dun Laoghaire (until its closure in 1954); Glin, Co. Limerick; Salthill, Co. Galway; Tralee, Co. Kerry; and Letterfrack, Co. Galway. Together they were certified to detain 1,750 boys in total at any one time (CICA Report, 2009, Vol. I, p.70). There were 10,000 children detained in Christian Brother-operated industrial schools between 1930 and 1995 (Ferriter, 2009, p.326).

Like their counterparts in day primary schools, those teaching Christian Brothers who worked in industrial schools were trained as primary school teachers. However, they received no training in childcare for working with children in residential settings.[30] The curriculum covered, and the means used to teach, were governed by the Department of Education (who set the curriculum and inspected its schools) and the order itself. In its treatment of children the order's aims were laudatory. The *Directory and Rules of the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Ireland* (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, pp. 290-298) specified that each day was to be strictly time-tabled, that attendance logs and report books were to be kept up to date, that classrooms were to be kept neat and clean, and that Brothers' behaviour towards children was to be exemplary:

> The Brothers' first duty to the pupils is to edify them, to lead them to God by their actions and the holiness of their lives, to exhibit to them in their whole conduct an edifying example of that modesty, and every other virtue, which they both teach and exhort them to practice.

The Superior was to inspect the work of the teachers and pupils, and he would have frequent opportunities "for encouraging the children, noting their progress, promoting them when necessary, as well as for directing and forming the Brothers". The pupils were to be kept busy at all times, moving immediately from one task to another. Brothers were to supervise pupils in the playground "to shield them from moral and physical danger". Safety was to be a factor in residential schools. There, senior boys

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[30] It was not until 1973 that one Brother, who had previously worked in "senior positions" at Artane and Letterfrack, attended a childcare course in Kilkenny and put some of this knowledge and awareness into making changes at the last remaining Christian Brothers-run industrial school at Salthill, Co. Galway (CICA, 2009, Vol.I, p.85).

were to be kept apart from junior boys, Brothers in charge of dormitories were to remain in the dormitory for some time after the boys went to bed, and a night watchman was to be employed to supervise the dormitories at night. The rule about adult contact with individual boys was clear:

> In Residential Schools, for prudential reasons, the Brothers will need to be extremely reserved in their dealings with the boys; never, unless in very rare circumstances and in case of necessity should a Brother be alone with a boy (p.298).

In relation to punishment Brothers were told to reduce corporal punishment to a minimum, not to inflict punishment during religious instruction, not to "apply a contemptuous or injurious name to any of the pupils", not to be "prompted by any emotion of passion or impatience", and in all their dealings with the punishment of children, to "comport themselves in a discreet and recollected manner…with becoming gravity and propriety" (p.300) The reality of life in such places was very different from this kind and respectful idyll for a detained boy.

3.4 Abuse in Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools

The afore-mentioned CICA report (2009) found that in each of the six industrial schools operated by the Christian Brothers, there were allegations of abuse and neglect that were deemed to be credible. This is because all the institutions were run along similar lines, by men trained in the same training centre, with official Department of Education rules and regulations requiring them to provide the boys with suitable accommodation, clothing, food, and instruction. In the way the Christian Brothers viewed the boys in their care (Ferguson, 2007) and the methods they used to break their spirits and gain their compliance (Miller, 1983), the regimes in all six schools also appear to be remarkably similar. As a result, what we have in the Commission's report is a catalogue of abuse and neglect, perpetrated on vulnerable children across all six institutions.

What follows is a summary of findings in relation to the institution of interest in this study: Letterfrack, Co. Galway (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, pp. 285-394). The Commission concluded that corporal punishment in Letterfrack was "severe, excessive and pervasive, and created a climate of fear", that it was the "primary method of control" and that it was unavoidable because "it was frequently capricious, unfair and inconsistent". Though required under law, the Christian Brothers did not keep a

punishment book and the Department of Education was found to be at fault for not ensuring that one was maintained at the school. Sexual abuse by Brothers was a chronic problem in Letterfrack, and those members of the order that served there included those who had previously been guilty of sexually abusing boys, those whose abusive behaviour was discovered while they worked in that institution and, some who were subsequently revealed to have abused boys. The Christian Brothers were found to have not properly investigated allegations of sexual abuse of boys by Brothers and knew that Brothers who sexually abused boys constituted a continuing danger to children.

 The Commission concluded that sending known abusers to any industrial school was an act of reckless disregard, especially to one as isolated as Letterfrack. The handling of members of the order who had committed abuse suggested a policy of protecting the Brothers and the Congregation at large at the expense of the victims. The Commission noted that abuse by peers was "an element of the bullying and intimidation that were prevalent in Letterfrack" and that the Christian Brothers "failed to recognise it as a persistent problem." Boys in Letterfrack were found to be "unprotected in a hostile environment isolated from their families" and they left Letterfrack with little education and inadequate training for a future career. Although they needed extra educational support to bring them up to standard the report concluded that instead they got "poor teachers and bad conditions".

Because these children were obliged to appear in court and be sentenced to a period of detention in an industrial school, a persistent connection was formed in the mind of the general public between criminality and industrial schools (Arnold & Laskey, 1985; Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999).[31] Statistics reveal the true nature of the categories of referral to the industrial schools. About 80 per cent of all children were placed in these schools under the 'lack of proper guardianship' criterion.[32] Therefore, children were

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[31] In what appears to be a blatant infringement of their human rights, neither the children nor their parents were provided with legal representation for the court hearing and the children were not questioned or consulted in any way before the order for detention was made. The parents of Participant 5 in this study were not even informed of their son's arrest, and so were not present in court for the hearing that committed him to Letterfrack for two years for stealing a box of jelly sweets.

[32] In reality, this broad category could include 'illegitimate' children of unmarried mothers, children who had lost one or both parents, children whose parent or parents were disabled or incapacitated in some way (for example, through illness), children whose parents couldn't feed them due to extreme poverty, and children where a parent was in prison or had deserted the family. Children, brought before a judge

not, in the vast majority of cases, committed due to criminal behaviour or for being orphaned - two commonly held views at the time. Nevertheless, it appears that many industrial schools were mistakenly referred to by the general public as 'orphanages'. Perhaps calling them orphanages made it seem as if they existed for a specific and necessary purpose. However, in 1933, for example, there were only 350 orphans in the entire industrial school system, that is, 5 per cent of the detained child population. Over the lifetime of the system only about 10 per cent of children were detained for breach of the School Attendance Act and only about 11 per cent of boys were detained as a result of committing a 'criminal offence'. These were not schools for little criminals (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999).

The common belief that significant numbers of poor Irish parents were voluntarily handing over their children to the care of industrial schools, as a way of alleviating financial burden as well as providing the child with a better chance in life is also contradicted when we examine the statistics. Between 1949 and 1969, for example, the greatest number of boys admitted voluntarily in any one year by parents or guardians to an industrial school was 28. The figure for girls for the same year (1964/65) was 86 (Kennedy, 1970, p.95). This is a mere 3.5 per cent of the total number of children in industrial schools that year. The figures do not give us any information on the family circumstances that lead to 'voluntary admissions', however, and one can only imagine the pressures that these parents were under. An average of only 2.2 per cent of children were designated by the Department of Education as having been voluntarily admitted between 1949/50 and 1968/69, according to this author's calculations.

Taking Letterfrack as one industrial school and 1952 as one particular year, this author has discovered evidence indicating that when the then Resident Manager, J.H. Lucitt, was admitting a boy on 09 May 1952 he revealed on a form that there were no children in the school (out of a total of 164 boys) who had been voluntarily admitted by their parents. Therefore, because detention in industrial schools was overwhelmingly involuntary, it is appropriate to say that these children were, as Arnold and Laskey (1985, p.35) describe them, "*de facto* prisoners".

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as a result of the 'lack of proper guardianship' criterion, were usually assessed by a representative of the NSPCC.

What the children in industrial schools and reformatories had in common more than anything else was their background of poverty. Invariably they came from the lowest socio-economic groups. Speaking about Ireland from the 1920s to the 1950s, Gwynn Morgan (CICA, 2009, Vol. V, p.201) puts it succinctly: "In a very real sense, poverty was the reason for the industrial schools". He notes the classic signs, including tuberculosis ('consumption'), rickets, anaemia, emigration, apathy, money-lending, and high unemployment, particularly in the main urban centres.

The *Rules and Regulations for the Certified Industrial Schools in Saorstát Éireann* (1933) specified what services the schools were required to provide for children. [33] Each child was to have a separate bed, was to be well clothed and supplied with good quality food, was to be educated according to the curriculum for primary schools, was to receive industrial training to a level that could help secure employment upon discharge, was to receive Roman Catholic religious instruction and have time for recreation. Finally he was to be allowed contact with family through letters, visits to the institution and on annual holidays, extended to two weeks per year in 1935 (Arnold & Laskey 1985).

The Rules were alarmingly lacking in detail when it came to the limits of physical punishment, especially as the word 'chastisement' could cover a range of physical punishments. If punishments were administered they were to consist of:

> 1) Forfeiture of rewards and privileges, or degradation from rank, previously attained by good conduct.
> 2) Moderate childish punishment with the hand.
> 3) Chastisement with the cane, strap or birch.

Punishment was to be carried out by the Resident Manager himself or, if in his presence, by someone nominated by him. No punishment, other than those mentioned above, was to be administered. All industrial schools were to keep a punishment book in which the offences and the relevant punishments were to be entered. These books were to be made available to Department of Education inspectors.[34]

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[33] In Arnold (2009), pp. 304-313

[34] Although there were 52 industrial schools operating in the 20th century, only two of these books were made available to the CICA. No punishment book was ever produced by the Christian Brothers in relation to Letterfrack.

Burns and Lynch (2012, p.1) remind us that the Democratic Programme of the first Irish Dáil or Parliament (post-Independence) committed itself to the care and protection of children. They quote that manifesto, which stated that the Irish State would:

> …make provision for the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their education and training as citizens of a Free and Gaelic Ireland.

However, these bold ideals were not enshrined in the 1937 constitution, and thus the ideal was "not translated into specific rights for children or specific responsibilities on the part of the state to aid families" (Maguire, 2009, p.1). Maguire is of the opinion that parental rights were consequently taken away by the state and its functionaries with ease, often for no other reason than "abject poverty" (Maguire, 2009, p.2). Importantly, as well as identifying the poverty factor, she notes the issues pertaining to social class underlying the placement of children in industrial schools. Her conclusion is that for certain groups of children (illegitimate, poor, working class, neglected and abused) life in Ireland in the first two-thirds of the twentieth century could be precarious.

3.5 St. Joseph's industrial school, Letterfrack

Up to the passing of the *Poor Relief (Ireland) Act* of 1838, orphans and destitute or abandoned children were taken into care by the badly managed Dublin Foundling Hospital, described by O'Connor (1995, p.182) as a "gigantic depository for…children from all over the country". From the 1850s onwards, the churches began to take an active role in providing accommodation for needy children, setting up a network of orphanages and industrial schools. When, in the 1920s, the workhouses were re-branded as county homes, the number of children residing in them was greatly reduced as, by now, they had nearly all been transferred into industrial schools.

St. Joseph's, Letterfrack was originally certified for 75 boys and opened for operation on 12 October 1887 (CICA, 2009, Vol.I, p.286). This number was extended to 165 in 1931. Numbers were important to the Christian Brothers because they received a capitation grant per boy per week from both the Irish State and the local authority of the area where each boy lived. However, as the CICA (2009, p.287) notes, "the reasons against establishing an industrial school in Letterfrack haunted the School throughout

its life and eventually contributed to its closure…" It is estimated that 2,819 boys were detained in Letterfrack, from its opening in 1887 to its closure in 1974. Between 1940 and 1974, 1,356 boys were detained there. This figure excludes voluntary admissions, which totalled a mere 52 between 1935 and 1954 (CICA, 2009).

The school developed a fearsome reputation for cruelty. I have already outlined the findings of the CICA in relation to Letterfrack. This place, which began its life as an act of great thoughtfulness and generosity by James and Mary Ellis, a Quaker business couple who established it as a school, became a place where no child was safe. Arnold (2009) concludes that Letterfrack was arguably the most cruel of the Christian Brothers' six industrial schools and vied with Daingean reformatory[35] for the title of worst of all. Brother Sorel[36], giving evidence to the *Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse* (CICA, Vol. I, pp.304-305), described Letterfrack as a "harsh place". He was advised never to leave his guard down there. Dunne (2010, p.42) believes Christian Brothers were sent to industrial schools because "they had proved difficult, or inadequate, or had got into trouble in 'normal' schools". He goes on to state that these men felt punished and incarcerated and that the threat of "banishment," especially to the more remote industrial schools such as Letterfrack, was often the subject of nervous jokes among Brothers. The accounts of 'John Brown' (Coleman, 2010) and the memoirs of Flynn (1983, 2003); Finn (2011) and Tyrrell (2006) reveal that Letterfrack was a brutal place in which to be detained as a child. The accounts of participants in this study will also confirm this and elaborate on just how abusive it was for them.

That Letterfrack struggled to maintain numbers is evident from the fact that here were only a few years when numbers reached or exceeded the certified limit of 165 boys - 1942, 1945, 1946 and 1950 (CICA, 2009). After that numbers declined to the point where in the late 1960s and early 1970s the numbers were: 93 in 1968/1969, 101 in 1969/1970, 80 in 1970/197, 73 in 1971/1972 and finally a low of 41 in 1972/73 (CICA, 2009; Department of Education, 1973). In the main this appears to have been as a result of its remote location. There were not enough children in the general locality to swell the numbers and children from further afield were sent to other schools nearer to larger

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[35] St. Conleth's Reformatory School, Daingean, Co. Offaly, (1940-1973) was run by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
[36] This is a pseudonym.

centres of population. Letterfrack ceased to operate at the end of the school year in 1974.

Victims of abuse tend not to tell due to the fear of reprisals, the fear of not being believed as well as the feeling of shame (Miller, 1983). For the most part, men remained silent about their time in Letterfrack. But some men broke the silence; those who wrote memoirs were the first, and their courage inspired others to come forward. From my contact with the survivor population, it seems that many men and women disclosed their experiences in industrial schools for the first time decades later at the *Residential Institutions Redress Board* (hereafter referred to as the RIRB) hearings.

Most, but not all, abusers in Letterfrack got away with their crimes against children. However, a total of 12 files (on 12 individual men working in Letterfrack at some point in time) were forwarded to the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) and three men have, to date, been convicted of sexually abusing boys in their care. [37]

3.6 Coping in detention, peer abuse, and the issue of collaboration

How people cope with and adapt to a period of incarceration has been studied for over 70 years (Clemmer, 1940, 1950; Garabedian, 1964; Sykes, 1958; Sykes and Messinger, 1960). Physical violence is part of the prison experience because prisoners are detained against their wills, they are forced to do things they would not normally do, they are confined with people they may not like, and some of them are inclined to be violent (Stohr & Walsh, 2016), and an institutional sub-culture also promotes violence as a means of resolving conflicts. Hence, threats, verbal abuse and physical assault have

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[37] Former Christian Brother John McKenna was given a 3-year suspended sentence in 2002 for sexually abusing boys at Letterfrack between 1968 and 1970. Prior to his arrest, he had been working as a teacher in a girl's school in Dublin. Brother Maurice Tobin also received a 12-year sentence for sexually abusing boys at Letterfrack. During the police investigation into Tobin's activities, 100 survivors made complaints against this one man. Tobin worked in Letterfrack from the late 1950s until the early 1970s. He admitted to the CICA that he "used violence and the threat of violence to prevent the boys he sexually abused from reporting him" (p.306). He also admitted to being a "cruel and violent person" who hit boys with whatever he had in his hands. The CICA report says that although "he admitted raping and fondling boys, he preferred to reserve his position on whether he masturbated them. Participant 3 in this study was one of Brother Maurice Tobin's victims. Tobin forced him to engage in oral sex in the kitchen of Letterfrack when nobody else was around. In 2013 Robert Doherty was convicted and imprisoned for two years for sexually abusing a boy at Letterfrack in the late 1960s. The victim, Gerard Thomas Carroll, who waived his right to anonymity, was detained for four years in Letterfrack for stealing a bicycle from outside a church, though he had returned the bicycle to the local police station the same day. Brother Doherty was found guilty of six counts of indecent assault on the boy. The abuse took place in Doherty's bedroom near a dormitory in the industrial school. In evidence to the court Carroll said that Brother Doherty had nicknamed him "Tuppence", having told him that he was not worth tuppence (Keogh, 2013).

been found to be pervasive elements of prison life in UK prisons (Edgar et al., 2003). Furthermore, violent incidents in prisons tend to be under-reported for a number of reasons including the threat of retaliation, being labelled an informer, the belief that nothing will be done about the complaint, and the embarrassment at being perceived as a victim (Ricciardelli, 2014).

According to the National Inmate Survey for 2011/2012, four per cent of American prison inmates reported experiencing sexual assault, perpetrated by either other inmates or staff; younger inmates (under age 34); those with a college degree; those who were LGBTI; and, those suffering from a mental illness were more likely to be sexually assaulted (Beck et al., 2013). In the UK, the Howard League for Penal Reform (2009) noted that whilst there has been minimal research on sexual assault in prisons, prison sexual crime was under-reported. Banbury (2004), for example, found that one per cent of a sample of ex-prisoners who had been incarcerated in British prisons reported that they had been raped, and that 5.3 per cent reported that they had been the victims of coerced sex. Gay and transgender prisoners were found to be at a greater risk of sexual assault than heterosexual prisoners.

Goffman (1961) argued that most of the time detainees in total institutions are induced to co-operate, by threats of punishment and penalty if they do not, and that this type of authoritarian, physically violent regime is designed to break the individual's spirit, and usually resulted in submission. Goffman referred to this method of adaption as 'primary adjustment.' He noted that it was normal in total institutions for detainees to obey the rules through fear, or some other mechanisms. O'Sullivan (1976, 1978) found this mode of adaptation to be in evidence in one industrial school (St. Joseph's, Letterfrack, Co. Galway), when he administered an *Adaptation Checklist* to 40 detainees. He found a strong level of detainee support for conformity to school demands, as evidenced by their majority endorsement of the following statements: 'pupils here should be friendly with the Brothers' (33/40); 'boys here should do their best to keep the school rules' (28/40); 'boys here should do what they're told by the Brothers' (30/40); 'you should make the best of things while you're here and keep out of trouble' (33/40). In addition, he found that the longer a boy was detained in the industrial school the more likely he was to endorse items indicating conformity (O' Sullivan, 1976, 1978). As Goffman (1961) might have expected, because of this apparently internalised support for

compliance with the wishes of the Christian Brothers and conformity to the norms in the institution, the issue of co-operation, or collaboration with the authorities, was inevitably raised in the minds of the detainees, and in the behaviour of some.

The collaboration with the authorities that was an on-going issue in the six Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools In Ireland may have partly resulted from the creation of a special category of older supervising boy - known as a *monitor* - in those schools (Lynch & Minton, 2016). It seems that the rationale behind the creation of the role was for certain older boys to provide supervisory assistance to the teaching Brothers. This would make it easier to deal with large numbers of detainees and would perhaps encourage detainee co-operation. Monitors also distributed food in the dining hall and supervised the boys in the yard at playtime and in the dormitories in the evenings, among other duties. They received privileges for their co-operation. In most industrial schools the other detainees despised them, viewing them as spies and collaborators. It appears that monitors were authorised to punish those detainees in their charge and there is some evidence that, emboldened by this power, some physically and sexually abused the boys they were in charge of (CICA, 2009; Lynch & Minton, 2016).

Wall (2013) revealed that monitors in Glin industrial school received extra bread at mealtime. The CICA report (2009) notes that monitors in the industrial school in Tralee wrote down the 'offences' committed by fellow detainees and reported directly to a Brother, who then punished those boys (CICA, 2009). Monitors in Carriglea industrial school were chosen from among the senior detainees, and helped with supervision in the dining hall, playground and dormitories (CICA, 2009). Monitors in Artane industrial school were each put in charge of a cohort of over 50 detainees and were also called *squealers*. They were given the responsibility of distributing letters and parcels from home (Touher, 2001). Tyrrell (2006, p. 33) describes a particularly abusive monitor in the Letterfrack industrial school:

> We had a monitor when I first came to the school, but he was a big bully and he kept most of the food for himself... Scally was his name and he would wait in the lavatory and flog the boys who did not give him what he wanted. Scally had a strap just like the one [Brother] W had.

Tyrrell (2006, p.89) referred to another monitor who was most selfish and cruel to the younger children. He was of the opinion that the monitor "often copied the Brother who

was in charge of him... [and] beat the younger children under him in the same manner as he had been beaten himself." He also referred to another monitor called Ackle, who used a heavy cane walking stick to beat boys, just as Brother D did, and a monitor called Cavanagh who used a leather strap like Brother W. An un-named monitor who was under Brother W "beat us in the same manner as W [and] he pulled out our hair the same." It is not surprising that detainees took revenge upon the monitors when and if the opportunity arose:

> Just then a packed hard snowball crashed against the monitor's head ... The Banner put the first kick in, followed by Stewie and Quickfart. The Sly [the monitor's nickname] was pelted with snowballs before help arrived (Touher, 2008, p. 36).

Finn (2011) reports that in Letterfrack industrial school physical fights between detainees were a daily occurrence, and younger and smaller boys were usually attacked by bigger and older boys. As well as being physically abusive to fellow detainees, there is some evidence that monitors also perpetrated predatory sexual assaults. The Letterfrack Visitation Report of 1941 revealed that one such monitor had been "carrying on immoral conduct with some of the juniors in the dormitory" (CICA, 2009, p. 331). In a second example, in 1945, it was learned that a monitor in charge of a large group of boys working on the farm had been beating them with a leather strap. In addition, there was a suspicion of sexual abuse: Brother Maslin (a pseudonym in the CICA Report) stated that there was "more than punishment wrong between this boy and the others" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 298). Wall (2013, p. 74) describes sexually abusive monitors in Glin who also ganged up on detainees: "Other predators were the monitors who beat and sexually assaulted boys; if you reported them to a Christian Brother you would then be badly beaten by the monitors."

The CICA report concluded that in Tralee industrial school bullying occurred among the detainees and included physical and sexual assaults (CICA, 2009). As a result of one inspection in 1943 monitors were tasked with observing and guarding the toilet areas in order to prevent sexual behaviour taking place there (CICA, 2009). Again, in 1945, the Visitation Report noted widespread sexualised behaviour amongst the detainees. There is some evidence of peer sexual assault at Carriglea industrial school, as some boys who were engaged in sexual behaviour were as young as 11 years old, and the CICA report concludes that, in all probability, that they were victims of predatory behaviour (CICA, 2009). Indeed, a former detainee at Carriglea gave

evidence to the CICA that as a ten-year-old he had been sexually assaulted by a fellow detainee of 15 years of age.

In relation to Artane industrial school, Brother Lionel (again, a pseudonym in the CICA Report) gave evidence to the CICA that he had punished a boy for sexually interfering with three younger boys. He stated the boys had disclosed to him that 'badness' had been done to them by the other detainee (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 138). Brother Burcet (CICA pseudonym), in his evidence, stated that boys in Artane would be beaten on the bottom with a leather strap for interfering with other boys (CICA, 2009). A case in the Artane industrial school in the early 1960s concerned a detainee who, it seems, had sexually abused three peers, and Brother Romain (CICA pseudonym) testified that later in the decade up to a dozen boys had complained of being sexually assaulted by older boys (CICA, 2009). Tyrrell (2006) reported that during his time of detention in Letterfrack, a Brother K punished several boys for what were known as 'improper actions', which were said to have taken place in the dormitories and toilets, although it is unclear from Tyrell's account whether these behaviours were consensual or not.

Clemenger (2009) recalled of his own time as a detainee in Tralee industrial school, that some senior boys had tried to sexually assault the smaller boys in the showers and toilets. Clemenger himself was the victim of peer sexual assault, including attempted rape. Wall (2013) reported having been the victim of regular sexual abuse by a particular Brother in the Glin industrial school. He coped in the best way he could:

> I did whatever he wanted me to do just to get it over and done with. While it was happening, I learned to completely disappear somewhere inside my mind (p. 73).

Unfortunately for Wall, this Brother was not the only predator active in the industrial school. He states that as far as certain older detainees were concerned, he was now a target, and they also attempted to sexually assault him. He noted, although he did not say that he was a victim himself, that monitors also beat and sexually assaulted other detainees in Glin. He wanted to run away, but concluded that boys were always recaptured. He became suicidal, and contemplated jumping out the third floor of the dormitory building, because then the agony of every day would be over for him.

The CICA heard evidence from those survivors of childhood institutional abuse (perpetrated by members of religious orders primarily, but not confined to Christian

Brothers) who wished to report their experiences in a confidential setting. The legislation provided for the hearings of the CICA to be conducted in an atmosphere that was as informal and as sympathetic to, and understanding of, the witnesses as was possible in the circumstances. The CICA heard from 1,014 witnesses, 592 of whom were males. What follows in the paragraphs bellow are examples of physical and sexual abuse that relate only to male witnesses, who were, in all probability, resident in Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools. In total 38 witnesses to the Confidential Committee reported that pervasive physical bullying by older boys in the institutions. Witnesses reported that in some institutions older boys were appointed by religious staff as 'monitors', and it was said that they used the opportunity to exert their authority in various ways, including beating younger boys with sticks:

> We were constantly beaten with ash wood sticks by the senior boys left in charge of the playground. This amounted to extreme cruelty as little boys, only six or seven years old… They were allowed to carry sticks and they could do what they liked (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, p. 77).

Evidence was also heard of boys being directed by religious staff to physically assault other boys. Witnesses reported it was their belief that certain older boys were favoured by the Brothers (they may have been 'monitors' or 'pets') and therefore had the freedom to behave as they wished:

> Anyway, Brother X, he urged these lads on, they started punching and kicking me, I was in ... a corner trying to hide my face from the kicks. Well, I was left with blood coming from my eye, from my lip and from my eyebrow, (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, pp. 77-78).

Physical assaults by older boys were sometimes reported to have occurred in the context of sexual abuse and witnesses reported being physically intimidated by older boys in this way as a warning against reporting the sexual abuse. There were 39 reports from witnesses of being sexually abused by other boys (6.5% of the total who gave evidence). Reports of sexual abuse by other boys were most often associated with physical abuse and reports of bullying:

> There was an older boy there he was the teacher's pet ... He sexually abused me and most of the boys in the School. He was a right bully ... [On admission] I was taken into the washroom [by] the Brother and a young fella, he was about 16 years old. First they got me the clothes, the school clothes. They were taking me to be washed. I had to strip off in front of the young fella, the Brother went off. The young fella washed me, and then when he was drying me, he started to interfere with me, I knew what he was doing. I started to scream. The Brother came back in and said "What's happening?" [The] young fella said, "He won't let me wash him". [The Brother] gave me a slap on the face ... I was only in the School for an hour (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, p. 88).

Witnesses reported being accosted by older boys in the toilets, yards and corridors where there was less supervision. Seven witnesses admitted that they had sexually abused younger boys, or engaged in consensual sexual activity with another boy:

> There was things [sexual abuse] going on, between the lads, and I was absorbed into it. The way we behaved with one another, it was all based on fear. The physical violence – it was the way the whole thing was held together. You had the strongest to the weakest boys, the strongest can pick on anybody, the strongest do it to the weakest boys, and the darkness is handed out back along (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, p. 89).

The CICA heard six reports of sexual abuse perpetrated by other boys whilst being observed by religious staff, and another 19 reports from witnesses who believed that such behaviour was either condoned or actively encouraged by the religious staff:

> Some of the senior boys were rapists themselves ... I was [sexually] abused by a lot of these older boys. Within the first three months I was there, the older boy who was on my table, he was in charge. He seemed to get on very well with the Brothers. He was always well treated by the Brothers. He abused me in a garden shed with another boy and a Brother. They subjected me to being raped, and I was threatened that I would be thrown in the slurry pit. The Brother raped me in front of the boy. That was the only time where there was a boy and a Brother together (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, p. 89).

In the Irish industrial school system, detainees were incarcerated involuntarily and so could neither escape from the supervising adults nor their peers. Peer influence became a critical factor in this setting, both in positive ways (bonding and support) and negative ways (bullying and sexual assault). Barter and colleagues (2004) found that peer group hierarchies (also known as 'pecking orders') were at the heart of how violence occurred in residential institutions. Parkin and Green (1997) studied two residential institutions in the U.K. and found "sexual cultures" where sex was "in the air". Their findings demonstrated the part the authorities (adult child care workers) played in contributing to and maintaining abusive and potentially abusive practices in these institutions. In what could also apply to the Christian Brother approach to sexuality (their own and that of the detainees) the authors concluded that the denial and invisibility of sexuality contributed to the culture of sexuality and some of the abuses that took place.

I believe that the introduction of monitors in the Christian Brothers' industrial schools served as a means of enabling abuse. So, too, was the common practice of individual Brothers having 'pets' and 'spies'. These practices created power differentials between detainees, and these were sometimes exploited. One participant in this study was clear that the Christian Brothers, in their dealings with detainees, liked to "divide and

conquer" and having reviewed the evidence it seems reasonable to suggest that, as well as those incidences where peer abuse was either condoned or encouraged by the adults in the industrial schools, at least some of the peer physical bullying and peer sexual abuse observed in industrial schools in Ireland may have reflected the operation of a modelling phenomenon, with violence perpetrated by Christian Brothers observed by the children in each institution. Bandura and colleagues (1961), in their classic demonstrations of the social learning of aggressive behaviour, demonstrated that the observation of cues produced by the behaviour of others is one effective means of eliciting certain forms of responses. Subjects given an opportunity to observe aggressive models later reproduced a good deal of physical and verbal aggression (as well as nonaggressive responses) substantially identical with that of the model. In contrast, those subjects who had been exposed to non-aggressive models and those who had no previous exposure to any models of any kind, either aggressive or non-aggressive, rarely performed such responses. Bandura and colleagues concluded:

> To the extent that observation of adult models displaying aggression communicates permissiveness for aggressive behaviour, such exposure may serve to weaken inhibitory responses and thereby to increase the probability of aggressive reactions to subsequent frustrations. The fact, however, that subjects expressed their aggression in ways that clearly resembled the novel patterns exhibited by models provides striking evidence for the occurrence of learning by imitation (Bandura et al., 1961, p. 579).

Tyrell (2006) describes certain boys physically abusing peers in the same manner in which they themselves had been abused by a Brother – in one case with a leather strap and in another case with a cane. As well as taking their behavioural cues from these powerful adults, peer abuse may also reflect the operation of a psychological defence mechanism that clinicians might now refer to as a pattern of re-enactment, or 'acting out. That is to say, I believe the evidence that exists supports the hypothesis that many of these peer abuse patterns were the direct consequences of detainees' own experiences of being victimised by adults in the industrial school. The Freudian defence mechanism of *repetition compulsion* was originally formulated in his 1920 essay *Beyond the Pleasure Principle.* In applying this concept to the industrial school situation, one might postulate that the vulnerable detained boys, in search of a sense of control in a situation of terror, unconsciously identified with their adult abusers, and then compulsively repeated or re-enacted the physical and sexual abuse that they had themselves experienced in their dealings with those less powerful detainees.

As noted above the invitation to identify with adult abusers was certainly given to those boys who were empowered as *monitors.* In another altogether more extreme context, it is noteworthy that survivor accounts from Auschwitz (e.g. Frankl, 1959; Levi, 1988, 2000) and analysis of other concentration camps (e.g. Waschmann, 2015) document that *Kapos*, those prisoners who were given leadership roles amongst their fellows by the concentration camp authorities, enjoyed certain special privileges in the camp and were often far more brutal in administering punishments than were the SS guards.

The monitors of the Christian Brother industrial school system may have inhabited the same morally ambiguous space described by Levi (1988) in relation to collaborators in Auschwitz. Levi recognised that the harsher the oppression experienced in the Lager the more likely it was for some of the oppressed to collaborate with the all-powerful regime. This place between victim and abuser – the 'grey zone' as Levi called it – was an attempt by some prisoners to seize an opportunity to preserve and consolidate privilege at the expense of those peers less powerful or resourced. Once a detainee had entered into collaboration it was in the interests of the regime to compromise them as much as possible. It was not enough to relegate them to marginal tasks: "The best way to bind them is to burden them with guilt, cover them with blood, compromise them as much as possible." In this way a 'bond of complicity' was formed with the representatives of the regime and at that point it was impossible for the collaborator to turn back.

In clinical settings, such patterns of re-enactment or repetition compulsion were later observed and described by therapists working with victims of abuse as a spontaneous attempt to integrate the traumatic event. It was, therefore, seen as an understandable (whilst of course, problematic) coping mechanism (e.g. Herman, 1992a, 1992b). Children seem to be particularly vulnerable to compulsive behavioural repetition, and in so doing may play the role of either victim, or victimiser (van der Kolk, 1989). This repetitive acting out of the traumatic event is what we sometimes observe in the sexualised behaviour of victims of abuse.

A strong theme in the impact literature pertaining to child sexual abuse is that externalising behavioural responses are often the means of coping with trauma, that is, victims adopt behaviours in an effort (consciously or unconsciously) to manage, suppress, or gain temporary relief from the distress caused by the abuse (Fisher et al.,

2017). In this way externalising behaviours can be viewed as cries for help.

 In a review of 13 studies regarding children's sexual behaviour, of 1,353 sexually abused children, over a quarter (28 per cent) of those aged from six to 12 exhibited highly sexualized behaviour, while over a third (35 per cent) of children below age six exhibited sexualised behaviours (Kendall-Tackett et al., 1993). Supporting this finding, Aaron (2012) also found that the exhibition of sexually inappropriate behaviour in the case of children who had a history of sexual abuse was most pronounced in the earlier childhood stage of development.

Adolescents subjected to sexual abuse have been found to engage in 'risky sexual behaviours,' resulting in a significantly greater likelihood of multiple sexual partners, early pregnancy, and sexually transmitted infections (Aaron, 2012). The issue of revictimisation is relevant here, as women with a history of child sexual abuse were found to be six times more likely to be sexually victimised by a current intimate partner and 11 times more likely to be victimised by a non-intimate partner, compared to those with no history of child sexual abuse (see Ghimire & Follette, 2012). In the case of men, those with child sexual abuse histories were five times more likely to both experience victimisation and perpetrate interpersonal violence (Ghimire & Follette, 2012). The revictimisation rates for male survivors of sexual abuse were seen to be two and a half times greater than those for non-abused males.

 Conclusion

In this chapter I considered the systemic factors that were operational in the development of the industrial school system in Ireland. I demonstrated how the very systems (social, religious and legal) that had rendered the young people detained in industrial schools powerless and voiceless; indeed, that had positioned them as the "moral dirt" of society (Ferguson, 2007), and justified and facilitated their treatment as such under the guise of reform, also supported first, their being subject to physical and sexual abuse from adults and peers alike; and, second, the concealing of these facts for over a century. In this way many vulnerable Irish children lived a precarious existence in a society that claimed to cherish them but in fact marginalised them and then made them invisible (Maguire, 2009).

In this chapter I also argued that the acceptable and perhaps simplistic narrative of adult

abuser and child victim in the residential institutions of Ireland was but one part of the complex power positions that formed in the abusive system of the industrial school. The network of relationships in the industrial school could not be reduced to just victims and persecutors. That peer abuse occurs in similar carceral settings, for example, in offender populations in youth detention centres, is now well established (Beck et al., 2013, 2014; Connell et al, 2016; Shields & Simourd, 1991). [38]Although the issue of peer sexual and physical abuse did not go unnoticed in the CICA Report (2009), instances remained in scattered sections of the 2,5000 pages and with the exception of Lynch & Minton (2016) the phenomenon has received no scholarly attention to date.[39]

I am of the opinion that as a society we owe it to ourselves and to those who can no longer testify to their experience to engage with these contradictions and these horrific truths of the past. Part of this engagement process is to make every effort to position the peer abuse that occurred in industrial schools in its correct contexts. With such behaviours having been of such a serious and even criminal nature, and apparently so prevalent, the failure to contextualise these behaviours can only serve to support the idea that child detainees really were 'moral dirt' after all. Survivors deserve more than having that prejudice levelled at them.

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[38] I use the word carceral to indicate any prison-like residential institutional setting. I first noticed it used by Foucault (1977) in *Discipline and Punish* to refer to the collection of prison-like settings he referred to as the *carceral archipelago.*

[39] In the 2,500 pages of the CICA report (2009) there are 27 references to peer abuse and 13 references to its occurrence at the Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools of Artane, Carriglea Park, Letterfrack and Tralee.

CHAPTER 4

Moral disengagement: How men of God did the devil's work in Irish industrial schools

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is twofold: (1) to propose a social cognitive model to explain the chronic abuse and neglect that were perpetrated on child detainees by adult men in St. Joseph's Industrial School, Letterfrack, Co. Galway and the other industrial schools in the complex of Christian Brothers-operated institutions; (2) to examine the literature on trauma theory in order to show how the model of Complex PTSD is a best fit model for explaining the impact of abuse and neglect on survivors.

I appreciate that undertaking the task of proposing a model to explain abuses perpetrated is fraught with difficulties, as it is concerned with the thoughts, behaviours and feelings of people who were vulnerable and have been (in many cases) severely humiliated and psychologically damaged by their experiences. It is also concerned with the sensitivities of a religious congregation that viewed itself as fulfilling an essential mission in the area of the education of the poor children of Ireland. I also appreciate that seeking such an explanation is a complex task to undertake, with many interacting factors at play.

I do not believe or claim that every institution operated by the Christian Brothers was exactly similar. Nor do I argue that every boy's lived experience of his time of detention in Letterfrack or any industrial school was the same. Although Letterfrack had a particular reputation for cruelty (Arnold, 2009), to the extent that 'difficult' boys in other industrial schools were threatened with being sent there (Ellis, 2012; Touher, 2001; Wall, 2013), it must be noted that all industrial schools in the Christian Brothers complex were operated on similar lines in that they were staffed by men who went through the same regime in both the juniorate and novitiate stages of their training. The same *Directory and Rules* (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927) governed Christian Brother ethos and behaviour in all its institutions, including industrial schools. Brothers were also regularly transferred from one industrial school to another (CICA,

2009) and this turnover of staff ensured that there was a store of shared knowledge, as well as a shared approach to dealing with detainees in all six of their industrial schools. While the model that is outlined here is applied primarily to Letterfrack, I believe that it may well be applicable to the five other industrial schools operated by the Christian Brothers in Ireland, as each was run along similar lines and operated on a 'total institution' basis.

4.2 Why Bandura's social cognitive model?

In this chapter, I attempt to answer the fundamental question: how did the neglect and abuse perpetrated by Christian Brothers on detained children and adolescents in the residential institutions occur in the first place, and then go on to become pervasive and chronic? I attempt to answer this from a social cognitive psychological perspective. In doing so, I do not in any way disregard the importance of individual responsibility. I propose that Bandura's model of moral disengagement (2016) is an appropriate framework for understanding the abuse perpetrated by representatives of the Christian Brothers on children and adolescents detained at Letterfrack industrial school over the approximately 100 years of its existence.

My thinking on the evil that men do was initially influenced by my reading of four seminal texts relating to World War II that dealt specifically with how atrocities against the Jewish population of Europe were systematically committed, not by 'monsters' who were in some significant ways deviating from the psychological makeup of the average German at the time - what Waller (2002) refers to as the 'mad Nazi' theory - but by 'ordinary' men (Arendt, 1963/2006; Browning, 1992; Goldhagen, 1996; Hilberg, 1961/2003).

 My training in psychology taught me to look for answers within the individual. I was, therefore, familiar with the literature explaining aggression towards others as emanating from within the individual. Minton (2016) summarises the psychological literature on aggression in terms of (1) evolutionary influences, (2) the physiological bases, (3) the neuro-psychological influences, (4) the role of genetics, (5) psychodynamic theories, and (6) personality theory. The impactful reading about 'Hitler's willing executioners' (Goldhagen, 1996) lead directly to my search for a model that was not based on individual pathology.

The other models I considered were all constructed by psychologists (Minton, 2016; Reicher et al., 2008; Staub, 1989; Waller, 2002. All four models differed from that of Bandura in that they explicitly sought to explain large-scale atrocities and genocide. Other than Reicher and colleagues (2008), who refer to the development of collective hate, the other authors specifically mention genocide in their book titles. None of the models are exactly the same but they have much in common. All refer to the creation of in-groups and out-groups, while not using the same terms. Staub (1989), for example, refers to a sense of superiority and negative stereotyping. Waller (2002) refers to ethnocentrism and xenophobia. Like Bandura, Waller includes in his model the process of moral disengagement occurring as a result of moral justification, euphemistic labelling and exonerating comparisons.

Both Waller and Staub see a person's orientation to authority as a predisposing characteristic of ordinary people who become perpetrators. Staub (1989) defines this orientation as "a person's tendency to order the world and relate to people according to their position and power in hierarchies" (p.75). This was certainly the case for at least some Christian Brothers in the Roman Catholic religious order. Those who did not begin with this orientation before they joined the congregation were trained into adopting it. The Bandura model is the only model designed to apply to the whole spectrum of inhumanities from individual acts of aggression to genocide. Bandura does not refer to authority orientation but instead talks about the displacement of responsibility in order to evade accountability.

Interestingly, although all other models concern themselves with explaining the journey to mass killing and genocide, only two contain genocide-specific factors: Minton's (2016) model includes *the mechanisation of means of destruction*, while Reicher and colleagues include *the celebration of out-group annihilation as the defence of in-group virtue*.

It seems there is a significant degree of conceptual and empirical convergence between models. This is not surprising, given that they were developed by psychologists and are trying to capture the same processes. All approaches identify certain mechanisms (under different labels): (1) cognitive restructuring, (2) minimising own agency in the

perpetration, (3) disregarding or distorting the negative impact on the victim(s), and (4) dehumanising and blaming the victim(s). All authors agree that these four core mechanisms operating together serve to facilitate the individual and the group in overcoming the dissonance between standards (be they individual/group/societal), and transgressive behaviours.

Following on from the overlap between the models, research by Ribeaud and colleagues (2010) suggests that the concept of moral disengagement itself has some significant conceptual convergence with other models such as the criminological theory of neutralisation (Sykes & Matza, 1957) and the notion of self-serving cognitive distortions (Barriga & Gibbs, 1996). It seems that Bandura's thinking certainly owes much to these authors but this 'standing on the shoulders' does not dilute the robustness of the model nor does it detract from the applicability of the model to a variety of situations where violence is directed at an individual or group. An advantage of the Bandura model is that, other than genocide-specific factors mentioned above, all other factors in the other models are included in the moral disengagement framework. Perhaps what Bandura offers is essentially a review and integration of the field of study.

Bandura's involvement with attempting to explain human aggression goes back to the early 1960s with his experiments with children demonstrating that aggressive behaviour was primarily learned in that children who viewed aggressive behaviour that was reinforced were particularly prone to acting aggressively (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1963). Later, in his social learning analysis of human aggression (1973) Bandura attempted to explain both individual and collective aggression and apply the explanation to a variety of phenomena exercising Americans at the time, such as armed revolution, urban strife, student protests, the mass media, correctional systems, and enforcement agencies. In a chapter on conditions sustaining aggressive responding he briefly referred to factors that he would later develop more fully in his model of moral disengagement such as (1) dehumanisation of victims, (2) diffusion of responsibility, (3) advantageous comparison, and (4) self-justification.

 The Bandura model has real world applicability and it encompasses (1) individual and group behaviours, (2) individual or multiple abuse events, as well as (3) the perpetration of minor and major inhumanities. Once again, Bandura (2016) has applied the model

to a variety of areas of concern to him and many others in the United States, such as the entertainment industry and its depiction of violence, the gun industry and its promotion of violent solutions to potential conflict situations, the corporate world's transgressive practices such as worker exploitation and the development and marketing of products injurious to us, the use of capital punishment in some southern states, the secret worlds of terrorism and counter-terrorism, and approaches to environmental issues.

Some approaches to explaining violence against others (drive theories, for example) are resistant to empirical confirmation and so far the other models have not generated specific research. However, research has demonstrated the applicability of Bandura's model for understanding a variety of areas of human behaviour stemming from an individual's moment of choice, whereby there is a need to reconcile two seemingly inconsistent cognitions when deciding whether or not to support or indeed participate in harming another person, while at the same time maintaining a positive self-image (Bandura, 1999; Bandura et al., 1996). These research areas include bullying among adolescents (Hymel et al., 2005), adolescent bullying in a school setting (Obermann, 2011), cyber-bullying among adolescents (Bussey et al., 2014; Lazarus et al., 2012), the support for military force against Iraq in the post-September 11 attacks (McAllister et al., 2006), support for the death penalty (Osofsky, 2005), cognitive and emotional reactions to war (Aquino et al., 2007). Moral disengagement has been consistently predictive of aggression and delinquency (Bandura et al., 1996; Barriga et al., 2008; Pelton et al., 2004). Based on the eight sub-sections of the Bandura model a scale to measure moral disengagement was developed for use in peace and conflict research (Jackson & Sparr, 2005). More recent research by Kavussanu and colleagues (2016) used the model to develop a scale for identifying the potential for the use of banned performance-enhancing substances in sport.

The model works across domains and robustly explains the process by which people can violate individual self-sanctions and societal moral and legal boundaries while absolving themselves of guilt for their harmful behaviour. It has elements in common with the other models but its focus is more applicable across domains and its use in research ensures it has become the standard model to explain man's inhumanity to man.

Applying the model of moral disengagement to the behaviour of Christian Brothers towards vulnerable children and adolescents in Letterfrack warrants the attention of psychologists and other social care professionals because (1) it may speak to how boys were treated in all six Christian Brothers-operated residential institutions and (2) understanding how an organisation that was specifically formed to care for and teach the most vulnerable members of society reached the point of operating a regime of systematic abuse and neglect for approximately a century can help us intervene at an early point in suspected or identified toxic environments and put checks and balances in place to make sure that, as far as possible, it never happens in other care organisations for children.

Because there is a complex and dynamic interplay of biological, psychological and social processes involved in the development of aggression (Pepler, 2018), a model that encompasses at least some of these factors without being too complex and unwieldy is required to explain in a meaningful way how group aggression and violence occur. The social cognitive approach draws attention away from simplistic views of aggression and violence resulting from the actions of a few damaged or deranged individuals. This approach is particularly relevant in attempting to understand how members of a group behave aggressively and violently toward members of a designated out-group. It takes us away from the comfortable but minimising position of believing in the individual 'monster' and the 'few bad apples in the barrel' and brings us to an altogether more uncomfortable place of needing to accept collective responsibility for wrongs committed.

As well as these specific models pertaining to the evil that men do, particularly in groups (i.e. Minton, 2016; Reicher et al., 2008; Staub, 1989; Waller, 2002), I also reviewed more general psychological theories of aggression. This thesis proposes a social cognitive explanation as to how boys in detention in Letterfrack came to be physically, emotionally and sexually abused. Put another way, it proposes an explanation as to how adults operating an industrial school could, over a period of 100 years, systematically and chronically behave aggressively and violently with children in their care. This is but one theory pertaining to how aggression in human beings can be explained. Other views from a variety of disciplines have been proposed, such as those from the fields of ethology, sociobiology, genetics, endocrinology, and

neurology.[40] I will confine myself here to psychological explanations of aggression. The main theories are briefly outlined and considered critically, as is my justification for opting for the social cognitive model of Bandura as the most appropriate one for the setting I was studying. Given that historically aggressive and violent behaviour have caused great harm and suffering to individuals and groups and have incurred enormous cost, both material and social, for society, the search for the 'why' of aggression has drawn the attention of many theorists from a number of disciplines (Krahé, 2013).

Aggression is a social construction in the sense that what we consider to be aggressive is determined by shared acceptable values, customs, behaviours and normative beliefs, that is, the mores of a particular social group or society (Krahé, 2013). Mores can vary from group to group and between societies; they can also change over time. A good example of changing mores from the Irish context is the evolving views of adults to corporal punishment of children in the school setting. Although very slow to change by some more enlightened western European standards, the universal support enjoyed by corporal punishment up to the 1950s in Ireland finally ebbed in the early 1980s, although it was unfortunately too late for many people including myself. Circular 9/82, forwarded by the Department of Education to all school managers, changed the view on teachers working with children in one short sentence: "The use of corporal punishment is forbidden."

Corporal punishment in Irish schools was prohibited in 1982 but it took much longer – not until in 1996 in fact - before a teacher physically hitting a child was in law regarded as committing a criminal offence.[41]

One of the most quoted definitions of aggression in the social psychological literature is that of Baron and Richardson (1994, p.7) who describe it as "any form of behaviour

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[40] See Krahé (2013) and Minton (2016) for excellent summaries of these approaches.

[41] The most recent data on attitudes towards the use of corporal punishment in the home by parents were produced by the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (ISPCC) in 2013 on a nationally representative sample of 1,008 adults, including 655 parents. Results showed that 73 per cent of adults were of the opinion that 'slapping' was an ineffective way to discipline a child and 57 per cent of respondents reported that they would support a total ban on 'slapping' (ISPCC / Behaviour & Attitudes, 2013). The last legal defence of a parent accused of assaulting a child - that of 'reasonable chastisement' - was removed in 2015.

directed toward the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment." This definition has a few important implications: (1) aggressive behaviour is characterised by its underlying motivation and not by its consequences; (2) there is an understanding on the part of the aggressor that there is the potential to cause harm or injury to the victim; (3) that the victim wishes to avoid the behaviour indicates that such aggressive behaviour might be generally accepted as being hurtful.

 In Letterfrack much adult aggression directed toward boys involved direct one-to-one verbal and physical confrontation (see CICA report, Vol. I., Ch. 8). However, indirect forms of aggression (for example, the spreading of rumours, blaming, 'ratting' or 'snitching,' attempts at damaging relationships) were also a feature of behaviour directed by adults against boys. The view of some of the participants in this study was that the Christian Brothers liked to create divisions between the boys in an effort to 'divide and conquer.'

Although the Christian Brothers claimed that aggression directed at boys was instrumental in nature, that is, directed at achieving such goals as silence, order, compliance, and control, there is no doubt that episodes of aggressive behaviour described by participants in this study, as well as examples documented by the CICA and survivor memoirs suggest that most aggressive behaviour was, in fact, hostile and had the aim of hurting boys as an expression of negative feelings towards them. The argument that aggression in Letterfrack was instrumental can be seen as an attempt to minimise the level of violence inflicted on detainees in the institution and as a form of moral justification for violence in that it was framed as a necessary (if unfortunate) approach to the orderly operation of the institution - a necessary evil. Thus, the argument was presented that in order to attain a higher or worthier goal some bad had to be done also. As well as referring to it as the 'necessary evil' justification it could also be euphemistically referred to as the 'collateral damage' argument.

The term 'violence' used in this study refers here to behaviours carried out with the intention of causing serious harm; they involve the use or threat of physical force such as some forms of open-handed slapping, punching, kicking, and the use of a weapon such as a leather strap or stick. Thus, not all instances of aggression involve violence,

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but all violent acts are aggressive. Social psychologists measure violence by the level of intensity of the aggressive behaviour, that is, the intention in terms of the need to inflict punishment, control, or even destruction and the force used to attain that goal (Krahé, 2013). Much of what was described to me by participants in this study was violence and not just aggression. It went beyond any prescribed punishments in either the Department of Education rules or those specific to the industrial schools (Arnold, 2009). Archer and Browne (1989, p. 11) draw our attention to physically damaging 'assaults' that are obviously designed to harm someone and that "are not socially legitimised in any way." These forms of behaviour described by survivors are sufficiently violent to be rightly regarded as assaults rather than the euphemistic 'discipline,' 'punishment,' or even 'excessive punishment.'

4.3 Models of aggression

(1) Cognitive behavioural explanations

The cognitive behavioural approach in general states that the individual's *interpretation* of a situation - usually reflected in certain core beliefs and automatic thoughts – influence and precede physiological response, emotions and behaviours (Beck, 2011). Negative core beliefs and cognitive distortions are to be found to varying extents in everyone (Burns, 1999). The nature of the core beliefs and the extent and intensity of cognitive distortions determine how the individual copes and ultimately the state of his/her mental health (Beck, 1999; Beck, 2011; Burns, 1999; Ellis, 2001). Cognitive behavioural approaches to understanding aggression focus on the individual and the quantity and quality of core beliefs and automatic thoughts, which tend to form 'distorted,' unhelpful or unhealthy thinking patterns (Beck, 1999; Beck, 2011; Ellis, 2001). Beliefs such as the following (adapted from Beck, 1999, p.126) can be the precursors to violent behaviour:

- Authorities are controlling, disparaging, and punitive.
- Women are manipulative, deceitful, and rejecting.
- Outsiders are treacherous, self-serving, and hostile.
- Nobody can be trusted.

- Physical force is the only way to get people to respect you.
- If you don't get even people will run all over you.
- Physical force is the only way to ensure compliance and avoid anarchy.

From my reading of the literature pertaining to their operation of six industrial schools the last examples of core beliefs mentioned above are ones that could be applied to the Christian Brother way thinking. For people presenting for cognitive behavioural therapy core beliefs tend to be rigid and overgeneralised and can be categorised as emanating from three realms: a sense of helplessness, a sense of unlovability and a sense of worthlessness (Beck, 1999). Empirical evidence supports the crucial place of cognitive distortions in the perpetration of violence. For example, in a meta-analysis of studies on incarcerated offenders Chereji et al., (2011) found a strong connection between offender cognitive distortions and violent behaviour. [42]

An advantage of this cognitive behavioural understanding of aggression is that core beliefs and cognitive distortions can be identified, measured and subsequently challenged by a therapist in a structured manner. The concept of core beliefs about self and the world is closely related to the concept of *attitudes.* Social psychologists see attitudes as referring to beliefs and feelings related to a person, object or event – favourable or unfavourable – that incline people to act in certain ways (Myers et al., 2010). While attitudes tend to be stable features, resulting in people behaving consistently, there can be a difference between expressed attitudes and actual behaviour. Batson & Thompson (2001) found evidence of *moral hypocrisy* (appearing

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[42] In the CBT literature distorted thinking is regarded as a universal phenomenon and its presence varies from person to person. However, in the case of people prone to violent behaviour the following thinking patterns, taken from Burns (1999) and Beck (2011), are prevalent:

- *Overgeneralisation*: one incident or event is perceived as applying to all and as never ending.
- *All-or-nothing thinking*: seeing things in black or white categories or in a polarised way.
- *Mental filter*: picking out a single negative detail and discounting the positives in people.
- *Disqualifying the positive*: positive experiences, achievements or qualities do not count.
- *Magnification*: exaggerating the importance of problems and shortcomings (turning mole hills into mountains).
- *Mind-reading*: without checking assuming you know what someone is thinking.
- *Fortune telling / catastrophising*: predicting that things will turn out badly or even disastrously, without considering more likely outcomes.
- *Labelling*: putting a fixed, global (usually negative) label on self or others, without considering other evidence.

to be moral while, if possible, avoiding the cost of being moral) and *overpowered integrity* (people initially intending to be moral, only to surrender this goal when the costs of being moral became clear to them).

Applied to the specific area of sexual offending, clinicians and researchers have noted that maladaptive core beliefs and distorted thinking play a crucial role in facilitating and justifying sexual offenses (Abel et al. 1984; Abel et al., 1989; Hanson et al., 1994; Ward et al., 1997). There have been a number of attempts to describe the nature of these beliefs and to develop models to explain them and tools to measure them (Ward, 2000; Ward et al., 2006). Cognitive distortions in the context of offending and in particular to the area of sexual offending against children, refer to self-serving distorted beliefs and thoughts about self, children and the world that have been shown to be associated with the onset and maintenance of sexual offending (O Ciardha & Ward, 2013). For example, child abusers see children primarily in sexual terms, as wanting sex, as not being harmed by sexual contact with an adult, and see themselves as not really being responsible (Ward, 2000). Examples of cognitive distortions frequently found in child abusers include: 'children often initiate sex and know what they want,' 'children enjoy sexual contact with adults,' 'sex is good for children,' 'men only commit sexual offenses when they are stressed and lose control,' 'men's needs are more important than children's,' and 'men can do what they want with their children (Ward et al., 1997). There are, however, arguments in the literature as to whether the characteristic cognitive distortions employed by sex offenders are consciously utilised to excuse and justify behaviour or whether they are utilised unconsciously to protect offenders from guilt and shame, or both (Keenan, 2012).

Specifically relating to the cognitive distortions utilized by sexually abusive clerics, Saradjian and Nobus (2003) found 10 categories of cognitions used by these men (n=14) to facilitate the initiation and maintenance of offending behaviour. Although there was some overlap between the cognitive distortions of this group of clerics and those of non-clerical sex offenders noted in the literature, some cognitive distortions

were identified that were specific to clerical offenders, for example, 'I have the right to live and affection because I spend my life doing good for others.' [43]

(2) Personality explanations

Although within the field of psychology type and trait theories of personality struggled with each other for supremacy, the trait view of personality has become the standard approach in modern personality theory (Minton, 2016). The classic exposition of the trait approach was that of Allport (1937), who defined traits as "a generalised and focalised neuropsychic system (peculiar to the individual), with the capacity to render many stimuli functionally equivalent, and to initiate and guide consistent (equivalent) forms of adaptive and expressive behaviour" (p. 295). He differentiated between traits and types thus and made his case for the importance of traits: "A man can be said to *have* a trait; but he cannot be said to *have* a type. Rather he *fits* a type. This bit of usage betrays the important fact that types exist not in people or in nature, but rather in the eye of the observer" (Allport, 1937, p.295).

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[43] The following statements were made by clerical abusers in the study, some of which refer to the priestly state and the relationship that was said to exist between the cleric and God that were used to justify sexual contact with children, to reduce inhibitions and guilt, and to increase the likelihood of re-offending:

- "I have a right to love and affection because I spend my life doing good for others."
- "I work so hard. I get so lonely. I need something back for myself; [the victim] understands that."
- "Thinking that if he came with me that it was some sort of consent to whatever I wanted to do or wanted him to do."
- "As a priest, everything is alright."
- "It is okay, especially for a priest, to teach about sex, including practically."
- "Sexual activity with a child is not all that bad. It is no worse than an extension of natural sexual experimentation."
- "It is not really abuse; no actual penetration and no violence; they are not harmed and/or affected."
- "God has called me to be a priest. I believe this fully. When he called me he knew what I was like, what my needs were, and how I would have them met."
- "How could it be that bad if He [God] allows it?"
- "I will never be suspected because I am a concerned, hard-working, and good priest."
- I believed that as God forgave me my sins, he would one day perform a miracle and change me. This 'responsibility' was His, and He had called me and accepted me how I am."
- "He will look after this particular child and see that it comes to no harm; it will have his special protection."
- "I would go to a priest and confess my sins and promise I would not do it again."

The issue of an aggressive personality has primarily been addressed through the study of authoritarianism and, more recently, psychopathy. The theory of the authoritarian personality arose in the wake of WWII and attempts to come to terms with the nature of fascism and the reality of the Holocaust. Adorno and colleagues (1950), in what is regarded as the classic text on the authoritarian personality, also set out to try to understand the nature of anti-Semitism. Those who were exposed to authoritarian parenting were said to have their repressed anger displaced and projected onto those perceived as 'weaker' members of society. Authoritarian people were described as having an unshakable belief in their values and ways of dealing with others and possessed an overwhelming sense of superiority – both as an individual and the group to whom they were affiliated. The authoritarian person is full of contradictions:

> He is at the same time enlightened and superstitious, proud to be an individualist and in constant fear of not being like all the others, jealous of his independence and inclined to submit blindly to power and authority (Adorno et al., 1950, p.ix).

Evidence from a number of sources and particularly their own research comparing persons high and low in ethnocentrism suggested that a cluster of nine traits characterised this authoritarian personality syndrome. Moreover, these traits seemed to be directly expressed in particular attitudes and beliefs, making it possible to identify authoritarian personalities by the degree to which people would agree with these 'implicitly antidemocratic' attitudes and beliefs. On this basis they developed the F scale (F for fascism) consisting of items expressing attitudes that were believed to be direct expressions of each of the nine 'traits' of the authoritarian personality syndrome. [44]

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[44] These nine traits are listed below with a brief definition and an example of each (taken from Duckitt, 2015):

(1) *Conventionalism* (rigid adherence to conventional middle-class values): 'A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.'

(2) *Authoritarian submission* (a submissive, uncritical attitude toward authorities): 'Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.'

(3) *Authoritarian aggression* (tendency to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values): 'Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals, and ought to be severely punished.'

(4) *Anti-intraception* (opposition to the subjective, imaginative, and tender-minded): 'Nowadays more

What is immediately apparent from an examination of the traits is the overlap with cognitive behavioural approaches to understanding aggression and the extent of cognitive distortions present in such beliefs, such as polarised thinking, overgeneralisation, labelling and fortune telling. The theory, however, also owes much to the psychodynamic tradition, suggesting that children exposed to authoritarian parenting and in fear of expressing that anger go on to have their repressed anger displaced onto 'weaker' members of society.

Later Cattell described sixteen personality factors derived from the then new statistical technique of factor analysis (Dutton, 2012). The five-factor model of personality that emerged in the 1980s came to be the predominant model of personality as a result of rigorous research by its originators (Costa & McCrea, 1992; McCrea & Costa, 1987; McCrae & Costa, 1990). This lead to the development of a standard test of personality – the NEO Personality Inventory (Costa & McCrae, 1992). The five factors identified, which remain relatively stable over time, are said to explain why not everyone behaves equally aggressively in any particular situation. The factors are: (1) *openness to experience* (liberalism); (2) *conscientiousness* (dependability); (3) *extraversion* (sociability); (4) *agreeableness* (friendliness); and (5) *Neuroticism* (versus emotional stability); The model is commonly referred to as the 'Big Five' model of personality.

A connection between factors or facets of factors and aggression / violence across a

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and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.'

(5) *Superstition and stereotypy* (belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; disposition to think in rigid categories): 'Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.'

(6) *Power and toughness* (preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power, strength, toughness): 'People can be divided into two distinct classes, the weak and the strong.'

(7) *Destructiveness and cynicism* (generalized hostility, vilification of the human): 'Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.'

(8) *Projectivity* (disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outward of unconscious emotional impulses): 'Most people do not realise how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.'

(9) *Sex* (an exaggerated concern with sexual 'goings-on'): 'The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the 'goings-on' in these regions, even in places where people might least expect it.'

variety of populations has been established (e.g. Cavalcanti & Pimentel, 2016; Miller et al., 2003; Skeem et al., 2005). In terms of applying this theory to the violence that occurred in industrial schools we could not say with any confidence that men who engaged in violent verbal, physical or sexual abuse against detainees had similar personalities; however, we could suggest that certain powerful individuals may have influenced colleagues to behave in a certain manner. This may be because such authoritarian personalities, operating within a hierarchical, authoritarian total institution setting, would have had substantial influence on colleagues and particularly younger colleagues eager for acceptance and to complete their teacher training programme.

The introduction of *Psychopathic Personality Disorder* into the 3rd edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 1980). More recently, its DSM-V incarnation (APA, 2013), the title of the disorder has been changed to *Anti-Social Personality Disorder* (ASPD). A personality disorder is defined as "an enduring pattern of inner experience and behaviour that deviates markedly from the expectations of the individual's culture, is pervasive and inflexible, has an onset in adolescence or early adulthood, is stable over time, and leads to distress or impairment." Hare (1999), perhaps the premier researcher in this field, describes the psychopath as having a number of characteristics including pathological lying and lack of remorse or guilt. [45]

In an interesting piece of research linking ASPD and the five-factor model of

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[45] Hare (1999) observed the following characteristics:

- Glibness / superficial charm
- Grandiose sense of self-worth
- Pathological lying
- Conning / manipulative
- Lack of remorse or guilt
- Shallow affect
- Lacking empathy
- Failure to accept responsibility for actions
- Need for stimulation
- Parasitic lifestyle
- Lack of realistic, long-term goals
- Impulsivity
- Poor behavioural controls
- Early behaviour problems (conduct disorder) / juvenile delinquency

personality, Miller and colleagues (2001) interviewed academics with a proven track record in the field of psychopathy in order to rate typical psychopaths against all facets of the five-factor model, as exemplified by the NEO-PI. Perhaps not surprisingly, respondents agreed on low scores on all facets that made up the *Agreeableness* factor (i.e. *Trust, Straightforwardness, Altruism, Compliance, Modesty, and Tender-Mindedness*). They agreed on high scores on certain facets of the test, for example, *Angry / Hostile, Impulsiveness, Assertiveness, Activity, and Excitement-Seeking.*

According to the DSM-V (2013) between 0.2 percent and 3.3 per cent of the population can be classified as having ASPD. While the diagnosis may apply to certain individual Christian Brothers who abused boys in industrial schools, it fails to account for the systemic and chronic abuse and neglect inflicted by so many men over the period of 100 years that the industrial schools operated.

(3) Psychodynamic explanations

In his early writings Sigmund Freud saw aggression simply as a reaction to the blocking of libidinal impulses; he regarded it as occurring as a result of frustration and was neither automatic nor inevitable. Later (1920) in his dual instinct theory, however, he adopted a different position, namely, that aggression was a death wish (*Thanatos*) - innate, inevitable and in constant conflict with the life instinct (*Eros*). The energy behind these conflicted intrapsychic urges had to find its behavioural expression in one form or another, with the two most basic internal drives being aggression and sex.

Aggression was the destructive counterpart of the life-promoting force (*libido*). If men retained this energy, aggression would inevitably occur, even when there were no external circumstances or events that might justify it. But, although there may be a certain innate disposition towards aggressiveness for relieving hostility and for turning the death wish away from the self, we can escape – albeit temporarily - from it discharging its destructive energy by releasing that accumulated energy in socially acceptable ways such as jokes and sports or by *catharsis* through the process of psychoanalysis. However, aggression was seen as an inevitable feature of the human condition and inevitably beyond our complete control.

Empirical support for Freudian theory of aggression (like all his theories and others based on instinct) is virtually non-existent and based on case studies alone without the exacting methodological approaches required in contemporary quantitative studies (Krahé, 2013).

 Freud's psychoanalytic approach was the basis for the *Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis* (Dollard et al., 1939), which saw aggression as the inevitable result of frustrated goal attainment. Although highly influential at the time as a result of its clear, almost commonsense approach, when it was discovered that not every act of aggression was triggered by frustration the theory expanded to include both *displaced aggression* and the influence of *aggressive cues* (Miller et al., 2003). Berkowitz's (2008) theory connects the frustration-aggression hypothesis to the cognitive behavioural explanation of aggression by proposing that negative affect (in the form of anger) and a cognitive appraisal process are important mediators between frustration and aggression.

(4) Integrated models

Existing integrated models of human aggression such as the *General Aggression Model* (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; De Wall et al., 2011), and the *Catalyst Model* (Ferguson et al., 2008) elucidate how multiple factors interact in a process leading to aggressive behaviour, including developmental, cognitive, personality, and affect. Although such models are laudable for their scholarship and their comprehensive nature, there is a difficulty in confirming their validity through research as a result of their very complexity. To take one example, the Ohlsson (2018) model includes interacting factors such as formative developmental and life experiences, maladaptive personality and inhibitors for aggression as well as affect regulation, and cognitive factors such as appraisal and decision- making.

4.4 Bandura's theory of moral disengagement applied to the Irish industrial school system

Other scholars have proposed theoretical models to explain how groups of people can perpetrate evil acts, up to and including genocide (Minton, 2016; Staub, 1989; Reicher, Haslam & Rath, 2008; Woolf & Hulsizer, 2005). However, in this thesis I focus on the model proposed by Albert Bandura. The work of Bandura and, in particular, his theory of moral disengagement forms the basis of my conceptualisation of how Christian

Brothers lost sight of their humanity, with catastrophic consequences for many detainees in Irish industrial schools for over a century.

Fundamental to understanding the process of becoming morally disengaged, according to Bandura, is the notion of agency. To be an agent is to "exert intentional influence over one's functioning and over the course of events by one's actions" (Bandura, 2016). If it were true that human behaviour was exclusively externally controlled one could not hold individuals responsible for their behaviour. This responsibility that humans bear for their own behaviour is what makes us truly human and results from the three elements that make up agency: namely, forethought, self-reaction or self-regulation and self-reflection. With agency we are imbued with the capacity to plan, to regulate our behaviour and to reflect on what we have done in an evaluative way. These functions are based on a belief in a person's causative capabilities, that is, a sense of self-efficacy.[46] The social cognitive perspective proposes an interactionist approach to morality. While encompassing external or situational influences, it is clear about also emphasising personal freedom of choice and responsibility for those choices.

Outside of any external influences that might have been brought to bear on their religious vocation (for example, pressure from home and school), young men self -selected for the Congregation of Christian Brothers and were then selected by the Congregation to be trained as either a teaching Brother or a non-teaching 'co-adjutor' Brother. Presumably these boys were devoted Roman Catholics who came from devout Roman Catholic families. Presumably they were drawn to a life of prayer, but also a life of practical service to humanity. They were banded together for a prolonged period of time with other like-minded men. They were probably from similar social backgrounds and shared similar religious values and moral standards. Bandura (2016) argues that finding compatible associates or colleagues ensures social support for an individual's system of self-evaluation. It also has the effect of reducing interpersonal conflict. I would argue that it also creates a sense of interpersonal loyalty, both within

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[46] According to Bandura, self-efficacy is at the core of motivation: "Unless people believe they can produce desired effects by their actions, they have little incentive to act or to persevere in the face of difficulties. Whatever other factors serve as guides and motivators, they are rooted in people's core belief that they can affect the course of events by their actions" (Bandura, 2016, p. 5).

the sub-group of each industrial school and to the group as a whole, that is, the congregation.

While such a band of brothers may have had good intentions and may have striven to fulfill their vocation, not all men treated the boys in their charge – be it in a regular primary school setting or an industrial school setting – with respect. We know that some of these men were extremely abusive. [47] However, rather than facing a troubled conscience or self-devaluation for such depraved behaviour Bandura argues that people can become adept at "reconciling perturbing disparities between personal standards and dissonant conduct" by engaging in what he has called *moral disengagement* (Basndura, 1989; 1991; 1999; 2001; 2002; 2016).

In this story, occurring as it does in the century between the 1870s and the early to mid-1970s, there were moments of individual choice for the adults in charge of vulnerable children and adolescents in residential institutions and more than one path that could have been taken. People could and should have exercised integrity at the moment of choice (Covey et al., 1999). Some chose not to.

In contrast, detainees' choices were limited. Boys did not choose to be in industrial schools. They were detained against their wills and once there they could not leave until their sentence was served – usually at sixteen, no matter when they began their sentence (Arnold, 2009; Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999). Christian Brothers, however, were, for the most part one assumes, living and working there consensually. They were there because of their strong religious faith, their devotion to the values and principles of the Congregation, their vocation to teach children and their deeply held, long-term conviction that they were doing God's will. For most of them, I can only assume that their commitment never wavered. However, when faced with the realities of the brutal regimes they encountered (and were, to whatever extent, part of) and later with the public revelations of systemic abuse and neglect, many retained their well-insulated sense of non-accountability. These men stayed silent about their experiences, at first because nobody questioned their actions (or inactions), and later for fear of public

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[47] For example, in relation to Letterfrack, Brother T was convicted of multiple counts of sexually abusing boys over a fourteen-year period.

opprobrium, consoling themselves with the self-forgiving belief that they did their best to do their own work under trying circumstances.

Although these men were recruited at a young age and were indoctrinated in the ways of the congregation over a period of years, it is important to remember that all Brothers were adults and of an age to consult their consciences in order to form mature judgements. As well as emphasising individual responsibility, it is also important to state that I do not dismiss the influence of individual pathology. Dispositional factors are critical in that people vary in their propensity for abusive behaviour (e.g. Baron-Cohen, 2012; McGregor & McGregor, 2013; Stout, 2005)[48]. However, explanation is not rationalisation, and in seeking to explain the abusive and neglectful behaviour of Christian Brothers and other lay staff, as well as the abusive behaviour of some detainees, I do not in any way mean to justify it.

As I see it the social cognitive approach proposed here is the theoretical bridge that unites explanations of atrocities committed based on individual pathology and explanations based on situational factors. Social psychology concerns itself with the study of situational factors that influence human behaviour. Drawing on definitions adopted in several social psychology textbooks (e.g. Aronson et al. 2013; Sutton & Douglas, 2013), social psychology can be defined as the field of psychology that scientifically studies how people think about, feel about, behave towards and influence one another. What different social psychological researchers have in common in the emphasis they place on situational factors - a family, a group, a place, an institution - and how they impact on each other, rather than individual personality factors, traits or motivations.

The development of a pattern of moral disengagement, which can occur at the individual or collective level, explains how good and holy men of God did bad things or the devil's work. The elements of the process proposed by Bandura (2016) are: (1) moral, social and economic justification; (2) advantageous comparison; (3) euphemistic language; (4) attribution of blame; (5) disregard, distortion and denial of harmful effects; (6) diffusion of responsibility; (7) displacement of responsibility; (8) dehumanisation.

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[48] Baron-Cohen (2012) argues the case for an empathy deficit leading to sociopathic tendencies.

In the following section I summarise each factor of the Bandura model and propose that selected examples from the Irish industrial school context illustrate its applicability.

Factor 1: Moral, social and economic justification

In this process, people firstly justify their harmful behaviour by investing it with honourable purposes. They come to believe that their own intentions are, overall, for the good. Bandura uses the term 'sanctify' to describe the diverse ways people righteously justify their harmful behaviour on religious, ideological, social, economic and even constitutional grounds. It is my contention that this is precisely what occurred in Christian Brothers' industrial schools. The Brothers saw their work as vitally important and as serving God and society. They believed that the Irish state had abdicated its responsibility for looking after the needy poor in the wake of the Famine, and had effectively handed over responsibility to the two dominant religious groupings (Barnes, 1989). They believed that they, in turn, had been asked to take on the onerous task of operating industrial schools by the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and that they had complied with their Church's wishes. Their contention was if they had not done this job, no other organisation would have been willing and able to do so. They saw themselves as reforming the 'moral dirt' of society who would, without their intervention, go on to be the unemployed masses and/or criminal underclass of tomorrow (Ferguson, 2007).

At the same time they were also deeply fearful of proseletysm and, as a result, ensured that these children could not be turned to the other religious persuasion by intervening before a charitable Protestant organisation had an impact on these children's lives. Indeed, the complex of industrial schools became part of the frontline of what Raftery and O'Sullivan (1999) have called 'sectarian warfare' between the two main Churches in Ireland for the hearts, minds and souls of the people. Segregation of the sexes was enforced and all industrial schools in Ireland were denominational in nature, the vast majority of them being of the Roman Catholic tradition (Barnes, 1989). Economically, the religious orders saw themselves as saving the Irish state money by taking on the management of the institutions and at a time when institutionalisation of adults was

also the popular option for people perceived as 'deviant' it was seen as cheaper to have many people in the one controlled place.[49]

The prevailing belief was that these children could not be left in the care of inadequate parents or relatives, and that removing them from bad influences provided the opportunity to re-train them in the ways of God and usefulness to society. [50]In the case of boys from the 'dangerous classes,' as Carpenter (1851/2013) described them, they could be prevented from becoming 'street corner boys' (Mahood & Littlewood, 1994) and engaging in an ever-expanding life of crime. In the case of girls, they could be prevented from becoming prostitutes, 'vicious girls' or 'fallen women' (Mahood & Littlewood, 1994). Such boys were feared for their criminal tendencies. The report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools in Ireland (1863), published over 20 years before Letterfrack opened its doors, is evidence of the prevailing prejudiced view of certain children. This view led to what came to be known as the social risk model.[51] The inspector quotes Mary Carpenter:

> These wild Arabs, as well as savages, often show great quickness of apprehension, and the power of great exertion on emergencies; but they have little capability or liking for patient, steady, mental application, or regular hard labour, carried on in obedience to the direction of another. These must be taught them (Inspector of Reformatory Schools of Ireland, 1863, pp. 14-15).

 Such girls were feared for their sexuality in the prudish nineteenth century and over half the twentieth century (Inglis, 1998, 2002, 2005; Luddy, 2007). The religious orders saw their intervention in the lives of boys and girls as socially justified. The state, in this Irish case using the Roman Catholic Church as its primary apparatus, would be an essential part of what Foucault (1977, 1988, 1989) described as the major change in

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[49] The pattern of detaining children and adolescents up to 16 years of age in industrial schools in Ireland can be seen within the wider context of what Brennan (2012, p.308) refers to as a tendency to institutionalise, what Smith (2007) calls our architecture of containment, and what O'Sullivan & O'Donnell (2012) refer to as a pattern of coercive confinement in Ireland. O'Sullivan & O'Donnell refer to the social theorist Foucault's concept of the 'carceral archipelago' when they note that prisons are but one of a range of institutions established to regulate human behaviour. They see common threads of punitiveness and social control in the widespread use in Ireland of prisons, borstals, reformatories, industrial schools, mental hospitals, Magdalen laundries, county homes, and mother-and-baby homes.
[50] A similar rationalization was used to abduct and residentially school the *stolen generations* in Australia, the Maori of New Zealand, the Inuit of Canada, the Sami of Norway and American Indians (Minton, 2016). In each case missionaries and religious orders were to the fore in education delivery.
[51] O' Sullivan (1976) provides a short explanation of this model as used in developing the industrial school system in Ireland.

social control that occurred in the nineteenth century: increased state involvement in people's lives, increased efforts to categorise people as deviant, and increased efforts to gather and isolate members of these labelled groups in large institutions.

Because significant numbers of Irish children were labelled deviant, and because of the primary goal of mass re-training, the choice was made to carry out this programme in large, single sex residential institutions. Here, children were forcibly separated from what were perceived as negative influences and in these places the work of saving them could go on unhindered by outside forces day and night over a period of years.

The Christian Brothers saw themselves as the most worthy of men, and morally superior to the laity, and certainly so to working class children and their parents, who were "wretchedly poor and generally could not afford to pay even the smallest sums towards their children's maintenance" (Barnes, 1989, p. 49). Their aims were indeed lofty. The Directory (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927) set the tone, placing Brothers at a superior level of being in the world:

> The spirit of their Congregation teaches the Brothers to have a continual watch over themselves, never to perform any of their actions through any natural or human motive, or through custom; but to animate all their actions with sentiments of faith; doing all for God; doing them because God so wills and commands (p. 14).

I argue that the Congregation of Christian Brothers developed a particularly strong group identity and saw themselves as different to and better than the average citizens of Ireland. Because of their religious vocation they saw themselves as chosen ones. I believe that on some level they also saw themselves as better than all lay Roman Catholics. They were the virtuous ones. They devoted themselves to God and the work of teaching; they nominally gave up worldly pleasures such as money, material belongings and sex.

In sharp contrast, the out-group of children and adolescents they worked with every day were perceived as morally corrupt and potential adult criminals and their poor working-class families were perceived as uncouth, non-resourced, and devoid of proper Christian values (Ferguson, 2007). They needed to be separated from their inadequate parents and re-educated.

This pathologising of the out-group became more intense in 1954 when the Congregation of Christian Brothers took the decision to close Carriglea Park industrial

school and to only detain in Letterfrack industrial school those boys who had committed an offence in law. No longer was the out-group one consisting of potential criminals. Now they were all officially little criminals, and this new perception of their lowered status justified a stronger disciplinary response from the regime. The Brothers' task of re-education, particularly in the case of little criminals, involved nothing less than saving these children's souls:

> By fervent prayer and by their watchfulness and demeanour in the schools, the Brothers shall strive to procure the salvation of the dear little ones confided to their care…(Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, pp. 16-17).

When questioned about the nature and extent of abuse and neglect perpetrated in the industrial schools the standard Christian Brother response (aside from total denial, minimisation of the extent of the problem, and blaming the victims) was to suggest that they had to take a 'firm hand' with these boys because if not there would have been chaos. Even in their day schools there was the "liberal use of corporal punishment…[and the use of] the bare hand or even the closed fist" (Leavy, 2012, p. 57). Perhaps it is no coincidence that the period in the aftermath of the establishment of their industrial schools the Christian Brothers began to get a reputation for severity of punishment (Coldrey, 1993). Their argument was that the draconian, military-style discipline and basic living conditions evident in all six Christian Brothers-operated residential institutions were an inevitable result of (a) the paltry state support for their endeavours, (b) the sheer numbers of boys they were accommodating at any one time, and (c) the type of children involved, who were seen as uncouth and lacking any semblance of self-discipline. They excused the regime excesses by stating that their work was very difficult and that the working hours were very long:

> This imposes a heavy round of duties on those immediately concerned with the boys…It is therefore almost impossible to maintain that evenness of temper that is essential for this work. A man on duty all day is bound to feel irritable…(Visitation report on Salthill, 1967. In CICA, 2009, Vol.I, p. 526).

The report did not elaborate on what behaviours resulted from this state of irritability. They pointed to the low ratio of Christian Brothers to boys in the industrial schools and that staff shortages caused pressure on already over-worked men. They claimed that a highly regimented daily routine was essential in order to maintain order, instil discipline and effect moral reformation. They were of the belief that physical labour constituted

occupational therapy because, as well as teaching skills, it made sure that idle hands did not do the 'devil's work'. They claimed that because state funding for industrial schools was low child labour was necessary to attain some degree of self-sufficiency in each institution.

Factor 2: Advantageous comparison

In advantageous comparison, the careful framing of an issue in a way designed to benefit oneself can make attitudes and, more particularly, behaviour seem like the lesser of two evils and therefore somehow acceptable, and even morally right. It is also referred to as 'exonerating comparison' because a person leaves himself 'off the hook' for the methods used to attain goals. During the Vietnam war, the Americans' widespread destruction of the Vietnamese countryside through the use of the toxic chemical *Agent Orange* (a herbicide and defoliant) was presented as being a better option for the Vietnamese people than being in slavery to the communist forces. [52]

The Christian Brother argument in favour of a military style regime with severe corporal punishment was that the children were already in receipt of comparable strict discipline in their family homes and in the day primary schools they had previously attended. The Christian Brothers' view was that they were behaving no differently to how parents and teachers were behaving at that time. Brother David Gibson summarised their view: "I think also it is important to remember that we are talking about a time in the 40s, 50s and 60s, where now there is a tendency to judge life at that time from the viewpoint of how life is now." (CICA, Emergence Hearings, 2005, p. 15).

To a certain extent their belief may have been based on fact. Christian Brothers lived in an Ireland where the pervasive thinking on childcare and the view that developed within the Congregation itself over time was that 'a good beating never hurt anyone' (Maguire & Ó Cinnéide, 2005). This cruelty in child-rearing and in schools and the intention to break the spirit of the child 'for their own good' has been called *poisonous pedagogy* and it dominated thinking in child rearing and education until relatively recently (Miller, 1983). Miller states that this poisonous pedagogy is exemplified in

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[52] The euphemistic code word for the operation that laid waste the Vietnamese countryside between the years 1962 and 1971, through the use of *Agent Orange,* was *Operation Ranch Hand.*

King Solomon's belief that 'if you spare the rod you will spoil the child'. Leavy (2012) described a Christian Brother colleague who exemplified this view:

> One Brother in particular seemed to believe that every boy needed a good thump from time to time, and if a justifiable excuse for it did not present itself then he would invent one…his almost manic drive and temper outbursts inspired terror in all who sat in front of him (p. 57).[53]

Comparing themselves favourably with respect to detainees' parents, the Christian Brothers argued that if some neglectful parents were not disciplining their children, then they (the Christian Brothers) would compensate for these parental moral deficits and sheer laziness in order to reform these children and save their souls (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999). So, either way a firm hand was to be taken with detainees. They argued that they adhered to a strict regime as it was the only way to control the large numbers of boys in their institutions and the discipline was necessary to inculcate in them the values of respect and obedience to authority – values that were unimportant to their parents. The judiciary supported this attitude. For example, in a case in 1930 a District Justice committed a boy to an industrial school in order for him to receive the punishment he was not receiving from his parents (Maguire & Ó Cinnéide, 2005).

The Christian Brothers argued that the ratio of Brothers to 'pupils' (a euphemism for detainees) in the industrial schools was low and that a small number of men needed a strict regime to keep order. Most industrial schools had fewer than seven Brothers (Barnes, 1989). [54]

They argued that the alternative to a regime of discipline was far worse – chaos in the institutions and the inevitable life of crime post-release, ultimately resulting in destruction of the social order. In stating that their methods were both normal and necessary in order to deal with these particular boys and that their task was both

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[53] The irony is that the congregation of Christian Brothers was originally an order that did not condone the use of any corporal punishment. They had, under the founder's philosophy of care no interest in the rod (Keogh, 2008) but this had changed at the time of the establishment of the industrial schools.

[54] Raferty and O'Sullivan (1999) concluded that all the industrial schools were understaffed. In the case of the Christian Brothers, I suggest that this was because as a congregation they prioritised work in day primary schools, both in Ireland and abroad, and assigned staff accordingly. It was also the case that it was more difficult to get men to do this type of work in industrial schools because more interesting, professionally satisfying and status-enhancing work was available in regular primary schools in Ireland or abroad.

enormous and onerous, the Christian Brothers attempted to justify abuse and neglect and thus make a virtue out of their own inhumanity because in the long term it would be best for all. In the interim their belief was that they were preventing far more human suffering than they caused.

Their primary 'advantageous comparison' argument for the level of punishment they administered to boys in their industrial schools was that it did not exceed behavioural norms at that point in time. Coldrey (1993) expresses this view:

> While people may wax emotional in the 1990s in rather delayed sympathy for children supposedly over-punished many years ago, the fact is that in 1950, a teacher or a childcare worker who gave a disobedient child up to six strokes of the birch, cane, rod or strap on the hand, legs or backside – bare or covered – was giving a severe but normal punishment in a residential institution (p. 355).

What such arguments inevitably fail to address is that while it may have been legal to physically punish children in certain prescribed ways, the Christian Brothers went far beyond their remit in terms of the limits of corporal punishment. They developed the use of straps, for instance, which were not allowed under the Children Act 1908 (Maguire & Ó Cinnéide, 2005). Their own manual of governance did not permit striking a child on the legs or buttocks (covered or otherwise), for example. Nowhere in the rules of the religious order (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927), the rules and regulations for certified industrial schools in Ireland (Arnold, 2009), or in the Department of Education guidelines (Raferty & O'Sullivan, 1999),[55] was it deemed permissible to punish with the degree of savagery that was meted out to defenceless children on a daily basis.

The final example of an advantageous comparison argument was provided by Brother David Gibson, who represented the Christian Brothers at the CICA (Emergence Hearings, 2005). He attempted to compare the Brothers' level of reporting child sexual abuse perpetrated by members of their congregation advantageously to what he presumed were low reporting levels in the community at large. He wondered how widespread it was that in the Ireland of the time the civil authorities would have been

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[55] "Punishment should be confined as far as possible to forfeiture of rewards and privilege obtained by good conduct". From a Department of Education circular issued to all industrial schools in 1946 (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999, p.205).

notified of cases of sexual abuse. His questioner had to quickly remind him that there were numerous criminal trials throughout the twentieth century in Ireland involving indecent assault, buggery and other such sexual crimes committed against children (CICA Emergence Hearings, 2005, p.95)[56].

Factor 3: Euphemistic language

A euphemism is the deliberate substitution of a mild, indirect or vague term for one considered too harsh, blunt, or offensive. Sometimes called *doublespeak,* a euphemism is a word or phrase that, in terms of the recipient of the communication, softens, masks, massages or even deceives. Euphemistic language avoids reality, shifts the emphasis to a more positive position or denies responsibility. It is designed to influence perception, and it is part of what we now call propaganda or 'spin.'

History teaches us that the social acceptability of actions can vary markedly depending on what the actions are called. Sanitised labels and language deliberately employed to obfuscate are used to deflect public attention and to reduce the impact of what is being done. In war situations sanitised language can be used to deflect attention from the reality of destruction, wounding and death. This was the case in Nazi Germany.[57]

When the United States invaded Iraq in 2003 they did not call it an invasion. They referred to it as 'Operation Iraqi Freedom'. When men or women kill their fellow soldiers in error it is referred to as 'friendly fire'. When innocent civilians are slaughtered in war it is called 'collateral damage'. Enemies are now 'neutralised', not killed. Tortures such as waterboarding, sleep deprivation, stress positions and sexual

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[56] With the close ties between Christian Brothers and communication between Provincials in various countries, Brother Gibson would surely also have known that a fellow Brother in Australia had been arrested by police as far back as 1919, charged with 'indecent dealings with minors' and had been sentenced to three years in prison.

[57] In Nazi Germany the deliberate attempt to wipe out the entire Jewish population of Europe was euphemistically referred to by Hermann Göring to Reinhardt Heydrich in a letter of 31 July, 1941 as "an overall solution to the Jewish question in the German sphere" (Hayes, 2017, p.117). Incongruously, details of the eradication plan were discussed in the plush surroundings of a villa on the shores of a Berlin lake in 1942 (Roseman, 2012). Likewise, the well-orchestrated Nazi operation that killed thousands of men, women and children with physical and intellectual disabilities was simply known as T4 and described as "mercy killing", as if they were doing the victims, their families and the community at large a favour by putting these people "out of their misery" (Lifton, 1988). A new operation (or 'Action' in German) to extend this murder to inmates of concentration camps judged to be unable to work was referred to as 14F13 and between the T4 and 14F13 operations over 160,000 people were murdered (Hayes, 2017).

humiliation are now gathered together under the sophisticated heading of 'enhanced interrogation techniques' and mental health professionals have been complicit in extracting information from people labelled as 'enemies of the state' (Anderson & Nussbaum, 2018).

Although exclusively associated with female children, in Victorian England a number of euphemisms were used to describe child sexual abuse, including 'moral corruption', 'immorality', 'tampering', 'ruining', 'molestation', and 'outrage'. These crimes were prosecuted in the courts as indecent assault, rape, and unlawful carnal knowledge (Jackson, 2000). Thus, while it is commonly thought to have emerged as an issue in the 1970s, it is obviously not a late twentieth century phenomenon. [58]

The use of euphemistic language in relation to the Christian Brothers' industrial school complex was part of a concerted effort at what Goffman, 1959/1990) referred to as impression management. It concealed the fact that these were not schools in the usual sense of the word, but punitive places of detention, where marginalised and criminalised children and adolescents did long and difficult sentences, that is, 'hard time'. In terms of the industrial schools the following euphemisms were in use:

(a) 'Orphanages'

It was commonly believed that children in industrial schools were without parents and that these institutions were, therefore, orphanages. The Christian Brothers, along with other religious orders (both male and female), did nothing to change the public's perception that there were many orphans in the country and they were all cared for in these 'orphanages.' Raftery and O'Sullivan (1999) argue that they took this stance for a reason:

> The orphanage myth reinforced the perception by society of the supposedly charitable nature of these institutions. The description of the children as 'orphans' was far more likely to elicit sympathy for both them and their religious carers. It also undoubtedly

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[58] Jackson (2000) informs us that a Scottish surgeon, George William Balfour, used the expression 'sexually abused' as early as 1864, and the author is clear that although the Victorians had no standard expression "…they would certainly have recognised the term 'child sexual abuse'".

assisted with fundraising and a range of other activities (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999, p. 12).

The reality of the number of actual orphans in Ireland was somewhat different. In 1926, for example, of 763,955 children under 15 years in Ireland, only 6,642 were orphans in the true sense, that is, for whom both parents were deceased.[59] Many of these children could have been well looked after by members of their extended families, but the families were not given this option. Further evidence comes from the CICA (2009). Although one hundred and forty witnesses (18%) reported that the death of one or both parents was a significant factor in their detention in an industrial school, the death of both parents was reported as a reason for admission in only nine cases (1.1%).

However, of the 791 witnesses who gave evidence to the Confidential Committee of the Committee to Inquire into Child Abuse, 29 per cent identified themselves as 'non-marital' children, who as a consequence of the circumstances of their birth (usually in mother-and-baby homes) "were generally in some form of institutional care for most of their childhood" (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, p. 29). In the euphemistic language of the Ireland of the times it was seen as preferable for a child to be labelled an 'orphan' than a child born 'out of wedlock' and so children born to parents who were not married were referred to as orphans.

If not called orphanages, industrial schools were euphemistically referred to as 'the convent' or 'the monastery'. In fact, convents and monasteries were where the nuns or brothers lived. These were typically separate buildings from the main industrial school building(s) but they were usually located on the same campus and were luxuriously appointed in comparison to the industrial schools. Using these terms made it appear that boys and girls were living in large, comfortable homes.[60]

(b) 'Schools' and 'pupils'

Free second level education for all was introduced in Ireland in 1967. Although many boys in industrial schools were between the ages of 12 and 16, when children would

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[59] See http://www.cso.ie/en/census/censusvolumes1926to1991/historicalreports/census1926reports/

[60] When one participant in this study intercepted a van delivering food and drink to the monastery at Letterfrack he noticed that the food was not comparable to the low standard of food that boys received. The Brothers, he noted, had "the best of everything." On a recent visit to Tralee where I was searching for the graves of the industrial school boys, a local man of about my own age, in an effort to be helpful, asked me was I looking for "the monastery boys." The euphemisms live on.

normally be attending second level schools, the vast majority of industrial school boys never made it beyond the primary level of education. Industrial schools were certified by the Department of Education. They were required to follow the Department of Education curriculum for all primary schools and were to be inspected to ensure compliance. Lay teachers were paid by the Department of Education. Qualified Christian Brother teachers had their salaries paid directly to the order. Outside of these facts, however, the reality was that industrial schools for boys masqueraded as normal primary schools and places of practical trade learning. Teaching of a sort took place but not much learning. In fact, they were places of detention.

There was surveillance at all times. Even at night boys were under observation by a Brother who slept in room adjacent to the dormitory. In addition, monitors supervised and reported transgressions to the Brothers and night watchmen patrolled the dormitories and corridors (Barnes, 1989). Leaving the premises of one's own volition was strictly forbidden and escaping or 'absconding' was severely punished. Labour was involuntary and unpaid. Arnold (2009) too is clear that in no meaningful way were industrial schools real schools. Because the system was penal[61] and because the prisons masqueraded as schools he describes the complex of industrial schools as the 'Irish Gulag'. Although Barnes (1989) was of the opinion that children received at least as good an education as those in regular primary schools, subsequent scholarship is of the view that boys and girls left industrial schools with a higher proportion of unmet literacy needs than did their contemporaries in wider society (Feely, 2010). One must therefore question the standard of basic education accorded these children in the system.

The Christian Brothers believed that the majority of boys were learning disabled and were not suitable for normal primary school education, according to the evidence of Brother Gibson at the Emergence Hearings in 2006. Although this belief has been disputed (CICA, 2009), it served the purpose of justifying a lack of effort in the

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[61] Under Section 58 of the Children Act (1908) children were arrested or taken into charge, brought before a court, convicted, and conveyed to the industrial school by police.

classroom as well as the assignment of sub-standard teachers or men with psychological or behavioural problems to industrial schools (Dunne, 2010).[62]

The main emphasis was on the (partial) learning of trades in the workshops and requiring boys to engage in manual labour on the farms. Even though the stated aim was to produce qualified tradesmen, the reality was that few boys were ever fully trained upon leaving an industrial school and most boys became farm labourers. Often moving to remote places, sixteen-year-old boys lived in with farmers and their families as 'house boys', worked long hours in all weathers, and were paid a pittance. Girls were primarily trained to take up positions as domestic servants. Anecdotal evidence is emerging to suggest that while resident in institutions boys as young as eight were sent out to work on farms at weekends and holiday time and, while in these places, that they were physically and sexually abused (Pembroke, 2017) [63] Evidence is also emerging to suggest that girls were kept on in industrial schools beyond the age of sixteen without informing them of their right to release. This was done under the guise of allowing them to continue with their studies to Leaving Certificate level.[64] One participant in this study summed up his opinion on whether Letterfrack was a school: "I hate using the word 'industrial school' 'cos it's more like a concentration camp."

(c) 'Punishment'

In the usual sense the word punishment implies some form of retribution, that is, it is administered because the receiver of the punishment has done something wrong. Of course in the total institution corporal punishment is always 'administered'. This has the effect of making it seem like a formal procedure and that it is within the bounds of civilised behaviour. It is usually implied that punishment is not a random occurrence;

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[62] A single Department of Education inspection per year did little to improve academic standards. Perceiving the children as 'moral dirt' did not encourage individual Christian Brothers to value educating them to the best of their abilities (Ferguson, 2007). From 1872 to 1889 a system of payment by results applied to primary school children. Teachers would be given financial bonuses based on individual pupils' performance on an annual examination. This bonus system did not apply to industrial school children and this most likely influenced teacher attitudes to such children (Barnes, 1989).

[63] Author's interview with 'Brian' (pseudonym), who was resident in St. Joseph's Industrial School, Kilkenny and who reported being physically and sexually abused on a work placement on a farm.
[64] Author's interview with 'Martha' (pseudonym), who was resident in St. Mary's Industrial School, Rushbrooke, Cobh, Co. Cork.

it is the logical reaction to some act of commission or omission. It is implied that punishment is administered in a state of calmness and not in anger.

Punishment is usually placed under the heading 'discipline'. In the *Rules and Regulations for the Certified Industrial Schools in Saorstát Éireann* corporal punishments were to be limited to: (1) 'moderate childish punishment with the hand', and (2) 'chastisement with the cane, strap, or birch' (Arnold, 2009). As noted earlier these were rules very much open to individual interpretation. There was an attempt in a Department of Education circular sent to all industrial schools in 1946 to be somewhat clearer. It was ordered that corporal punishment should be used only as a last resort, and only for major transgressions. It should not be used for "mere failure at school lessons" (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999, pp. 205-206). It should only consist of slapping on the open palm with a light stick or strap. Once again it lacked clarity and, therefore, still allowed for individual interpretation. It did not, for example, specify how many slaps were to be administered or with what strength.

The Directory (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927) stated that it should be the intention of all Brothers to reduce corporal punishment to a minimum. Further, it insisted that if it was used at all corporal punishment should be administered without anger and for the right reasons:

> The Brothers shall be ever watchful that in correcting the pupils, they be never prompted by any emotion of passion or impatience, so that the pupils may always see that if punishment is given, it is because they deserve it, because it is necessary for their amendment, and to deter others from following their example (p. 299).

The reality for most boys detained in industrial schools was that 'punishment' was not 'administered' or 'given' to them; Christian Brothers paid no heed to these rules and boys were physically assaulted. Assaults could occur for any number of reasons or for no apparent reason, and prolonged serious physical assaults were usually perpetrated in a frenzy of rage (see Ellis, 2012; Finn, 2011).

When O' Sullivan (1976) viewed the punishment books in Letterfrack, he found entries for 1895 that suggested that misdemeanours such as 'leaving playground without permission' and 'talking at night in dormitory' merited a whipping. He also discovered that the 'little scourge' was used to flail boys. The mention of the use of this weapon of

torture on the detainee "suggests that it was used on more than one occasion" (Barnes, 1989, p.101). The Brothers may have been quite familiar with this weapon. Dunne (2010) claimed that during his training to be a Christian Brother the weapon known as the 'little scourge' (also known as 'the discipline') was handed to each Brother during the novitiate year and they were expected to flagellate their backs every morning and evening during Lent.[65]

The variety of weapons used on children (including whips, cat-o-nine-tails, leathers, belts, straps, canes, sticks, tree branches, chair legs, hose pipes, rubber tyres and hurley sticks) indicates the level of forethought given to punishing children and the level of malice with which the assaults were perpetrated, (CICA, 2009; Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999). Formal corporal punishments within the relevant parameters did take place but more often than not children were severely assaulted. [66]

(d) 'A dangerous affection'

A number of euphemistic terms were used by the Christian Brothers to refer to child sexual abuse. The number of expressions used to refer to this phenomenon indicates how uncomfortable the Christian Brothers were with the subject matter, but also alerts us to the fact that the congregation was also familiar with the occurrence of such behaviour by Brothers for decades before the system closed down and that they wished to deflect attention from the reality of sexual abuse in a religious order where the vow of celibacy was of paramount importance. The Brothers' own rulebook (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927) did, however, refer directly to sexual abuse. 'Concupiscence' (a strong desire of a sexual nature) was to be guarded against by various means, such as 'useful occupation' (distracting activities, including prayer) and

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[65] In the Roman Catholic tradition, Lent is a solemn religious observance in the liturgical calendar that begins on Ash Wednesday and ends approximately six weeks later, before Easter Sunday.

[66] In this study, one participant had some teeth damaged when a Brother rammed a shotgun into his mouth in order to terrorise him with the threat of murder. Another man has a scar visible to this day from the time a Christian Brother punched him in the face while holding a key protruding from his fist. A Brother kicked one participant repeatedly all over his body as he lay on the washroom floor, to the point where, having been winded, he thought he was going to die. These are not punishments in the usual sense of the word, or the meaning of the word according to the rules pertaining to industrial schools or primary schools. These are serious physical assaults that in Irish law today would be referred to as *assault causing harm* or even *assault causing serious harm.*

'mortification' (visible signs, gestures and works of penance, that could include self-flagellation). It seems there was a link between one's sexuality and self-harm.

A Brother was required to take care in avoiding 'sensual friendships' with boys. Boys in residential institutions were not permitted to enter a Brother's bedroom and a Brother was never to be alone with a pupil in any setting and was required to "avoid taking a pupil by the hand, touching the face or otherwise fondling him". Likewise, Brothers could not "manifest a particular friendship or inclination for certain pupils" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, pp.169-170). Sexual abuse of a 'pupil' was also referred to in the Directory (1927) as a 'dangerous affection':

> A Religious exposes himself to the danger of grievous sin, if, without necessity, he holds frequent conversation with, or receives in the parlour, persons of the other sex, without observing the precautions prescribed by the Rule; or if he holds frequent interviews with a pupil to whom he feels drawn by a dangerous affection… (p. 34).

If its Directory (1927) is anything to go by, the Christian Brothers were not concerned about whether this 'affection' was in any way harmful for the child concerned; it focused instead on consequences for the individual Brother and potential reputational damage to the congregation. In addition, it seems that abusing a child was not seen as entirely the Brother's fault, as such transgressions were viewed as the results of "the most dangerous snares of the devil" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p. 170). In this way the congregation sought to avoid responsibility by declaring abusive behaviour to be the inevitable outcome of some sort of fiendish satanic trap set to ensnare them.

Coldrey (1993), in his review of Christian Brothers' residential institutions in Western Australia, noted a variety of euphemisms used by the Brothers to refer to allegations of child sexual abuse, including: 'interfered with', 'accosted', and 'misconduct'.[67] The general expression 'Second Vow problem' was in common use and could refer either

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[67] In a private report, intended for the eyes of the congregation only (Coldrey, 1992), the author reviewed internal Australian Christian Brothers' correspondence between 1940 and 1970 and noted other euphemisms and the year of the correspondence: 'interfering with boys' (1959), 'the weakness' and 'a most dangerous weakness' (1959), 'complaints of this type' (1948), 'that particular weakness' (1954), 'the tendency' (1953) 'that sort of trouble' (1959), 'careless with regard to his relations with the boys' (1953), 'indiscretions' (1954), 'fondling' (1959), and 'failings of this kind' (1965).

to a Brother involved in an adult-adult sexual relationship or a Brother perpetrating child sexual abuse.[68]

In Australia the *Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse* (2014) confirmed that (1) the relevant Christian Brothers Provincial Council knew of allegations of sexual abuse against various Brothers in the four residential institutions in Western Australia from 1919 onwards; (2) there was an awareness that sexual abuse could have long-term negative impact; and (3) there was an awareness that abuse perpetrated by an individual tended to recur.[69]

Although Brother David Gibson, in his evidence to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (Emergence Hearings, 2005, p.93) denied that the term 'fondling' in Christian Brother documents relating to the behaviour of Brothers and under the heading 'chastity' referred specifically to sexual abuse, a representative of the Christian Brothers in Australia confirmed to the *Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse* (2014) that it did.

Factor 4: Attribution of blame

In the realm of intimate partner violence the attribution of blame allows the abuser to perceive evil intent in the beliefs, attitudes and actions of the victim and (in their own minds) justifiably react accordingly with whatever means available, with a clear conscience (Gottman, 1997, 1998). Of course, if this is the case, then the victim does not have to say or do much to trigger a reaction. If you are abusive then any word or deed of the other can be seen as intentionally provocative and requiring a 'firm response'. What we are concerned about here are the dynamics of power and control, and in particular what has been called *coercive power* or power *over* somebody, which is really about controlling others through fear (Lee, 1998). When we use the hard approach to being coercive we suppress, force, control, intimidate, bully, threaten,

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[68] The second vow was the vow of chastity.

[69] Coldrey (1992) quotes from an internal Australian Christian Brother letter from a Brother Young to a Brother Noonan in 1948, indicating (albeit very crudely and insensitively) that the leaders of the congregation were quite aware that abusers had a tendency to re-offend: "Generally the dog returns to his vomit, especially where the Second Vow is concerned."

scare, belittle, prohibit, disparage, emasculate, disenfranchise (Lee, 1998,). It is easy to control children through fear (Miller, 1983).

In order to exonerate themselves in respect of the controlling of children through fear, it was important for the Christian Brothers to blame their charges for the predicament in which these children found themselves. This was not difficult to do. They were fully aware that most (if not all) of the boys were of low socio-economic status and came from impoverished families (Barnes, 1989; CICA, 2009). They blamed the children's parents for this state of affairs, viewing them as slovenly, good-for-nothings, with no moral compass (Ferguson, 2007). It was easy and self-serving to believe that children inherited these tendencies. It was easy and self-serving to blame parents who, for whatever reasons, could not exercise proper guardianship. It was easy and self-serving to blame, for example, unmarried women who had given birth to children, who were then regarded in law as 'illegitimate.' No credit was given to such women for being able to use the support of family, friends and neighbours and no state supports were provided to keep families intact. It was easy and self-serving to remove children from homes with only a father to parent them. It was believed that men could not work and rear children on their own. As with unmarried women, no credit was given to such men for being able to use the support of family, friends and neighbours and no state supports were activated to keep families intact.

All children detained in Letterfrack after 1954 were brought before a court and sentenced to a period of detention as a result of some indictable offence. By 1963 only three industrial schools in Ireland (one of which was Letterfrack) contained children who had committed indictable offences (O'Sullivan, 1976). These children were perceived as little criminals, although their activities were usually at the petty crime level (Carr, 2009). Low morals and criminal tendencies inherited from parents would, it was believed, have to be reformed. Children would have to be purged of their parents' views and habits, a process Barnes (1989) refers to as an exercise in social genetics. There was a persistent association in the public mind between industrial schools and criminality (Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999). The religious orders did little if anything to change this perception. Perhaps it allowed them to be viewed as helping the little criminals of society and preventing the development of adult criminals. This charitable

exercise tapped into the public mood of punitiveness and an Ireland eager to have this underclass safely out of harm's way.

The truth is that the vast majority of children in late nineteenth century Ireland found themselves in these institutions as a direct result of extreme poverty. This is evidenced by two facts: (1) before the introduction of the industrial schools the number of vagrant children in Ireland was calculated to be twice that of England and Wales (Sargent, 2014); and (2) later, in 1882, a time of expansion of the industrial school sector, a large number of children were being detained as a result of vagrancy, but by far the largest proportion (73.1 per cent) of children were there because they had been found begging (Barnes, 1989, p. 65)[70]. Gwynn Morgan (CICA, 2009, Vol. IV, p. 208) concludes that for the duration of the industrial school system most children came from four categories: (1) Low income and large families, (2) single parent families, (3) orphans, and (4) what he calls *mentally ill* children but should read learning disabled children. Poverty was at the core:

> All the classic signs were there: tuberculosis ('consumption'); rickets; anaemia; emigration; apathy; money-lending and high unemployment, especially in the cities of Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Limerick (CICA, 2009, Vol. IV, p. 201)

As previously stated, research on interpersonal violence and intimate partner violence in particular concludes that if we believe that others have bad intentions towards us and if we are of a particular mind we can use this belief to justify our responses, no matter how extreme. In the following example a Brother justifies his abusive actions on the basis of what he believes a boy is intentionally doing to insult and embarrass him. Brother Sorel[71] was concerned with the number of boys soiling themselves in Letterfrack. It appears he never considered that that this trend might have indicated a certain level of emotional disturbance. In his evidence to the Commission he revealed that in the case of one particular boy who had obviously lost control and defecated on the floor in front of the Brother he "thought he [the boy] was doing it purposefully to ridicule me" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 305). As a result of forming this opinion Brother Sorel reacted by forcing that boy to eat his own excrement.

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[70] The maximum number of industrial schools (70) was in operation in 1890, after which numbers leveled off (Barnes, 1989, p. 75).

[71] This is a pseudonym.

Brother Beaufort [72] worked in Artane in the 1940s and early 1950s. On one occasion he thought a boy was laughing at him in class. The boy later gave evidence to the CICA:

> He jumped straight at me, picked me up, threw me like a dog around the place. I hit desks, hit the floor. I landed after some time on the floor…I know I was unconscious (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p.116).

As a result of this assault the boy received injuries to his left eye and neck and had three teeth broken.

We know how the boys in Letterfrack were labelled before they ever crossed the threshold of the industrial school and blamed for their predicament and behaviour while there. A controversial series of social psychological experiments in the 1960s helps to explain how victim-blaming works, particularly in the aftermath of abusive behaviour. Lerner (1980) found that when participants observed another person receiving electric shocks and were unable to intervene they began to think negatively about the victim and even derogate the victim's character (Lerner, 2003). The more severe the suffering witnessed, the greater the negativity and character derogation in relation to the victim. Lerner and Simmons (1966) concluded: "Apparently the persecutor justifies his behaviour by persuading himself that the victim deserved what happened to him" (p.203).

In Letterfrack and other industrial schools, believing that the victims deserved ill treatment justified further atrocities. Subsequent studies discovered similar phenomena when people in experimental situations evaluated victims of motor vehicle accidents, victims of sexual assault, victims of intimate partner violence, victims of certain illnesses or conditions, depressed people, and even victims of poverty (Janoff-Bulman et al., 1985; Lerner, 2003). The 'belief in a just world' is one cognitive mechanism through which people make sense of or find meaning in their experiences. We do not like to believe that things happen randomly in a way over which we have no control. In this just world 'good' people get what they deserve and 'bad' people get punished. This belief may reduce our empathy for those who suffer and may even contribute to further suffering by increasing stigmatisation (Lerner, 1980).

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[72] This is a pseudonym.

Festinger (1957) proposed a theory that may help to explain how, when men's moral values about how to treat children were inconsistent with their behaviour towards detainees in the industrial schools, some men continued to behave abusively. This clash between values and behaviour creates what Festinger called cognitive dissonance, which is experienced in us as somewhere between uncomfortable and intolerable and requires resolution in order for us to return to a state of relative equilibrium. The more discrepant the two cognitions are the greater the dissonance and the more urgent is the need for resolution. There are two main ways of reducing or eliminating dissonance: (1) changing behaviour to match attitudes or values or (2) changing attitudes or values to synchronise with behaviours. It is easier to do the latter and so it tends to happen that way:

> In general, it is difficult to change a cognition about one's behaviour. Therefore, when behaviour is discrepant from attitudes, the dissonance caused thereby is usually reduced by changing one's attitude (Cooper, 2013, p. 8).

When a Brother in Letterfrack had a clash between original Christian Brother values and rules (chastity; minimal or no corporal punishment) and his behaviour (physically and/or sexually abusive to detainees), he resolved the dissonance created by adapting his values to encompass abusive behaviour, in this way making his actions seem consistent to himself. Further justification came from witnessing other men around him behaving in similar ways without any apparent guilt.

Factor 5: Disregard, distortion, and denial of harmful effects

In order to examine this phenomenon, this section focuses on the public responses of the Congregation of Christian Brothers, and the evidence given by its representative, Brother David Gibson, to the Emergence Hearings of the CICA in 2005 and 2006. We can interpret some of the evidence, as Cohen (2012) does, as falling into three categories: (1) the assertions are true, justified and correct; (2) the assertions are deliberate, intentional and conscious and are meant to deceive, that is, they are lies; and, (3) the assertions are made in a state of 'switching off' or 'blocking out', as in the

Freudian defence mechanism of denial.[73] In the third option the psyche blocks off information that is literally "unthinkable and unbearable" (Cohen, 2012, p. 5).

Much clinical work in the area of paedophilia (e.g. Salter, 1988, 2004) and intimate partner violence (e.g. Graham, 1994) suggests that abusers react to being confronted by victims, witnesses, bystanders or investigating authority figures by engaging in the standard defensive tactics of denying, minimising, justifying and blaming. Ironically and sadly, the Christian Brothers organisation, in its attempts to deal with and respond to gathering allegations of abuse in their industrial schools, followed a similar pattern.

As a congregation the Christian Brothers' initial reaction to survivor revelations such as those of Flynn (1983) when they emerged in the 1980s was to deny any wrongdoing had occurred in its institutions. However, in Brother Gibson's 2006 testimony to the CICA Emergence Hearings he revealed that the congregation had been aware of physical and sexual abuse occurring in Letterfrack for decades:

> Yes, I think what I'd say is that from the 1940s, and maybe a little bit before that, individual instances of physical abuse and sexual abuse emerged and came to the attention of the authorities (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2006, pp. 35-36).

Evidence presented to the child abuse inquiry in Australia proves that the congregation was aware of abuse since the 1920s (Royal Commission, 2014; 2017). When Brother Gibson referred to 'individual instances' he was minimising the extent of the known problem. When he referred to 'authorities' he was referring to the higher echelons of the order rather than the civil authorities. This is because up to very recently the Roman Catholic Church and its orders of nuns and brothers were of the belief that they alone were the arbiters of whether abuse took place or not in the case of each allegation. Brother Gibson admitted that cases of alleged abuse "were dealt with sometimes well and sometimes less well."

In this deliberately vague language the above quote can be interpreted as meaning that (1) whatever internal admonishment they received some abusers were not reported to the civil authorities, and they were allowed to continue in their job and continue abusing, or (2) they were transferred elsewhere, and continued their abusing in the new

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[73] Denial is an unconscious defence mechanism that is activated in order to cope with guilt, anxiety and other disturbing emotions aroused by reality (Cohen, 2012, p. 5).

location. Either way the victims, unmentioned, were badly served. The knowledge the congregation possessed about historical abuse within its day schools and residential institutions in Ireland and abroad, as well as the knowledge that more and more cases were coming into the public domain probably prompted the apology from the congregation in 1998. As more and more men came forward (e.g. Touher, 2001) and scholars began to write about the phenomenon of institutional abuse (e.g. Raftery & O' Sullivan, 1999) the Christian Brother rhetoric continued to minimise the prevalence:

> I would also like to point out that there was abuse in Letterfrack by a small number of brothers in an individual capacity. It was not systematic. [It was] isolated and done by individual brothers (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p.16).

Their focus at that point was about trying to convince people that cases of abuse were isolated individual incidents and right up to the publication of the CICA report (in May 2009), to the incredulity and disgust of survivors, the congregation denied that abuse was systemic in its six industrial schools.

Before the CICA report finally revealed the nature and extent of abuse and neglect in their institutions an attitude of blaming the victims, or at least casting aspersions on their integrity, became prevalent. Some public utterances from the Christian Brothers indicated that they were of the opinion that many men who had applied to the Residential Institutions Redress Board (RIRB) were only concerned with financial gain and were making claims of abuse and neglect based on exaggerations or even lies. They focused on the large number of applications seeking redress, which were lodged when the RIRB was established, as opposed to the number of cases dealt with or pending in the Irish courts prior to that time.[74]

A year later, in his 2006 evidence to the Commission Brother Gibson was even more confident in his belief that survivors were lying: "So, I have heard all those [complaints

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[74] Brother David Gibson: "On 29 March 1998 we made an apology. At that time three complaints had reached our files relating to Letterfrack…So following the year of the apology, which had been transmitted in all forms of media, a subsequent nine complaints came before the Christian Brothers. Then following the announcement by the Taoiseach that there would be a Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse and that the statute of limitations would be altered and that some form of compensation scheme arose. From the 12 complaints we had in that following year 449 complaints were made. Now that caused serious concern in the Congregation and we wondered about the nature of those complaints" (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p. 14).

of abuse in relation to Brothers in Letterfrack], many of which I would reject" (p. 9). Here we see evidence that he and his organisation were still stuck in the belief that the congregation of Christian Brothers (or him as their representative) had the right to judge the veracity of complaints against them. The truth was greatly at variance with this cynical opinion and cynical strategy to besmirch the good name of survivors.

Where were all the false claims that Brother Gibson alluded to?[75] The RIRB Annual Report for 2011 (p.16) provides the answer. By 31 December 2011, of the 15,404 applications received, a mere 9 had been referred to the Gardaí under section 7(6) of the Act. Investigations had been concluded in 5 matters and one such investigation had led to a criminal conviction. It appears that overwhelmingly survivors were not lying.

The report from the CICA that issued in May 2009 was so comprehensive that it put the lie to all Christian Brothers' denials, minimisations and misconstruing of the facts. There were more than 'a few bad apples', as Raftery and O'Sullivan (1999) had concluded a decade previously:

> …children were savagely beaten and treated with extraordinary levels of cruelty by their religious carers in almost every one of the fifty-two industrial and reformatory schools which existed in Ireland for most of the twentieth century. Very large numbers of the boys in particular were sexually abused and raped by male members of religious orders into whose care they were entrusted (p. 16).

In further evidence Brother Gibson gave the standard Christian Brother justification that it was not right to "judge life at that time (1940s, 1950s and 1960s) from the viewpoint of how life is now" (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p.15). In a form of justification, he avoided confronting the harm caused by the Christian Brothers in their industrial schools by focusing instead on what he presented to the Commission as a positive outcome of the standard of teaching and an indicator of the good done for boys in their care. He claimed that boys at Letterfrack received an excellent education, as evidenced by a 90 per cent success rate in the Primary Certificate examination (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2015, p.15). [76] Contradicting the Christian Brother

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[75] Section 7 (6) of the Residential Institutions Redress Act 2002 stated clearly: "A person who gives false evidence to the Board or the Review Committee in such circumstances that, if the person had given the evidence before a court, the person would be guilty of perjury, the person shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on conviction on indictment to the penalties applying to perjury".

[76] The Primary Certificate examination was the terminal examination in Irish primary schools from 1929 to 1967.

narrative scholarship by Tobin (2015) and Feely (2014) suggest that far from passing terminal examinations, literacy issues have posed major problems for survivors.

Survivors gave evidence of being punished for bedwetting (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, p.323). Rather than claiming outright that it never occurred Brother Gibson claimed that no living Brother who had been in Letterfrack recalled that he "saw or heard of any punishment" for this occurrence (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p.61). He claimed that a lot of care was taken with boys who had what he referred to as "that problem" (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p.62).[77] He admitted, therefore, that bedwetting was an issue for boys in the primarily 12-16 years age group in Letterfrack, but he did not express surprise at the phenomenon. However, in evidence to the CICA, Brother Sorel, who worked in Letterfrack during the 1940s and 1950s, admitted to punishing boys for bed-wetting.[78] As a result of this and other evidence pertaining to the punishment of boys who were bed wetting and soiling the Christian Brothers' strategy appears to have been to move to a position of partial concession:

> It is accepted that boys were, on isolated occasions during this period, punished for this problem though it does not appear that such punishment was a regular or routine practice within Letterfrack (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, p. 323).

Selectively choosing evidence to bolster an argument, the Brother claimed to have Garda statements signed by former residents, saying that they were not aware of any physical or sexual abuse in Letterfrack when they were resident there (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p.65) and he noted that various annual visitation reports gave no indication of the presence of physical or sexual abuse (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p.32). However, later on in his evidence he conceded that there were isolated incidents of child abuse in Letterfrack. These were not reported to the Gardaí (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p. 94).

Finally, in a remarkable statement in which he attempted to minimise Brothers' responsibility for committing abusive acts as well as the congregation's culpability for the way it dealt with both victims and perpetrators, he claimed that for many years the Christian Brothers regarded the sexual abuse of a child "more as a moral failure than a

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[77] He does admit bedwetting was a problem for some boys but gives no evidence about its prevalence or why boys might be wetting the bed at night.
[78] This is a pseudonym.

crime" (Emergence Hearings, CICA, 2005, p.17). This seems to have been reason enough for the Christian Brothers not to report the alleged crimes to the civil authorities. Later in his evidence he repeated this claim, saying that sexual abuse "wasn't primarily judged as a crime" by the congregation. To them it was a 'failing', a 'weakness', and a 'Second Vow problem' (p. 94). This argument is somewhat reminiscent of the infamous Richard Nixon response to questions regarding his part in criminal activities engaged in as part of his re-election campaign. "But when the president does it, that means it is not illegal" (Summers, 2000, p. 345).

Factor 6: Diffusion of responsibility

Diffusion of responsibility can be seen in two ways – operating in those who are abusive and in those who are part of the abusive system but see themselves as non-abusive. In the first instance responsibility for the system is sub-divided between the group and each person takes care of his own bit of that system. In Letterfrack, the institution's tasks were divided between lay tradespeople, the nurse, kitchen staff, teachers, and farm staff. One could argue that the local community played its part in maintaining the status quo by trading with the industrial school, getting free labour, keeping a look out for 'absconders' and even assisting in their re-capture. Bandura (2016, p.63) argues that among many functionaries working together in the same system or institution an individual can easily discount his contribution to "the harm perpetrated by the group." Consequently, people act more cruelly when responsibility is diffused. Bandura and colleagues (1975) demonstrated experimentally the disinhibition of aggression through the diffusion of responsibility and the dehumanisation of victims, to the point where "what was morally unacceptable becomes, through cognitive restructuring, a source of self-pride" (p.254).

Then there were the men in Letterfrack who reported that they were neither physically nor sexually abusive, but surely witnessed others acting inappropriately. Given the nature and extent of abuse and neglect perpetrated by Brothers and lay people at Letterfrack, as outlined previously, and the fact that we accept that not all adults were overtly abusive, the question then must be asked: how did the non-abusive men (and a small number of women who worked as nurses, in the laundry, or in the monastery) allow other adults to abuse boys physically and sexually in the industrial school and stand by while it occurred? Crucial to answering this question are events that unfolded

in 1964 with the murder of a young woman Kitty Genovese and research that emanated from that tragic event on diffusion of responsibility (Darley & Latané, 1968; Latané & Darley, 1968). Witnesses to wrongdoing tend to hand over responsibility for helping a victim to other witnesses, resulting in bystander apathy. Latané and Nida (1981, p. 308), in their review of bystander research in the decade after the initial studies, conclude: "despite the great diversity of styles, settings and techniques among the studies, the social inhibition of helping is a remarkably consistent phenomenon".

This study provides anecdotal evidence that not all the 85 Christian Brothers and unknown numbers of lay adults who worked in Letterfrack during the lifetime of the institution were abusive. There were, as it were, at least 'a few good men'. Peter recalled that, even though he could be somewhat moody, the Brother in charge of the film projector was nice to the boys. This kindness was very important to the young boy as the Saturday evening film shown in the hall was the highlight of the week for all boys in Letterfrack. It was an escape from the drudgery of an everyday life of physical labour and fear. A boy could relax during the film. Local people attended the film and Brothers were careful not to treat the boys badly in front of them.

Mark met a particularly supportive Brother who assigned him to tending the graveyard and gardens. He was a man you could talk to and he seemed to be genuinely interested in his team of gardeners. Mark felt that he cared for them and wanted them to get on well. John was an excellent sportsman. He was particularly good at handball, football and boxing and found Christian Brother coaches who showed an interest in him, particularly as he was representing Letterfrack at national level.

However, all the survivors I have spoken to are of the strong opinion that the 'good men' in Letterfrack must have been aware of what the abusers were doing, at least to a certain extent. We know only a little about how some men intervened or reported abuse at some points during the operation of the industrial school at Letterfrack. There are indications that there was dissent in the ranks at times, as well as splits in the community. On 8 April 1940 a Brother in Letterfrack by-passed his Superior and wrote a letter to the Provincial complaining about the frequency and severe nature of punishment administered to boys and, in particular, to the use of a horsewhip. He also drew attention to "divisions in the Community of Brothers about these punishments" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 294). An inspection carried out in the wake of the complaint

noted the divisions: "The estrangement that followed these incidents made life in the Community unpleasant. Reconciliations have been effected and let us hope they will be lasting" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p.294).

Another Brother was reported by a fellow Brother, alleging that a boy had been "stripped and beaten in (Brother's) room". This offending Brother had "put boys across his bed in [his] room and even in unbecoming postures to beat them behind" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p.295). This allegation may also be alluding to sexual abuse, whereby the boy was stripped or partially stripped and beaten on the bare buttocks.

It seems that at least some abusive men were the subjects of complaint by fellow Brothers. What is remarkable, however, is that very little seems to have been done to prevent these men from continuing to be abusive and to protect existing victims and other potential victims. One factor contributing to this situation may have been the peculiar rules pertaining to the manner in which one Brother could interfere in another's life. What was known as 'fraternal correction' was not to be done Brother to Brother because they were never to "contradict or dispute with each other." Neither were they to "speak of the shortcomings or defects of their Brothers, nor retail rumours or reports that are injurious to others" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p. 248). If a Brother had serious concerns about another Brother's attitude or behaviour he was to communicate only with the Resident Manager or someone above him in rank within the hierarchy of the congregation.

There was, however, an onus on each Brother to report a 'failing' in a fellow Brother:

> If you notice a failing in your fellow-Religious, which the Superior alone can remedy, you are bound to notify him of it, else you become chargeable with the fault and its consequences (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p. 250).

Therefore, if a Brother witnessed a fellow Brother using excessive corporal punishment or other cruel and inhumane punishment on a detainee, or if he witnessed or strongly suspected that sexual abuse was occurring, the rule specified that he notify his superior – normally the Resident Manager of the industrial school. Brothers were aware that there was a possibility that excessive corporal punishment could be inflicted on a boy by a fellow Brother and they were also aware of the possibility that boys could be sexually abused by a fellow Brother. They were aware because the dangers of both types of child abuse were mentioned in their own rulebook.

The Directory was specific about corporal punishment, stating that it was the aim of the Brothers to "reduce corporal punishment to a minimum" If corporal punishment was deemed necessary it was to be administered according to Christian Brothers rules (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p. 298). We know that it was also to be administered according to Department of Education guidelines, but this is not referred to in the Directory. In addition, the Brothers were expected to be ever watchful that in administering punishment "they be never prompted by any emotion of passion or impatience" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p. 299). Punishment was to be administered in a cool and calm manner in order that "the pupils may always see that that if punishment is given, it is because they deserve it, because it is necessary for their amendment, and to deter others from following their example" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p.299). As noted previously, there are also references to child sexual abuse.

Given that up until recent times the Roman Catholic Church chose not to report allegations of sexual crimes against children to the civil authorities, but instead chose to investigate allegations itself and deal with the victims and perpetrators 'in-house', it is instructive to note that in 1927 the Christian Brothers were well aware that sexual abuse was not just against their own precepts, but that it was also a crime in civil law. The second interesting aspect is noticeable by its absence. There is no mention in the Directory of the consequences that might befall a child victim of abuse. Dishonor to the congregation and a prison sentence for the offender were the main worst-case scenarios expected in such cases and were to be avoided at all costs it seems.

However, even being aware that sexual abuse could occur is no guarantee that signs will be noticed, abuse suspected and that it will then be reported. A study of professionals working in residential care in the U.K. found that they do not readily suspect a colleague of sexual abuse, let alone confront them with such suspicions (Horwath, 2000). This may be because (1) in an institutional culture there exists an in-group atmosphere of mutual trust and (2) in an era of increased transparency and accountability professionals are focused more on their own actions and their own vulnerability to allegations (Horwath, 2000; Timmerman & Schreuder, 2014).

Each Brother was to see his fellow Brothers as "having God residing within them" and to put them first (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p. 248). Confronting a

colleague about their attitude or behaviour ('fraternal correction') was not permitted. Notifying the Resident Manager was the expected procedure in such cases. We know that some Brothers did take this route and they are to be commended. But having to go to a third party in order to complain a fellow Brother may have been difficult to do. A Brother would have to be sure of his ground, that is, the specifics of his complaint, as well as feeling confident in his ability to outline his case. He would be dealing with a superior and he would not want to be perceived as petty or vindictive. Perhaps he had trained with this man against whom he was complaining. Perhaps they had worked together for a number of years. The bond that held Christian Brothers together was a strong one. It is not too big a leap of the imagination to think that with all these factors to take into account many Brothers, when faced with the seriousness of the task of whistle blowing, may have chosen to remain silent. Abuse thrives in such silence.

Even if some did report physical and sexual abuse it seems the Congregation did not respond effectively to complaints (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p.297). This would not have inspired good men to report instances of child sexual abuse or severe physical assault. This means that abusive men remained at Letterfrack and that the safety of boys was compromised. We know that sexual abusers operated there for a considerable part of its operation and that they were not removed from the institution. The CICA (2009, Vol. I, Chapter 8) summarises its findings in relation to the length of time certain sexual abusers operated in Letterfrack:

> A timeline of documented and admitted cases of sexual abuse shows that for approximately two-thirds of the period 1936-1974 there was at least one Brother in Letterfrack who sexually abused boys at some time and for almost one-third of the period there were at least two such Brothers there. One Brother worked for 14 years before being detected. (p. 394).

Clinical experience and research in the area of child sexual abuse tells us that the number of cases reported to the authorities is only the tip of the iceberg (Finkelhor, 1986; Salter, 2004). In the case of sex offenders the number of victims is always difficult to calculate. Even when arrested and convicted for sex crimes offenders almost invariably minimise the extent of their abusive behaviour and the number of victims they abused (Salter, 1988; Schneider & Wright, 2004). Brother T was convicted of sexually abusing 25 boys in Letterfrack over a 14-year period. It later emerged that over 100 former detainees claimed to have been abused by him. In this study James reported

that he had been was sexually and physically abused by Brother T and that Peter had been physically abused by him. The Brothers who were former colleagues of T in Letterfrack and who gave evidence to the CICA stated that they had not suspected that Brother T was a sexual abuser. They stated that had not had much contact with him because he worked mainly in the kitchen and was a loner. However, one man did know for sure what was going on. It emerged in testimony to the Commission that Brother T had confessed his sins to his priest, who, although he knew that children were being violated and that there was the potential if not probability for more to be abused, was obliged not to reveal Brother T's crimes, as they had been disclosed to him in the sanctity of the confession box. Church law protected clerics instead of children.

Did the good man not notice that abuse was occurring? If he did notice, why did he not report the abuse to his superiors or intervene in some way? Perhaps it was the difficulties discussed earlier in relation to fraternal correction. Or maybe other factors were at play. Perhaps the potential whistle-blower was a young Brother and did not feel able to challenge an older Brother? As we noted earlier, younger Brothers were in awe of their senior colleagues.

Perhaps a young Brother had not finished his teacher training course and did not feel able to challenge a qualified Brother for fear of not attaining his practice qualification? Perhaps he was a so-called 'domestic' or 'co-adjutor' Brother who believed he could not challenge a higher status teaching Brother? Perhaps he was a teaching Brother who felt he could not challenge the Resident Manager? Seniority in terms of age, qualifications, category of Brother, level of responsibility and time spent in the institution may all have been factors deterring the potential whistle-blower. Aside from the afore-mentioned factors, the theory of Darley and Latané (1970) suggests that the potential whistle-blower, faced with (1) internal conflict, (2) audience inhibition, (3) situational ambiguity and (4) social influence, relinquished responsibility for intervening or reporting the abusive behaviour of a colleague and handed it over to other Brothers in the monastery.

There is a strong sense from reading the accounts of survivors and the evidence given to the CICA that because violence in the industrial school in Letterfrack was ubiquitous it was unlikely to be reported, even by the so-called good men. A survivor told the

Commission that on one occasion when Brother T was sexually abusing him in a room in the monastery, a Brother Noreis,[79] obviously witnessing the abuse through a window, "knocked on the window to get [Brother T] to stop" but did nothing further to stop the crime in progress (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 345). Apparently, Brother Noreis never informed his superiors about Brother T, or if he did, nothing was done about it.

Factor 7: Displacement of responsibility

In Dunleavy's report for the CICA in relation to the industrial school at Artane, he noted that young, inexperienced Brothers were " highly influenced by the views of the School expressed to them by Brothers who had been there longer than themselves" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p.142). [80] That there was group pressure on newly arrived Brothers to conform to behavioural norms in Letterfrack is also apparent when one reviews the evidence given by former Brothers who worked in Letterfrack to the Investigation Committee of the CICA (2009, Vol. I., Ch. 8, pp. 304-315). That a menu of standard punishments existed for certain infractions, indicates that behavioural norms existed in Letterfrack, as they do in any institution. Brother Sorel[81], who worked in Letterfrack from the late 1940s until the late 1950s, described what was said to him as a young, inexperienced man upon arrival:

> We were told at the very beginning that unless we had discipline, that there would be chaos…one of the Brothers said to me, 'whatever you do don't smile, walk along with a very serious face (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 304).

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[79] This is a pseudonym.

[80] Dunleavy states: "Nearly all of the Brothers that I interviewed told me that it had been explained to them by senior Brothers at Artane Industrial School that the boys would not respect a Brother who did not discipline them extremely severely, and that a Brother who would not deal out such punishment would soon become know to the boys as a "Silly Brother"… One Brother related an incident where his fellow Brothers had burst into applause when he entered a room where they were, as it had been learned that he had punished one of his pupils by punching him in the face – previously he had not dealt out such harsh punishment …(CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 142). It is my conclusion that unofficially at least, a system existed in Artane Industrial School of inflicting unusually brutal punishment on pupils, that such a system was tacitly sanctioned by the more senior Brothers at the School, and that this unofficial code of discipline made it inevitable that the physical abuse of pupils at Artane Industrial School would occur…It seems to me however that the level of ordinary punishment in the school was so extreme, that when Brothers punished their pupils in an excessive manner, such punishment was inevitably of the most brutal kind" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, pp. 142-143).

[81] This is a pseudonym.

These same Brothers told Brother Sorel that if he were strict he would be better able to keep control of the boys. He described standard punishments as including head shaving for absconders, boys being forced to march around the yard in silence and forfeiting the Saturday night film experience.

In an apparent reference to consensual sexual behaviour between detainees Brother Francois[82], who worked at Letterfrack for two years in the late 1950s / early 1960s, described the standard punishment for boys caught near another boy's bed at night as a beating on the buttocks. He also recalled an absconder being beaten in front of the rest of the school and confirmed that shaving the heads of recaptured absconders was a standard punishment. Brother Michel[83], who worked at Letterfrack in the 1960s, gave the standard excuse for physical abuse at Letterfrack when he told the Commission that, "it was necessary to discipline them and unfortunately they had to be disciplined otherwise we couldn't run the place" (p. 307). He acknowledged that beating on the bare buttocks occurred and that he may have punished boys in this way. He admitted to physically assaulting a boy in front of everyone in the dining hall, which he minimised as him being "over-robust" (p. 307).

Brother Telfour[84], who worked at Letterfrack in the mid to late 1960s, was aware that some boys who absconded were beaten on the bare buttocks. He stated: "I knew the [standard] punishment previously had been the beating on the buttocks" (p. 308). He was asked by the Resident Manager to administer this punishment to a boy. He told the Commission that he had refused to do so. He did admit, however, to obeying a Sub-Superior, who told him to make boys run around the yard as a punishment. The Committee acknowledged his refusal to administer any corporal punishment but noted that his efforts did not stop corporal punishment at Letterfrack as he had no influence on the behaviour of other Brothers.

Brother Rainger[85] worked at Letterfrack in the late 1960s. He described it as a harsh place and gave a standard excuse that one Brother was often in charge of over 100 boys and in order to keep discipline and prevent anarchy military-style discipline was deemed to be essential. Demonstrating his prejudicial attitudes towards detainees, he

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[82] This is a pseudonym.
[83] This is a pseudonym.
[84] This is a pseudonym.
[85] This is a pseudonym

stated that he believed at the time that boys could not be trusted, as he had been told, "the boys had come to Letterfrack through the court" (p. 308). He conceded that he punished boys for having difficulties learning in the classroom. He also conformed to the norm of carrying and using a leather strap.

Brother Anatole, [86] who worked at Letterfrack in the late 1960s, was convicted in 2003 of sexually abusing boys there. He revealed what was perhaps an internal, unspoken rule among Brothers in Letterfrack whereby if there was indiscipline in the presence of a particular Brother the other Brothers regarded it as a reflection of that Brother's character or ability. The approval of other Brothers was obviously an issue for him and the two other young Brothers who arrived at Letterfrack with him as he states in his evidence to the Commission that it put a lot of pressure on them. He admitted to the use of the leather strap, but said he also used to slap boys with his hand, punch them, use a stick and even kick them. He stated that making the boys run around the yard in silence was a standard punishment for absconding that the young Brothers copied from their more senior colleagues. Brother Anatole also claimed, according to evidence given by Brother Gibson (CICA, Emergence Hearing, 16 June, 2005, p.128), that some types of punishments were demonstrated by more senior colleagues for the newcomers to the staff. [87]

Brother Iven[88] worked at Letterfrack during the late 1960s and early 1970s. He told the Commission that Letterfrack was not a normal school and that the boys were not normal school boys. The Commission concluded that his argument for corporal punishment was based on an implication that "normal standards did not apply to them and [that] some excesses were justified' (p.312). He confirmed evidence from other sources that hosing down with water was a standard punishment for re-captured absconders. Like Brother Anatole he was concerned about breaches of discipline in his presence as he was of the belief that as a young Brother not yet finished his teacher training he might

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[86] This is a pseudonym

[87] These may have included ritualistic-type punishments like making the boys walk or run around the yard in silence for prolonged periods of time, making a boy stand in the yard with his hands by his side while others kicked a football at him over a thirty minute period or more, making a boy kneel in silence in the dining hall for the duration of the meal, seating a boy near a game of football and treating him as if he was not there, shaving the heads of recaptured absconders, and hosing down absconders with cold water. Peter and Luke in this study confirmed the existence of the punishment whereby a boy would be made to stand with his hands by his side while all other boys were made to kick the ball at him.

[88] This is a pseudonym.

be badly thought of by the Resident Manager and might be dismissed from the congregation.

Brother Dondre[89] worked at Letterfrack from the 1960s to the early 1970s. Probably referring to young Brothers being conscious of gaining the approval of colleagues, he recalled being criticised by the Resident Manager for a particular incident of conflict with a boy. When asked by the Commission whether he was chastised for letting his temper get out of hand in his dealings with the boy he replied, "No it wasn't that. It was the fact that the incident happened at all. That I let him get out of control" (p. 314). However, he stated that he was never given any training or advice by the Resident Manager as to how such control might be established and maintained. He admitted to the use of the leather strap, beating boys with a stick, slapping them with an open hand and kicking them.

In the above account of evidence given to the Commission by former Christian Brothers who worked in Letterfrack we may discern the tendency of individuals to try, for many reasons, to establish what the expectations of the other group members are in relation to attitude and behaviour and to try to comply with these expectations. We particularly note the fact that young Brothers were in charge of large numbers of boys for over 12 hours a day, were anxious to prove themselves as teachers and were anxious for acceptance, that is, to be perceived by their colleagues as competent teachers and strict disciplinarians. Being a strict disciplinarian was seen as the 'gold standard' at Letterfrack, as I suspect it was in all Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools.

For the most part, it appears that Brothers did not need to discuss punishment methods with each other or put them down in some form of manual. Some methods were informally observed and then Brothers were simply left to their own devices. Inevitably the informal modelling of older Brothers affected how the younger Brothers behaved. There is, however, some evidence that modelling could also be overt. The CICA report reveals that a small number of witnesses who had been detained in industrial and reformatory schools gave evidence that Brothers demonstrated punishment techniques for (presumably) newly arrived trainee Brothers:

> One day it was ...visitor's day... they used to pick about half a dozen lads. You would

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[89] This is a pseudonym.

be called to the hall. I was picked once and they would actually show the ...visiting student Brothers... how to do the hiding. The Brother who was in charge of the playground, mostly Br X... or Br Y... would show them how it's done, they would give you a hiding to show them and then they would have a go, with the black jack ...(leather)... with loops of lead in it or steel (CICA, 2009, Vol. III, p.56).

Although I have long suspected that older/more experienced Brothers may have coached younger/less experienced Brothers in certain punishment techniques, this is the only specific reference in the literature to verify that live coaching demonstrations took place. We do know, however, that 59 witnesses who gave evidence to the confidential committee of the CICA reported being physically abused by more than one person at a time and perhaps some of these punishments involved an element of demonstration. [90]

There may not have been direct orders to abuse children in Letterfrack. But the evidence I have seen convinces me that there was surreptitious sanctioning, an unwritten menu of punishments, modelling by older or more experienced Brothers and a constant supply of willing functionaries. Like other abusive institutions, by such means the higher echelons were shielded from exposure and could always claim ignorance of any atrocities. Bandura (2016, p. 61) is clear that it is common in such institutions for officials to issue orders, overtly or surreptitiously, that "invite illegal activities but provide deniability."

That there was an unwritten menu of punishments from which to choose in Letterfrack is disturbing to note. Equally disturbing to note is the fact that certain punishments were historically the standard responses to certain 'transgressions'. It seems they were designed to humiliate, degrade, stigmatise and to act as a deterrent and an unforgettable reminder of Christian Brother intolerance of 'deviance.' In Letterfrack this menu of standard punishments included flogging, head shaving, hosing down with cold water, depriving children of food or the Saturday film, making children run around the yard for long periods of time, and making children kick a ball at an individual child and

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[90] Alarmingly we also know that sixteen witnesses who gave evidence to the Confidential Committee claimed that they had been sexually abused by more than one male religious staff member simultaneously. Evidence of sexual abuse perpetrated by more than one offender at a time raises the serious issue of whether certain sexual offenders in residential institutions co-operated to abuse children, that is, paedophile rings. Michael Clemenger's (2009) memoir reveals that he was sexually abused by two Christian Brothers in Tralee (not at the same time). It is obvious from the text that both men were aware of the other's behaviour. Yet both men persisted with their abuse and "vied openly for [his] affection and attention" (p.36).

stress positions. It seems that this or very similar menu of punishments may also have been available in other Christian Brother-operated institutions.[91]

These punishments were not official Christian Brother punishments; they were never referred to in the Directory (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927). Neither were they compliant with the Department of Education rules on corporal punishment at the time. There is no evidence of such punishments being 'administered' in the training college for Christian Brothers (Dunne, 2002; 2010; Leavy, 2012; O'Malley, 2004; Power, 2008; West, 1996). Yet these punishments were common knowledge among the Brothers who worked in the industrial school sector. Brother Gaston[92] revealed to the Commission that they weren't used in ignorance:

> There was no written code of discipline, but all were familiar with the rules laid down in the acts of Chapter and the injunctions of the Directory concerning punishment of pupils (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 494).

So, all Brothers were familiar with the relevant rules governing the administering of corporal punishment. They simply chose to ignore them and chose instead to conform to the behavioural norms of the institution and follow the lead of other older or more experienced brothers.

It seems probable that these unofficial public and ritual punishments were designed by the Brothers themselves and transmitted Brother to Brother down through the years, ultimately becoming standard practice, perhaps as a result of Brothers transferring from one industrial school to another and sharing their individual methods. Brother Jules told the Commission: "there were no written rules regarding discipline. There was simply a

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[91] Flogging was also carried out in Glin and one of the standard punishments for bed-wetting there was for the night watchman to wake the individual every hour and force him to go to the toilet (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 509). Participant 2 described the same practice in Salthill. Also in Glin, one Brother was known to punish absconders by giving them a 'baldy haircut' (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 510). Making boys run around the yard for long periods of time was a punishment in Tralee, as was humiliating boys by making them walk around with and wash their wet or soiled sheets, (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, pp. 450-451). Stripping and beating boys were both carried out in Salthill (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 528). In Tralee boys were regularly beaten with a leather strap on the soles of their feet (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 418), boys were also forced to run around the field "until you dropped" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 419), and in 1943 when several boys absconded and were re-captured they had their food rationed for a week (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 428). In Carriglea boys were beaten with a leather strap embedded with metal (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p.472), their heads were shaved for absconding, and they were forced to stand outside in the bandstand for an hour each day for three weeks in the winter (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 473).

[92] This is a pseudonym.

general understanding of [unofficial] rules passed on from year to year" (p. 509). Ultimately, there was a cross-fertilisation of punishment methods between Irish industrial schools operated by the Christian Brothers.[93] This conformity has been demonstrated experimentally. It has been shown that in certain situations intense conflict arises between the resolve to stay independent and the temptation to side with the majority (Friend, Rafferty & Bramel, 1990). Faced with unanimity among peers, the study participant would become uncomfortable and, about a third of the time (36.8 per cent), go along with the group decision. All confirming participants under-estimated the frequency with which they went along with the group (Asch, 1955).[94]

In order to understand what happened in Letterfrack, it may also be instructive to examine the particular version of the Christian Brother concept of obedience. For Christian Brothers obedience to an authority figure was to be immediate and unquestioning. As noted earlier the Congregation of Christian Brothers was, during the operation of its industrial schools, a highly authoritarian organisation and 'blind obedience' to superiors was expected of all Brothers (CICA, 2009; Coldrey, 1993; Dunne, 2002, 2010; O'Donoghue, 2012; O'Malley, 2004; Power, 2008; West, 1996). Indeed a specific section in the Directory (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927) was devoted to obedience to authority:

> By the vow of obedience the Brothers bind themselves to obey their legitimate Superiors in all that they command…that is, not only what is explicitly contained therein, but also in what is implied in the Rule (p.172).

Obedience was seen as a religious virtue (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p.177); disobedience was regarded as rebellion and a sin "since to live in disobedience is to renounce the state of dependence and submission which constitute the essence of

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[93] I note that in many respects, these punishments are no different from many punishments devised in different incarceration scenarios to degrade and humiliate detainees. For example, Hersh (2004) describes the techniques of torture perpetrated in the prisons used by American forces in Abu Ghraib, Iraq and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. They, like those used at Letterfrack, are variations on standard punishment regimes, such as verbal abuse, flogging, beating, inducing exhaustion through repeating meaningless physical tasks, sleep deprivation, starving, sexual assault / humiliation, forcing detainees to watch others being punished, isolation, and the use of stress positions (Zimbardo, 2007).

[94] However, results also demonstrated that about one quarter of subjects were completely independent in their decision-making and never agreed with the unanimous false judgments of the group while, overall, approximately two-thirds (63.2%) of the responses were not distorted in the direction of the incorrect majority (Asch, 1952).

the religious life" (p. 179). Not alone should obedience be 'blind' but it should also be prompt. It seems that when these same Brothers worked with young boys in Letterfrack they too may have expected dependence and submission from them, as well as prompt and blind obedience. [95]

This explicit rule stated that God spoke through the Superior and even if an individual Brother disagreed fundamentally with the command given to him he was required to obey, as the Superior was deemed to be infallible. This vow of obedience taken by every Brother also made it difficult for young Brothers to voice their disquiet, particularly as junior Brothers were "in awe of their seniors in the Community" (CICA, 2009, Vol. I, p. 84).

Just like the Abu Ghraib atrocities committed against Iraqi prisoners by young, low ranking soldiers, I believe it was easy for young, newly arrived Brothers at Letterfrack to (a) assume that both the variety and extent of physical punishments evident in Letterfrack were sanctioned 'from above' and to (b) assume that there was an expectation that they would conform to this behavioural norm.[96] To help them in their task all Brothers were supplied with a weapon – the infamous leather strap. Brothers not punishing severely enough were encouraged to do so (Tyrrell, 2006).

Tyrrell recalled an incident whereby a local priest visited the school and examined the boys in their knowledge of catechism[97]. When some boys did not answer correctly the priest admonished Brother Conway for not using the cane enough. Tyrrell is shocked

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[95] A specific element of obedience was 'obedience of judgement' and this was described as containing two elements: (1) Disinterested as to the nature of the command; it prompts the Religious to do simply what is commanded, without troubling himself why it is commanded, nor how he is to execute it; (2) It is blind, that is, in the exercise of obedience of judgement, the Religious pays no attention as whatever the thing be good or bad, unless it is plainly contrary to the commandments of God; and should the thing appear as improperly commanded, or should any thought arise in one's mind that might suggest such a conclusion, the Religious must not entertain such a thought, because he cannot do anything more perfect than the will of God, which is infallibly made known to him by the command of his Superior…(Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, pp. 181-182).

[96] This is precisely what happened in Abu Ghraib prison, Iraq, where prisoners were coerced into behaving in humiliating ways by their American guards and then photographed. They were then labelled as sub-human for engaging in this behaviour. Guards later gave evidence that they had received no direct orders from their superiors to torture people in this way but assumed they were sanctioned (Hersh, 2004; Zimbardo, 2007).

[97] Catechism is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, which in those days had to be learned by rote. Children were formally examined in their knowledge of catechism in preparation for the sacraments of communion and confirmation.

at the priest's attitude: "It was the first time I heard a priest speak of beating. Until then I imagined that a priest would not hurt anyone" (Tyrrell, 2006, p. 52).

I believe that even if orders from the Resident Manager about the treatment of detainees were not explicit, or if orders from more senior and experienced Brothers were not explicit, newly arrived Brothers were very influenced by what they saw and heard from other Brothers in the monastery and the school and took their behavioural cues from them. Perhaps this was partly because they were in awe of them and also because they were in fear of in some way not obeying or complying with the way things were done in Letterfrack. Bear in mind that Brothers wanted to complete their teaching training, that they wanted to be perceived as competent, that they wanted to be perceived as being good disciplinarians, and that blind obedience was required of them: "to do simply what is commanded, without troubling himself why it is commanded, nor how he is to execute it" (Congregation of Christian Brothers, 1927, p.181).

In order to disobey a command, the Brother would have had to be clear in his mind that what was being commanded was "plainly contrary to the commandments of God". However, even if he believed that the command is inherently wrong he was under instruction not to "entertain such a thought, because he cannot do anything more perfect than the will of God, which is infallibly made known to him by the command of his Superior" (p. 182). So even if he thought the command was wrong it could not be so because the word of his Superior was infallible. This is why Brothers obeyed the direct orders but also what we might call the spirit of the orders, that is, they tried to meet the unspoken expectations of their superiors.

Factor 8: Dehumanisation

In this phase empathy and compassion are not evident. In experimental studies, when people are awarded punitive power they tend to treat dehumanised people more harshly than those who are personalised or invested with human qualities (Bandura, 2016; Bandura et al., 1975). Perhaps the most widely known of such experimental studies has become known as the Stanford prison experiment (Haney et al., 1973; Zimbardo, 2007), and is regarded as one of the most groundbreaking and controversial social psychology

experiments to have ever been carried out (Freeney, 2011).[98] It is regarded as one of the most extreme examples of the power of situational determinants in influencing behaviour over and above individual personality factors, attitudes, values and principles.[99]

More recently, Zimbardo (2007) saw similarities between the results of his 1971 experiment and the cruel and unusual punishments inflicted on Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers in the Abu Ghraib prison in 2004.[100] Zimbardo (2007, p. 368) argued that if the social psychological phenomenon operating in Abu Ghraib were "not *person*-specific but *situation*-specific", then one should be able to locate evidence for similar abuses occurring in other similar settings. He provided some evidence for this - particularly the Schlesinger Report (2004) - which noted widespread abuses in detention centres controlled by the American military in various 'operation areas'. Zimbardo concluded that in each situation systemic influences operated to create and sustain what he called a 'culture of abuse' (Zimbardo, 2007, p.377).

Translating this to the total institution model of the Irish industrial school system, with its Brothers and detainees, if Zimbardo's theory is to have any validity, we should find credible evidence of a culture of abuse and documented evidence of chronic, systemic abuse and neglect by Brothers in the six Christian Brothers-operated residential institutions for boys. A cursory glance at the available evidence reveals that this is precisely what occurred. Each industrial school was operated as a total institution. It

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[98] It is important to note that however controversial it has become the experiment did receive ethical approval from Stanford University and that all participants signed consent forms and that they were fully informed as to the nature of the study.

[99] The goal of the experiment was to study the behavioural and psychological consequences of becoming either a 'guard' or 'prisoner' in a simulated prison environment. The experiment was designed to last two weeks but was terminated after six days. Twenty-four men were selected and randomly assigned to play the role of either prisoner or guard. The daily living experience of prisoners would be dominated by rules and punishments. A total of seventeen rules were devised and enforced by the guards during the period of the experiment. Importantly, the last rule stated that failure to obey any of the other rules might result in punishment. Totally engrossed in their roles, the guards proceeded with the intensification of controlling and brutalising the prisoners (Carnahan & McFarland 2007).

[100] The U.S. Department of Defence charged 15 prison guards with several counts, ranging from 'mistreatment' to 'having sex with a female detainee' (as opposed to physical abuse and sexual assault). Alkadry & Witt (2009) note that while soldiers at Abu Ghraib "did not have explicit orders to torture prisoners" their superiors and senior administration figures "helped to create a sense of normalcy and condoned torture". An in-group / out-group attitude prevailed. Iraqi prisoners were demonized as out-group Arabs and Muslims.

was run by adults, each of whom had complete authority over and access to the children who were resident 24 hours a day and were far from parental or family protection. In the case of Letterfrack the location was also remote and thus inaccessible. These institutions were inadequately inspected by the Department of Education (Arnold, 2009; Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999) and the Christian Brothers' own internal inspection took place only once a year. While the *Visitation* inspector did speak to staff members and detainees over the course of a week the report could never be accurate if boys were too terrified to reveal what was really going on behind the façade of education and training. As previously noted, the Christian Brothers' rules and regulations did not prioritise children.

As described in a previous chapter, evidence has emerged to suggest that as well as Brothers behaving in an abusive way towards the boys, other boys known as 'monitors', who were charged with the supervision of fellow detainees, may also have taken on the role of 'guard' and treated fellow detainees with cruelty, as Zimbardo might have predicted. The monitorial system was operational in a number of, if not all, Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools and through it certain boys were elevated to a higher level of power and effectively enabled to abuse that power in situations where they could not be properly observed or their behaviour regulated.

Conclusion

I believe I have demonstrated that the model of moral disengagement proposed by Bandura (2016) can be applied to the order of Christian Brothers and in particular the manner in which they treated detainees in their industrial schools. The Brothers justified their conduct as being in a good and worthy cause; euphemistic language sanitised their system and assaultive behaviour; they self-exonerated by comparing themselves advantageously to other groups; they abdicated responsibility for their actions, claiming that they were directed from older more experienced men or from 'above'; they diffused responsibility for assaultive behaviour to others in the group, again negating personal responsibility; they disregarded, minimised or denied the harmful effects of abuse and neglect on children in their care; they blamed child victims for their predicament, thus justifying a harsh response; and they dehumanised detainees, thus allowing them to be neglected and abused emotionally, physically and sexually.

4.5 Approaches to framing trauma

In order to understand how children and adolescents are impacted by traumatic experiences we need to understand what trauma is. The second section of this chapter examines the development of trauma theory and proposes that Complex PTSD is an appropriate model to encompass the documented impacts of certain forms of abuse and neglect on victims. I describe CPTSD's gradual acceptance by the psychiatric community in the form of (partial) inclusion in the most recent Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-V) of the American Psychiatric Association (APA, 2013).

In focusing on diagnosis and classification I am not necessarily endorsing the traditional psychiatric view of mental health and treatment; quite the contrary, in my professional life my tendency has been to question the domination of the mental health field by the medical model of the psychiatric community and of its main supporter and sponsor, namely, the pharmaceutical industry, having been very influenced by what was referred to as the 'anti-psychiatry' movement (see Bentall, 2004; Breggin, 1993; Laing, 1960/ 2010; Szasz 1974/2010). I have also been inspired and heartened by the very recent British Psychological Society's Division of Clinical Psychology position paper on an alternative approach to functional psychiatric diagnosis (Johnstone & Boyle, 2018).[101]

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[101] The authors propose a broad framework that is fundamentally different from the traditional biopsychosocial model of mental illness or distress in that there is no assumption of pathology. This framework, known as the Power Threat Meaning (PTM) Framework, involves a collaborative meaning-making process that can be used to identify patterns in emotional distress, comprised of the following interacting elements:

1) The operation of POWER: biological/embodied, coercive, legal, economic/material, ideological, social/cultural and interpersonal).
2) The kinds of THREAT that the negative imposition of power poses for the individual, family, group, and community.
3) The core role of MEANING in shaping the operation or use of power, the experience of power, the use and experience of threat and our responses to real or perceived threat.
4) The learned and evolving THREAT RESPONSES that an individual, family, group, or community draws upon in the face of threat in order to ensure emotional, physical, relational, and social survival.

Instead of the traditional 'what is wrong with you?' question at the heart of what Johnstone and Boyle (2018) refer to as 'medicalisation,' this Power Threat Meaning Framework asks four questions:

- 'What has happened to you?' (How has **Power** operated in your life?)
- 'How did it affect you?' (What kind of **Threats** does this pose?)
- 'What sense did you make of it?' (What is the **Meaning** of these situations and experiences to you?)
- 'What did you have to do to survive?' (What kinds of **Threat Response** are you using?)[102]

Returning to the development of a new diagnosis, it is somewhat ironic, therefore, to note that the primary reason that complex trauma has after many years been at least partially incorporated into the DSM-V (APA, 2013) is that the clinicians striving for its inclusion as part of their advocacy for their clients included psychiatrists. These were clinicians who had regularly encountered traumatised clients exhibiting painful symptoms that were not acknowledged by the psychiatric profession as belonging to a syndrome and therefore not incorporated into the profession's classification system of mental disorders.

The complex trauma concept, allied to ones pertaining to attachment and betrayal are, I argue, ones that may have particular application for, among others, the population of children and adolescents repeatedly traumatised in residential institutional settings by clerics. At this point it is important that I acknowledge the importance of trauma theory as I believe that it provides two invaluable services for humanity: (1) it helps victims suffering from the toxic impact of traumatic incidents to understand and then normalise what they are experiencing; and (2) it provides learning and evidence-based guidance for effective therapeutic intervention to clinicians.

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[102] Although they were told they had options, all survivors who applied to the Residential Institutions Redress Board in Ireland (approximately 15,000 individuals) were very aware that they were, in fact, required to engage with a solicitor and to undergo a psychiatric assessment. There was no formal therapeutic input as part of this assessment other than perhaps a sense of relief gained by the survivors in telling their stories and some attending catharsis. I believe that a system such as the Power Threat Meaning Framework would have been more appropriate to this population due to its obvious humanistic orientation.

4.6 Development of trauma theory

Although it is now in everyday use the term 'trauma' owes its origins to the Greek word for 'wound' and derives primarily from the field of medicine. Later it was used in the developing disciplines of psychiatry and psychoanalysis to designate a blow to the self, a shock that created a psychological split or rupture, or an emotional injury (Ring, 2017). In just over 100 years our view of a person suffering a psychological trauma has undergone a seismic shift, from one of suspicion and fear in the late nineteenth century, to the current situation that pertains whereby victims are seen as the embodiment of our common humanity (Fassin & Rechtman, 2009).

Terr (1990), who carried out the first longitudinal study of traumatised children, defines trauma as occurring when "a sudden, unexpected, overwhelming intense emotional blow or a series of blows assaults the person from outside." She added that although traumatic events are external "they quickly become incorporated into the mind" (p.8). Van der Kolk's (1989) view also emphasises the individual's resources being overwhelmed by the traumatic event: "Traumatisation occurs when both internal and external resources are inadequate to cope with external threat" (p.393). The power that trauma has to weaken or shatter core beliefs is emphasised by Janoff-Bulman (1992):

> Trauma occurs when one's fundamental assumptions that the world is benevolent and the self is worthy are seriously challenged and a psychological crisis is induced. The injury is to the victim's inner world. Core assumptions are shattered by the traumatic experience (p. 213).

The trauma experience imposes on its victims a sense of impending serious injury or even death, allied to an overwhelming sense of powerlessness and hopelessness (Turan & Dutton, 2010). In terms of the origins of modern trauma theory the pioneering work of Jean-Martin Charcot at the Salpetriere hospital in Paris during the late nineteenth century is critical. The overwhelming majority of patents presenting for psychoanalysis or other forms of treatment for mental health problems in the late nineteenth century were women (Masson, 1985). Victorian women were believed to be particularly susceptible to 'hysteria' and this was believed to stem from problems with the uterus

(Crews, 2017). [103] 'Hysterical' symptoms such as paralysis, amnesia and convulsions had previously been treated using the drastic procedure of hysterectomy (Ringel & Brandell, 2012). During hypnosis, a therapeutic technique he pioneered, Charcot helped patients in recalling traumas, resulting in the alleviation of symptoms (Herman, 1992/2015). Thus, Charcot was the first to conclude that the origins of such symptoms were psychological rather than physical in nature.

Pierre Janet, a student of Charcot, identified the process of dissociation in traumatised patients. He referred to it as "a phobia of memory" (Van der Hart & Horst, 1989). Sigmund Freud, who visited the Salpertiere to view Charcot's famous live demonstrations with patients, was also influenced by Janet in the development of his traumatic dissociation theory (Breuer & Freud, 1893/2001). Initially he placed great emphasis on childhood sexual abuse (the 'seduction' theory) as the original source of adult hysteria but later, controversially and in the face of social and peer humiliation, recanted and attributed hysterical symptoms to fantasy or wish fulfilment (Crews, 2017; Masson, 1985).

In the twentieth century trauma theory emerged in response to observing the effects of large-scale catastrophic events, such as natural disasters and war, on people. In particular, the work of psychiatrists in English hospitals such as Maghull and the Maudsley, which were specially set up to deal with the effects of a new phenomenon called 'shell-shock' on soldiers, resulted in a new model of psychological medicine in the UK (Crews, 2017; Jones, 2006; 2010; Linden & Jones, 2014). Prior to this what appeared to be a novel and complex disorder emerging from the experiences of men in First World War trenches was deemed to be organic in nature and occurring as a result of violent physical shock or the effects of contact with toxic chemicals. [104] Now symptoms such as nightmares, fatigue, irritability, depression, functional paralysis, violent tremor, auditory hallucinations, and persecutory delusions were re-interpreted

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[103] Hysterical: from the Greek *hysterikos*; from *hystera* womb; from the Greek notion that hysteria was peculiar to women and caused by disturbances of the uterus.

[104] In the period from August 1914 to November 1918 a total of 5.7 percent of British soldiers who served in the army were treated for 'functional diseases of the nervous system.' The equivalent figure for the German army for the same period of time was 4.6 per cent (Downing, 2017). During the Somme offensive between July and November 1916 the figure for British soldiers soared to 17 per cent (Downing, 2017).

as stemming from psychological shock, resulting in particular from exposure to the new and dominant form of warfare, namely, intense and prolonged artillery bombardment.

In the inter-war years Abram Kardiner (1891-1981), an anthropologist and psychoanalyst who was treating US war veterans, observed the nature of re-enactment as part of what he called 'traumatic neurosis' and understood that such men were not of poor moral character and therefore did not need to be 'hardened' or removed from their comrades in order to prevent 'infection' (Kardiner, 1941/2012; Van der Kolk, 2015; Van der Kolk et al., 1996). Quite the contrary, Kardiner and his colleague, Herbert Spiegel, argued that the degree of relatedness between the soldier and his comrades and their leader was the most effective intervention against the terrors of 'war neurosis' (Herman 1992/2015). Writing during World War II Kardiner (1941/2012) noted the higher figures for war neurosis due to the widespread aerial bombardment of urban centres and, as a result, the fact that traumatic reactions were now extended to non-combatants or men, women and children of the civilian population. He was concerned at the nature and scope of psychiatric problems this type of warfare would precipitate as the war progressed. Treatments proposed included diet, rest, sleep, sedatives, group therapy (because of the number of men), hypnosis, and educational input about the nature of the condition. Kardiner placed special emphasis on the use of encouragement: "to urge him to further achievement, to guarantee support if he needs it, to free him from the idea that the world is hostile and that his powers to control it are gone" (p. 220).

In terms of the academic context of trauma studies, Radstone (2007) argues that trauma theory, which came to prominence in the 1990s with the writings of Felman & Laub (1992) and Caruth (1995), owes much to post-structuralism and psychoanalysis but, as outlined above, was also deeply influenced by clinical work with survivors of experiences designated as traumatic, particularly (in the second half of the 20th century) in the United States.

After World War II some survivors reached a point where they could describe their traumatic experiences at the hands of the Nazis and in particular their extreme experiences in concentration and extermination camps (e.g. Frankl, 1959/2004; Levi, 1958/2009; Wiesel, 1958/2006). Bruno Bettelheim (1943,1979), a psychologist and

also a survivor of the camp system attempted to describe the effects on human beings, including himself. Henry Krystal (1925-2015) was a psychiatrist who studied (somewhat more systematically than Bettelheim) the effects of prolonged trauma on concentration camp survivors. His experiences as a Jewish man during the war and in particular his captivity in Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen informed his later work with other survivors of trauma. He noted that traumatised individuals experienced emotional reactions merely as somatic states without being able to interpret the meaning of what they were feeling (Van der Kolk et al., 1996). Thus, he identified the condition that would come to be known as alexithymia, a common syndrome in chronically traumatised individuals (Ringel & Brandell, 2012). Krystal developed treatments for psychological trauma and introduced the term 'survivor guilt.'

By the 1970s American psychiatrists working with Vietnam War veterans had noted specific clusters of psychological symptoms common to many men (Lifton, 1973). [105] Through their advocacy and the clinical advances made in hospitals and clinics under the auspices of the *Department of Veterans' Affairs* (founded in 1930) it became possible to recognise war-induced trauma as both inevitable and normal (Courtois & Gold, 2009; Herman, 1992/2015).

 A group of Vietnam veterans, supported by psychiatrists like Robert Lifton, lobbied the American Psychiatric Association to create a new diagnosis (Van der Kolk, 2015). The diagnosis of *Post Traumatic Stress Disorder* (PTSD) was formally recognised by the American Psychiatric Association in its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM-III, 1980), although at the time it referred to adults rather than including children and adolescents (Connor & Butterfield, 2003). In parallel with this process the women's movement brought trauma occurring in the private sphere into the public domain. Barriers of silence, denial, secrecy, and shame around issues such as child sexual abuse and intimate partner violence were (at least partially) dismantled through "sharing, validation, and support" (Herman, 1992/2015, p. 29). The first rape crisis centre opened

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[105] The *National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Study* showed that 15.2 per cent of male veterans who had served in combat units in Vietnam suffered from PTSD 20 years after the war and a further 11.1 per cent suffered from partial PTSD (Kulka et al., 1990 cited in Van der Kolk et al., 1996). In a follow up study with the original sample Marmer and colleagues (2015) found that 40 years or more after the war, of those male veterans who had served in combat units in Vietnam 4.5 per cent met the criteria for a current diagnosis of PTSD and a further 10.8 per cent met the criteria for sub-threshold PTSD.

in the US in 1971, and in the early 1970s the first refuge or 'battered women's shelter' was established in Chiswick, England (Walker et al., 2013). Important research by women (e.g. Russel, 1984), that showed that one in four women had been raped and one in three had been sexually abused, provoked new understanding and treatments (Ringel & Brandell, 2012). Terr's (1979) study of the trauma suffered by a group of 26 children kidnapped from a summer school in rural Chowchilla, California was important in bringing a developmental focus on the effects of trauma suffered during a coercive, out of home experience.

Many previously identified adult post-traumatic syndromes such as *Vietnam Veterans Syndrome* (Van der Kolk et al., 1996), *Battered Woman Syndrome* (Walker, 1984/2013), *Stockholm Syndrome* applied to women in abusive relationships (Graham 1994), *Rape Trauma Syndrome* (Burgess & Holmström, 1974) and, pertaining to children, Summit's (1983) *Sexual Abuse Accommodation Syndrome* were now subsumed under the new diagnosis. Only later did work on trauma and dissociative states by a number of vocal clinicians link in with the remaining criteria for a diagnosis of PTSD in order to expand the range of possible symptoms (Van der Kolk et al., 1996). Because of disagreements within the psychiatric profession the disorder was classified as an anxiety disorder in DSM-III (1980) and the restriction of the diagnostic criteria left out many features of the disorder that had clinical and treatment relevance (for example, dissociation) that would not be at least partially rectified until the advent of the DSM-V (2013).[106]

For several decades the knowledge base about psychological trauma and theories to explain it have expanded at pace. The extensive literature has been accompanied by a developing awareness, not just at a professional level but also at a societal level, of the

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[106] Complex PTSD has not yet been fully acknowledged and included. The compromise position that was hoped for by many clinicians was that 'disorders of extreme stress not otherwise specified' (DESNOS) be included in the DSM-IV (1994). It was not. The DSM-V (2013) did, however, introduce a new category of disorders (trauma- and stressor-related disorders) and included trauma-causing events in the description of PTSD. At the time of writing the World Health Organisation is in the process of revising its *International Classification for Diseases* (ICD) for its 11th edition. The working group has put forward proposals for conditions associated with stress, and they include a new diagnosis of Complex PTSD in addition to the already existing PTSD. Confirmatory factor analysis performed by Knefel & Lueger-Schuster (2013) on adult survivors (n=229) of clerical childhood institutional abuse supported the construct validity of CPTSD and follow up research on the same sample of participants by Knefel et al. (2015) supported the existence of a distinct group that could be described by the proposed CPTSD diagnostic category more precisely than the normal PTSD one.

extent, nature, and costs (both financial and human) of trauma (Courtois & Gold, 2009). During the 1990s there was also a parallel rapidly developing awareness and accompanying clinical work and research on child abuse and, in particular, child sexual abuse. This resulted in the concept of trauma being applied to children especially since many adults were reporting histories of child abuse and neglect. Herman (1992/2015) summarises the new awareness: "Traumatic events are extraordinary, not because they occur rarely, but rather because they overwhelm the ordinary human adaptation to life" (p.33).

The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Study on 17,337 American participants commenced in 1994 and has been assessing the effects of child abuse and related adverse childhood experiences as a public health problem. The researchers defined three types of childhood abuse, that is, emotional abuse, physical abuse, or contact sexual abuse, and five exposures to household dysfunction during childhood, that is, exposure to alcohol or other substance abuse, mental illness, violent treatment of mother or stepmother, criminal behaviour in the household, and parental separation or divorce. Results clearly demonstrate links between childhood adversity and psychological and social impacts (Anda et al., 2006). Two-thirds of the study participants reported at least one adverse childhood experience such as abuse or neglect, with most reporting more than one. Reporting an adverse childhood experience in any category conveyed a two to five-fold increased risk of attempted suicide, for example, and those who reported seven or more adverse childhood experiences were at a 31-fold increased risk of a suicide attempt. Childhood emotional abuse, for example, was found to increase the risk of receiving a diagnosis of 'depressive disorder' by approximately 2.5-fold (Chapman et al., 2004).

Since the mid-1990s a growing interest in the place of attachment in human development (e.g. Gerhardt, 2004; Ringel, 2012; Steele & Van der Hart, 2013) the ever-evolving research in the area of neuroscience (e.g. Southwick et al., 1995; Van der Kolk, 2014; Van der Kolk et al., 1996), the recognition of the effects of chronic trauma (e.g. Courtois & Ford, 2013; Herman, 1982/2015, 1995; Van der Kolk, 2014; Van der Kolk et al., 1996), and the developments in the treatment of co-morbid conditions such as trauma-related Borderline Personality Disorder (e.g. Linehan, 1993a, 1993b) and the Dissociative Disorders (e.g. Boon et al., 2011; Steele et al., 2017; Van der Hart et al.,

2006) have all informed my view of the psychological consequences for boys detained in industrial schools and who were chronically abused and neglected.

Upon reviewing the development of trauma theory it is apparent to me that learning has not always been continuous, un-interrupted and without controversy. In relation to the profession of psychiatry, for instance, Van der Kolk and colleagues (1996) conclude that it has periodically experienced a type of amnesia in which well-established findings about trauma have apparently been forgotten. Perhaps mirroring the intrusions, confusion and sense of disbelief experienced by victims of trauma, psychiatry has gone through "periods of fascination with trauma, followed by periods of stubborn disbelief about the relevance of patients' stories" (p.47).

Recent developments in empirical meta-analytic research have produced sets of best practices and treatment guidelines to help counsellors provide evidence-based, trauma-focused interventions to survivors of traumatic events. Gentry et al. (2017) propose that the essential elements of such therapy programmes are:

(1) Cognitive restructuring: restructuring cognition with a focus on education about the neurological, physical and psychological effects of trauma.
(2) The therapeutic relationship: establishing, maintaining and excellent therapeutic relationship through the use of feedback-informed treatment.
(3) Self-regulation and relaxation: teaching survivors to monitor and regulate autonomic arousal through ongoing relaxation/mindfulness.
(4) Exposure or narrative: using exposure or narrative approaches to integrate and de-sensitise repressed, suppressed, and dissociated traumatic memories.

Because the participants in this study suffered chronic abuse and neglect in a residential institutional setting operated by a religious order acting *in loco parentis,* I will review here trauma theory that I believe is especially relevant to this population, namely, attachment-based trauma, complex PTSD, and betrayal trauma.

4.7 Attachment-based trauma theory and therapy

The core of psychotherapy involves clients being facilitated to understand and change the manner in which they experience, develop and maintain relationships – with themselves and others. Attachment theory proposes a powerful model for understanding how these processes occur.

In the developing infant there is a balance to be found between how the needs for both safety and exploration are negotiated. A key element in this balancing act is the emotional bond between the child and its primary care giver. This bond is referred to as attachment; it develops between the ages of seven and nine months (Ainsworth, 1982; Bowlby, 1973) and is a universal feature of human development (Simpson et al., 2007). Lightfoot and colleagues (2013) note the four signs that the process of attachment has taken place:

(1) The child seeks to be near the primary caregiver(s).
(2) The child shows distress if separated from the primary caregiver(s).
(3) The child is happy when reunited with the primary caregiver(s).
(4) The child orients their actions to the primary caregiver(s).

Ainsworth and colleagues (1978) developed the *Strange Situation* experiment, which lead to the identification of two primary attachment patterns, namely, secure and insecure. [107] A basic assumption of attachment theory is that if a caregiver is providing regular physical and emotional care, based on availability, consistency, sensitivity, empathy and acceptance, then the child will form a *secure* attachment. The child will naturally develop an internal working model of expectations for nurturing, supportive reactions from the caregiver, whom that infant trusts and uses as a secure base from which to explore his/her physical and social environment. If, for whatever reason(s) these needs of the child are not met by that caregiver an insecure attachment emerges.

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[107] The procedure takes place in a toy-filled laboratory playroom. There are eight conditions, including ones where the child is left alone with the mother, is left with the mother and a stranger, is left alone with a stranger, is left entirely alone, and is reunited with the mother (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

Lightfoot et al. (2013) state that in the strange situation, most children (i.e., about 65 per cent of middle-class children in the United States) behave in the way implied by Bowlby's 'normative' theory. They become upset when the parent leaves the room, but, when he or she returns, they actively seek the parent and are easily comforted by him or her. Children who exhibit this pattern of behavior are referred to as *secure.* Indeed, across most cultures studied about one-half to three-quarters of infants in the general population are securely attached (Holt et al., 2012).

In relation to the *insecure* type there are three sub-types: *resistant, avoidant,* and *disorganised.* Other children (about 12 per cent of middle-class children in the United States) are not at ease initially, staying close to their parent rather than exploring, and, upon separation, become extremely distressed. Importantly, when reunited with their parent, these children have a difficult time being soothed, and often exhibit conflicting behaviors that suggest they want to be comforted, but that they also want to 'punish' the parent for leaving. These children are often called *resistant.*

The third pattern of attachment is called *avoidant.* Avoidant children (about 23 per cent of middle-class children in the United States) appear to be somewhat indifferent to their parents and do not appear to be distressed by the separation, but, upon reunion, actively avoid seeking contact with the parent, sometimes turning their attention to play objects in the laboratory playroom.

Main and Solomon (1990) added a further attachment style, which they labelled *disorganised* attachment. It consists of contradictory behaviour patterns such as some evidence of attachment behaviours alternating with avoidance, screaming, freezing or dazed behaviours, and interrupted movements and expressions. In this style infants seem to lack a coherent way of dealing with stress (Lightfoot et al., 2013). According to Main and Hesse (1990), the key to the disorganised style is "fear without solution," that is, the infant both needs and resists proximity/connection.

Meta-analyses of home-reared children and their parents in a number of countries verify two main propositions that are consistent with the focus of attachment theory on early childhood experience with warm, sensitive and responsive adults: (1) parental sensitivity (i.e. appropriate two-way social contact), mutuality, synchrony, stimulation,

positive attitude, and emotional support are related to the development of secure attachment; and (2) caregiver responsiveness and secure attachment in infancy predict better child social and mental development later (St. Petersburg-USA Research Team, 2008).

What about effects into adulthood? An assumption of attachment theory is that the quality of early interactions between the child and their primary caregiver has a significant impact on the child's subsequent psychological and interpersonal functioning throughout the lifespan. Following on from Ainsworth and colleagues' (1978) development of the *Strange Situation* experiment as a means of identifying child attachment styles, Main and colleagues (2002, cited in Ringel & Brandell, 2012) developed the *Adult Attachment Inventory* (AAI), an instrument designed to measure adult attachment patterns. They concluded that adult attachment patterns, as measured by the AAI, correlate with children's attachment styles, as observed in the Strange Situation. For example, the *autonomous* style correlates with the *secure* attachment style in children.[108] Longitudinal studies have provided persuasive evidence for the continuity of attachment styles from childhood into adulthood (see Gleeson & Fitzgerald, 2014; Lightfoot et al., 2013; Waters et al., 2000b). There is some plasticity, however. Research has shown that styles of attachment, although generally resistant to change, are subject to revision in a positive way, as a result of new life experiences, positive relational experiences (including therapy) or education and in a negative way as a result of an unstable relationship environment, loss or trauma (see Crowell et al., 2002; Waters et al., 2000a, b).

Treatment for attachment trauma involves a number of strategies and can be focused on infants, children, adolescents or adults (as clients, parents or carers). Interventions aimed at parents or caregivers of infants and young children are designed to enhance carer sensitivity and responsiveness at a behavioural level. This involves (1) teaching observation skills to make carers more sensitive perceivers of children's signals; (2)

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[108] The four styles of adult attachment are (1) autonomous: adults who are able to reflect objectively and openly on previous attachment relationships; (2) dismissive: adults who dismiss the importance of attachment relationships; (3) enmeshed: adults who ruminate about their dependency on their parents and worry about pleasing them; (4) unresolved: adults who have experienced traumatic attachment or the loss of an attachment figure and are still resolving their thoughts and feelings about this (Main et al., 1985).

helping carers become aware of the value of prompt, sensitive responses; (3) helping carers to become more aware of their own thoughts, feelings and behaviour in relation to the child; and (4) empathy enhancement, using praise and reinforcement for positive interactions (see Brisch, 2004; Gerhardt, 2004; Howe, 2005; Stewart, 2018). Attachment trauma therapy also includes education about secure and insecure attachment, the concept of the 'secure base' and affect regulation for both carers and children (Howe, 2011; Ringel, 2012; Schore, 2003; Stewart, 2018).

In relation to older children and adolescents the above strategies pertain and others are added, such as (1) teaching parents/carers the difference between developmental age and chronological age; (2) teaching parents/carers to behave in nurturing ways even when traumatised children (with avoidant, self-reliant and controlling behavioural patterns) are sending out the message that they want distance and not nurturance; (3) teaching parents/carers how to help children contain and reduce acting out behaviour; (4) teaching parents/carers how to help children identify and express emotions verbally; teaching parents/carers to facilitate descriptions of past traumas and feelings and thoughts associated with them (Brisch, 2004; Gerhardt, 2004; Howe, 2005; Schore, 2003; Stewart, 2018; Wallin, 2007).

In the counselling context that concerns me in this study and in working with adults with a history of attachment disorder, the following guidelines (Brisch, 2004) are important, bearing in mind that the major precondition for attachment or indeed any social engagement (including counselling) is safety and an adult presenting with an attachment disorder has already had that safety threatened if not shattered (Steele et al., 2013):

(1) The counsellor must allow the client to speak via his/her activated attachment system and the counsellor must be emotionally available.
(2) The counsellor must function as a reliable secure base from which the client can safely work through his/her problems.
(3) The counsellor must be particularly careful about how he/she handles boundaries of closeness and distance with the client.
(4) The counsellor encourages clients to think about what attachment strategies they are presently using with important attachment figures.

(5) The counsellor encourages clients to examine the therapeutic relationship in some detail, as this is where all internal models of relationships are enacted.

(6) The counsellor encourages clients to compare and contrast current perceptions and feelings with those experienced in childhood.

(7) The counsellor encourages clients to recognise those strategies that are working or appropriate and those that are not.

(8) Closure of the therapeutic relationship needs to be handled sensitively.

What evidence exists for the effects of trauma on the attachment patterns of children and adolescents in out-of-home settings? The following section looks at the research on the effects on children and adults of having been cared for in a residential institutional setting. In recent decades many countries have moved to reduce the number of children in institutional care and have encouraged other forms of out-of-home care, especially fostering. However, it is important to note that in many countries the use of residential institutional care continues. A recent volume on child maltreatment in residential care (Rus et al., 2017) contains research on institutions in Romania, Spain, Russia, Ukraine, Turkey, Israel, India, China, and Kenya as well as research on historical institutional abuse in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Although orphanages are almost non-existent in the USA, Australia, the UK and Ireland, for example, they are common in Russia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa, and parts of Asia.

Allied to and informing this trend toward de-institutionalisation has been the impact of a series of revelations and enquiries into abuse in residential settings that began in the 1980s and 1990s (Stanley, 1999). In terms of the UK alone Stanley (1999) refers to the Pindown Inquiry into the system used to control children in residential homes in Staffordshire (Levy & Kahan, 1991); the Children in Public Care Report – the first review of residential childcare in England as a whole (Utting, 1991); a review of services in Wales (Social Services Inspectorate, 1991); and one in Scotland (Skinner, 1992). As the system of large residential institutions for large groups of children has been all but dismantled in Western Europe most recent research on infants and children in institutional care has been carried out in the context of orphanages (usually for

children from birth to four years) in countries like Romania, Russia and China.[109] Indeed adoption from orphanages has provided a 'natural experiment' in which to assess the degree of deprivation experienced by infants and children and the level of their recovery (Humphreys et al., 2017). [110] In the context of historical abuse in residential institutions such residential institutions can include orphanages, group homes, farm schools, training schools, facilities for those with mental and physical disabilities, and youth detention centres (e.g. Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, 2009; Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse, 2017).

 Residential institutions for infants, children or adolescents are typically deficient environments. In terms of out-of-home care and in particular residential institutions, disturbances of attachment are among the most pronounced negative impacts (Bakermans-Kranenburg et al., 2011). The authors note that even when institutions provide sanitary living environments, adequate medical care and nutrition, the pattern of rotating shifts and the large numbers of caregivers limit the development of stable relationships between children and care givers. For example, the Saint Petersburg-USA Orphanage Research Team (2008) reported that by their third birthday many institutionalised children had experienced contact with 50 or more caregivers.

 A number of studies have shown that children growing up in orphanages are at risk in a variety of domains of functioning, including their physical, socio-emotional, and cognitive development (Bakermans-Kranenburg et al., 2011). In particular, those children reared in substandard orphanages (i.e. those institutions in which some fundamental aspect of the care of children is substantially below that suggested by best practices) display developmental delays in most physical and behavioural domains (including physical growth, marked delays in general behavioural development, atypical behaviours such as self-stimulation, over-activity, distractibility, and a shift from early passivity to later aggression) and even when these children are later adopted into advantaged families they have higher frequencies of behavioural problems than non-orphanage children (The St. Petersburg-USA Research Team, 2008).

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[109] In 2004 there were 255 orphanages in Russia, housing approximately 19,900 children. In St. Petersburg alone, there were 13 orphanages, housing 1,096 children (The St. Petersburg-USA Research Team, 2008).

[110] After the Ceausescu regime was toppled in Romania in 1990, approximately 170,000 children were living in residential institutions (Humphreys et al., 2017).

Vorria and colleagues (2003, 2006) studied infants brought up from birth in a Greek orphanage and who, therefore, had not experienced adverse childhood experiences prior to being intitutionalised. Results showed that 66 per cent of infants, when observed with their most familiar caregivers, showed disorganised patterns of attachment. This compared to 25 percent of a comparison group of children, growing up in their own two parent families. In the Russian orphanage study (Saint Petersburg-USA Orphanage Research Team, 2008) up to 85 per cent of the children showed disorganised attachment behaviour. Bakermans-Kranenburg and colleagues (2011) speculate that a high proportion of disorganised attachments may be an inevitable consequence of the residential institutional care of infants.

A further identified pattern of behaviour typical of institutionalised children is that of disinhibition or indiscriminate friendliness. This is characterised by friendly or even affectionate behaviour directed at all adults, including strangers, and a corresponding lack of fear or caution (O'Connor & Rutter, 2000; O'Connor et al., 2003). This pattern has been observed both in children after adoption from institutionalised settings and in children who were living in institutional care at the time of the study. Institutionalised and post-institutionalised children show significantly more severe indiscriminate friendliness than never institutionalised children, even when assessments take place many years (during adolescence) post-adoption (Rutter et al., 2007). The authors regard indiscriminate friendliness as an attachment disorder. Aside from the child not forming an attachment to one or two main caregivers it can also result in the child being totally unprotected in terms of his/her boundaries and thus very vulnerable to manipulation and even exploitation.

In terms of Irish research, the Carr (2009) study is particularly interesting from our perspective as it studied Irish adults who, as children, had initially been reared at home and who had subsequently been forcibly separated from their primary caregivers and detained in residential institutions for long periods of time. In a study commissioned by the CICA, Carr (2009) studied 247 survivors of residential institutional abuse and neglect. In the *Family Version* of the *Childhood Trauma Questionnaire* (CTQ) 38 per cent of respondents were classified as having experienced child abuse in their family of origin. Just under half of this abuse was *physical neglect* (47.9 per cent) and may have been connected to poverty, as the majority of children in residential institutions were

of lower socio-economic status. [111] In the *Institution Version* of the CTQ, however, over 90 per cent of respondents were classified as having experienced child abuse in one or more residential institutions.

Using the *Experiences in Close Relationships Scale,* only 16.59 per cent of adult survivors were classified as having a secure attachment style, while 83.1 per cent were classified as having an insecure attachment style (see Table 3 below). Of the insecure styles, a *fearful* adult attachment style, characterised by high interpersonal anxiety and interpersonal avoidance was the most common (44.12 per cent). Other styles included *dismissive (*26.72 per cent), that is, low interpersonal anxiety but a high level of interpersonal avoidance, and *preoccupied* (12.55 per cent), that is, high interpersonal anxiety and low interpersonal avoidance.

Table 3: Attachment patterns on the *Experiences in Close Relationships Inventory* N=247 (Carr, 2009)

Adult Attachment style	Frequency	%
Fearful	109	44.12
Dismissive	66	26.72
Secure	41	16.59
Preoccupied	31	12.55

Given what we know about conditions in the residential institutions in terms of physical, sexual and emotional abuse and in particular that a climate of fear was pervasive (CICA report, 2009), it is interesting to note that the most common adult insecure attachment style found by Carr (2009) was the *fearful* one, that is, a style

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[111] Decades later, at the time of the study, the majority of adult survivors of historical institutional abuse were still classified as being of lower socio-economic status, with 24 per cent unemployed; 15.4 per cent unskilled manual workers; 28 per cent semiskilled manual workers; and 12 per cent skilled manual workers. Since leaving institutional care the highest socio-economic status achieved by most participants was at the lower end of the spectrum: for 42 per cent the highest status achieved was unskilled manual work; for 25.1 per cent it was semiskilled manual work. With respect to education the majority of participants were also found to be of low educational attainment, with almost half (49%) having never passed any state, college or university examination. Of those that did pass an examination, 25 per cent reported passing the Primary Certificate Examination (usually taken at 12 years of age at the end of primary school education), 6.1 per cent reported passing the Intermediate Certificate Examination (usually taken half way through secondary schooling at about 15 years of age), 5.3 per cent reported passing the Leaving Certificate Examination (usually taken at termination of secondary education at 18 years of age) and 3.2 per cent reported having an undergraduate degree (Carr, 2009).

characterised by high levels of interpersonal anxiety and high levels of interpersonal avoidance.

If we know that there is some stability in attachment style across the lifespan; and if we know that 38 per cent of adult survivors reported child abuse in their family of origin; and if (hypothetically) every one of those children developed an insecure attachment style as a result of inadequate or abusive parenting, then we might expect a similar figure of 38 per cent for insecure attachment as adults. However, the figure of 83.1 per cent is so high that one has to question what happened to these children in their childhoods or between childhood and late adulthood. We know that when the child-caregiver relationship is the source of the trauma the attachment relationship is severely compromised and that 80 per cent of maltreated children develop insecure attachment patterns (Friedrich, 2002, cited in Cook et al. 2005). It is interesting to note the similarity in figures for insecure attachment between survivors in the Carr (2009) study and a study of maltreated children. Bear in mind that in contrast to the figure here for adult survivor secure attachment, between 50 to 75 per cent of infants in the general population are securely attached (Holt et al., 2012). In addition, a fundamental aspect of attachment theory is that the mental representation of attachment is formed on the basis of experiences with attachment figures and this representation or schema influences the way new relationships are formed and maintained (Schuengal & van Ijzendoorn, 2011).

I argue that the particularly high level of attachment disorder in this population of adult survivors is accounted for by the traumas suffered by them as children as a result of betrayal by adult attachment figures *in loco parentis* in residential institutions. Whether they were actively involved in abuse or neglect, or whether they were bystanders to such atrocities and thus part of the abusive system, the majority of children, it seems, were not able to form stable, secure, ongoing attachments to these adults supposedly caring for them.

One could, of course, argue that a variety of other pre- and post-institution life experiences, negative relationships, losses and traumas could account for the high figure for insecure attachment. However, it cannot be ignored that one factor all these respondents had in common was that they were forcibly separated from their natural

caregivers in middle childhood or adolescence and detained in industrial schools for, in the most part, years. Pre-institution abuse and neglect are ruled out as factors for 62 per cent of respondents. While detained in institutions, however, just under half the children were subjected to sexual abuse (47.00 per cent), while the vast majority of children were subjected to physical abuse (97.20 per cent), emotional abuse (94.70 per cent), physical neglect (97.60 per cent) and emotional neglect (95.10 per cent) by their substitute primary attachment figures. These were the men and women mandated with the care of vulnerable boys and girls; they were regarded by Irish society as being of high credibility, status and moral authority; they were God's representatives on earth.

4.8 Betrayal trauma

Complex trauma (which I will describe in detail in the next section) often occurs in a closed setting such as a family, religious group, or workplace, whereby someone known to the victim and in a position of power has ongoing, unfettered access to them and perpetrates the abuse in this closed context. In this ongoing trauma situation, the victim is in one way or another trapped and without the possibility (either in reality or in the victim's mind) of escape. This abuse (often different types of abuse occurring concurrently) continues over a period of time from weeks and months to years.[112] It impacts the attachment bond because it reflects a betrayal of the fundamental relationship between perpetrator and victim, especially if it involves the betrayal of a particular role and attending responsibility, for example, a parent with a child, a husband with a wife, a cleric with a child or adult congregant, a teacher with a pupil, a military officer with a lower ranking enlisted soldier, a childcare worker with a child in care.

Relational dynamics such as these applied specifically to children in Irish industrial schools, whereby an institution that was created to provide care (or at least education and training) failed to protect or support children's needs. However, because these children in Letterfrack suffered multiple betrayals we can extend the concept of betrayal to include (1) those clerics not teaching them but working in the industrial school (e.g.

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[112] For the men in this study, the length of time detained at St. Joseph's Industrial School, Letterfrack varied from three months to four years, with a mean detention period of 2.2 years.

the Resident Manager, or the Brother in charge of the kitchen or the farm) who were either directly abusive or who colluded with others who were by their support or silence; (2) those clerics / class teachers (either by abusing directly or colluding with those who were by their support or silence); (3) those lay people who worked in the school but kept silent (e.g. the women in the laundry; the resident nurse who treated the wounds; the priest who presided over services in the chapel every day). To this list we could add the betrayal by (4) the local community of Letterfrack, which must have known at least some of what was happening one hundred metres from their doors but who colluded with the order of Christian Brothers for economic reasons and reasons of deference; (5) the religious order that failed to protect boys in its institutions from a culture of violence and from the presence of (sometimes already identified) serial sex offenders; and (6) the betrayal of the Irish state that handed over the children of poor Irish families to the religious orders but was grossly negligent in its monitoring of their subsequent care. There is betrayal evident at the interpersonal level, but also betrayal at the institution, community, and state levels.

Betrayal Trauma Theory (BTT) was originally articulated by Freyd (1994) as a means of explaining traumatic amnesia in victims of sexual abuse perpetrated by primary carers / primary attachment figures. While closeness and dependency may be present across the lifespan, childhood is a particularly vulnerable period in a person's life due to children's psychological, emotional, and physical dependency (Gomez & Freyd, 2017). If that child experiences abuse in the context of a close relationship - known as high betrayal trauma - the impacts can be severe and long lasting, particularly if it is cumulative trauma, that is, a number of trauma types (Martin et al., 2013). The child must find a way to form primary attachments to caretakers who are dangerous through abuse or negligence. This is the double bind for the child. He/she must find a means of developing trust and safety with caretakers who are untrustworthy and unsafe (Herman, 1992).

BTT argues that dependence in the victim-perpetrator relationship means that victims are so vulnerable and have little or no choice but to adapt to ongoing abuse by devising means of preserving the relationship in order to survive. In this way ongoing abuse by an attachment figure encourages the development of cognitive and emotional processing that inhibit awareness (Bernstein & Freyd, 2014; Gagnon et al., 2017;

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Gomez & Freyd, 2017). Therefore, victim-perpetrator dynamics resulting in, for example, dissociation, psychic numbing, hallucinations, and alexithymia, may help victims to decrease awareness of the abuse-related material and thus support the maintenance of necessary attachments to powerful perpetrators in an entrapment context (Gagnon et al. 2017; Gomez & Freyd, 2017). These forms of 'betrayal blindness' are therefore adaptive in terms of survival even if there are also negative impacts associated with them. Betrayal is thus seen by BTT as at the core of abuse by a close other and not simply one resulting symptom or cluster of symptoms. Betrayal trauma as first envisaged has been extended to include institutional factors contributing to existing traumatic stress (Parnitzke Smith & Freyd, 2014). Institutional factors can include but are not limited to (1) devaluing certain people; (2) a hostile environment; (3) organisational tolerance for harassment; (4) lack of standard or serious sanctions for abusive behavior; (5) not taking reports of inappropriate behavior seriously; and (6) retaliating against those who disclose/allege wrongdoing (Parnitzke Smith & Freyd, 2014).

Institutional betrayal can have a powerfully negative impact on victims because institutions that betray to that extent typically endeavour to foster a sense of both trust and dependency in their 'service users' (Smith & Freyd, 2014). Therapy, using the BT model, involves a careful examination of the coping strategies used by children to deal with the betrayal at the time, helping the adult client to view these coping strategies as normal and adaptive at that time and in those circumstances, and then challenging the client to be aware of whether they continue to use those strategies now in ways that are unhelpful, unhealthy or inappropriate for them and others.

In the case of the Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools a number of institutional factors (gleaned from a perusal of the CICA report, 2009 and survivor memoirs) added to the existing traumatic stress experienced by children, for example: (1) a policy of detaining children in isolated institutions for long periods of time; (2) allowing minimal or no contact with family and community; (3) poorly trained staff; (4) insufficient numbers of staff; (5) reluctance to report disclosures of abuse to the higher echelons of the religious order; (6) a pattern of refusal to report allegations of abuse to the civil authorities; (7) a pattern of prioritising the reputation of the cleric and the congregation over the safety of the child alleging abuse; (8) a pattern of not

believing the victim; (9) a pattern of blaming the victim; (10) a policy of relocating the perpetrator to another institution with vulnerable children; (11) a pattern of not inspecting institutions regularly and comprehensively; (12) a pattern of loosely interpreting Department of Education and Christian Brothers rules on the administration of punishment.

 In a review of the institutional child sexual abuse literature Blakemore et al. (2017) note the impacts to the spiritual wellbeing of victims/survivors of abuse suffered in religious settings. These included negative impacts on belief in God, spiritual practices, and likely involvement or engagement with the church and/or its representatives. Distrust in and deep anger towards the church were reported across all studies reviewed as well as various government inquiries (e.g. CICA, 2009; Law Commission of Canada, 2000). Feelings of disillusionment with religion and spiritual belief are common among victims/survivors of child sexual abuse in general, particularly as (1) faith can be an important element of a person's normal coping mechanisms and (2) experiencing sexual abuse may trigger a view of God as cruel, uncaring and punishing (Fisher et al., 2017; Pargament et al., 2008).

Victim psychic numbing, dissociation and the resulting compliance with the aggressor are phenomena that have been identified in people trapped in a variety of contexts (e.g. hostage, kidnapping, concentration camps), even when the situation exists (e.g. a small number of captors) whereby escape is a possibility or even a probability (Turan & Dutton, 2010). Dealing with trauma responses such as dissociation and psychic numbing is vital in any betrayal trauma context but in the case of abuse perpetrated by clerics in Irish religiously affiliated industrial schools dealing with the impact of spiritual abuse (as described in Doyle, 2008; Frawley-O'Dea, 2007; Heimlich, 2011) and betrayal is, I believe, a core element of the therapy for a number of reasons to do with the role and place of clerics in society, how religion is used by offending clerics, and the spiritual impact of clerical abuse on victims:

(1) Christianity in Ireland has been predominantly Roman Catholic for centuries and the care of the Roman Catholic self (body, mind and soul) has always been provided for by the "hermetically sealed ministrations of the Catholic Church (Bergin, 2010, p. 466).

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(2) Ireland has always had a small population and the percentage of people self-defining as RC has always been very high. For example, in 1961 the population of Ireland was under three million and 95 per cent of the population regarded themselves as Roman Catholics (Central Statistics Office, 2018; Inglis, 1998).

(3) The Church has had a powerful influence on the Irish state (McCullagh, 2018) and its special position in Irish society was recognised in the 1937 Constitution (Ferriter, 2009).

(4) The Irish state, vis a vis its hand-in-glove relationship with the Church, has traditionally contracted out certain core services to religious orders for the provision of social care services, health services and education. Clerics were, therefore, involved in many aspects of Irish society, and this involvement gave them access to vulnerable people, especially children.

(5) Priests, religious brothers and religious sisters were revered and feared. They were viewed as God's representatives on earth or *repraesentatio Christi* and as such above reproach (Keenan, 2012). They wore uniforms, they had titles and they enjoyed prestige, privilege and deference in the community. They were not to be opposed. In 1973/74, at the time when the industrial school system was nearing the end a study found that nine out of ten Catholics attended mass weekly and just under a quarter of respondents (24.9 per cent) still believed that it was bad luck to oppose or contradict a priest (Inglis, 1998). In their daily lives clerics nominally modelled Christian values. They had taken the vow of chastity and therefore they were perceived as safe and exempt from normal caution where children were concerned. They were to be obeyed and trusted in equal measure.

(6) Clergy utilise specific religious pro-offending distorted thinking as part of their offence cycle (Doyle, 2008; Saradjian & Nobus, 2003) in order to make acts socially and morally acceptable, to give self-permission to engage in sexual acts with a minor, to blame victims, to minimise the seriousness of offenses and to readjust the offender's self-image as an offender. The researchers found that clerics used their religious role and relationship with God in their distorted beliefs to justify their actions and as a means of keeping victims silent.

(7) Studies on the impacts of clergy-perpetrated child sexual abuse note the spiritual impact on victims and refer specifically to 'spiritual devastation' and 'deep spiritual confusion, often compounded by church responses (Blakemore et al.,

2017; Carr et al., 2017; Fater & Mullaney, 2009; Fisher et al., 2017; Pargament et al, 2008).

Being abused in a residential setting by a man of God was, I argue, the ultimate betrayal in Ireland and an example of high betrayal. Because it occurred in an institutional setting operated by a religious organisation and was denied, minimised, and covered up by that same organisation it can also be seen as institutional betrayal (Gomez & Freyd, 2017). Children were removed forcibly from their primary carers and the attachment bond was ruptured and perhaps broken forever. Christian Brothers were effectively *in loco parentis* and, having 24-hour access to children, were potential safe attachment figures for these children. In addition, many abusers were also teaching the children. These children found themselves confined to a residential institution where perpetrators of abuse were simultaneously the only attachment figures available to them and who were also high status and powerful clerics and teachers. This 'holy trinity' of factors resulted in a particular version of high betrayal that I refer to as *Clergy Betrayal Trauma* (CBT).

4.9 Complex Trauma / Complex PTSD and therapy

After proposing two theoretical approaches to trauma that may be particularly apt in understanding survivors impacted by historical clerical residential institutional abuse, this next section deals with the manifestations of this abuse in the form of Complex Trauma. Although the conceptualization of PTSD and the advent of the official APA recognition of PTSD in the DSM-III (1980) reflected some clusters of symptoms noted by clinicians in relation to their clients in the aftermath of traumatic incidents, other post-traumatic syndromes remained unrecognized and some clinicians argued that PTSD captured only a limited subset of pychopathology, particularly in the cases of children and women (e.g. van der Kolk et al., 2005). A number of clinicians proposed that as well as displaying symptoms usually meeting the principal criteria for PTSD (i.e. re-experiencing, avoidance, numbing and hyper-arousal) other symptoms, not captured by the PTSD diagnosis, featured in the lives of children, adolescents and adults suffering the effects of sustained, repeated or multiple traumas (Herman, 1992/2015, 1995; Cloitre et al., 2011, 2013, 2014; Courtois & Ford, 2013; van der Kolk, 1996).

Van der Kolk (2005) outlined what was not captured by the diagnosis of PTSD, particularly relating to children and adolescents-:

> …the complex disruption of affect regulation; the disturbed attachment patterns; the rapid behavioural regressions and shifts in emotional states; the loss of autonomous strivings; the aggressive behaviour against self and others; the failure to achieve developmental competencies; the loss of bodily regulation in the areas of sleep, food, and self-care; the altered schemas of the world; the anticipatory behaviour and traumatic expectations; the multiple somatic problems, from gastrointestinal distress to headaches; the apparent lack of awareness of danger and resulting self-endangering behaviours; the self-hatred and self-blame; and the chronic feelings of ineffectiveness (p. 406).

Two co-operating groups of clinicians reviewed existing research literature on trauma in children and generated a list of 27 symptoms frequently described by victims of trauma and not addressed by the DSM criteria (Van der Kolk et al., 2005). Herman (1992/2015) arranged these symptoms into seven categories:

(1) Alterations in *affect regulation*, including persistent dysphoria, chronic suicidal preoccupation, self-injury, explosive, or extremely inhibited anger (may alternate between the two extremes).

(2) Alterations in *consciousness*, including amnesia or hypermnesia for traumatic events, transient dissociative episodes, depersonalization/derealisation, reliving experiences, either in the form of intrusive PTSD symptoms or in the form of ruminative preoccupation.

(3) Alterations in *self-perception*, including a sense of helplessness or paralysis of initiative, shame, guilt, and self-blame, a sense of defilement or stigma, a sense of complete difference from others.

(4) Alterations in *perception of perpetrator*, including preoccupation with the relationship with the perpetrator (including preoccupation with revenge), unrealistic attribution of total power to the perpetrator (sometimes this perception is accurate), idealization or paradoxical gratitude, a sense of special relationship, acceptance of the belief system or rationalisations of the perpetrator.

(5) Alterations in *relations with others*, including isolation and withdrawal, disruption in intimate relationships, repeated search for a rescuer, persistent distrust, repeated failure to self-protect.

(6) *Somatization* and/or medical problems: may relate directly to the type of abuse suffered and any physical damage endured or they may be more diffuse.

(7) Alterations in *systems of meaning,* including a loss of sustaining faith, a sense of hopelessness and despair.

These additional symptom clusters were originally referred to as *Complex PTSD* and *Developmental Trauma Disorder,* but more recently the trauma theory field has adopted the general term *Complex Trauma* (van der Kolk, 2005) and, for diagnostic purposes, *Complex PTSD.* [113] Clients presenting with complex trauma typically do not describe a single toxic event; they have typically coped with several forms of interpersonal trauma, including abuse (physical, sexual) neglect, exploitation, and abandonment (Courtois & Ford, 2013). In the case of children, when their primary caregivers such as parents, other relatives, health care providers, childcare workers, or others in positions of authority were the ones responsible for traumatising them we note a fundamental truth: that these experiences were a violation of the universal expectation that children should be sheltered, protected and treated with love, understanding and compassion by those adults. This core betrayal undermines a child's healthy development and leads to negative beliefs about self and the world. The world is not a safe place and the main priority is one of survival (Freyd, 1994). Courtois and Ford (2013) argue that complex trauma alters the development of the self "by requiring survival to take precedence over normal psychobiological development" (p. 25).

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[113] Although not labeled 'complex trauma,' these symptoms were subsequently designated in the DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2000) as "PTSD and its associated features." Although not included as a stand-alone disorder 'Complex PTSD' in the DSM-V (APA, 2013), many of the features of CPTSD are included in the extended diagnostic criteria for PTSD. The World Health Organisation (WHO) is responsible for developing the *International Classification of Diseases* and its 11th version (ICD-11, 2015) included Complex PTSD in its taxonomy as it was convinced by its clinical utility. Research by Cloitre and colleagues (2013), carried out with a view to adding support to the new classification, found that the different symptom profiles that describe PTSD and Complex PTSD were indeed associated with different subgroups of individuals, different levels of impairment, and different risk factors. Chronic trauma (e.g. childhood abuse) was more strongly predictive of Complex PTSD and was also associated with greater impairment than PTSD. Further research by Cloitre and colleagues (2014) supported the construct validity of Complex PTSD as distinguishable from Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD).

As a result, the experience of complex trauma can force a child to adopt maladaptive substitute coping strategies rather than adaptive self-regulation – physically, in the case of intense states of hyperarousal/agitation or hyperarousal/immobility, and behaviourally in the case of aggressive or passive/avoidant responses (Courtois & Ford, 2013). In the case of adolescents, behaviours frequently labelled 'acting out,' 'externalising,' 'aggressive' or 'defiant,' such as resisting assault, fighting back against the perpetrator or running away from the institution, are more helpfully seen under the umbrella of complex trauma as attempts at problem-solving and emotional regulation.

One could argue that peer physical bullying and sexual abuse in such institutions were also attempts (albeit unconsciously) at problem solving and emotional regulation in that such behaviours may have helped to distract from, reduce or in some way manage the emotional pain derived from prior victimisation at the hands of Christian Brothers. In this way it could be viewed as a form of tension reduction behaviour that was noted by Briere (1992, 2012; Briere and Elliott, 2003) and was incorporated into the standard measurement of symptoms of trauma – the *Trauma Symptom Inventory* (1995). Tension reduction behaviour provides the victim of trauma with one or more of the following reliefs that can be both very attractive to a person in pain but also short-lived and maladaptive: temporary distraction; interruption of dissociative or dysphoric states, anesthesia of the psychic pain; restoration of a sense of control; distress-incompatible sensory input; temporary filling of perceived emptiness, self-soothing; and specific relief from guilt or self-hatred (Briere, 1992, p. 64).

One particular implication for the treatment of people presenting with histories of complex trauma emerged from the new conceptualisation: single intervention strategies or short treatment intervals were not sufficient to address the variety of symptoms and life problems experienced by these clients (Courtois & Ford, 2009, 2013). Complex trauma requires complex treatment. In the Irish context of counselling provision by the Church-initiated service (Faoiseamh / Towards Healing), the original therapy model changed at a certain time to a short-term, solution-focused therapy approach, because of financial constraints imposed by the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. In so doing the church once again abandoned the victims of abuse perpetrated its clergy and the agency, funded directly by the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, failed to implement, or at least continue to implement, a client-centred, evidence-based therapeutic strategy.

Survivors I spoke to described being very aware of the change in emphasis by the counselling agency and described feeling as if they or their counsellors now had to 'account' for continuing sessions and that, if granted, such 'extensions' would be of limited duration. Survivors were of the opinion that counselling should continue if the need existed. When they had concluded counselling survivors were concerned about whether they would be allowed to re-engage with the service in times of need, and in particular, with their therapist of choice (usually the one they had built a relationship with and who they trusted). They were of the opinion that the service did not take into account the challenges of life that can emerge for a survivor, especially in dealing with other 'authority figures' such as the *Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse* (CICA), the *Residential Institutions Redress Board* (RIRB), and most especially *Caranua* [114]– the state agency responsible for providing survivors with access to practical, health and educational supports. [115]

In parallel to the development of the conceptualisation of complex trauma clinicians have developed treatment programmes specifically targeted to help this population (Boon et al., 2011; Briere & Lanktree, 2012; Courtois, 2008; Herman, 1992/2015; Ford et al. 2005; Steele et al., 2017; van der Kolk, 2005. For example, Courtois & Ford (2013) describe a sequenced, relationship-based approach to the treatment of Complex Trauma that is based on an understanding that traumatic stress symptoms are *normal* reactions and that such reactions are coping efforts and adaptations to *abnormal* circumstances and events. In addition to clinicians, professional representative and advocacy groups in the area of trauma recognition, diagnosis and treatment have issued

[114] It is an Irish term meaning 'new friend.'

[115] All survivors I have worked with over a period of 15 years have had some level of difficulty dealing with the state agencies mandated to support them and some survivors have undoubtedly been re-traumatised by Cara Nua in particular. This re-traumatisation occurred as a result of survivors coming to believe that their assigned advisor lacked awareness their current plight; by coming to believe that their assigned advisor did not understand the nature of their historical trauma; by coming to believe that their assigned advisor did not care about them; by being kept waiting for months and even years for services; by being forced to work hard to receive services (e.g. having to get three quotes for each service applied for); by being refused services; by seeing that some other survivors were granted more in the way of services than they were; by a change in the rules governing Cara Nua that resulted in survivors being eligible for fewer services; by coming to believe that applying to the independent appeals officer to revisit a refusal of services was a hopeless enterprise; and by finding it difficult to make telephone contact with their advisor and to have their messages returned in a timely fashion.

clinical guidelines for the treatment of Complex Trauma (e.g. Cloitre et al., 2012; Cook et al., 2003; Kezelman & Stavropoulos, 2012; McFetridge et al., 2017) that have been widely commended by the therapy community. What individual clinical treatment approaches and the various guidelines tend to emphasise are: the nature of the therapeutic relationship, trust-building, client safety, affect regulation, a view of symptoms as expectable and adaptive, the value of support networks, attunement to attachment issues, attunement to issues pertaining to dissociation, and psychoeducation.

The clearest outline of treatment goals for (and with the active and equal participation of) clients suffering from Complex PTSD are provided by Courtois and Ford (2013, pp. 89-90) and involve an initial twelve goals for 'regular' PTSD treatment and an additional eight goals specific to Complex PTSD. These are:

1) To increase the capacity of the client to respond to threat with realistic appraisal rather than exaggerated or minimised/minimising responses.
2) To help the client maintain normal levels of arousal rather than hyper-vigilance or psychic numbing or freezing.
3) To facilitate the client to return to normal development, adaptive coping, and improved functioning at work and socially.
4) To restore the client's personal integrity and to normalise traumatic stress response by validating the universality and normality of stress symptomatology and thus establishing a frame of meaning.
5) To conduct treatment in an atmosphere of safety, in order to reduce the possibility of client re-traumatisation.
6) To regulate the client's level of intensity of traumatic aspects to facilitate effective cognitive reappraisal.
7) To increase the client's capacity to differentiate recalling from reliving of past traumas.
8) To help the client put the trauma in perspective – neither trying to remove memories nor avoiding the memories.
9) To educate the client about biological and social learning risk factors that influenced trauma responses.
10) To actively address co-morbid issues.

11) To help move client's self-perception from one of helpless victim to one of resourced survivor.

12) To help the client have the courage to face the memories and reminders/triggers of the traumas.

13) To help the client face the trauma memory and its associated feelings, cognitions, beliefs and schemas about self and others.

14) To help the client experience the treatment relationship as the 'secure base' from which to develop or regain secure inner working models of attachment.

15) To help the client develop and/or restore emotion regulation.

16) To shift the self-concept from permanently damaged to resilience and recovery from injury.

17) To help the client shift the self-concept from helpless/ineffective to autonomous self-determination.

18) To help the client gain or regain the capacity for body self-awareness and arousal regulation.

19) To help the client to recognise and reduce the impact and frequency of dissociation, addiction, self-harm, impulsivity, compulsion, and aggression toward self and others.

20) To help the client identify reenactments of traumatic events and help to develop self-protection strategies in order to prevent revictimisation and retraumatisation.

Resources that I have utilised to help clients with histories of abuse and neglect in Irish industrial schools and presenting with with Complex PTSD include treatment approaches to trauma-related dissociation (e.g. Steele et al, 2017), treatment approaches to emotion regulation (e.g. Dimeff & Koerner, 2007; Linehan, 2015; Van Dijk, 2012), as well as specific treatment approaches such as schema therapy (e.g. Young & Klosko, 1994; Young et al, 2003), compassion-focused therapy (e.g. Gilbert, 2009), Eye Movement Desensitisation and Reprocessing (EMDR) (e.g. Shapiro, 2001) and mindfulness-based cognitive therapy for depression (e.g. Segal et al., 2013). In addition, I have trained with Babette Rothschild in *Somatic Trauma Therapy* and have completed Francine Shapiro-certified training in EMDR. As a result of writing this chapter on trauma theory attended a seminar on *Developmental Trauma Disorder* with

Bessel van Der Kolk in June 2018 and hope to do further training in attachment trauma and betrayal trauma.

Complex PTSD is not referred to in the research project undertaken in conjunction with the CICA (Carr, 2009) and was therefore not part of the discourse at the time of publication of the report in May 2009. However, my analysis of the study of 247 survivors of residential institutional child abuse and neglect leads me to conclude that Carr's results are indicative of survivor post-institution psychological and life problems that are diagnostically beyond a PTSD framework and are more appropriately located within the Complex PTSD framework. The following results are indicative:

- Overall, 81.78 per cent of the participants at some point in their lives had met the diagnostic criteria for an anxiety, mood, alcohol/substance use, or personality disorder.
- With respect to *DSM-IV Axis 1* disorders, 64.8 per cent of participants had at some time in their lives met the diagnostic criteria for an anxiety, mood, alcohol/substance use disorder. At interview 51.4 per cent of participants met the criteria for a diagnosis of an anxiety, mood, or alcohol/substance use disorder.
- In terms of anxiety disorders, the three most common conditions experienced by participants were social phobia (current: 19.8 per cent, lifetime: 10.9 per cent), generalised anxiety disorder (current: 17 per cent, lifetime: 6.9 per cent), and PTSD (current: 16.6 per cent, lifetime: 8.5 per cent).
- In terms of mood disorders, 26.7 per cent of participants met the diagnostic criteria for major depression, with a lifetime rate of 36 per cent.
- Of the 247 participants, 27.1 per cent had a lifetime diagnosis of alcohol dependence and 7.7 per cent for a lifetime diagnosis of alcohol abuse.
- As measured by the *Trauma Symptom Inventory* (TSI) more than half of participants, at the time of testing, showed clinically significant levels of avoidance of reminders of trauma (59.9 per cent) and intrusive experiences such as flashbacks (55.9 per cent). Other post-traumatic symptoms evident were impaired self-reference (46.2 per cent), dissociation (44.1 per cent), maladaptive tension reduction behaviour (35.2 per cent), anger (32 per cent), sexual concerns (23.9 per cent), and sexual dysfunction (12.6 per cent).

- Using the *Experiences in Close Relationships Inventory* (ECRI) to locate adult attachment patterns, 83.4 per cent of participants were classified as having an insecure attachment style, with a fearful style (44.1 per cent) characterised by high interpersonal anxiety and high interpersonal avoidance, being the most common insecure style.

- Life problems affecting participants through their lives up to interview included unemployment for periods as long as a year (51.8 per cent); anger control issues in intimate partner relationships (25.9 per cent); anger control issues with children (13.4 per cent); charged with non-violent criminal offences (22.3 per cent); charged with violent criminal offences (10.1 per cent); incarceration for non-violent criminal offences (13.4 per cent); incarceration for violent criminal offences (7.3 per cent); self-harm (17.8 per cent); homelessness for periods as long as a year (21.1 per cent); substance use: 'problems with drinking or taking drugs' (38.1 per cent); frequent illness: 'seriously ill more than 5 times' (29.6 per cent); and frequent hospitalisation for physical health issues: 'more than 5 times' (28.3 per cent).

Using the diagnostic criteria proposed by Courtois and Ford (2013) for Complex PTSD, I conclude that the above detail that I have extracted from the study are indicative of alterations in the regulation of affective impulses, as reflected in rates of anger, violent behaviour, substance use, self-harm and perhaps maladaptive tension reduction behaviour. Analysis also reveals evidence of alterations in attention and consciousness, as reflected in scores for impaired self-reference and dissociation. Somatisation and or other medical problems are reflected in the rates of serious illness and hospitalisation. Finally, we can infer a degree of relationship difficulty as reflected in the rate of insecure attachment of over 80 per cent, and a degree of (perhaps related) social isolation and even social anxiety from participants' responses to the questions pertaining to strengths: (1) where does your strength come from? (2) what has helped you most in facing life challenges? and (3) what is the thing that means most to you in your life? In each case a relationship with a friend, including other survivors, was rated lowest, at 7.8 per cent, 5.8 per cent, and 5.0 per cent respectively. In contrast, self-reliance was rated in the top position in response to all three questions, at 59.3 per cent, 58 per cent, and 53 per cent respectively.

In conclusion, in this section I have described the development of trauma theory and proposed that the diagnosis of Complex PTSD best captures the post-traumatic experiences of men and women historically abused and neglected while detained in Irish residential institutions. In seeking evidence for this view, I reviewed the largest and most comprehensive study of Irish survivors (Carr, 2009) and found convincing evidence of the framework of Complex PTSD being a best fit. I have also described the criteria for a diagnosis of CPTSD and outlined briefly some of the essentials of treatment. Finally, I proposed that attachment-based trauma theory and betrayal trauma theory could help explain at least some of the psychological impacts noted in survivors of historical clerical residential institutional abuse in Ireland and I proposed that a cluster of factors particular to the powerful role of the clergy in Ireland, when added to clergy physical and sexual abuse in residential settings, constituted what I referred to as Clergy Betrayal Trauma (CBT).

CHAPTER 5

Methodology

5.1 Introduction and aims

The task undertaken by the CICA, which sat from 2000 to 2009, was enormous and complex. The Commission examined allegations of abuse and neglect from hundreds of Irish men and women who, as children, had been resident in industrial and reformatory schools, as well as other residential settings. Yet this was but a subset of the approximately 15,000 survivors who were still alive at the time of their investigations.[116] Yet again this figure of 15,000 survivors was but a subset of the total number of children (over 200,000) that went through the residential institutional system in Ireland since its inception (Smith & Luddy, 2014). The Commission report (CICA, 2009, Vols. I-V) devoted individual chapters to certain residential institutions. The chapter on Letterfrack (Vol. I, Ch.8, pp. 285-394) revealed the existence of on-going physical, emotional and sexual abuse over the lifetime of the institution. The Carr (2009) study, carried out in conjunction with the Commission, examined 247 men and women from a variety of institutions but did not provide data (from interview and psychometrics) on individual institutions. The Investigation Committee of the CICA took evidence from 25 former detainees in Letterfrack but carried out no psychometric testing on them. This study will do both.

Arnold (2009), having read Peter Tyrrell's account of his time of detention in Letterfrack, concluded that the system was inherently dysfunctional:

> There were not just 'bad times' or 'bad people'; the savage unrelenting cruelty was systematic, constant, and comprehensive…The neglect of the boys reflected the utter worthlessness in which they were held (p. 51).

This study sets out to focus the light of research on a group of former detainees from this one industrial school out of the approximately 70 institutions that existed over the lifetime of the system, in an effort to explore what made it vie for the position of "worst

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[116] This figure is based on the approximately 15,000 survivors who applied to and were eligible for redress under the Residential Institutions Redress Board (RIRB).

of all" (Arnold, 2009) or what made it, as one participant in this study called it, "the concentration camp". Thus, the approach of the present study followed in the tradition of Arnold and Laskey (1985), who examined St. Joseph's Industrial School for girls in Cavan: "we believed that a thorough study of one place would tell a more effective story" (p.123).

(1) My overall objective in carrying out this study was of vital importance to me. By investigating and writing about what happened to so many vulnerable Irish children in the century between 1874 and 1974 approximately I aimed to add to the literature in order to make sure that what happened in the industrial and reformatory school system in Ireland would never be forgotten or repeated. Although no two industrial schools were exactly alike and not all industrial schools were like Letterfrack in terms of isolation and its reputation for brutality, all Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools were subject to the same rules and regulations of the Congregation and the Department of Education and were operated by men who had trained together for a number of years in the Christian Brothers' training college in Dublin. In addition, there was regular transfer of men between the six industrial schools. Therefore, for the purposes of this study Letterfrack was my industrial school exemplar, and so my focus remained primarily on it and the boys who were detained there. This story is about Letterfrack; the voices in it are of those men who experienced the system in that particular place at that time.

(2) The second aim of the study was to provide a safe and supportive space to those survivors to have their voices heard, as a testimony to what was experienced in this institution, how they coped at the time, as well as how those experiences impacted them in their post-institution lives. It explored and measured these experiences (both positive and negative) in a structured way, using a semi-structured face-to-face interview and psychometric testing. As previously noted, up to this study interviews and testing have not been carried out on survivors from an individual industrial school. Therefore, a key purpose of this study was to gain a more detailed and rich insight directly from the participants themselves: (a) into their attempts to cope with conditions and experiences in Letterfack during their detention and, (b) post-release, with their attempts to cope with the legacy of institutional abuse and neglect.

(3) A third aim came about organically in the form of an involvement in setting up a survivors' support charity. New directions and aims for the study emerged during the process of this study and crystalised during the research process. For me, it was always about more than completing my doctorate; it had a lot to do with understanding what had happened to these children, trying to explain how it had occurred, and clarifying my position in relation to my clinical work with survivors. In addition to the above (and hearing the stories of survivors, learning about how they saw themselves as coping, and acting as a tribute to these resilient men by making sure that their stories were archived) it developed into an affirmative action project.

As a result of my contact with the outreach officer of *Right of Place Second Chance,* and the interviews I did with survivors, I was invited to be the Cork in-house psychologist. I did this for a year. During that time the inadequacies of the system of provision for survivors of institutional abuse in Ireland became ever more obvious to me, and it became clear that survivors' needs were not being met in any meaningful way. Researching support services for survivors of institutional care in Ireland led me and some like-minded individuals to conclude that many offered limited facilities and supports. Primarily, they were survivor-managed and this had inherent problems. No existing service catered for men and women in *all* residential institutional categories, and with the exception of One in Four (based in Dublin) no existing service for survivors was operated by professionals and survivors working closely together.[117]

With up to 15,000 men and women having survived institutional care as children and thousands more in adult facilities such as mother and baby homes, Magdalene laundries, mental hospitals, county homes, and prison, we were of the opinion that this category of person deserved a specific charitable response, rather than services being split across a number of organisations. Experience of working with survivors showed that as a group many were poor, had suffered mental health issues, lacked assertiveness and had literacy issues. We concluded that a 'one-stop-shop' approach to assisting them and advocating on their behalf would be far more effective than expecting them to be able to engage with a number of agencies.

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[117] One in Four was established in 2003 to provide professional counselling and advocacy services to men and women who had experienced sexual abuse in childhood.

Over a period of months and as a result of regular discussions with interested parties, it was decided to set up a charity that would attempt to meet those needs. As I write (April 2017), a board of directors made up of survivors and professionals has been established. We have registered *Reclaiming Self* as a limited company with the Companies Registration Office (CRO) and recently we were granted registered charitable status by the Charities Regulatory Authority (CRA). We have entered into a reciprocal relationship with a long-established Cork city charity (Cork Penny Dinners) for the purposes of securing a refurbished city centre premises designed around the needs of the clients of Reclaiming Self.

In terms of how this doctoral thesis fitted in to the work that we will do with survivors, all elements of the interview schedule and responses thereto have been designed to generate topics and themes for survivor therapy and resource allocation. In addition, the relevant parts of the thesis (and further writing I did that did not make the final edit) will be used by the charity as part of an induction programme for voluntary advocates who will work on a one-to-one basis with survivors. This programme will closely follow the Thornton and colleagues (2014) *'Open Hearts and Open Minds'* programme developed by the Immigrant Counselling and Psychotherapy Centre in the UK for working sensitively with Irish survivors of institutional abuse.

An adapted version of the interview schedule used for this study will be used in the initial phase of contact with each survivor. This interview protocol will form a large part of the initial intake process. As over 100 survivors are expected to register with the support service during its first year of operation, it will provide a large sample of participants for a range of future research projects. Therapy with survivors will be based on detailed information on the survivor's experiences and coping strategies, carried out within a structured individual and group therapy programme and based, among others, on the work of Lew (2004), Bass and Davis (2002), Herman (1992 a, b) and van der Kolk (2015).

(4) A fourth aim emerged as a result of a formal approach to the Congregation of Christian Brothers with a view to interviewing a man who had worked in Letterfrack industrial school. This would be a unique aspect of this study – the opportunity to gain an insight into the views of a member of that congregation who had lived and worked in the institution. Having interviewed Brother Xavier, I was moved by his description

of how challenging it was for him to work in the industrial school sector and, as a result, I decided to thematically analyse the data generated from his interviews to identify his coping strategies, with a view to comparing/contrasting them with those of the six survivors studied. In addition, I wished to ascertain if the views expressed by Brother Xavier at interview, and in a copy of a lecture he had delivered in the early 1970s, contained any evidence of moral disengagement – the model I was proposing to explain the systemic neglect and abuse of children in Letterfrack.

As this study integrated quantitative and qualitative methods it can be said to be a mixed methods research project. I do not believe that adopting one approach philosophically or theoretically precludes one from adopting the other. I concur with Hanson et al. (2005, p.224), who believe that when both approaches are used together researchers may "enrich their results in ways that one form of data does not allow" and that results of "precise, instrument-based measurements may…be augmented by contextual, field-based information", especially rich descriptions of participants' meanings in the form of extensive quotes from interviews.

In relation to the two main research questions, this study used qualitative data analysis. In terms of the philosophy behind the overall design of the study I concur with Breakwell (2006) who argues that researchers need to recognise that 'research' does not just mean experiments, large samples and complex statistical analysis. In conducting this study, I wished to learn about individuals' perceptions and experiences, to focus on the lived experiences of boys in an industrial school, to value the participants' perspectives, and wished to rely to a large extent on participants' own words, the inquiry was seen as an interactive process between researcher and participant. A study grounded in these principles does not necessarily seek representativeness to achieve statistical generalisability, but instead aims to explain and perhaps predict phenomena based upon empirical data. Morrow (2007), referring to research in counselling psychology, acknowledges the debt to the academic discipline of education, which has been very influential in the development of qualitative methods in counselling psychology. Qualitative research methods continue to gain credence as counselling psychology researchers "recognize its relevance to the paradigms that characterise the field" (Morrow, 2007, p. 209).

My professional working life has included the disciplines of education and counselling psychology. I worked as a Guidance Counsellor in secondary schools for seven years and taught part-time at third level in the Cork Institute of Technology and University College Cork, before working full-time as a counselling psychologist in private practice. I also taught counselling theory and practice on two Irish Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy-accredited Diploma in Counselling courses offered by the Cork Counselling Centre and the Kerry Counselling Centre respectively, and more recently at Trinity College Dublin. This study also straddles these two disciplines - in its area of inquiry, in its choice of participants, in its underlying philosophy and in its research methods.

In terms of theoretical orientation, I see this study as firstly being within the interpretivist-constructivist paradigm, in that as, Morrow (2007) notes, such a paradigm

> has a relativist ontology in which there are as many realities as participants (plus one: the investigator) – and in which meanings are often co-constructed by participants and researchers,…In this paradigm, researcher values are assumed to exist (and are even embraced), and subjectivity is an integral part of the research (p.213).

Secondly, I believe the study lies in the critical-ideological domain in that it argues that multiple realities exist but emphasises the existence of an over-riding reality related to power and control. While this study is not strictly ethnographic in nature, I acknowledge the influence of pioneering anthropologists/ethnographers such as Mead (1932) and Malinowski (Firth, 1960) working with small indigenous populations, as well as those who lived and conducted enlightening (and somewhat controversial) research in Ireland (Arensberg, 1968; Arensberg & Kimball, 2001; Gmelch and Gmelch, 2014; Scheper-Hughes, 2001). From their 'embedded' ethnographic approach, I have been influenced to consider the 'out-group' as the subject of this study, to welcome the spoken word, to interview extensively, and to broaden data sources in order to include space for participants to contribute material to the 'study archive'.

5.2 Approach to research

It is common for researchers using a qualitative approach to reveal their world-views, assumptions and making them explicit in their writings to "assist the reader in understanding the researcher's stance vis-à-vis the research" (Morrow, 2005, p. 254). I have shared some of this above. In a second meaningful way, my thinking was also

greatly influenced by pioneering feminist writing on violence against women and, in particular, sexual violence (Brownmiller, 1975; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Herman, 1992 a; Rush, 1980; Russel, 1998). Most feminist approaches to male-female sexual violence view it as (1) a result of unequal power between perpetrator and victim; (2) as reinforcing the inequality of power in the relationship; and, (3) as reinforcing the historical inequality of power between men and women. Breaking the silence has been a primary goal of feminist research approaches.

As a result of the influence of feminist thinking, my B.A. in Psychology thesis (Lynch, 1982) centred on the issue of the sexual harassment of women. My view of survivors of abuse and neglect in the industrial school system that operated in Ireland is based on my underlying belief that they were subject to marginalisation and oppression before, during and after their detention, that is, they were silenced and ultimately, made invisible. This view was formed and then cemented by my early working life. Like Morrow (2007), I have been drawn in my way of being and my professional work to vulnerable and marginalised people. My first job after university in 1983/1984 was a six-month project working in a training and education centre with adolescents from disadvantaged areas of the city who had been rejected by the traditional secondary school system. I am sure that many of those boys would have been detained in industrial schools 15 years previously, as they came from backgrounds of poverty and were, in many cases, involved in petty crime.

Other beliefs or biases I brought to this study included: (1) a belief that my experience as a clinician helped me to empathise with survivors and could help me develop rapport with participants; (2) a belief that the manner in which they had been treated both during and post-institutionalisation was of grave concern to society at large and important to have knowledge about; (3) a belief that this study could in some way illuminate certain aspects of survivors' experiences in institutional care and the impacts thereafter; (3) a belief that all survivors had been abused and neglected to some extent and that at least for some the traumas continued to impact them; (4) a belief that through helping survivors understand how they coped in extreme situations one could help them change old, unhelpful patterns of thinking, feeling and behaviour; (5) a belief that survivor self-awareness about how they have been affected by their experiences was a vital step in the healing process.

Whereas most of the child abuse revelations pertaining to industrial schools and reformatories emerged in the 1990s, my awareness of how the Irish state and the Roman Catholic Church colluded to marginalise certain segments of society had already been deeply heightened in 1984 as a result of two separate controversies that occurred in the heart of rural Ireland in the year after I graduated from university – those of Joanne Hayes and Ann Lovett. They left an indelible mark on me and as a result, I became more determined to become involved in effecting change in people's lives, and to be part of a gradually developing cultural shift in respect of sensitivity to those in need at a number of levels in Irish society. I believed then, as I do now, that theory and talk must be matched by action.

Both significant events occurred in rural Irish villages, both involved young women, and both concerned themselves with the stigma attached to being an unmarried mother in an intolerant society. The two tragedies ignited a heated conversation about the type of society we lived in and, in particular, the role of the Roman Catholic Church in the formation of a repressive attitude to single mothers in Ireland. At a later point, it has been argued that the tragic cases of the two young women resulted in a debate about the Church's culture of control in this country (Inglis, 1998, 2002, 2005; Maguire, 2001; McCafferty, 2010). Both events made me determined to be part of a less judgemental and more tolerant society - one that could support vulnerable people when they most needed that support. These stories informed my value system.

I became drawn to community work and worked in this area for five years (four of them in a voluntary capacity), in a community-based training centre for adolescent boys who had been rejected by the conventional educational system, and then in the first established community-based counselling centre in Cork city, serving the needs of those who did not have access to a professional counselling service. The underlying philosophy behind the approach to counselling was an integrative humanistic one, with a strong feminist orientation. Individual and group therapy were provided for survivors of sexual abuse and for those in abusive relationships. During this period I helped devise and co-facilitate a therapeutic group for male survivors of child sexual abuse, as well as counselling individual survivors. At about this time my M.A. in Counselling thesis (Lynch, 1989) concerned itself with the emotional impact on counsellors of working with survivors of sexual abuse. There was a strong qualitative element to the

analysis of data in that study, as I was interested in the counsellors' perceptions of their struggle to provide a professional service to deeply traumatised people, while remaining healthy themselves.

Through the Faoiseamh / Towards Healing counselling service I have, since 2000, worked with survivors of institutional abuse and neglect, as well as survivors of diocesan clergy abuse. Survivors emphasised to me that many of their fellow survivors were irreparably damaged by their experiences in institutions and ended up alcohol-addicted, drug-addicted, incarcerated long-term, homeless, or, in some cases, committing suicide. For example, one man (in his 40s) who was detained in St. Joseph's Industrial School, Kilkenny revealed that of his class of 44 children in the late 1970s he is the only one still alive. I became curious about how certain victims coped in their post-institution lives and appeared to live 'normal' lives, while others were extremely damaged or had died. The theme of this study and the research questions stemmed from this curiosity about survivor resilience.

It is also important to state that I was raised in a Roman Catholic family but became disillusioned and have not formally practiced since commencing university in 1979. The more I became aware of the abuse of power at the core of the organisation, particularly its exclusion of women and its treatment of marginalised people the more I moved away from it. The more I worked with victims of clerical abuse (by diocesan priests and religious order Brothers and Sisters) and their subsequent stonewalling at the hands of the Roman Catholic Church, the more I knew I could not find a safe place in an organisation whose strategy, when confronted with clerical abuse, was (1) deny that it had occurred; or (2) partially admit it but minimize victim impact; or (3) blame the victim.

I have been, for a long time, interested in the ways marginalised individuals view their world and the meaning they put on their own experiences, as well as trying to help them to break the silence around their oppression and deal with their traumatic pasts. This stems from my initial training in the person-centred therapy of Carl Rogers. I was influenced by Professor Eleanor O'Leary (UCC), who passed on the fruits of her personal and professional relationship with Carl Rogers to me in a way that inspired me to appreciate and trust the internal worldview of the individual and their ability to tell their own story. It was important to me that, as well as providing a voice for

survivors and presenting the narrative stemming from my contact with them, the data from this study might have the potentially useful function of guiding and even formulating future therapeutic interventions with this group of survivors and providing evidence for advocating for better services for this group. In this way I saw an element of social justice as being a core objective of the work.

As opposed to the hypothesis testing of quantitative research, this study began with research questions asked directly of the participant. Qualitative research is particularly interested in questions of 'How?' or 'What?' as opposed to 'Why?' (Creswell, 1998).[118]

The two questions pertaining to this study that were to be thematically analysed were: (1) During your time of detention in Letterfrack, how did you try to cope with the abuse and neglect you were experiencing there? (2) How were you affected by your experiences of abuse and neglect in Letterfrack in your life afterwards? The questions contained an obvious assumption on my behalf, namely, that all detainees were subject to some forms of abuse and neglect. This assumption was made confidently in the light of the experiences of former detainees of Letterfrack who wrote about their experiences (Coleman, 2010; Finn, 2011; Flynn, 1983, 2003; Tyrrell, 2006), former detainees from various institutions that I had spoken to, other former detainees who had written about their experiences, and the overwhelming evidence of the existence of chronic abuse and neglect in Letterfrack, as outlined by the CICA Report (2009, Vol. I, Ch.8).

These questions led to data gathering approaches: face-to-face, semi-structured interviews, with the addition of other quantitative sources of data, namely, those extracted from psychometric testing. Semi-structured interviewing is "the most widely used method of data collection in qualitative research in psychology" (Willig, 2013, p.29). Although the interview schedule was far more extensive (151 questions) than a standard semi-structured interview schedule, I refer to it as semi-structured as participants were invited to respond beyond 'yes' or 'no' responses or multiple choices and comment on what the topic of each question brought up for them.

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[118] Perhaps because of difficulties accessing certain vulnerable populations and it being a skilled and labour intensive approach, there can be a reluctance on the part of researchers to engage in face-to-face interviews with survivors. For example, in Ireland most research on the experiences of former psychiatric patients has been based entirely on the analysis of clinical records in certain institutions (Kelly, 2016).

Emanating directly and transparently from the research questions the aims of the study were straightforward: (1) to determine the coping mechanisms utilised by these men while they were detained in the industrial school as children; and, (2) to determine how these men were impacted by their experiences in Letterfrack to date. In relation to Q.2, although I was particularly interested in the psychological consequences of their institutionalisation I was open to hearing about how men were impacted in a variety of ways (e.g. socially, economically and educationally) and so the question was presented in an open way.

5.3 Participants

(a) Survivors

The number of participants in a study utilising qualitative methods of data analysis is typically smaller (and usually much smaller) than studies utilising quantitative methods alone. Participants in this study consisted of a self-selected sample, that is, people who fulfilled the selection criteria of the sample and who volunteered to take part in the research. Six adult survivors of institutional abuse and neglect participated in this study. They met the following six criteria:

1) They were male.
2) As children they were detained at St. Josephs's Industrial School, Letterfrack, Co. Galway for a period of time.
3) They were deemed to be eligible to apply to the Residential Institutions Redress Board (RIRB).
4) They accepted an award from the RIRB.
5) They were registered with and were in receipt of on-going support from of one of the two survivor support groups.
6) They were willing to be interviewed at one of the two survivor support group centres.

Criteria 3 and 4 were included in this study as a result of legal advice from my practice solicitor. This was because each participant, as part of the contract upon acceptance of an award from the RIRB, signed an agreement with the RIRB that they would not take

a civil case against an individual Christian Brother or the Congregation of Christian Brothers. In effect, this contract meant that they could talk freely to me about their experiences in Letterfrack, and that I could record their responses without the pressure of the possibility that parts or all of the data on individuals could be subpoenaed as part some future legal action. In addition to the six factors outlined above, the sample size was limited by the following three practical factors:

(1) The number of men in an ageing population that were still alive. My understanding is that the survivor population has declined significantly even since the publication of the CICA report in 2009.

(2) The number of men who were in a position, both in terms of their physical and mental health, to take part in the study.

(3) The number of men who could commit to two interviews.

(b) Participant Christian Brother

I did not initially plan to hear the voice of a Christian Brother because (1) I dismissed the idea, thinking I could not access a man who had worked in the industrial school sector and specifically in Letterfrack and (2) I was not particularly interested in hearing what I predicted would be a tissue of excuses and even lies. However, as I read more about social cognitive approaches I became more open to hearing a different perspective and wanted to hear how a Brother might speak about his own experiences in the industrial school.

Brother Xavier, the participant Christian Brother, was accessed through the Congregation of Christian Brothers. I wrote and spoke to Brother B, the Designated Liaison Person (DLP) in Ireland for dealing with all allegations of abuse against members of the Congregation. I received complete co-operation and was given the name of a Brother who had been a teacher in Letterfrack. There were no restrictions placed on the interview. I contacted Brother Xavier directly and he readily agreed to interviews at the monastery where he was now living in retirement. I did not have to provide a list of questions in advance of the interview. The only information I provided was that the interview would consist of mostly open-ended questions, that it would be

chronological in nature and that, while it would cover events before and after Letterfrack, it would focus on his experiences at Letterfrack. Brother Xavier signed the *Information Sheet*, *Consent Form* and *Permission to Copy Form* (for any text material he might share). Like all other participants, I informed him that he could receive a copy of the transcribed interview and a summary of study results for his perusal and comments if he requested them by text or e-mail.

In terms of ethical issues, it was important to get signed confirmation by the participant on the basis of the following participant selection criteria:

(1) He was now or at one point had been a member of the Congregation of Christian Brothers

(2) At some point in his working life he had worked in Letterfrack as a Christian Brother.

(3) To his knowledge he was not the subject of a current allegation of abuse, referring to his time working in Letterfrack.

Criterion 3 was included in this study as a result of legal advice. In effect meeting this criterion meant that he could talk freely to me about his experiences in Letterfrack and that I could record his responses without the pressure of the possibility that parts or all of the data could be subpoenaed as part some current or future legal action.

The interview questions (designed in advance) generally followed his life story in chronological order, which he appreciated, in order for him to recall as accurately as possible. They focused on eight areas of interest to me: (1) his family background, (2) how he came to join the Christian Brothers, (3) his experience of living and learning in the juniorate and novitiate, (4) his experience of living and training as a teacher at the Christian Brothers teacher training college, Marino, Dublin, (5) his experience of working life as a Christian Brother and teacher prior to Letterfrack (6) his specific experience of living and working as a Christian Brother and teacher at Letterfrack, (7) how he coped in Letterfrack, (8) his life after Letterfrack. No psychometric tests were administered to Brother Xavier. He was invited to provide supporting material such as photographs, and documents pertaining to his time at Letterfrack. He gifted me a copy

of a lecture he had delivered in the early 1970s about the teaching methods he employed with boys in Letterfrack.

5.4 Materials

In order to carry out the research the following materials were used:

(1) Researcher-designed interview protocol schedule based in part on information supplied by survivors to the Confidential Committee of CICA, particularly outlined in Vol. III, chapter 7, *Record of Abuse: Male Witnesses.*

(2) Digital audio recorder.

(3) Password operated laptop computer containing licensed scoring software from the test publisher, for downloading / backing up recorded audio files, and for storing copies of transcribed interviews.

(4) Comfortable, private room in a survivor support centre or monastery for interviews.

(5) Secure filing cabinets in secure building to store research data

(6) Copy of lecture delivered by Brother Xavier

(7) Drawing gifted by a participant

In addition to the above materials the following five instruments were administered, consisting in most cases of answer sheets, question books, professional manual for scoring and interpretation protocols, prompt cards, and, in one case, scoring and interpretive software. The tests used were chosen because they were well regarded by clinicians and researchers alike as valid and reliable instruments for measuring childhood trauma, symptoms of post-traumatic stress, and adult psychopathology. I am BPS certified at Level 1 and 2 and have taken psychometric testing modules at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels. Furthermore, I am a registered user with the relevant test publishers for the TSI, PAI and CTQ.

(a) Institutional Abuse Scale (IAS)

The Institutional Abuse Scale is a 13-item test developed by Carr (2009) specifically for the study on survivors of residential institutional care in Ireland that was carried out

in conjunction with the CICA. The reliability of the test was confirmed in their study (internal consistency reliability score of .99 and inter-rater reliability score of .98) and reliability data were included in the CICA Report (2009, Vol. V, Table 3.11, pp.126-127). The short questionnaire deals with matters unique to institutional settings, and particularly concerns itself with emotional abuse. I used this test clinically.

(b) Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (CTQ)

The Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (Bernstein & Fink, 1998) is a 28-item self-report screening for histories of abuse and neglect. The five types of maltreatment measured by the CTQ are listed below:

- Emotional abuse
- Physical abuse
- Sexual abuse
- Emotional neglect
- Physical neglect.

A sample statement is: "Someone threatened to hurt me or tell lies about me unless I did something sexual with them". All items are scored on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 'never true' to 'very often true'. The test is appropriate for use with adolescents and adults. It includes a three-item *Minimisation / Denial Scale* for detecting false-negative trauma reports. Carr (2009) adapted the questionnaire for survivors of institutional abuse and participants in this study completed the same two parts of the questionnaire in order to measure experiences in their family of origin (pre-detention) and their subsequent experiences in the industrial school setting. The test can be given to both clinical and non-clinical respondents. Scoring results in the classification of the level of maltreatment (*None, Low, Moderate, and Severe*) for each of the five domains and raw scores can be converted to percentiles. Internal consistency was seen to be satisfactory to high with the total scale achieving a Cronbach's alpha of .95. Construct validity was robust and discriminant validity was also supported.

(c) Trauma Symptom Inventory (TSI)

The Trauma Symptom Inventory (TSI) is a 100-item test of post-traumatic stress. The manual (Briere, 1995) states that it is intended for use with the evaluation of, for example, the effects of rape, spouse abuse, physical assault, combat, major accidents, and natural disasters, "as well as the lasting sequelae of childhood abuse and other early traumatic events". The test has been used extensively, both in research and clinical practice. The ten clinical scales in the test are internally consistent (mean alpha coefficients = .86, .87, .84 and .85 in the standardisation, clinical, university, and military samples, respectively). They exhibit reasonable convergent, predictive, and incremental validity. For example, as reported by the manual, in relation to a standardisation sub-sample (n=449) the TSI predicted PTSD in over 90% of cases. The test contains three validity scales: *Response Level* (RL), *Atypical Response* (ATR), and *Inconsistent Response* (IR). These assist the detection of those respondents who tend to deny even commonly endorsed symptoms, those who report an unusual number of unlikely or bizarre symptoms, and those who respond to similar items in an inconsistent or random fashion.

 T scores are used to interpret a respondent's level of symptomatology, with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 15. For all TSI clinical scales a T score of 65 or above is considered clinically significant. The test provides norms for males over age 55. The test takes an average of twenty minutes to administer, and participants respond to the one hundred statements on a four-point scale from 0 (never: *it hasn't happened at all in the last six months*) to 3 (*it has happened often in the last six months*). A sample item is: "Sudden disturbing memories when you were not expecting them".

The four broad categories of distress evident in Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (DSM-IV) and measured by this test, along with their clinical scales are shown below:

- ▪ Dysphoric mood components: *Anxious Arousal*, *Depression*, *Anger/ Irritability.*

- ▪ Intrusive and avoidant components: *Intrusive Experiences*, *Defensive Avoidance*

- ▪ Sexual difficulties: *Sexual Concerns*, *Dysfunctional Sexual Behaviour*.

- Difficulties in self- and affect regulation: *Impaired Self-Reference*, *Tension Reduction Behaviour.*

(d) Personality Assessment Inventory-Revised (PAI-R)

The Personality Assessment Inventory-Revised (PAI-R) is a 344-item measure of adult psychopathological syndromes and provides information for clinical diagnosis, treatment planning and screening. It contains 22 non-overlapping scales covering the constructs most relevant to a broad-based assessment of mental disorders. It also contains four validity scales, eleven clinical scales, five treatment scales and two interpersonal scales. According to the Professional Manual (Morey, 2007) the clinical scales are:

- Somatic Complaints
- Anxiety
- Anxiety-Related Disorders
- Depression
- Mania
- Paranoia
- Schizophrenia
- Borderline Features
- Anti-Social Features
- Alcohol Problems
- Drug Problems

Additional treatment consideration scales, designed to flag additional issues and guide therapy, are shown below:

- Aggression
- Suicidal Ideation
- Stress
- Non-support
- Treatment Rejection

PAI scale and sub-scale scores are translated to T scores, with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10. For all scales T scores of 59 or less are deemed to be in the average range, scores of 60-69 indicate mild elevation, scores of 70-85 indicate moderate elevation and scores of 85+ indicate marked elevation. The test was normed on adults in college, clinical and community settings. According to Morey (2007) reliability studies indicate that it has a high degree of internal consistency across samples. Validity studies demonstrate convergent and discriminant validity with more than 50 other measures of psychopathology. It was featured in a special edition of the *Journal of Personality Assessment* in 2007, showcasing the growing empirical support and research application for the instrument.

The test requires 50-60 minutes to complete and each item is rated on a four-point graduated scale (*false: not at all true, somewhat true, mainly true, very true*). All items are readable at an American fourth grade level. The instrument can be hand scored in 15-20 minutes when responses are entered on a two-part carbonless answer sheet. The PAI Software Portfolio (PAI-SP) generates comprehensive clinical reports from on-screen PAI administration or hand-entry of item responses or raw scores from a paper-and-pencil administration. Though all PAI scales do not correspond precisely with DSM 5 categories it does map well onto current criteria.

The five psychometric tests were administered to five out of the six subjects in this study in the order presented here, moving from past experiences to present issues and finishing on personal strengths. The researcher then recorded all their responses to tests manually on test answer sheets. Some notes were also recorded in writing during the interviews.

The interview schedule was specifically designed to seek similar information to that gleaned by the Confidential Committee of the CICA (2009, Vol. III, Ch. 3-12). In addition, I was conscious of giving a sense of structure and security to the participants, that is, working in chronological order from birth to adulthood, and giving them an opportunity to open up to someone who had researched the industrial school, had visited Letterfrack, and who was aware of certain aspects their lives in detention. The researcher devised a small number of closed questions for biographical data; the

remaining questions were open-ended in nature and related to the following topics of inquiry:

- Circumstances of admission to Letterfrack
- Age when discharged, other siblings in care
- Parental and sibling contact during detention
- Places of residence post-release
- Experience of physical abuse in Letterfrack
- Experience of sexual abuse in Letterfrack
- Experience of emotional abuse in Letterfrack
- Experience of neglect in Letterfrack
- Positive memories and experiences
- Current circumstances, relationships, accommodation
- The level of preparation for the outside world at release from industrial school
- The experience of being physically abused and the witnessing of the physical abuse of other detainees
- The experience of being sexually abused and the witnessing the sexual abuse of other detainees
- Acts of resistance
- The presence of a culture of 'ratting' among detainees
- Escape attempts and punishments for those attempts
- The nature and extent of unpaid physical labour
- Blocks to learning in the classroom
- Health care provision
- The experience of being verbally abused by Brothers and lay staff
- Positive supports given by Christian Brothers and lay staff
- Leisure activities available in Letterfrack
- Bullying by fellow detainees and the witnessing of bullying by detainees
- Sexual bullying: experience of being sexually bullied and witnessing the abuse of other detainees
- Consensual sexual contact with fellow detainees
- Post-Letterfrack mental health challenges
- Post-Letterfrack illegal drug use
- Post-Letterfrack alcohol use

▪ Post-Letterfrack experience of youth and adult incarceration
▪ Personal strengths.

5.5 Emergent design

The original plan was to include more extensive psychometric testing. There was, however, some flexibility in revising the research design, interview questions and the psychometric instruments used. Morrow & Smith (2000) encourage sensitivity to emerging findings, seeing it as being common and desirable in qualitative research. They refer to this process as 'emergent design'. Due to the length of a simulated interview, it was decided not to administer the anxiety, mood and substance use modules of the *Structured Clinical Interview for Axis 1 Disorders* of the DSM IV (SCID I) interviews, which would normally take 60 minutes to administer. Likewise, the antisocial, borderline, avoidant, and dependent personality disorder modules of the *Structured Clinical Interview for DSM IV Personality Disorders* (SCID II) were not administered, as this would take an additional 60 minutes to administer. These two protocols are administered to identify current levels of mental health functioning. Instead of these the *Personality Assessment Inventory-Revised* (PAI-R) was utilised to identify current levels of mental health functioning. This takes approximately 60 minutes to administer. Overall, by administering this instrument a saving of 60 minutes was made in testing time.

In addition, having received feedback from my supervisor and one colleague, and having done a timed simulated interview, the interview schedule was significantly shortened in length from an initial 250 questions to 151 questions, to avoid repetition of material covered by the test instruments, to give participants more of an opportunity to have their voices heard, to cut the interview time by at least 30 minutes and thus reduce participant fatigue. The final version of the interview schedule is reproduced in full in Appendix C.

Although verbal abuse may have been seen as a subset of and included under 'emotional abuse' in the Carr (2009) study, in my interviews with participant 1 he revealed much evidence of specific verbal abuse experienced. As a result, I included questions specific to verbal abuse for his second interview, and thereafter with the other participants inquired specifically about this phenomenon. Being aware of and responding to what

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participant 1 revealed in his interviews, evidence of alcohol abuse, illegal drug use, prescription drug abuse, psychiatric hospitalisation, imprisonment and self-harm emerged and, as a result, specific questions on these areas were devised and included.

Evidence of peer physical bullying, peer sexual assault, and consensual peer sexual contact in Letterfrack emerged in the case of participant 1, and once again it was decided to devise specific questions and include them in the protocol. It was felt that participants might be reluctant to reveal information on perpetrating or being a victim of peer sexual assault. Therefore, to facilitate the participants to speak of such matters and to make this section of the interview fit in naturally after a series of questions pertaining to physical bullying among peers, it was decided, for the purposes of this study, to refer to it in a less threatening way as 'sexual bullying'.

Finally, literacy issues emerged in relation to participant 1 and, as a result, it was decided to offer all participants the option of having the interviewer read out all the questions in the interview protocol and read out all the test items in the psychometric testing session. For each test administered an answer 'prompt card', giving the selection of possible responses for each test, was presented to each participant, to aid focus and response time.

All participants were invited to bring supporting material with them to the interview, for example, admission records, documents from Letterfrack, court orders, photographs of them as children or in Letterfrack. Two chose to do so and seemed very motivated to use the information as a way of validating their claims. A third participant drew me a picture of his life before Letterfrack and gifted it to me. Although I had not expected to receive visual material / data I made a decision to analyse this picture as part of the evidence provided by this participant and I include that analysis in the results section.

5.6 Ethical considerations

The study was designed to comply with the codes of ethics of the *Psychological Society of Ireland* and the *Irish Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy*. In addition, the study received approval from the Ethics Committee, School of Education, Trinity College, Dublin. For evidence of this approval see Appendix E: Confirmation of Ethical Approval.

Because participants in qualitative research often disclose material of a highly personal and sensitive nature, there is a particular responsibility on the investigator to treat them with the highest level of respect and care. The investigator is a Chartered Psychologist (Ps.S.I.) and Accredited Counsellor (I.A.C.P.) All interviews were carried out in a sensitive, professional manner, bearing in mind the nature of the personal material being disclosed and the primary objective of participant safety. Participants were informed that I had clinical experience of working with survivors for a number of years, had worked in a survivor support setting, and that I would believe and respect what they told me.

As professional ethics require, practising counsellors or psychologists are obliged to be in receipt of supervision for their work. Supervision is a regular and formal supportive relationship with a fellow professional, where difficulties can be shared and managed during regularly scheduled meetings. In addition to a supervisor for private practice, a separate peer supervisory arrangement was entered into by this investigator in relation to the study participants because of the particularly traumatic nature of the material being disclosed in the present study.

Safety and privacy for a study of this nature were deemed to be of paramount importance and, as a result, interviews and testing were conducted in rooms provided by the two participating support groups, that is, *Right of Place Second Chance* in its support centre in Cork and the Aislinn Centre in its support centre in Dublin. In each individual case the support centre utilised was the local one and the one familiar to the survivor. The researcher received permission from the local co-ordinator to conduct the interviews on their premises and in every case the co-ordinator dealt directly with each survivor in arranging the interview. This helped to garner participant co-operation as the co-ordinator was a familiar person to each survivor, they already had a positive relationship with her, and were thus more likely to trust and agree to an initial meeting.

A significant debriefing period was built in at the end of each interview. Debriefing in social psychology studies is part of an ethical approach to participant care, and it includes an opportunity for participants to ask questions of the researcher and may also include, in certain cases, a full and honest explanation of the real aims of the study, that is full disclosure. Debriefing in counselling psychology has a different meaning. It is a specific procedure to reduce any distress so that a client who may be emotionally

vulnerable and upset is prepared by the counsellor to re-engage with life in a safe way after a counselling session.

Debriefing in this study included both connotations and consisted of nine separate communications: (1) a repeat of an honest summary of why the research was being carried out; (2) thanking participants for their contribution to a study attempting to reveal what really happened in Letterfrack; (3) connecting them to other survivors by reminding them that other men would also be adding a weight of evidence to that which they had given; (4) answering any questions that may have arisen for them during the interview process; (5) checking on how they were emotionally coming up to the end of the interview; (6) concluding on a positive note by talking about their personal strengths and what factors (internal and external) had helped them to survive; (7) reminding them that they could have a copy of the study findings and a feedback meeting on the results; (8) giving them a follow-up support option, namely, a hand-out with contact details for *Towards Healing*, an organisation for survivors of institutional abuse and their families that provides both telephone support and individual one-to-one counselling, and the *Connect* telephone support and counselling service (for details see Appendix G: *Support and Counselling Information Sheet*) and, (9) planning the next interview date and time or concluding their study involvement.

Out of respect for their experiences and level of vulnerability, as well as a sincere desire to hear their stories told in their own way, participants were invited and encouraged to provide additional comment to the short yes/no answers required of the interview schedule. In practice, it was found that men were reluctant to stick to 'yes' or 'no' answers or the options offered and were intent on adding comments and examples, which were gratefully received. All this additional material was recorded and transcribed. If the participant became noticeably tired or emotionally upset, they were offered a break from the interview and relevant support. Participants could avail of light refreshments at any time during the interview.

The investigator gave clear, truthful information to potential participants about the nature of the research and what their participation would mean for them. The investigator made sure participants knew what the research aims were, and what they would be invited to talk about by taking the time to read over the study participant information sheet and study participant consent form with them (see Appendix A:

Research Participant Consent Form and Appendix B: *Research Participant Information Sheet*). In addition, all participants had seen a copy of the study advertisement given to them by the Right of Place Second Chance or the Aislinn Centre co-ordinators, or they had viewed it in the internal Right of Place Second Chance newsletter and this was read over with them also (see Appendix H: Recruitment Advertisement). All participants were reminded that the investigator was aware that talking about the details of their experiences in an industrial school could bring up painful memories and make them upset. The investigator normalised this possible reaction. In this way, knowing what the research was about and the potential for emotional upset as a consequence, all participants were deemed to be in a position to give informed consent and they did so in writing.

The following participant-centred questions, to be answered in ethical research, (Silverman, 2011) formed the basis of the information sheet and consent form in this study and are outlined below:

- Why do you think I am suitable to take part in this research?
- How did you get my name or find out that I was suitable for this study?
- Why is this study important?
- How will this study be done?
- What does this study involve?
- Will this study benefit me?
- Are there any risks or hazards involved?
- Will people be able to find out my details because of this study?
- What if I change my mind or don't want to be involved?
- Can I get a summary of the findings of your research?

All six men were recruited for this study through two survivors' support groups, namely, *Right of Place Second Chance (ROPSC)* and *the Aislinn Centre. [119]* As well as

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[119] *Right of Place Second Chance* is a resource organisation and registered charity (Registered Charity Number: 14581) whose mission is to support survivors and their families to meet the challenges in their lives, directly resulting from their experiences in residential institutional care. The charity is financially supported by the Health Service Executive, the Department of Education and the St. Stephen's Green Trust. The three identified areas with which survivors needed support were housing, welfare and social supports. In addition, there was a social dimension whereby survivors could form friendships and develop links with others who have had similar experiences.

a poster-type advertisement displayed in the centre (see Appendix H) an abbreviated version of the advertisement for the study was also placed in an internal newsletter with the co-operation of the Cork Outreach Manager, Anne Marie Crean, and circulated to other regional centres. In the case of the Aislinn Centre the advertisement was placed on their internal noticeboard and survivors from Letterfrack were also approached by the co-ordinator, Anne Marie Kennedy. The support groups requested and were provided with copies of my professional qualifications, membership of professional representative organisations, my TCD student number, the name of my academic supervisor, and the School of Education confirmation of ethical approval.

All six men responded via the support group co-ordinator and volunteered to be interviewed. Available dates and times for interviews were provided by the researcher to the co-ordinator and the and signing up to an interview date and time was decided between the participant and co-ordinator by telephone or in person at the support centre. The researcher was trained in the administration, scoring and interpretation of psychometric tests. Both interviews lasted approximately 2.5 hours and were carried out a week apart.

All participants were interviewed face-to-face by this researcher. Face-to-face interviews involve the oral presentation of survey questions, sometimes using visual aids. The interviewer recorded responses on a paper copy of the questionnaire or on a protocol on computer. This format has advantages over telephone interviews, online questionnaires and postal questionnaires. In a topic as sensitive as childhood abuse developing rapport and making each participant comfortable was seen as a priority. In addition, face-to-face interviews allowed for longer interviews of an hour or more. Finally, it was felt that rapport developed at the first interview would encourage the participant to return for the second interview in order to complete the psychometrics.

The Aislinn Centre was established by Christine Buckley and Carmel McDonnell-Byrne, both survivors of institutional abuse. As a child Christine was detained in St Vincent's Industrial School, Goldenbridge, Dublin and her story, as told in a radio interview (1992) and the television documentary 'Dear Daughter' (1996), was instrumental in raising awareness of the issue of residential institutional abuse and neglect in Ireland. The Centre is open to all survivors of institutional abuse and their families. The Aislinn Centre was formally established in 1999, following the Irish Prime Minister's apology on behalf of the state and the people of Ireland to all survivors who suffered abuse in institutions. The Centre has always identified the lack of education as one of the main consequences of forced institutionalisation and, as a result, has been committed to providing a range of relevant, client-centred educational opportunities for survivors and their families. The Aislinn Centre's goal is to allow a "first chance at education" for those who attend, and to help develop survivors' "hidden talents".

This happened in all cases. The role of the interviewer in this study was threefold: (1) to locate and gain the co-operation of each participant; (2) to be responsible for encouraging and facilitating participants to provide thoughtful, accurate responses; and, (3) to be responsible for executing the interview protocol in a standardised manner.

Participants were interviewed in a comfortable, private room, without distractions. All interviews were transcribed by an external transcriber according to standards appropriate to qualitative research methods in the social sciences and psychotherapy research (Mergenthaler & Stinson, 1992) and the general approach of Bryman (2016). The transcriber was briefed on both the sensitive nature of the material as well as the transcription standards. Weekly meetings were held between the researcher and the transcriber as a form of support, problem-solving and debriefing. To ensure accuracy, the researcher meticulously reviewed all transcripts against the audio recordings. The transcriber signed a written confidentiality agreement.

This study quotes extensively from the participants' interviews, including colloquialisms and informal terminology. All words are, therefore, the actual words used by the participants. The choice of quotations is intended to represent the range of experiences expressed in the participants' responses. A copy of the full transcript of each interview was offered to each interviewee for the following reasons: (1) as a written account of their evidence; (2) for the purpose of correction; and, (3) to provide space for any relevant additional comments. All questions in the interview schedule were asked in the same order and all tests in the battery were carried out in the same order. In relation to Brother Xavier, due to his age and health status interviews were conducted in the monastery where he lives in retirement.

Hard copies of interview material, digital audio recordings and psychometric test results were stored in locked filing cabinets in the researcher's security-alarmed place of work. Each participant was issued a code number to preserve anonymity. Data on a laptop were password protected. The transcriber made no hard copies of transcripts and the transcriber's copies of all transcripts on her laptop were deleted after she had completed her work.

5.7 Thematic analysis

Qualitative approaches to academic research were developed in the 1960s while Thematic Analysis as a qualitative method of analysing speech-generated data emerged in the 1970s. However, there were significant variations and inconsistencies in its use (Braun & Clarke, 2014). Perhaps the turning point in the use of qualitative methods in psychological research came with the advent of the special issue on qualitative research in the *Journal of Counselling Psychology* in 2005. In the introduction to that issue the guest editors (Havercamp et al., 2005) noted the rapid development of the qualitative approach and welcomed the signs of change in research orientation among psychologists.

As predicted by Morrow (2007) qualitative inquiry has advanced counselling psychology's commitment to multicultural and social justice agendas and bridges the gap between community and researchers by respectfully engaging participants in matters of importance to them in their lives. It centralises the voices of participants and seeks to ensure that the entire research process benefits them.

This study employs a thematic analysis to identify overarching themes in data generated from the individual semi-structured interviews, suggesting the key concepts that contribute to survivors' understanding of how they coped with experiences of abuse and neglect while they were detained in Letterfrack and what effects their experiences had on them post-Letterfrack. In order to address a gap in the literature, it was decided that this study should focus on identifying themes within participants' understanding. Previous research studies on the coping mechanisms used by Irish survivors of industrial school abuse (i.e. Carr, 2009; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009) focused on measuring survivors' coping strategies psychometrically, and validating an instrument for measuring coping strategies for this special population.

This instrument, the *Institutional Child Abuse Processes and Coping Inventory* (ICAPCI), is the only instrument developed to date that attempts to measure the coping strategies of children in a residential institutional setting and was designed on the basis of factors suggested by a review of the relevant (if limited) literature to date. Laudable though it is to develop such a tool, and interesting as the factors in the instrument are, my clinical understanding of how people cope in extreme situations, my familiarity

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with Irish survivor memoirs, as well as the scholarly literature on detainee resistance while in institutional care (e.g. Coldrey, 2000; Myers & Sangster, 2001) suggested to me that other factors might emerge if participants themselves generated data in the process of a semi-structured interview.

My primary interest was in seeing how survivors understood their own experiences of abuse and neglect in the industrial school, as well as their understanding of their own coping strategies. In this regard I used the denaturalised method of transcription. It fits with my interest in the informational content, that is, "the meanings and perceptions created and shared during a conversation" (Oliver et al., 2005, p.1277). To a certain extent, the approach I took was designed to have an element of critical discourse analysis in that I was interested in what the participant said but also, at another level, about what his talk said about other aspects of his life, as well as what he did not say and what that might mean.

I have taken the approach recommended by Oliver and colleagues (2005). They urged qualitative researchers not to view transcription merely as a background activity but as a pivotal part of a research process that can "powerfully affect the way participants are understood, the information they share, and the conclusions drawn" (p.1273). The authors urged researchers to reflect before choosing the appropriate transcription methods in order to best answer the research question(s).

What really interested me about the ICAPCI was that two versions of the instrument were administered to participants in the Flanagan-Howard (2009) study: (1) to measure processes and coping strategies used in childhood in the institution; and, (2) to measure the same processes and coping strategies used in adulthood. It left room for a person to use the same strategies in adulthood or to have changed strategies but only to those strategies measured by the instrument. I was of the belief that strategies other than those measured by the instrument may have been utilised by children in institutions and strategies other than those measured by the instrument may have been utilised by those participants when they became adults. This study allowed for such strategies (if they existed) to emerge.

It was important for the purposes this study that the question in relation to coping came at a natural point in the interview, that is, where the participant had already spoken

about the nature and extent of any abuse and neglect that he had experienced while detained in Letterfrack. This would then lead naturally into a question about coping. The question could then be asked: 'While you were in Letterfrack, how did you cope with the abuse and neglect you experienced?' If I needed to rephrase the question for clarity I used a variety of pre-prepared prompts, for example: 'How did you get through?' or 'How did you survive?' or 'How did you manage?' or 'With the x abuse you just described to me and the y neglect that you just described to me, how did you deal with it/them while you were there?'

I agree with Willig (2013, p. 16) who argued that "while experience is always the product of interpretation and, therefore, constructed (and flexible)…it is nevertheless 'real' to the person who is having the experience". Because the experience of living and coping in the industrial school setting was 'real' to the survivor, I believe it was worthy of analysis by and of itself and that this analysis be as equally valid as data and their analysis generated from any external psychometric measurement of that experience.

Thematic analysis is a method of analysing qualitative data, usually derived from text, images and sounds. Willig (2013, p.57) defines thematic analysis as "a method for recognising and organising patterns in content and meaning in qualitative data". One important difference between qualitative and quantitative research is offered by Nkwi and colleagues (2001, p.1): "Qualitative research involves any research that uses data that do not indicate ordinal values". Constellations of meanings can include affective, cognitive and symbolic dimensions (Joffe, 2012). Although thematic analysis is traditionally associated with verbal interviews, focus groups or textual data, it is important to note that, open-ended responses to questionnaire items, diaries, video material, images and essays can also be thematically analysed (Joffe, 2012). This was the case in this study as participants were free to elaborate on their responses to each question in the interview protocol or generate new spontaneous data. This was also the case in this study as a result of the gifting of a drawing by one survivor participant and the typed copy of a lecture gifted by the Christian Brother participant.

As a result of its facility to get to the 'core' of issues, and consequently its wide applicability, thematic analysis is now widely recognised as a means of understanding people better in order for change to take place in both societal attitudes and policies. It

is seen as an important technology for the evidence-informed policy and practice movement, which aims to bring research closer to decision-making and provide reliable answers to particular questions (Thomas & Harden, 2007). However, criticisms have been levelled at the validity of data analysed using thematic analysis in research due to the lack of clear guidelines underpinning the procedure (Fielden, Sillence, & Little, 2011).

For the rich data that could emerge, how this study could highlight an area of survivor experience hitherto unexplored, and how the results of the study could be used therapeutically in working with a survivor population, I chose thematic analysis and the specific Braun and Clarke approach to it. I chose Thematic Analysis because (1) it allows for the participants voices to be heard and to be 'centre stage,' (2) it presents data that emanate from the understanding of participants themselves, with the minimum of interference, (3) it has been used extensively in psychology research and in the general area of health and wellbeing (Braun & Clarke, 2014), as well as in the evaluation of public healthcare programmes (Brennan, 2017; Collins & Browne, 2017; Forrester, 2010; Harper & Thompson, 2012), (4) the specific protocol used was organised in logical, replicable steps and the guidelines were explicit.

The Braun & Clarke (2006) six-step approach to doing Thematic Analysis was timely and thematic analysis quickly gained acceptance and popularity across disciplines within the social and health sciences research community following the publication of their initial paper, although it had been designed for use only by psychologists (Braun & Clarke, 2014). A subsequent comprehensive contribution (Braun & Clarke, 2013) has helped researchers further with the 'doing' of Thematic Analysis.

While some textbooks on social research methods do not assign Thematic Analysis a section or a chapter (e.g. Forrester, 2010; Silverman, 2011), in others that do (e.g. Bryman, 2016; Harper & Thompson, 2012; Willig, 2013) it is not as clearly enunciated as the Braun and Clarke approach. Therefore, although Thematic Analysis is now a widely used analytic method, the process continues to be poorly described (Craver, 2014). The Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013) step approach remedies this problem by providing a systematic and explicit template. It is theoretically and methodologically sound and is designed to guide the researcher through the entire process of TA in a

consistent and rigorous manner (Craver, 2014). Most textbooks on qualitative methods that outline TA (to whatever extent) now reference the approach of Braun and Clarke (e.g. Bryman, 2016; Forrester, 2010; Harper & Thompson, 2012; Willig, 2013) and this particular approach has been used in numerous studies. [120]

Fielden, Sillence, & Little (2011, p.7173) describe the Braun and Clarke (2006) protocol positively as allowing a "clear demarcation of thematic analysis, providing researchers with a well-defined explanation of what it is and how it is carried out whilst maintaining the 'flexibility' tied to its epistemological position". The six phases, described by Braun and Clarke (2006) and utilised in this study, are presented below, with details of what this researcher did as part of each phase:

1) Familiarisation with the data

   This is common to all forms of qualitative analysis. The researcher immersed himself in, and become intimately familiar with, the data: reading and re-reading the data, listening to audio-recorded data three times, and noting any initial analytic observations.

2) Coding

   This involved generating labels for important features of the data of relevance to the (broad) research questions guiding the analysis. Coding was not simply seen as a method of data reduction; it was also viewed as an analytic process, so codes captured both a semantic and conceptual reading of the data. The researcher coded every data item and concluded this phase by collating all codes and relevant data extracts.

3) Searching for themes

   A theme is a coherent and meaningful pattern in the data relevant to the research question. Searching for themes could also be described as *coding your codes* to identify similarity in the data. This 'searching' was an active process; themes

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[120] For example, the Braun and Clarke (2006) protocol has been used in the study of children's understanding of obesity (Fielden, Sillence, & Little, 2011), in a study on the experience of being unemployed in Ireland (Delaney, Egan, & O'Connell, 2011), and in a study on the experiences of wives who stay with husbands who transition male-to-female (Bischof et al, 2011).

were not seen as hidden in the data, waiting to be discovered; rather the researcher constructed themes. The researcher ended this phase by collating all the coded data relevant to each theme.

4) Reviewing themes

This involved checking that the themes 'worked' in relation to both the coded extracts and the full data set. The researcher reflected on whether the themes told a convincing and compelling story about the data and began to define the nature of each individual theme, as well as the relationship between themes. It was necessary to collapse two themes together, to split a theme into two or more themes, and to discard the candidate themes altogether and re-commence the process of theme development.

5) Defining and naming themes

This phase required the researcher to conduct and write a detailed analysis of each theme. Braun and Clarke advise that the researcher should ask 'what story does this theme tell?' and 'how does this theme fit into the overall story about the data?' identifying the 'essence' of each theme and constructing a concise and informative name/title for each theme.

6) Writing up

The final phase is an integral element of the analytic process in thematic analysis. Writing up involved weaving together the analytic narrative and data extracts to tell the reader what Braun and Clarke call "a coherent and persuasive story about the data and contextualising it in relation to existing literature."

Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasise that a discernible pattern in the data is not determined by frequency of occurrence in the data but through "researcher judgement," which determines the 'keyness' of a theme because it "captures something important in relation to the overall research question" (p.82). For each participant I read and re-read two texts: (1) the interview schedule completed by me as I asked the questions and the psychometric tests response sheets, both of which contained some contemporaneous notes and direct quotations; and, (2) the transcription of the entire interview. I then identified relevant text segments that dealt with my research questions. Braun and Clarke (2006) refer to these as data 'extracts.' Extracts varied in length from individual

words, to a group of words, to single sentences, to multiple sentences. Coding these extracts followed and I recorded more rather than being sparse with the codes in order to develop as many themes as possible.

I believe the coding process was inductive, and therefore derived from the extracts, rather than being primarily pre-determined by theory, or my own views. For example, although I questioned participants about peer physical and sexual abuse, as well as peer consensual sexual contact, I did not consider them as coping strategies until I analysed the narratives. This may be because I deliberately did not research the coping / resilience literature until the interviewing was completed. What emerged surprised me. In particular, I am referring to peer physical and sexual abuse, as well as consensual peer sexual contact. During the interviews I was aware of hearing them described to me, but I viewed them simply as behaviours resulting from the toxic system in which the boys lived; I did not see them as ways of coping.

Grouping codes that referred to or addressed similar issues formed the first order or sub-themes. This took place over a period of several months, with breaks in between. On many occasions, I re-read the transcripts and saw something in a very different way or made a new connection or differentiation. This resulted in the addition of new codes, and ultimately, with new sub-themes. This 'changing landscape' was a revelation to me and instilled in me a great trust in the process of thematic analysis.

5.8 Methodological considerations

1) Much self-reported data is limited by (a) the fact that it cannot be independently verified. In addition, further risks have been identified: (b) selective memory, whereby a participant remembers or does not remember events or experiences that occurred at some point in the past, particularly a long time ago in the case of this study; (c) telescoping, whereby a participant recalls events and experiences that occurred at one time as if they occurred at another time; (d) attribution, whereby a participant may attribute positive experiences and events to his own agency but may attribute negative experiences and events to external agents or forces; (e) exaggeration, whereby a participant may embellish acts or events as more significant than they were or is suggested by other data; (f)

acquiescence whereby there is a tendency for some participants to agree or disagree with a set of questions; and (g) social desirability bias, whereby some participants have a need to be perceived positively and respond accordingly (Bryman, 2016; Silverman, 2000). These are all possibilities in relation to these participants but I trusted them to be honest and recall their thoughts, feelings and behaviours as well as they could after all this time. I would argue that there was nothing in it for them legally or financially, and they had no reason to exaggerate or lie.

2) Access to the sample was difficult because (a) the research topic was one of great sensitivity to survivors and participants may have been unable or unwilling to revisit traumatic experiences in a direct and explicit way; (b) the survivors were geographically scattered; and (c) the age profile and health status of potential survivor participants / participant Christian Brother meant that that many potential participants had already died, or were mentally/physically infirm, or were otherwise unable to engage in the study. However, the men that agreed to be interviewed were worth waiting for and engaging with.

3) While the analytical process was inductive and data-driven, I acknowledge it was a single researcher study that, although it may have enabled consistency, lacked team input. In order to rectify this deficiency, I worked with my academic supervisor. The process of thematic analysis was also carried out using manual paper-based procedures and therefore without using a software package, thus containing the advantage that I immersed myself in the entire research process and derived great personal satisfaction from both the prolonged engagement in the process and what emerged thematically.

CHAPTER 6
RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter firstly summarises biographical details and pertinent details of participants' experiences during detention, as well as the results of psychometric testing on the group of five men who agreed to complete the psychometrics. Following this, I introduce the six survivor participants individually in a short biography format. This section presents them as individuals, outlines briefly how they came to be detained in Letterfrack, what happened to them during their period of detention and then summarises some of their life experiences post-institution. Each man's biography is followed by the results of the tests he completed.

6.2 Overview of participants' experiences in detention

In this study participants ranged in age between 56 and 71 at the time of interview, with a mean age of 63. At interview participants were all of lower socio-economic status (SES) and all at the unskilled/semi-skilled manual worker level. Since being released from Letterfrack, the highest SES attained by all participants in their lifetimes was at the unskilled/semi-skilled manual work level. They came from large families of origin, with numbers of children ranging from 6 to 19 and a mean number of siblings of 11.8. The occupational levels of their fathers at the time of detention were all at the unskilled and semi-skilled levels.

As boys, participants were detained in Letterfrack at ages ranging from 5 to 14, with a mean committal age of 11.5. The duration of detention in Letterfrack ranged from 3 months to 4 years, with a mean detention period of 2.3 years. For all but one participant their time in Letterfrack was their terminal industrial school experience. Matthew,[121] however, was only seven years of age when he was transferred from Letterfrack to another Christian Brothers' industrial school at Salthill, Galway, where he was to spend a further nine years. Official reasons for participants' committal to the industrial school included being transferred from another industrial school, having committed a criminal

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[121] All six participants' names are pseudonyms.

offence, non-attendance at school, and lack of parental care. All participants had been living with their families before their first contact with an industrial school.

All participants came from families where other siblings had also been placed in state care. The number of participants' siblings in care ranged from one to six, with a mean of 3.6. Once detained in Letterfrack, visits home to families were rare, ranging from zero to three visits, with a mean number of only 1.3 visits over the period of detention. The participant who was detained for the longest period (four years) in Letterfrack was only allowed home on three occasions to be with his family. He never received a visit from his parents during his detention. Only one participant received a parental visit to the industrial school while he was detained there.

The participants were released from Letterfrack because they were transferred to another industrial school, had reached the age of sixteen, went absent without leave after a holiday with family, or were returned to their parents before the sentence was completed.

All of the participants had married, but three were separated or divorced and were in subsequent relationships at the time of the study. All of the participants were renting their homes from the city or county council. With the exception of one man who had completed the Junior Certificate Examination as a mature student, none of the participants had proceeded beyond the primary school level of education. All of the participants were in receipt of disability allowance from the Irish state as a result of on-going injury, illness or disability (physical or mental), which was expected to last more than a year. One man was in a position to work part-time (up to 18 hours per week of light duties 'rehabilitative work'), which is permitted whilst receiving disability allowance.

Adult level forced, unpaid physical labour was imposed upon all of the participants in this study during their time of detention in Letterfrack. Outdoor work during all weather conditions was particularly difficult. As boys in Letterfrack, they were forced to tend cattle, pigs, poultry and sheep; save the hay; pick potatoes and harvest other vegetables;

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cut, dry and load turf from the local bogs;[122] weed the grounds; do silage; fell trees and chop/saw wood; pick stones; and clean outside toilets. Peter is clear that working for hours every day at this unpaid physical labour constituted forced labour, and that local people benefitted: "We were slaves to the local community. We were cheap labour in all weather. Turf was going to the locals as well as the monastery." He believes that a symbiotic relationship existed between the Brothers and the local community. The Brothers supplied the boy labourers, and in turn they were either paid directly or swapped services or products. The community benefitted from the business of providing goods and services to the monastery and the industrial school, and in a small rural community like Letterfrack, a contract with the Christian Brothers could be relatively lucrative. In return, it seems locals kept their eyes and ears closed to abuse and neglect occurring nearby, enjoyed the weekly film showing in the hall, and helped to re-capture boys from the industrial school when they 'absconded.' In recapturing boys, locals could also be physically abusive, which led Peter to speculate that perhaps they were rewarded for their efforts, financially or otherwise.

Verbal abuse was ubiquitous. All participants reported experiencing verbal abuse while detained in Letterfrack. All participants were shouted at, screamed at, threatened with physical punishment, and ordered around. Other examples of verbal abuse experienced included: being called derogatory names, [123] being accused wrongly of some misdemeanor, being criticised for lack of academic or sporting ability, only being called by their surnames, and derogatory remarks being made about their families.

All participants in this sample reported being physically assaulted by Brothers in Letterfrack under the guise of 'punishment.' All men had been beaten with the leather strap supplied to each Brother. Forms of physical abuse endured by five participants out of six included: being beaten in public, being hit or slapped with an open hand, being punched (with fist closed), having one's ears pulled, and having one's hair pulled. Four out of six participants experienced the following additional elements of

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[122] In Ireland peat is known as turf. For generations rural Irish people heated their homes and cooked their food using turf taken from the local bogs as fuel. Turf was cut from the bog by hand, using a two-sided spade called a *sleán*. 'Saving' the turf consisted of turning each sod of turf to ensure the sun and wind dried the 'sods of turf'. The turf was then placed upright or 'footed' for further drying. Finally, the turf was brought home (usually in a cart pulled by a donkey) and stored in sheds or in large heaps ('ricks') covered with tarpaulin.

[123] Luke, a member of the Travelling Community, was referred to as 'knacker'. Other names included 'pig head', 'eejit' [idiot], and 'big head', as well as being referred to by their industrial school number.

maltreatment: being beaten with a stick, being kicked, having objects thrown at them (e.g. chalk, duster, keys, rosary beads), and being forced to assume stress positions. Other examples of physical abuse endured included being spat at, being hosed with cold water, being forced to eat rotten apples, having one's head shaved, and being deprived of food. One man reported being forced to stand in the hall facing a wall, while a movie was being shown to all the other children. Although most physical abuse was perpetrated by individual Brothers, there is evidence that Brothers sometimes assaulted boys together. In this study, Peter was assaulted by two Brothers on one occasion: "While going from the refectory to the yard Brothers R and T belted and kicked me for no reason. They could be in a bad mood – maybe suffering from a hangover from whisky."

According to the participants in this study, detainees were punished in Letterfrack for the following transgressions, many of which they had no control over: bed-wetting, bed soiling, having dirty underwear ('skid marks'), escaping, if they did not know something in class or got a question wrong, not paying attention in class, talking in line, not doing work quickly enough or properly (classroom work or physical labour), if they delayed in obeying an instruction, if they looked 'the wrong way' at a Brother, if they talked at meal times or in the dormitories at night, if they were not clean enough or not washed properly, if they had faulty clothes (e.g. hole in sock, tear in trousers), and also for no apparent reason.

All six participants reported being marked and bruised as a result of a punishment received. Four out of the six participants had had blood drawn, and four out of the six were treated by the nurse for a non-accidental injury. Two participants recalled sustaining split lips, two participants had been knocked unconscious, and one participant sustained damaged teeth directly as a result of a physical assault. Physical assault was not an irregular occurrence; quite the contrary, three participants reported being assaulted on a daily basis and three on a weekly basis. Moreover, participants reported witnessing violence inflicted upon peers either daily or several times daily.

Two participants in this study reported contact sexual abuse by Brothers in Letterfrack. Incidents were perpetrated by Brothers acting alone and were carried out in a private setting (e.g. an office, the kitchen, the washroom or a Brother's bedroom). One boy (James) was abused in the kitchen and the shower area and was forced to fellate a

Brother. He was beaten with a heavy stick during the assault. In addition, and on other occasions, he was forced to masturbate a Brother, an attempt at anal rape was made on him, and he was subjected to unwanted kissing, digital penetration and voyeurism. The other boy (Peter) was anally raped in the washroom next to the dormitory, following a severe physical assault that involved punching and kicking. Later, he was scalded in the shower and returned to his dormitory and was given some form of medication. In other abuse incidents he was forced to fellate a Brother, was forced to masturbate a Brother, was subjected to unwanted kissing, exposure and being stripped, as well as being caned on the bare buttocks.

These acts of abuse described by participants constituted violent assaults. There was no evidence of a gradual grooming process, no building up of trust, and no slow-paced crossing of boundaries. What was described to this researcher was violent predation in a situation where perpetrators appear to have had no fear of negative consequences for their actions. One participant (Peter) noted that there was "no build up. If you were abused they just did it aggressively." In addition to contact abuse, two participants were of the opinion that when boys were showering some of the Brothers were watching in a voyeuristic way, that is, deriving a certain degree of sexual satisfaction from it. One participant was of the same opinion about certain Brothers watching boys before, during and after swimming.

 Participants referred to silence being imposed in the dining hall at mealtimes, in class, in the dormitories, in the chapel and during film night. Peter referred to "the brutality of making us be silent."

The removal of personal belongings is common in carceral settings and shows the level of control the institution has over detainees. In Letterfrack few or no personal belongings were allowed. Peter owned nothing: "I had no personal belongings. We weren't allowed any. Brother R destroyed a guitar I was given by my parents on a visit, [saying] 'I'll give you fucking guitar lessons.'" Matthew was in a similar situation: "I owned sweet fuck all." Mark stated: "Whatever you had going in was taken off you." Luke stated: "All you were allowed was yourself. Anything else was theirs." In contrast, James recalled keeping letters received from his family and stated that he also had a toothbrush and toothpaste, as well as soap. John recalled that he got to keep comics, family photographs and letters.

6.3 Overview of results of testing

Before I outline the results of testing on the five participants who agreed to complete the tests, it is important to note at this point that, although they are relevant to our understanding of the impact of clerical abuse on child detainees in a residential institution, the information and conclusions that can be drawn are limited by sample size.

(1) Childhood Trauma Questionnaire

On the total scale of the *home version* of the CTQ only one participant had a score indicating the experience of child abuse in his family of origin (not including sexual abuse). One other participant experienced physical neglect in his family of origin.

According to the total scale of the *institution version* of the CTQ four out of five participants were found to have experienced child abuse while in Letterfrack, and four men as having experienced multiple forms of abuse and neglect. On the sub-scales all five participants were classified as having been physically abused; two out of five as having been sexually abused; four out of five as having been emotionally abused; four out of five as having been physically neglected; and four out of five as having been emotionally neglected.[124] Two participants reported abuse or neglect on all five sub-scales, while two others who reported no sexual abuse, reported abuse or neglect in all other sub-scales.

(2) Institutional Abuse Scale

Participants were classified as having experienced abuse specific to institutions if they responded 'true' or 'very true' to the statements. All participants were of the opinion that they had been punished unfairly, could never predict when they would be punished, and that the Brothers had tried to break their spirit. In addition, participants expressed fear of the Brothers and a belief that Brothers had tried to deprive detainees of hope.

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[124] Cut-off scores used were those used by Carr (2009) in the study accompanying the CICA report, that is, for emotional abuse 13, for emotional neglect 14, for physical abuse 11, for physical neglect 10, for sexual abuse 9, and overall CTQ child abuse score 52. These cut-off scores were two standard deviations above the mean for male and female normative community samples.

(3) Life Problems List

All six participants completed the *Life Problems List* and all indicated that they had experienced one or more significant life problems post-Letterfrack, including the following most commonly endorsed problems encountered:

(1) Non-violent crime (had been charged with non-violent offences).

(2) Violent crime (had been charged with violent offences).

(3) Mental health (had experienced periods of very bad anxiety or depression).

(4) Homelessness (had experienced periods as long as a year where they were homeless)

(5) Unemployment (had experienced periods as long as a year where they had not worked).

(4) Trauma Symptom Inventory

Five participants completed the *Trauma Symptom Inventory (TSI).* A score at or above T=65 on any sub-scale indicates clinical significance (Briere, 1995). However, following the Carr (2009) criterion, sub-scales were designated as demonstrating significant trauma if they scored two standard deviations above the mean for the normative sample (i.e. T=70+). Using this standard, participants in this study scored between one and six sub-scales at the significant trauma level, with a mean of 3.6 sub-scales at the traumatic level. The most commonly experienced traumatic symptoms were *Anxious Arousal*, *Anger/Irritability*, *Intrusive Experiences*, *Defensive Avoidance*, *Dissociation*, and *Impaired Self-Reference*.

(5) Personality Assessment Inventory

Five participants completed the *Personality Assessment Inventory* (PAI). All five participants had elevated symptom scores in the T=50+ range that would require clinical follow-up. The number of symptoms at this level ranged between 5 and 25, with a mean of 19 symptoms. In addition, participants 1 and 3 had the following

symptoms (T=70+) in common: *Traumatic Stress*, *Anti-Social Behaviour, Egocentricity, Stimulus-Seeking*, and *Physical Aggression*. They both have a history of non-violent crime, violent crime and multiple incarcerations for both types of crime[125].

Because of the small number of participants, I am including the results of each individual's psychometric testing with his brief biography hereafter. This is designed to make the exercise more personal and to connect each man's story of Letterfrack to how he was affected by his experiences. Research on large numbers of participants and the manner in which it is presented can lose the fact that these participants are real people with real experiences. I want to capture that sense of first person authenticity in this study, not just by personalising it (by providing biographies of participants) but also by allowing the voices of survivors to be heard at every stage of the process.

6.4 Brief participant / survivor biographies and individual results of testing

Participant 1: 'Peter'

Peter had a history of petty thieving in his local town. He also had a history of school avoidance due to a violent teacher whom he was terrified of. He was punished for trying to avoid this man. Primarily due to school non-attendance at school, he was removed from his family and detained at St. Joseph's Industrial School Tralee at the age of 11. In Tralee he was physically and sexually abused. He tried to escape from his abusers by running away on numerous occasions. He was always located, apprehended and returned to the industrial school. As a punishment for his determination to escape he was transferred to Letterfrack (over 300 km from his home).

In Letterfrack, he was physically abused on a daily basis, including being kicked, put under scalding water and cold water in the shower, slapped with a leather strap, forced to strip naked, forced to kneel or stand in a fixed position for lengthy periods of time, beaten in public, partially stripped and beaten in public, and forced to eat rotten apples as a punishment. He was sexually abused on numerous occasions, up to and including rape:

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[125] Scores in the T=70+ range are clinically significant and give particular cause for concern.

> It occurred in the shower room. [Brother] R pushed me over the washbasin with my face up against the mirror, and he shoved his prick up my ass. He beat me before and after. At that moment my mind shut, everything went blank. I didn't really understand what was happening.

He resumed stealing almost immediately upon release from Letterfrack, but on a much larger scale, and became known to local Gardaí as a troublemaker. His mother advised him to leave Ireland at about sixteen-and-a-half, as there were criminal charges pending against him. He travelled to the UK and headed for London. He did various part-time jobs and lived in a hostel. He also had bleak periods where he could not find work and was homeless. He began to drink heavily and moved jobs and location frequently. While he was in the UK he was very aware of and fearful about gay people. He feels this is because he (mistakenly) associated gay men with having been sexually assaulted by men as a child and adolescent. On one occasion he severely assaulted a man who propositioned him in a bar and, as a result, was convicted of grievous bodily harm and was sentenced to a six-month period of detention in prison.

Upon returning to Ireland, he became involved in a number of local criminal gangs and was imprisoned for crimes including burglary and assault, initially in St. Patrick's Institution for Young Offenders, but later in adult prisons. Garda documents requested by him under the Freedom of Information Acts 1988 and 2003, and which I viewed, showed that he was convicted for theft, drunken driving, larceny, 'handling or receiving' stolen goods, drunken driving (with no insurance and no licence), resisting arrest, malicious damage, burglary, breaking and entering, assault, and '*sacrilege larceny*' (which he believes refers to stealing from a church, monastery, convent or priest's house).

Medical files he requested and received from his GP, that he presented and that I viewed, showed that he was engaging to a certain extent with mental health services from 18 years of age onwards. He was assessed as having an IQ of 63 and therefore regarded as having a 'mild mental handicap'. He spent periods of time in various mental hospitals, as well as the Central Mental Hospital in Dublin (for the criminally insane). During periods of detention in prisons and mental hospitals he was exposed to high doses of anti-psychotic medication, forced isolation, being handcuffed in his cell, the use of the padded cell, and the use of the strait-jacket.

His problem with alcohol developed and he became very violent when intoxicated, especially towards Gardaí. He had a hatred of people in uniforms, especially religious clothing, and I understand he repeatedly burgled priests' houses. His general attitude to life was that nobody was going to control him again. He would hit before the other person could hit him. He said he was motivated by hatred and a desire for revenge. He became addicted to various illegal drugs. He described what drugs did for him: "drugs were like beating my fear, they gave me peace and quiet for a while. I knew it wasn't the answer, but I was in confusion and upset and I needed to blank it out."

Life Problems

Peter endorsed the following life problems: unemployment, homelessness, frequent illness, frequent hospitalisation for physical health and mental health (periods of depression or anxiety), substance use, self-harm, violent crime, incarceration for violent crime, non-violent crime, and incarceration for non-violent crime.

Worst thing that happened

He reported that the worst thing that happened to him in the institution was sexual abuse, and that the most severe form of sexual abuse he experienced was anal rape, accompanied by severe physical assault. He was physically abused to the point of being bruised on over 100 occasions.

Childhood Trauma Questionnaire

Peter's scores on the CTQ *Home* version indicate that he suffered emotional abuse (SS=14) at the moderate level (between the 80th and 90th percentiles), physical abuse (SS=14) at the severe level (between the 80th and 90th percentiles), no sexual abuse (SS=5), emotional neglect (SS= 15) at the moderate level (80th percentile), and physical neglect (SS=11) at the moderate level (between the 80th and 90th percentiles). His scores on the CTQ *institution* version indicate that he suffered emotional abuse (SS=25) at the extreme level (99th percentile), physical abuse (SS=17) at the severe to extreme level (95th percentile), sexual abuse (SS=25) at the extreme level (99th percentile), emotional

neglect (SS=25) at the extreme level (99th percentile), and physical neglect (SS=23) at the extreme level (99th percentile).

Institutional Abuse Scale

He endorsed the following items as being 'often true' or 'very often true' in his experience of the institution:

- ▪ I was terrified of my carers
- ▪ I was punished unfairly by my carers
- ▪ I could never predict when I would be punished by my carers
- ▪ My carers separated me from my brother(s) or sister(s)
- ▪ My carers took away my own clothes
- ▪ My carers told me I was bad
- ▪ My carers tried to take away my hope
- ▪ My carers tried to break me

Trauma Symptom Inventory

Peter's *Trauma Symptom Inventory* profile is valid with clinically significant elevations (T=70+) on the following subsets: *Anxious Arousal*, *Depression*, *Anger/Irritability*, *Dissociation, Sexual Concerns,* and *Impaired Self-Reference*. In addition he endorsed critical items in the areas of suicidality, hostility, sex and alcohol. His scores for *Intrusive Experiences* (T=69) and *Defensive Avoidance* (T=67) would also be regarded as clinically significant. This is a classic post-traumatic presentation, in that the respondent is reporting both the intrusive and avoidant components of PTSD. In addition, his elevated *Sexual Concerns* subset score in the context of the rest of his profile indicates a probable sexual post-traumatic stress response. This profile is not uncommon among those who have been sexually victimised and/or whose dissociative or intrusive symptoms preclude optimal sexual functioning.

Personality Assessment Inventory

Peter's PAI clinical profile is marked by significant elevations across several scales. They suggest a person with significant unhappiness, moodiness, and tension. His self-

esteem is quite low and he views himself as ineffectual and powerless to change the direction of his life. He reports difficulties concentrating and making decisions, and the combination of hopelessness, agitation, confusion, and stress apparent in these scores may place him at increased risk for self-harm. He reports a number of difficulties consistent with a significant depressive experience and he is also experiencing a discomforting level of anxiety.

He may fear his own impulses and doubt his ability to control them. He has likely experienced a traumatic event in the past that continues to distress him and produce recurrent episodes of anxiety. His self-description indicates significant suspiciousness and hostility in his relations with others. He is likely to be a hyper-vigilant individual who often questions and mistrusts the motives of others. He is extremely sensitive in his interactions with others, and likely harbours strong feelings of resentment as a result of perceived sleights and insults. He is likely to be a socially isolated individual who has few interpersonal relationships that could be described as close and warm. Although his thought processes are likely to be marked by confusion, distractibility, and difficulty concentrating, and he may experience his thoughts as being somehow blocked or disrupted, active psychotic symptoms such as hallucinations or delusions do not appear to be a prominent part of the clinical picture at this time.

He describes a personality style that is consistent with a number of antisocial character features. His responses suggest that he has a history of antisocial behaviour and may have manifested a conduct disorder in adolescence. He may have been involved in illegal occupations or engaged in criminal acts involving theft, destruction of property, and physical aggression toward others. He reports that drug use may be the source of some problems in his life.

Personal Strengths

In terms of where his strength has come from in dealing with life's difficult situations, Peter endorsed (1) relationship with therapist or counsellor; and (2) self-reliance; and he added, (3) enduring hatred. In terms of what has helped most in facing life's challenges, he endorsed self-reliance. In terms of what means most to him in his life he endorsed (1) self-reliance; and he added (2) a quest for justice.

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Participant 2: 'Matthew'

Matthew was detained in Letterfrack in 1952 when he was 5 years of age, a distance of over 200 km from his home. In 1954, he was transferred to St. Joseph's Industrial School, Salthill, and released when he reached 16. He was born in the midlands and came from a large family. He is still not sure exactly why he was sent to Letterfrack but knows that officially it was because his parents were seen as unfit guardians. His admission document states: "having a guardian who doesn't exercise proper guardianship". The document refers to his mother as being in "very delicate health" and that the family were in "poor circumstances." He does not know who judged his parents as unfit, or for what reasons they were so judged. He was angry that his parents were labelled as unfit, would like to have their names cleared and thinks they are due a posthumous apology by the Irish state. Three older brothers were also detained in Letterfrack before him, but he did not know about this until many years later. A sister was placed in an industrial school for girls and, although he has tried, he has never been able to locate her.

He described being sent to the industrial school as being "dumped just like a bag of coal" in Letterfrack. He knew nobody there, and for the duration of his detention he received no family visits, nor was he allowed home on holiday. He felt sad, lonely and frightened there. He was physically abused there, usually with a leather strap. Reasons included bed wetting, talking in the line, not doing work quickly enough or in the correct manner, as well as for no obvious reason. He recalled a Brother H hitting him with a leather strap and a walking stick while in the shower area. He can recall receiving "ten of the best": five slaps on the hands with the leather strap, and five on the bottom. He has no memory of sexual abuse there but was subsequently sexually abused in Salthill industrial school. Verbal abuse included being told, "You'll burn in the fires of hell".

He was an unpaid labourer at five years of age. His daily six-hour manual work routine, which he refers to as slave labour, consisted of making straw mattresses. There was no education for children of his age in Letterfrack, so his day consisted primarily of manual labour He described his main emotions in Letterfrack as sadness, loneliness and fear.

Upon release from Salthill industrial school at 16 years of age, the Christian Brothers organised a job for him as a labourer or 'house boy' on a farm in a remote area of County Galway, where he worked seven days a week for very little money. He found the isolation of the farm and the unremitting physical labour difficult to cope with and he missed the company of his peers. He ran away from this job and was homeless before returning to the industrial school for shelter and food. The Christian Brothers sent him to another farm in an equally remote area. He ran away again, joined the Defence Forces and did a tour of duty in the early 1960s as part of a UN peacekeeping force. He went absent without leave when he became a victim of the bullying culture in the army. He was not prepared to take abuse again and fought back verbally and physically. He regrets not being able to become a shoemaker (which is the trade he was partially trained for in Salthill), or having a long career in the army. He would love to have become a physical education instructor in the army.

While he did hold down a regular job for a period of time, got married and had children, he began drinking heavily to the point where his relationship deteriorated. He said he "lost everything". He separated from his wife and found himself homeless for over a year. Later he lived in various shelters and hostels.

He contemplated suicide on numerous occasions. In relation to killing himself he stated, "I thought the drink would do it for me." A psychiatric report seen by this researcher reports that he suffered from mild to moderate depression and clinical levels of anxiety and that he drank to avoid the pain of thinking about his time in the industrial schools. He described mood swings and being very depressed at times. At other times he thought himself "deranged" but tried to hide this from his partner and children.

Life Problems

Matthew endorsed the following items: homelessness, frequent illness, mental health (periods of depression or anxiety), substance use, violent crime, and non-violent crime.

Worst thing that happened

He reported that the worst thing that happened to him in care was *physical abuse,* and that he was hit with a walking stick and a leather strap, without being bruised.

Childhood Trauma Questionnaire

Matthew's scores on the CTQ *Home* version indicate that he suffered no emotional abuse (SS=5), no physical abuse (SS=5), no sexual abuse (SS=5), no emotional neglect (SS=5), and no physical neglect (SS=5). His scores on the CTQ *institution* version indicate that he suffered emotional abuse (SS=21) at the severe to extreme level (between 95th and 99th percentiles), physical abuse (SS=12) at the moderate to severe level (80th percentile), no sexual abuse (SS=5), emotional neglect (SS=18) at the severe level (between 90th and 95th percentiles), and physical neglect (SS=16) at the severe to extreme level (between 95th and 99th percentiles).

Institutional Abuse Scale

He endorsed the following items as being 'often true' or 'very often true' in his experience of the institution:

- I was terrified of my carers
- I was punished unfairly by my carers
- I could never predict when I would be punished by my carers
- My carers separated me from my brother(s) or sister(s)
- My carers took away my own clothes
- My carers told me I was bad
- My carers tried to take away my hope
- My carers tried to break me

Trauma Symptom Inventory

Matthew's TRB profile is valid with clinical elevations (T=70+) on the following sub-scales: *Anger/Irritability*, *Intrusive Experiences*, and *Defensive Avoidance*. In addition, he endorsed one critical item: 'Thoughts or fantasies about hurting someone'. His score for *Depression* (T=65) would also be regarded as clinically significant. This is a classic post-traumatic presentation, in that the respondent is reporting both the intrusive and avoidant components of PTSD, as well as anger issues and symptoms of depression.

Elevations on these scales typically represent either a relatively acute response to a recent traumatic stressor or a more chronic PTSD reaction to events from the past.

Personality Assessment Inventory

His profile suggests a person with expansive mood and heightened activity, accompanied by prominent hostility and irritability. He may see himself as having had his plans thwarted by neglect or obstruction by others; however, he is probably more impeded by an activity level that includes expectations that are beyond his capacity. His sensitivity in social interactions probably serves as a formidable obstacle to the development of close relationships, and those close relationships that are established have most likely suffered particular strain from his moody and often demanding personality. The combination of impulsivity, resentment, and high energy levels could cause him to lash out impulsively at those whom he believes have slighted him in some way.

He describes significant problems frequently associated with aspects of a manic episode. His clinical picture has elements of grandiosity and irritability. His relationships with others are probably under stress due to his frustration with the inability or unwillingness of those around him to keep up with his plans and possibly unrealistic ideas. His self-description indicates significant suspiciousness and hostility in his relations with others. He is quicker than most people to feel that he is being treated inequitably and often holds grudges against others, even if the perceived affront was unintentional. He expresses some concerns about physical functioning and health matters in general.

Personal Strengths

In terms of where his strength has come from in dealing with life's difficult situations, Matthew endorsed (1) relationship with current partner; (2) relationship with a friend including other survivors; (3) relationship with therapist or counsellor; and, (4) self-reliance, my work, my skills, my character strengths like optimism. In terms of what has helped him most in facing his challenges he endorsed (1) relationship with current partner; (2) relationship with a friend including other survivors; (3) self-reliance, my

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work, my skills, my character strengths like optimism; and, (4) true grit. In terms of what is the thing that means most to him in his life he endorsed (1) relationship with current partner; (2) relationship with therapist or counsellor; and, (3) respect.

Participant 3: 'James'

James was detained in the industrial school at Ferryhouse, Co. Tipperary at 12 years of age for non-attendance at school and petty thieving. He spent three months there before he was transferred to Marlboro House, Dublin, where he remained for two weeks. [126] Before his transfer to Letterfrack, he was detained for one night in Limerick prison, sharing a cell with adult prisoners. He spent a year in Letterfrack (over 250 km from his home) and when he was allowed home on holiday he failed to return to the industrial school and was then effectively on the run. Other siblings were also institutionalised: a sister was detained in a Magdalen laundry and a brother was also detained in the industrial school at Ferryhouse and in the reformatory at Daingean, Co. Offaly.

In Letterfrack, James was regularly physically abused, including being hit with rosary beads by a Brother R. Unpaid physical labour included cleaning toilets, sweeping the yard, farm labouring, and cutting turf in the bog. His most terrifying experience was when a Brother G rammed a shotgun into his mouth as a punishment for stealing alcohol and cigarettes and threatened to kill him. A tooth was damaged and it later had to be extracted. He was sexually abused by Brother T, who forced him to perform fellatio. He also beat him with a heavy stick.

Because he expected to be tracked down and returned to Letterfrack, he did not live at home and for a time he was homeless. He began to get involved in alcohol and illegal drug use, which developed from cannabis to LSD and later to cocaine. His moods fluctuated, and he had major anger management issues. While he described low points when he contemplated suicide, he stated that he was always afraid to go through with it. He described Letterfrack as a preparatory school for criminals in that it did not prepare boys for life, and therefore forced them into a life of crime in order to survive. He became heavily involved in criminality involving robbery and 'joyriding'. He was

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[126] Marlboro House in Dublin was the state's only place of detention for boys sent on remand pending the hearing of their court cases.

incarcerated in St. Patrick's Institution for Young Offenders and as an adult he was incarcerated in various Irish prisons and one in the UK. Some of the offences committed involved violence and the use of a weapon. He was deported back to Ireland, having originally fled to England in order to avoid a court hearing.

He went 'straight' in 1980 and was in and out of employment for many years. When he did find work, it was always manual in nature as he had no qualifications and the work was always occasional or 'casual' in nature. He is divorced from his wife and is in a long-term relationship. He still abuses alcohol and has a dependence on cannabis. He has always had a problem with authority and has found it nearly impossible to hold down a steady job and to take orders from a boss. In addition, chronic dependence on alcohol and illegal drugs made him an unreliable employee and, consequently, absenteeism has been an issue. In more recent years a number of health issues have resulted in him being granted disabled status.

Life Problems

James endorsed the following items as being major life problems that had happened to him: unemployment, substance use, anger control in intimate relationships, violent crime, incarceration for violent crime, non-violent crime, and incarceration for non-violent crime.

Worst thing that happened

James reported that he was physically and sexually abused at the same time on 2 to 10 occasions. The worst example of sexual abuse perpetrated on him was being forced to fellate a Brother and being beaten all over his body with a stick as part of the assault. In a bizarre and terrifying incident, a Brother held him down and rammed a shotgun into his mouth and threatened to kill him. James believes he was subjected to this assault because previously he and a group of boys had found cigarettes and alcohol in the hall and had helped themselves to them.

Childhood Trauma Questionnaire

James' scores on the CTQ *Home* version indicate that he suffered minimal emotional abuse (SS=6), no physical abuse (SS=5), no sexual abuse (SS=5), minimal emotional neglect (SS=9), and no physical neglect (SS=5). His scores on the CTQ *institution* version indicate that he suffered emotional abuse (SS=19) at the severe to extreme level (between 95th and 99th percentiles), physical abuse (SS=17) at the severe level (95th percentile), sexual abuse (SS=25) at the extreme level (99th percentile), emotional neglect (SS=23) at the extreme level (99th percentile), and physical neglect (SS=17) at the extreme level (99th percentile).

Institutional Abuse Scale

He endorsed the following items as being 'often true' or 'very often true' in his experience of the institution:

- I was terrified of my carers
- I was punished unfairly by my carers
- I could never predict when I would be punished by my carers
- My carers took away my own clothes
- My carers told me I was bad
- My carers said my mother was bad
- My carers said my father was bad
- My carers said my mother did not love me
- My carers said my father did not love me
- My carers tried to take away my hope
- My carers tried to break me

Trauma Symptom Inventory

James' TRB profile is valid with clinical elevations (T=70+) on the following sub-scales: *Anger/Irritability, Defensive Avoidance, Dissociation, Impaired Self-Reference, Dysfunctional Sexual Behaviour,* and *Tension Reduction Behaviour*. In addition, his scores for *Anxious Arousal* (T=65), *Depression* (T=68), and *Intrusive Experiences*

(T=69) would be regarded as clinically significant. Scores in the clinical range for *Dissociation* and *Impaired Self-Reference* is a relatively common two-point elevation in clinical groups. Individuals scoring high on both *Impaired Self-Reference* and *Dissociation* endorse items suggestive of reduced or altered contact with the external environment, as well as an uncertain sense of their internal experience and/or identity. Such people may have a difficult time understanding or expressing feelings and may report little self-understanding or ability to predict their own reactions and behaviour in certain situations.

A combination of high scores on *Dysfunctional Sexual Behaviour* and *Dissociation* reflects an individual's attempts to avoid extreme internal (often post-traumatic) distress and is common in survivors of sexual abuse. In addition, he endorsed the following critical items that require follow-up evaluation: (1) thoughts or fantasies about hurting someone; (2) using drugs other than marijuana; (3) sexual fantasies about being dominated or overpowered; (4) getting into trouble because of your drinking; (5) hearing someone talk to you who wasn't really there; (6) seeing people from the spirit world; and, (7) thinking that someone was reading your mind.

Personality Assessment Inventory

The configuration of the clinical scales suggests a person who is impulsive, hostile, bitter, and lacking empathy. His interpersonal relationships are likely to be short-lived and characterised by marked conflict, and even those close relationships that are maintained will most likely have suffered strain from his hostile and self-centred style. The combination of impulsivity, egocentricity, and anger could cause him to lash out impulsively at those whom he feels have slighted him in some way.

His responses suggest that he has a history of antisocial behaviour and may have manifested a conduct disorder in adolescence. He may have been involved in illegal occupations or engaged in criminal acts involving theft, destruction of property, and physical aggression toward others. He is likely to be egocentric, with little regard for others or the opinions of the society around him. In his desire to satisfy his own impulses, he may take advantage of others and have little sense of loyalty, even to those who are close to him.

His self-description indicates significant suspiciousness and hostility in his relations with others. He is likely to be a hyper-vigilant individual who often questions and doubts the motives of those around him. Although he may not describe himself as unduly suspicious, others are likely to view him as very sensitive and easily insulted in his interactions. As a result, working relationships with others are likely to be strained. He reports that alcohol use has caused occasional problems in his life. He also reports that drug use may be the source of some problems in his life. He describes some difficulties consistent with relatively mild or transient depressive symptomatology. It appears that he is quite impulsive and prone to behaviours likely to be self-harmful or self-destructive, with little forethought as to the potential consequences of these behaviours.

Personal Strengths

In terms of where his strength has come from in dealing with life's difficult situations, James endorsed (1) relationship with current partner; (2) relationship with a friend including other survivors; and, (3) self-reliance, my work, my skills, my character strengths like optimism. In terms of what has helped him most in facing his challenges he endorsed one factor: relationship with current partner. In terms of the thing that means most to him in his life he endorsed one factor: relationship with current partner.

Participant 4: 'Mark'

Mark was born in a large town in the west of Ireland. The large family of nine children was relatively financially secure, but when his father died the family went through some hard times. Although his mother re-married the new blended family found it difficult to get by.

A brother was avoiding or 'mitching' from school on a regular basis with his friend and they were sleeping in an abandoned railway wagon. In the case of Mark's brother this sleeping 'rough' was a way of not having to face the wrath of an angry stepfather for his bad school attendance record. On a particular night a fire occurred in the wagon.

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Mark is not clear whether it was deliberately set, or simply the result of an accident. By coincidence, Mark was at the cinema that night and on his way home he noticed the fire and ran over to help. Although he had no involvement in causing the fire, Mark was arrested in connection with the incident, kept overnight in the garda station and subsequently brought to court on a charge of arson. Mark and his brother were convicted and committed to Letterfrack for three years. The other boy escaped detection.

Other family members were also institutionalised: another brother was detained in the industrial school at Glin, Co. Limerick, and two sisters were detained in an industrial school in Limerick. He did not meet his family for the duration of his detention in Letterfrack. There he was bullied by peers and physically abused by the Brothers, including slapped, punched, kicked, ears pulled, hair pulled, strapped, hit with a ruler, stick or hurley, objects thrown at him, forced to endure stress positions and beaten in public. He was treated by the nurse for a non-accidental injury.

Post-Letterfrack, he returned to his hometown but, unable to secure a job, he emigrated to the UK. He worked in a number of jobs in London, mostly in the low wage hotel and catering industry over a nine-month period. He returned to Ireland and, like participant 2 (Matthew), he joined the defence forces. He left the army six years later after experiencing persistent bullying. He believes he had what he called a "nervous breakdown" and found himself in a psychiatric hospital for three months: "My last days in the army I was able to hear voices and see people that didn't exist, and I was walking out every night without knowing where I was going". He returned to the UK, married and raised five children. He re-married after his first wife died. He is unable to work due to chronic arthritis, cirrhosis and bronchitis. He no longer smokes cigarettes or drinks alcohol.

Life Problems

Mark endorsed the following items as being major life problems that had happened to him: unemployment, homelessness, frequent illness, mental health issues, and hospitalisation for mental health issues.

Worst thing that happened

Mark was physically abused on numerous occasions, resulting in bruising and cuts and he also witnessed others being physically abused. The incident that most disturbed him, however, involved the physical assault and degradation of another detainee. Mark's brother was also detained in Letterfrack at the same time as him. The incident in question concerned this brother, who was wrongly accused of stealing a piece of equipment (a microphone) from the film projector room in the hall. Although he denied it vehemently, the Brothers did not believe him: "and they beat him and he kept telling them that he didn't take it. And they kept beating him, and they shaved his head." Later that evening, having watched the weekly film in the hall, Mark returned to the dormitory and found his brother. His brother's hands were tied with leather thongs and he was suspended from the rafters in the room, in a position with both arms outstretched as if he had been crucified: "My brother was tied up to that rafter and his body was black and blue from the thongs." It appears the Brothers had used leather strips to form a 'little scourge' to flog his brother with. Mark recalled going "off the head completely" at the sight and he shouted and screamed for his brother to be released. He was in turn punished for his disturbed behaviour: "They beat me around the place as well that night."

Childhood Trauma Questionnaire

Mark's scores on the CTQ *Home* version indicate that he suffered no emotional abuse (SS=5), no physical abuse (SS=5), no sexual abuse (SS=5), minimal emotional neglect (SS=8), and physical neglect (SS=11) at the moderate level (between 80th and 90th percentiles). His scores on the CTQ *institution* version indicate that he suffered emotional abuse (SS=19) at the severe to extreme level (between 95th and 99th percentiles), physical abuse (SS=13) at the severe level (between 80th and 90th percentiles), no sexual abuse, emotional neglect (SS=24) at the extreme level (99th percentile), and physical neglect (SS=20) at the extreme level (99th percentile).

Institutional Abuse Scale

He endorsed the following items as being 'often true' or 'very often true' in his experience of the institution:

- ▪ I was terrified of my carers
- ▪ I was punished unfairly by my carers
- ▪ I could never predict when I would be punished by my carers
- ▪ My carers separated me from my brother(s) or sister(s)
- ▪ My carers took away my own clothes
- ▪ My carers destroyed my treasured possessions
- ▪ My carers tried to take away my hope
- ▪ My carers tried to break me

Trauma Symptom Inventory

Mark's TRB profile is valid with clinical elevations (T=70+) on the following two sub-scales: *Anxious Arousal* and *Intrusive Experiences*. He endorsed no critical items that would suggest a need for a clinical follow up. The *Intrusive Experiences* scale consists of items reflecting intrusive post-traumatic reactions and symptoms. These can include nightmares, flashbacks (sudden, intrusive sensory memories of a previously traumatising event), upsetting memories that are easily triggered by current events, and repetitive thoughts of an unpleasant previous experience that intrude into awareness.

Personality Assessment Inventory

With respect to positive impression management, Mark's pattern of responses suggests that he tends to portray himself as being exceptionally free of common shortcomings to which most individuals will admit. As a result, he will be quite reluctant to admit to minor faults, perhaps not even willing to admit these faults to himself. He may be blindly uncritical of his own behaviour and insensitive to negative consequences associated with his behaviour, tending to minimise the negative impact that his behaviour has on others and on himself. Given the high level of defensiveness, the clinical scale profile reflects considerable distortion and minimisation of difficulties in

several areas, and we must view the test results with caution. Given this caveat, Mark does describe problems in certain areas such as unsupportive family or friends; suspiciousness; unusual sensory-motor problems; distrust; irrational fears, failures in close relationships, disruption in thought processes; and stress in the environment. Although his profile reveals no elevations at the T=70+ level, there are a few at the T=50-70 level that are worth considering: conversion; phobias; hyper-vigilance; persecution; and negative relationships.

Personal Strengths

In terms of where his strength has come from in dealing with life's difficult situations, Mark endorsed (1) relationship with current partner; (2) relationship with a friend including other survivors; (3) self-reliance; and, (4) relationship with God. In terms of what has helped him most in facing his challenges he endorsed (1) relationship with current partner; (2) relationship with a friend including other survivors; and, (3) self-reliance. In terms of what is the thing that means most to him in his life he endorsed (1) relationship with current partner; (2) relationship with a friend, including other survivors.

Participant 5: 'Luke'

Luke is a member of the Travelling Community. He could not tell me his exact date of birth. He came from a very large family (18 children), and he recalled that as a child they travelled from camp to camp in the nomadic way their people had done for generations. His father worked as a tinsmith, a traditional trade for the Travelling Community at the time. Because of their lifestyle Luke attended school sporadically. As a consequence, he found it difficult to learn to read and write.

The incident that resulted him in being detained in Letterfrack took place in the city and it seems that it was his first criminal act. He recalled breaking into an unoccupied van, where his haul consisted of one item: "I was put in there [Letterfrack] for robbing a box of jelly…" His intention was to share the jelly with friends and family. He was arrested and charged and brought before the Children's Court. He was sentenced to two years in Letterfrack. In breach of his human rights, his parents were not informed of his

arrest and charge and therefore were not present in court: "They didn't even know I was there. My parents knew nothing. My parents thought that I was kidnapped or lost."

Luke's mother made contact with a priest who knew their family and who had worked closely with the Travelling Community. He made inquiries with the gardaí to find about the missing person and after a period of weeks discovered where Luke was. As a result of this man's intervention Luke spent three months of a two-year sentence in Letterfrack. A number of his siblings, both boys and girls, were institutionalised in various other industrial schools. In Letterfrack he was physically abused and verbally abused for being a member of the Travelling Community.

It seems that post-institution he began to drink heavily, and began a life of crime, usually involving breaking and entering and stealing cars. He believes what happened after the first offence was formative, and lead to his years of criminal activity: "I have to admit the truth at the end. The box of jelly done it. Other than that, I wouldn't be in the place I am now". He was detained in St. Patrick's Institution for Young Offenders for stealing a car. He was involved in housebreaking and served two terms of 12 months in prison. Later he was sentenced to seven years in an Irish prison, but he did not reveal the offence(s) for which he was incarcerated. He attempted to kill himself in prison but prison officers intervened. Although he did not go into details, he recalled that he was also detained in the Central Mental Hospital in Dublin. Overall, he spent over 15 years in prison, including some time detained in prisons in the UK.

He has never worked in 'normal' jobs. He had what he called "bits of hobbies". His main work has been selling craft items he made himself, usually practical objects made from wood and leather. He also loved music, played various instruments and was involved in the pub music scene for years. He had six children with his first partner. She died and he is in a second long-term relationship. Some of his own children were taken into care and fostered out to families. He claimed that this was because of their nomadic lifestyle, and the fact that the children were not attending school for large parts of the year.

Life Problems

Luke endorsed the following items as being major life problems that had happened to him: unemployment; homelessness; frequent hospitalisation for physical health; mental health issues such as depression and anxiety; hospitalisation for mental health issues; anger control in intimate relationships; anger control with children; violent crime; incarceration for violent crime; non-violent crime; and incarceration for non-violent crime.

Worst thing that happened

Luke recalled one particularly vicious punishment he received whereby he was forced to stand in goal while other boys and even Brothers ("a fit young priest") kicked the ball at him. If he tried to dodge the ball the punishment was extended.

> One cold morning, a very cold morning, he walked up across a couple of us to play football – so he could experiment on ya. We didn't know that at the time. Put you in the goal and if you didn't stop the ball you were getting punished for that…I had to stop the ball and when that ball hit me it was the very same as if a bull hit me… and if you didn't stop it, he'd put you in the goal again and make you do it.

He was also deeply affected by witnessing punishment in the guise of sport: boys being forced to fight each other (without gloves) in the boxing ring by the Brothers, to the point where they would "…knock snots of blood" out of each other.

Personal Strengths

In terms of where his strength has come from in dealing with life's difficult situations, Luke endorsed (1) relationship with god or spiritual force; and, (2) self-reliance, my work, my skills, my character strengths like optimism. In terms of what has helped him most in facing his challenges he endorsed (1) his relationship with his father. In terms of what is the thing that means most to him in his life he endorsed (1) relationship with current partner.

Luke chose not to take part in any further testing for this study.

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Participant 6: 'John'

John was born in a town in the southwest of Ireland, one of five children. His mother died when he was three years of age. While his father struggled to look after the family and work full-time as a farm labourer John began to avoid school on a regular basis. The Garda called for him one day while he was in school, and told him he would be "taking a trip". He did not know where he was going. The official reason for him being convicted and sentenced to a period of detention in an industrial school was non-attendance at school but it seems that another (unstated) reason may have been that it was assumed that his father was not capable of rearing his children as a single parent.

Although there was an industrial school for boys near to where the family lived, and although one of John's brothers was already detained there, John was instead sent to Letterfrack (over 250 km away) at twelve years of age, where he spent the next four years of his life. Two of his sisters were detained in an industrial school for girls in the hometown. He still cannot understand why he was sent so far away from his family and friends. He recalled the long hours of physical labour in Letterfrack, which included washing and peeling vegetables, polishing floors and doing silage.[127] He recalled verbal abuse, the imposition of silence, and physical abuse by Brothers on a weekly basis.

Sport had always been his passion and favourite activity. He believes it was also his saviour in Letterfrack. Training for football and boxing and representing the school up to national level kept him busy and away from some of the abusive Brothers. Being a boxer protected him from peer bullying and, he believes, the worst excesses of the regime. He could handle himself and "wouldn't take any shit from anyone".

The Christian Brothers arranged a job for him; he had no say in the matter. When he was released upon reaching his sixteenth birthday, he made his way to a town in the west of Ireland and began work for a leather craft worker. Although he was living in the family home and recalled being well fed he did not like his boss, whom he described

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[127] Silage is fermented, high moisture stored fodder that is fed to cattle during the winter months. Although a highly mechanized process now, making silage when John was in Letterfrack in the 1960s would have been mostly done by hand and was demanding work, even for adults.

as "moody". After only three weeks with his first employer he received an urgent message from the Christian Brothers that his father was gravely ill. He immediately returned to his family home and three months after being released from Letterfrack his father died. While he is grateful that he was with his father for the final months of his life, he is still angry that he missed out on four years with him and the rest of his family during the period of detention.

Returning to his home town, he initially worked in the local post office, but securing a job as a milkman was important to him for a number of reasons. He was now back with his family and had regular employment. He finished work every day at lunchtime and could train for his sports every afternoon. He joined the local GAA club and his involvement at all levels became an integral part of his life thereafter. He also continued boxing and played handball.

Post-Letterfrack, John led a reasonably quiet life. He got married and reared his own family. He continued to cope using the rules he believed saw him through Letterfrack: avoid trouble where possible, keep your head down and do not attract unwanted attention, respect authority, and obey the rules. His wife knew he had been in an industrial school but that was all she knew. She died 15 years ago. He never spoke to her or anyone else about his experiences in Letterfrack. He has been poor all his life. The trade he worked at in Letterfrack was of no practical use to him in his life thereafter. He has lived in a town council house for 50 years. The heating system is inadequate. The house is not insulated. He does not have a shower.

Life Problems

John endorsed only one life problem: non-violent crime (referring to a drink driving charge a number of years ago).

Worst thing that happened

John recalled an incident whereby he was playing a football match (representing Letterfrack) and an opponent surreptitiously grabbed him by the testicles. His immediate reaction was to let out a scream of "fuck !" Brother C obviously heard this. While holding a bunch of keys in his hand, the Brother walked up to him and, without

warning, punched him between the eyes. The keys did the damage, resulting in a severe laceration. When she was tending to his injury the nurse at Letterfrack asked him what had caused such a wound. He told her what had occurred. She passed no comment. She was just one of many bystanders in Letterfrack. More than fifty years later the scar is still visible, and he notices it every day when he shaves. It remains a painful reminder of his time in Letterfrack.

Childhood Trauma Questionnaire

John's scores on the CTQ *Home* version indicate that he suffered no emotional abuse (SS=6), physical abuse (SS=6) at the minimal level (20th percentile), no sexual abuse (SS=5), no emotional neglect (SS=5), and no physical neglect (SS=5). His scores on the CTQ *institution* version indicate that he suffered minimal emotional abuse (SS=6), physical abuse (SS=11) at the moderate level (between the 70th and 80th percentiles), no sexual abuse (SS=5), emotional neglect (SS=9) at the minimal level (50th percentile), and physical neglect (SS=8) at the low to moderate level level (between the 60th and the 70th percentiles).

Institutional Abuse Scale

He endorsed the following items as being 'often true' or 'very often true' in his experience of the institution:

- I was punished unfairly by my carers
- I could never predict when I would be punished by my carers
- My carers separated me from my brother(s) or sister(s)
- My carers took away my own clothes
- My carers tried to break me

Trauma Symptom Inventory

John's profile is valid, with clinical elevations (T=70+) on *Anxious Arousal*, *Intrusive Experiences*, *Defensive Avoidance*, *Dissociation*, and *Impaired Self-Reference*. This is

a classic post-traumatic presentation, in that he is reporting both the intrusive components (AA and IE) and avoidant components (DA and DIS) of PTSD.

Personality Assessment Inventory

The PAI clinical profile reveals two areas of concern. John indicates some concerns about physical functioning and health matters in general. He reports being particularly pre-occupied with his health status and physical problems. His social interactions and conversations likely often focus on his health problems, and his self-image may be largely influenced by a belief that he is handicapped by his poor health. He has likely experienced a traumatic event in the past that continues to distress him and produce recurring episodes of anxiety. He also indicates that he occasionally engages in maladaptive behaviour patterns aimed at controlling that anxiety.

The self-concept of the participant appears to involve a generally stable and positive self-evaluation. He is normally a confident and optimistic person, who approaches life with a clear sense of purpose and distinct convictions. His interpersonal style seems best characterised as involving strong needs for affiliation and positive regard from others. He describes no significant problems with alcohol or drug use, anxiety, depression, suicidal ideation or anger management. The combination of a highly developed system of social supports with a reasonably low stress environment is a favourable prognostic sign for future adjustment.

Personal Strengths

In terms of where his strength has come from in dealing with life's difficult situations, John endorsed (1) relationship with his partner; (2) relationship with a friend, including other survivors; (3) relationship with god or spiritual force; (4) self-reliance, my work, my skills, my character strengths like optimism; and, (5) family. In terms of what has helped him most in facing his challenges he endorsed (1) self-reliance, my work, my skills, my character strengths like optimism. In terms of the thing that means most to him in his life he endorsed (1) self-reliance, my work, my skills, my character strengths like optimism.

6.5 Brief Brother Xavier biography

Brother Xavier was born in a rural area in the south of the country. His father was a Garda and his mother worked from home as a seamstress and also in a local shop. The family moved location as his father was transferred on a number of occasions and they finally settled in a town in the west of Ireland. He described his childhood as happy and he recalled accompanying his father on hunts to shoot rabbits and birds in the countryside, as well as working in the bog.[128] As a child he developed tuberculosis and his parents nursed him at home for two years. [129] He found it difficult to pick up his studies when he eventually returned to school. He believes this experience of learning difficulty had a positive effect on his professional career: "And I think, somehow or other, that gave me in later life, it gave me an understanding of where say some of the kids, [in the industrial schools] … where they were coming from…I could understand some of their frustrations and so on…"

He was recruited to the congregation of Christian Brothers at 15 years of age when he was seen acting as an altar boy in the local church by holidaying Christian Brothers.[130] These Brothers approached his parents. He did not particularly want to join the congregation, but his mother was a driving force: "I'd say my mother had more to do with it than I had… My mother was very much in favour of it". He moved to Dublin and began his training programme in the *Juniorate* with between 60 and 80 other boys of similar age. Visits from parents were rare because contact with the family of origin was discouraged. His main memory of that time was the constant study he did in preparation for examinations.

 After completing two state examinations he moved on to the next stage of training – the *Novitiate.* He found the camaraderie and the friendship that developed among the

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[128] In rural Ireland it was common for families to own or rent sections of peaty land from which they cut and dried peat or turf as a fuel for the family home.

[129] Tuberculosis was formerly known as consumption. Anti-tuberculosis drugs did not appear until after WWII and at the time Xavier was diagnosed most children and adults with the disease were confined for long periods of time to sanitoria (Bynum, 2012; Pringle, 2012).

[130] An altar boy, in the Roman Catholic tradition, (now there are altar girls also) was a boy who acted as a priest's assistant during church services.

boys very supportive and this is the aspect of his training that he enjoyed the most. He was required to repeat his Leaving Certificate year as he had not performed well in the Irish language examination and proficiency in Irish was a prerequisite for a career in the teaching profession.[131] He transferred to the Christian Brothers' in-house teacher training college at Marino where he had two work placements in primary schools in his first year. He enjoyed preparing the lessons and working out how to transmit the information to the pupils.

Before completing the second year of his training, as was common practice in the Congregation at the time, he worked for five years in various Christian Brothers-operated primary schools. In one school he had a class of 60 boys, some of whom had learning difficulties. In order to cultivate a better class atmosphere, he started a harmonica or 'mouth organ' band. [132] He believes people higher up in the congregation must have discovered that he was good at teaching children with learning difficulties as he found himself transferred to an industrial school, where he worked as a teacher for over 15 years.

After years of work in developing the primary school located within the industrial school campus, it seems he became tired and disenchanted. He took a post in the west of Ireland in a day primary school, a job he really came to love. He was then transferred, against his will, to the industrial school at Letterfrack. He arrived on his own, discovered that there were major staff and resource deficits there and threatened to leave if he did not get practical assistance. Three other Brothers were then assigned to the industrial school and these men all became friends.

After his year in Letterfrack he completed a course in special education teaching and was immediately transferred to another industrial school, given a promotion, and he remained there until his retirement. He completed numerous educational courses in Ireland and abroad, including working with children with learning difficulties and child and adolescent counselling. He oversaw the institution during a period of great change

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[131] The Leaving Certificate is the terminal second level examination in Ireland.
[132] Harmonica

within the system, where, he noted, child-centred principles and approaches to working with children in care were embraced by him and his congregation.

6.6 Thematic analysis of detainee coping strategies

The following coping strategies, derived from a thematic analysis and in no particular order of prevalence, were found to have been utilised by detainees during their period of detention in Letterfrack in order to cope with the abuse and neglect they experienced:

(1) Coping by externalising

   (a) Coping by physically abusing peers

In this study, Peter recalled that there was a distinct pecking order in Letterfrack, with older, bigger and stronger boys bullying younger, smaller and weaker boys:

> But the bigger lads definitely had the control over me at the time 'cause I was only a child at the time like. They would take your food. They would give you a hiding. They would do this, they would do that, and nothing would be done about it like…the first day I went to Letterfrack I put my hand out to take a sausage [in the dining hall] and I got a belt of a knife across the hand [from an older boy]: 'You don't touch 'til we're finished'. That was the reality of life then like.

He still bears the scar from that knife on his thumb. In Letterfrack, he concluded that only the strong survived. Other participants confirmed that peer bullying was common. Mark was hit with an open hand, punched, kicked, had his ears pulled, had his hair pulled was hit by a ruler, stick or hurley stick, and had objects thrown at him. He said it happened on a daily basis and that it usually occurred in the washrooms/showers and the yard. Injuries included being marked, bruised, swollen, being cut, and having a split lip. Although James stated that he was not bullied by other detainees because he was a "big young fella" and "wouldn't take any guff from anyone," he did witness other boys being bullied. He denied bullying other boys, as did all the other participants.

(b) Coping by sexually abusing peers

Peter was the only participant in the study to reveal the sexual sub-culture that existed amongst detainees at Letterfrack. In a previous chapter of this dissertation I have outlined it, and elsewhere with a colleague (Lynch & Minton, 2016) we have described it as a primarily predatory peer sexual sub-culture that existed in the industrial schools operated by the Christian Brothers and often perpetrated by 'monitors' or boys who were given special powers.

Peter also revealed that some older, bigger and physically stronger boys (not necessarily monitors), as well as physical bullying other boys also preyed sexually on vulnerable younger boys. Although he claimed not to have physically bullied other detainees, he admitted to being both the victim of sexual assault as a young detainee in Letterfrack and, as he got older and stronger, being the perpetrator of such assaults. He also noted the addictive nature of sexual offending:

> Let's be honest like, when I had sex with boys or vice versa, my opinion of what was going on it wasn't actually sex. It was the orgasm of cumming for that split couple of seconds or whatever like. It was like a kind of drug: you get high, you're happy for that period of time and everything is grand like. And then you get up and you go on and that was it like. You just didn't think no more of it like. And as time went on then, as I said, like a drug you wanted more. And then you'd go down the ranks. The bigger boys would take you and obviously then you would go down the ranks and you'd pick on the smaller lads. And from there then like it was full blown.

His understanding of why boys sexually abused other boys in Letterfrack focuses on the compulsion to repeat the trauma inflicted on them by certain Brothers:

> I mean the only reason that they came forward and had sex with us was because it was obvious that when they came [to Letterfrack] first they were taken by the Brothers inside you know. I mean I can't say they were raped like but I know from my experience like, if they're coming to me and they're expecting things from me, then that is what they were taught by the Brothers as they were going along. So they were just going on and on and on.

(2) Coping by improving social position

(a) Coping by securing a job

Brother M was in charge of the gardens at Letterfrack. Mark, along with a number of boys, secured a job in the garden. This involved a lot of weeding but also grass cutting and tree felling and cutting into logs, in order to provide fuel for the furnace. The Brother was a kind man: "…so I was lucky I was with this Brother and he never used any punishment. He was the only Brother that was in Letterfrack that I never seen hitting anybody…" Mark's work also involved tending the graveyard behind the industrial school where 90 boys are buried. All gardening work kept him out of the classroom and away from Brothers (and possible abuse) for hours at a time: "but I worked with this man for a long time while I was there so I was away from all that." Although it was hard physical labour there was less supervision than usual and he became friendly with up to seven boys also working on the grounds of Letterfrack. He said it also gave him time to think.

John was lucky to get shoemaking as a trade, because the man in charge of that workshop was from John's home county and had a favourable attitude of protection towards him. He also worked on the farm, looking after the cattle, and thus avoided abusive Brothers to a large extent.

Matthew worked at making crude matrasses at the age of five years. Although the work was very difficult and the hours were long, he enjoyed the playful company of his young peers, he was happy not to be working outdoors like the older boys, and he did not have to attend class, as he would in a day school in the community.

(b) Coping by securing a sports activity

John was a natural sportsman and enjoyed playing a variety of sports. He represented the industrial school in athletics, handball, Gaelic football and boxing. Training sessions took place several times a week and took him outside and away from potential abusers. Local matches were played in the field adjoining the industrial school, but boys also competed against other schools and clubs in other villages and towns, granting him more freedom. Being a good sportsman gained him the respect of the Brothers and his fellow detainees and allowed him time away (including overnight) from the industrial school on sports-related trips. One sport also provided what he described as an effective coping strategy. He found that boxing in Letterfrack was a good way to learn "to be

able to handle yourself" against certain Christian Brothers and potential peer bullies in the industrial school.

(c) Coping by securing a role of 'pet' or 'monitor'

Pets were boys chosen to perform certain functions. They were rewarded in various ways for their co-operation. Like monitors (chosen by Brothers to supervise other detainees) they had a certain amount of power. It could be used abusively against other detainees or it could be used to curry favour with Brothers and / or detainees. John stated that if a boy thought another boy was a pet, "you wouldn't want to say something wrong about a Brother" because it would be reported back to that Brother. Pets were perceived by their peers as spies, whose allegiance was in the first instance to the Brothers and who could not be trusted. Perhaps it is understandable that none of the participants in this study admitted to having been a pet/spy or monitor, although three did make reference to these categories of boys at interview. It is likely that one participant, Mark, was a pet. He was one of the chosen boys to work in the maintenance of the grounds and, in particular, to take care of the graveyard. He did not describe himself as a pet, but alludes to it:

> so sometimes you'd be asked to bring stuff out to somebody's house in a wheel barrow or something. But you had to be trusted; they wouldn't let just anybody out there…Yeah, you'd be a trustee; they had their own name for it but that's what I would call it.

Mark had the lowest scores on the PAI, indicating fewer current mental health issues than the other participants (and none at the T=70+ level). Because he was so good at a variety of sports and held the high-status position of representing Letterfrack industrial school against other clubs and institutions, it is also possible that John became a pet. That he may have been treated better than other detainees may be reflected in terms of current psychological functioning, whereby John had the second lowest scores on the PAI and had the lowest number of symptoms at the T=50+ level. John also had the lowest scores on the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (Institution version), only scoring in the significant range for one out of the five subsets - physical abuse. It is interesting to note that neither John nor Mark reported experiencing sexual abuse in Letterfrack. Peter stated that he was not familiar with the term 'monitor', but he did

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recall that during his detention certain older boys were put in charge of groups of younger boys.

(d) Coping by informing

Peter said that in Letterfrack certain boys informed on other boys. They may have been pets or monitors or other boys trying to gain advantage. Although he was enraged with them at the time, he now believes that these boys were "broken, fed up of beatings; couldn't take it anymore, so they talked." He recalled that the detainees knew them as 'rats' or 'squealers.' They provided information to the Brothers in return for less punishment or some reward. Like Peter, the other boys despised these informers, so much so that on one occasion a group of boys poured petrol on the bed of an informer and set it alight as a warning that they knew of his activities and to act as a threat to stop spying and informing. Usually peers would simply exclude these informers. Peter described a process of exclusion: "They were totally ignored by other boys…being ignored could be a very lonesome place". He said he did not inform or 'rat' on other boys because they would have been assaulted as a result of his actions and because of reputational damage to him: "your name wouldn't be worth shit; you would be an outcast".

James recalled that there were informers in Letterfrack but in retrospect he believed the informers were "just as frightened as we were". He confirmed that informers were ignored and avoided: "We wouldn't allow them to be part of the gang". He believed that the Christian Brothers liked to see conflict between boys and groups, and he described their approach as one of "divide and rule." In this system detainees knew there were informers among them but were kept in ignorance of who was doing the informing. This created an atmosphere of suspicion and cautiousness in dealing with other boys.

Mark recalled that if the Brothers wanted to know the name of a boy who had committed some 'offence' and the culprit was reluctant to own up, they coerced each boy (over a period of hours if necessary) into writing the name of the culprit on a slip of paper. This form of psychological warfare kept boys guessing and suspicious of each other and made it difficult to develop trust among detainees. John revealed that certain

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Brothers' pets would inform on boys who smoked. He said that other boys, if they found out who informed, would sometimes take revenge by physically attacking the informers.

Group punishment was also practised to create pressure on detainees to desist from attempting to escape from the institution. John revealed that when boys escaped and were returned to the industrial school everyone was punished by not being allowed to see the weekly film. The Saturday night film and the Sunday walk were the highlights of the week for most detainees, and the prospect of the loss of treats such as these could turn the group against the individual escaper. No doubt this was the purpose of the group punishment.

(3) Coping by covertly resisting

(a) Coping by staying angry, hating and fantasising about revenge

Some forms of resistance take the more "privatised and ambiguous forms" such as seething anger (expressed alone or with other detainees), dreams or fantasies of retribution, and cloaked insults (Crewe, 2012). John had fantasised about exacting revenge on Brother R, who had been his nemesis in Letterfrack, and whom he referred to as "the bastard." He nearly got his wish a year or two after he was released from Letterfrack:

> As a matter of fact, in 1961 I went up to the All Ireland [football] semi-final. Myself and another fellow, we thumbed it all the way to Dublin. And who did I meet – Brother O'Shea and Brother O'Connell. The very minute he saw me he ran and I was looking after them. I couldn't catch them because the crowd was coming against me…I wanted to give him a good fucking hiding.

Working outside on the extensive grounds of Letterfrack, Mark had time and space to think. Working in the quiet graveyard area he also sometimes had time to rest. His revenge fantasy involved telling the truth about what happened there in order to honour the dead:

> Well the one thing I swore the day before I left Letterfrack. I went to the graveyard and I swore to those poor kids that were buried there that I was going to come back and tell their story. And from that time leaving the graveyard until now that's the one thing I

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had on my mind. No matter where I went I said I'd come back and go back there. It was like going to a home where I left, that I left a family. But even though they were dead, I never met them, I never spoke to them, I never seen a photograph of them, I said I'd go back.

Peter described one of his main ways of coping as holding on to his hatred for the Brothers and what they were inflicting on the boys: "keep on hating." In Letterfrack holding on to his hatred was vital to him: "Hate can be a very powerful weapon. It keeps you strong and helps you to survive." He linked this maintaining of hatred with trying not to show the Brothers or peers how he was impacted by their treatment of him, which he referred to as "shut down." Peter also fantasised on a daily basis about exacting revenge on certain Brothers, but particularly Brother R, who had repeatedly and violently physically assaulted him and anally raped him. Peter recalled that at a point in one prolonged assault in the washroom next to the dormitory he thought he was going to be killed and he shouted out "mammy, mammy, mammy." He still suffers flashbacks to that traumatic incident and he has maintained his thoughts of violent retribution for decades:

> It's amazing how much hate and anger I still have for that man [Brother R]. I would kill that man in the morning. I know it sounds harsh but what he did to me over my lifetime, there is so much hate in my heart for him like…I would dance on him in the morning if I got the opportunity.[133]

(b) Coping by engaging in 'underground' activities

A second type of covert resistance activity is the active breaking of the institutional rules but doing so surreptitiously in an effort to avoid being identified and punished. James recalled breaking into the sweet shop under the stairs and stealing sweets and chocolate. A friend managed to secure a duplicate key to the shop and so they could access the goodies without the 'crime' being discovered. Showing great foresight, he did not take too many sweets at any one time so that his pilfering would not be noticed

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[133] It is interesting that he uses the word 'dance' in fantasising about revenge on Brother R. While in Letterfrack his mother could only afford to visit him on one occasion in the three years of his detention. She brought him a present of a guitar – a huge gift at that time. Brother R was present when Peter's mother gave him the gift and he promised her that Peter would be given guitar lessons. As Peter's mother departed Letterfrack, Brother R "took the guitar from me and to my disbelief smashed it off the wall; and smashed it again. And he hit me with it a couple of times. He threw it on the ground; he danced on it; he danced on it…he pushed me in the hallway there and he gave me another couple of thumps and he goes 'This is the fucking guitar lessons you will get.' And I got a severe beating for that then."

by the Brother in charge of the shop. In this way he could return on a regular basis and get his treats without anyone noticing that the stock was depleting. When Peter and a group of boys came across an unattended delivery van outside the chapel they looked inside to see what goods were destined for the Brothers in the monastery. They stole as many cigarettes as they could carry with them.

Mark recalled working in the fields sowing seeds. Although he was being supervised he was so hungry that he began to eat the seeds: "I was that hungry that I ate these seeds and nearly died. When I woke up there was a doctor and a nurse beside me." Peter also recalled secretly eating raw vegetables picked from the fields the detainees tended. Mark recalled that he spent one day working in Brother T's kitchen with a group of boys. They were there under the Brother's supervision to make Christmas puddings. The boys took what advantage they could take of the situation:

> I think the nearest I got to working with him [Brother T] was one Christmas. He was making Christmas puddings and there was alcohol there…we were drinking some of it as well as putting it in [the puddings].

(4) Coping by seeking social support

Although the creation of the roles of monitor and pet may have served to sow suspicion between detainees and although peer abuse may also have resulted in fear and social avoidance, friendships were formed in Letterfrack. John developed friendships with other boys who, like him, worked in maintaining the grounds. He also got on well with other players on the football team. He particularly appreciated the friendship of John Murphy and Michael O'Riordan. [134] Matthew stayed with boys of his own age in a group for protection. Peter recalled that boys from different urban areas tended to stick together and form groups, as they later did in the institution for young offenders and in prison (in his personal experience): "Well from my memories, you see, it was like the old saying, even in prison today like, it's the same thing: you've got Cork people, you've Dublin people…you've Limerick people…you could call it gangs, for a better word like." James was of the opinion that the only positive experience he had in Letterfrack was friendship: "As I said there now like, the only thing you'd benefit out

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[134] These are pseudonyms.

of that was you'd get to know people, you know what I mean." He kept close to his friends Brian Nolan and Liam Butler.[135]

(5) Coping by isolating self

For other boys a coping strategy was one of turning away from others, putting on a 'brave front' and relying on themselves. For Peter, coping in Letterfrack was very much an individual matter. In order to survive in Letterfrack he attempted to disappear while holding on to the hate he felt for the Brothers, particulary the three men that had sexually abused him. He described his strategy as, "stay out of the picture, keep your head down, stay low, keep on hating, shut down." He now believes that shutting down did not allow him to mature fully. While in Letterfrack he was "watching out, suspicious, negative", seeing the world as "scary and dangerous," and "expecting the worst". He felt lonely, depressed and fearful in Letterfrack. He broke contact with other detainees because he did not trust them. He had been sexually abused by some of them, particularly in the initial year of his detention, and he felt particularly vulnerable to further assaults. He tried to break contact with the Christian Brothers so they would not notice him and take out their anger on him. However, the strategy of trying to avoid Brothers' unwanted attention was not his only coping strategy. This approach, whereby he attempted to break all contact with others (both Brothers and peers) contrasted sharply with actively rebellious forms of coping such as fighting back and attempting to escape.

Although Mark worked with a small group of boys to maintain the grounds of Letterfrack, he essentially worked alone on his section. In this way he avoided contact with potential adult abusers, but this solitary work may also have helped him avoid some peer abuse. He described neither seeking nor receiving any peer social support during his time at Letterfrack.

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[135] These are pseudonyms.

(6) Coping by overtly resisting

(a) Coping by fighting back

There is evidence to suggest that, although boys were well aware that the consequences for resisting assault by adults would be immediate and severe, boys did physically fight back against their oppressors. James was physically assaulted by Brother T in the shower/ washroom. He defended himself by trying to block the blows and also hit out at the man. In so doing he received a severe blow to the head that almost rendered him unconscious. On another occasion James witnessed a Brother assaulting a detainee with a hurley stick.[136] The boy somehow managed to snatch the hurley stick out of the Brother's hands and began beating the Brother with it.

Matthew recalled a boy who, knowing that the game was banned by the Christian Brothers, defied the rule and started games of soccer in the yard. In Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools only Gaelic games were allowed. A group of 12-15 boys began to join this rebel in the 'foreign' game. They inevitably came to the attention of the Brothers and the ringleader was punished. After that the boys complied with the rule about sport and it was back to Gaelic games.

Mark described himself as a quiet boy who usually tried to comply with the Brothers' wishes. On one occasion, however, a Brother went too far, and Mark, surprising himself, reacted with equal physical force. His teacher, Brother R, was doing mental arithmetic with the class and timing them to see how fast they could complete the assignment. The boy who finished last was to be 'kept back', that is, detained in the classroom for an unspecified period of time as a punishment. On this occasion Mark, was last to complete the exercise. The teacher allowed all the other boys to leave the room and go to the dining hall for lunch before standing between Mark and the door:

> He locked the classroom door. He put the key in the drawer [of the desk], then took out his leather and hit me across the face with it. I then proceeded and took the blackboard off the easel and hit him down on the head with it…That was the end of my education…I was then put out on the farm…he got frightened of me, so he wasn't going to hit me anymore because he was too frightened - the next time I could finish him.

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[136] A hurley stick is a 1.5 metre long wooden stick cut from an ash tree and used to play the Irish national sport of hurling. Being assaulted with a hurley stick would be the equivalent of being hit with an axe handle or a baseball bat.

Although all boys in industrial schools, if able to do so, were entitled to complete their primary school education, Mark was not allowed to return to the class after that incident and so his education ended at that point. However, having stood up to him in such a forceful manner, he did have the satisfaction of knowing that this man would not victimise him again. Usually fighting back against overwhelming force did not end well for a boy. The normal response to a boy fighting back was increased violence on the part of the Brother. In sixth class Peter fought back against a Brother who was attacking him in the corridor outside the classrooms. The result was a further assault: "When I fought back I was beaten more severely. I was fucking punished". Peter was young at the time of this incident and small for his age. He was aware of the difference between 'standing up for yourself' (i.e. protesting) and fighting back and the consequences of the latter:

> on so many occasions like walking in the yard or walking in the dormitory, or whatever like, it was a constant reality like you could get beaten like. I mean I stood up for myself lots of times like, but on a few occasions like you know you take a step further [and physically fight back]. But when you do take that step further prepare for the consequences like. The consequences aren't just a few clips around the ear at all.

Brothers did not assault every boy. Mark was aware that the older he became, the longer he was in detention, and the physically stronger he became as a result of hard labour in the fields and bogs around Letterfrack, the less likely the Brothers were to assault him.

(b) Coping by planning and/or executing an escape

Although it was described particularly in the context of war, it has always been seen as a badge of honour and a soldier's duty for prisoners-of-war to try to escape from captivity, that is, to be making a constant effort to be planning and preparing to make escape attempts. It is a clear statement to their captors of their indomitable spirit, and a way of taking some control in a mostly out of control existence. Attempted escape was seen as the most severe offence that could be committed in the industrial school system in Ireland, and a small proportion of children made repeated attempts to escape (Barnes, 1989). Penalties for escape could be severe. For instance, the Industrial Schools Act of 1868 stated that any escape would be considered an offence punishable by transfer to a reformatory.

The official Christian Brother term for escaping was 'absconding'. Peter escaped or 'absconded' on more than ten occasions. The Christian Brothers did not log these escapes accurately. Peter is of the opinion that this is because they wanted to portray an image of an institution where escaping was a rare event. He stated that escapes were, in fact, a regular occurrence. Impression management dictated that the number of escapes would be minimised. Likewise, the tough and capable image of the Christian Brothers would be severely tarnished if it were known that so many boys were escaping. Perhaps for this reason, for the whole complex of industrial schools in Ireland between 1869 and 1878, only 55 children are officially logged as having escaped. They were all re-captured and transferred to reformatories as a punishment (Barnes, 1989).

It seems that after the 1950s, when numbers of detainees were decreasing, escapees were no longer transferred to reformatories. This is probably not due to a more lenient view of escapes, or a more compassionate approach to escapees, but more than likely a pragmatic decision to keep the boys in order to continue to receive the capitation grant. [137] The question the Brothers have never addressed is if Letterfrack were such a reasonable place for a boy in which to reside, why would boys want to escape in such numbers and so often? Peter's plans for escape were reflective of his age and naivety:

> I was a regular for escaping. We were too young to have a plan. Once we tried to get to Clifden, get on a boat and sail away to somewhere. We got to Clifden and a boat but realised we couldn't operate the boat.

He brought no provisions with him for the escape, and he risked capture by walking along the country roads. Only on later escape attempts did he conclude that to increase his chances of getting away he should travel cross-country. This was very difficult given the nature and extent of the moors surrounding the institution. There was also the distinct possibility of being spotted in the fields or moors by a local farmer who could inform on boys or even capture them. He described one escape attempt he made in the middle of winter:

> Myself and F got up at 2-3am. The place was covered in snow. We kept going overnight. We didn't know where we were going. All we wanted to do at the time was just get out. We were caught next day by a local [resident].

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[137] This was the grant paid by the Department of Education to the Christian Brothers for each boy in their care. A second grant was also paid by the County Council where the boy's home was located. Thus, there was an incentive to have the institution full to capacity. Numbers mattered because children needed to be re-educated but they also mattered because numbers meant money to the congregation..

His motivation was hatred of the Brothers and the place: "Hate can be a very powerful weapon. It keeps you strong and helps you to survive". For him hatred, rage at his captivity, and hostility towards the world were what energised him and he found it difficult to change his way of being post-release and for many years afterwards.

When apprehended by the Brothers or locals he was returned to the institution and punished by a public beating partly naked, having his head shaved, and by a beating in private partly naked. Brother T forced him to stand in the yard, with his hands by his sides, while other boys were forced to kick the football at him full force. Punishment for absconding also included being further deprived of contact with parents. Peter was only allowed home twice in three years of detention.

James also made more than ten escape attempts. Planning an escape gave him "something to look forward to". One plan was a bit more elaborate than the others: "We took the Christian Brothers' car and got 10 miles down the road, straight into the ditch. We were caught on the road and brought back to the school again". Punishment included an incident of public beating, partly naked and being beaten by more than one Brother at a time. He describes what it felt like to escape: "Once you were outside the gates it was a different world. You weren't worried about Christian Brothers". When he made multiple escape attempts his thinking was, "If I stay here I'll still get a beating. If I only get away for a few hours or days it'll be worth it." For him running away was a statement that the Brothers could not control him completely and he took some pride in his efforts: "I was good at running away, with [another boy] from Dublin".

James recalled that it was not the Christian Brothers who found and apprehended him on his escape attempts: "It was always lay people or Gardaí that caught us." As well as trying to get away long distances, James also tried to hide in and around the Letterfrack campus for an hour or two. He would "take off up the woods and mountain, or the pier for a while." If his absence was noticed he would say he was behind the hall – "any excuse at all." All participants referred to escaping in one form or another – of wanting to escape, of being afraid to try, and of knowing that others had attempted to escape. It seems that they all fantasised about escaping, but only two were willing to face the consequences of inevitable apprehension, return to the industrial school and severe assaults.

(c) Coping by contemplating suicide

Life in Letterfrack was, in itself, physically injurious to boys detained there. Hard labour in the fields and bogs often resulted in injuries. Physical assaults perpetrated by Brothers also took their toll. Three participants showed this researcher scars that represented injuries inflicted on them while detained in Letterfrack. One participant claimed that his back problems stemmed from the nature and extent of physical labour he was forced to engage in as a boy in the industrial school. In this study, when asked how he felt in Letterfrack most of the time he was there, Mark replied that he had contemplated taking his own life:

> Terrible, it was like there was no end to getting out of it…There was a time there I thought I was gonna commit suicide…Yeah, it entered my head. I kept saying I'd be better off dead than being in here…That's how bad it got, you know at certain times.

He appears to have found the strength to carry on as a result of his work in the graveyard. Tending to the graves, he wondered how so many young boys (90+) had died in Letterfrack and he vowed to survive and tell the truth about what had happened to him and others some day in the future. In attending a Redress Board hearing and by agreeing to speak to me he was fulfilling that promise.

Luke found the thought of being in Letterfrack until his sixteenth birthday unbearable. He survived by waiting for reprieve and hoping it would come soon. But his experiences in the industrial school and the waiting took their toll on him and he contemplated suicide: "I'll be honest with ya. I was wearing away with it. I thought maybe if I didn't get me freedom I mightn't be here today. That's the way I feel about it." He tried to accept his fate: "To be honest I just had to survive. I had to be there. If it [punishment] was gonna happen to me, it was gonna happen. I couldn't do nothing, just accept what comes me way." Fortunately, he was released after three months.

Two participants in this study (Peter and James) developed a pattern of overtly resisting the regime, including making regular escape attempts. There is a sense in which, knowing the consequences of escape attempts and being willing to face the inevitable apprehension and severe assaults upon return to the industrial school, their behaviour

could also be seen as a form of self-injurious behaviour - a form of reckless disregard for their own health and wellbeing.

(d) Coping by resisting as a group

There is some evidence of group resistance engaged in by the participants, although it seems to have been a rare occurrence. James described one such incident. He recalled that on one occasion he and a group of boys tried to take revenge on a Brother who had been severely punishing a boy. They attacked him in the yard, kicking the Brother when and where they could. They then ran off and hid, fearful of retribution. It appears that word spread quickly among the staff because that same night a lay teacher, intoxicated after a visit to the local village pub, returned to the industrial school and, with the help of three Christian Brothers, violently assaulted the relevant boys in an act of revenge for their earlier display of resistance.

The second example of group resistance occurred in the chapel. Boys were forced to attend mass regularly; in the early days it was a daily ritual, but later it became a weekly event. However, up until the closure of the industrial school boys still had to parade, two by two, up the steps to the chapel on a daily basis to sing hymns and say prayers. Religious practice was quite involved and there is a sense from participants' accounts that the rituals were used as part of the general control mechanism. Luke reported that in his time he was forced to attend mass daily, go to confession once a week, say the rosary daily, say prayers in the dormitory at night, and learn catechism in the classroom. Important Roman Catholic sacraments were also enacted there. Peter made his *Confirmation* at the nearby chapel in Leenane, John and Mark made their *Confirmation* at Letterfrack, while Matthew made his *First Holy Communion* there. Peter recalled that on one occasion the boys refused to co-operate with the Brother in charge in the chapel:

> …and most mornings, and especially on a Sunday, we would walk this area here [path] to go to the church to say mass…we went in the church door and spent maybe an hour or so there and listened to the priest say the mass and the usual thing that goes on in a church…we used to do the singing as well ourselves and ah on this occasion the Brother stood out in the hallway [aisle] and started to sing the hymn. But unfortunately, for some reason I don't know, nobody sang. And as you can imagine it caused blue murder. So we were all marched out of the church and straight back down to the yard…I'm sure we were deprived of watching the movie that weekend, but they [Brothers] certainly weren't happy with the outcome.

All examples of groups of boys trying to escape can be classified as group resistance. Mark was aware that his brother was part of a group of twelve boys who staged a 'mass escape' on one occasion. Not surprisingly, their freedom did not last long: "I was in the avenue [working] and an hour later they were back. Some farmer held them up with a stick."

Group resistance to authority was also used in an attempt to assert dominance, to test boundaries, and to deter adults from assaulting them. Brother Xavier stated that one particular group, the leader of which was James, made sure to confront every new Brother in order to ascertain what behaviour he would accept and what the consequences of misbehaviour would be. Brother Xavier referred to this group disparagingly as the 'mafia'. James was the leader of this group and the first to challenge, confront, and even attack Brothers. Then other boys in the group would often follow James' example. It is ironic that Brother Xavier found this group's behaviour unacceptable given the level of violence inflicted on detainees by Brothers in Letterfrack. It appears that the boys were banding together and that their coping strategy was to stage a pre-emptive strike in an effort to frighten off potential adult attackers. In order to break up the group of detainees that was seen as becoming powerful, Brother Xavier stated that James was allowed home to his family for a holiday and then informed that he was not to return to the industrial school.

(7) Coping through acceptance/resignation

In normal life situations a pattern of simply accepting or resigning oneself to one's fate is perceived as passive and even maladaptive, in the sense that it represents a 'handing over,' a 'giving up' and may be the end product of a sense of hopelessness and helplessness, and perhaps even linked to depression. In the context of the industrial school this coping strategy refers to attempts to accept the reality of isolation, of not being in control of their lives, of the inevitability of assault, of the futility of resistance and of the long-term nature of detention in the institution. In this way it can be viewed as adaptive.

Upon being detained in Letterfrack, it seems that boys came to three conclusions very quickly: (1) detainees were controlled almost all day and night by the staff at

Letterfrack. Supervision was almost 24/7 and so privacy was at a minimum; (2) punishment could not be avoided totally. It did not take long to discover that whatever coping strategies were used a child was going to be at the receiving end of abuse of one form or another. Even if he was not being assaulted, he was witnessing others being assaulted; and, (3) escape from this existence was impossible. The odds were stacked against anyone getting away. Even those boys who managed to escape were relentlessly pursued, returned to the industrial school (with the help of the community at large and the Gardaí) and severely assaulted and humiliated in a public way in order to act as a deterrent to them and to the cohort of onlookers/witnesses.

Accepting these realities and predicting (and even expecting) assaults was a survival strategy that all participants' narratives include. In relation to its survival value among adult male prisoners in an English prison setting Crewe (2012, p.94) has a similar positive view of its adaptiveness: "it may be psychologically preferable to embrace one's powerlessness than to torment oneself with the daily recognition of one's subjugation." In cognitive behavioural therapy (CBT) terms *catastrophising* or predicting the worst-case outcome is usually regarded as a thinking 'error' or 'distortion.' In extreme situations, however, it may be viewed as both realistic and adaptive, involving a recognition and acceptance of the prevailing circumstances, as well as a preparation for what is likely to occur sooner or later. The value of the strategy is that if you prepare for the worst possible outcome and something less than the worst happens then you can regard it as a minor, private victory. And even if the worst does happen, at least you can tell yourself that you predicted it and believe that you were not taken totally by surprise by the outcome. The strategy can be seen as an attempt to find some small level of control in an overwhelmingly uncontrollable world, to improve one's sense of self-efficacy.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) introduced the concept of cognitive appraisal in coping with stress. This is the on-going process of constructing the meaning of a stressful situation. The core component of appraisal is the extent to which a person sees the stressful situation as (1) challenging or threatening; (2) expected or unexpected; and/or (3) largely controllable or not controllable. The narratives of the participants in this study are replete with references to powerlessness. It pervades the testimony and the few examples that follow serve as reminders of both the gulf in power between adults

and children, the ongoing suffering that had to be endured, and the pervasive sense of hopelessness and helplessness that existed among the boys in the total institution.

> If they [Brothers] felt in the mood to come around and give you a clip, they would do it…(Matthew)

> There was no way you could work the system really…so at the end of the day like you had to find some way of just dealing with it the best way you could – like avoid, avoid, and things like that. But there was no real avoiding…You just duck and dive, duck and dive, and that's how a lot of people survived like (Peter).

> You might say 'I'm doing my best', you know, trying to give a good answer [in class] and you'd get a clip in the ear. And that's what was going on – you couldn't do nothing, you couldn't say nothing, and you were just getting it (Matthew).

> No, I couldn't [fight back]…you knew what you were going to get. You had no power (Luke).

> I heard about boys that tried to gang up [on a Brother] but they wouldn't…they'd think of plans [to escape] but it wouldn't succeed. The plan wouldn't work out (Luke).

(8) Coping by engaging in pleasurable activities

(a) Coping by enjoying moments of beauty, pleasure and freedom

For the purposes of this study experiences of pleasurable activities or moments refer to times of beauty, pleasure and freedom. They are like those experienced by the prisoners in the movie *The Shawshank Redemption,* that is, moments, events or occurrences that stand out as having been positive for the young detainee in Letterfrack, where beauty entered, where fear was suspended, where time stood still, where pleasure was enjoyed, if only for a while.[138]

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[138] Though not an immediate box office success, the Frank Darabont-directed 1994 movie *The Shawshank Redemption* is now regarded as a classic. It is based on a Stephen King novella and tells the story of Andy Dufresne (King, 1982/2017). Convicted for a crime he did not commit, it tells of his experiences in the notoriously brutal Shawshank maximum-security prison. In a particularly poignant scene, Andy locks himself in to the prison office and, partly as a means of dealing with the horrors he has experienced and partly as an act of rebellion, he broadcasts the aria from Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro* over the loudspeaker system for all staff and prisoners to hear. For a few minutes beauty enters the prison, and the audience sees various characters remaining still and listening intently.

Peter recalled visiting the nearby exclusive Kylemore Castle boarding school for girls regularly on their Sunday walks. He spoke of the sense of relief to be away from the industrial school, the beauty of the surroundings and the contact with girls: "Just look at it and see the beauty of it, and the pleasure we used to get coming down here and watching those young girls. Taking in that bit of freedom."[139]

Matthew recalled the joy of listening to football and hurling matches gathered around the radio in the dormitory on Sunday afternoons with the other boys. He enjoyed the break from monotonous and difficult physical labour and looked forward to the weekend when he would get drawn in to the sense of anticipation and excitement generated by the radio commentator. He also recalled the kindness of one particular Brother who used be in charge of the sweet shop in the early 1950s. This man shared some sweets with the boys.

James recalled being in a group of boys that helped to put out a fire on nearby Diamond Hill and getting extra food as a reward for their endeavors. He recalled the kindness of a Mrs G who worked as a night watchperson and who gave him a sandwich when he woke in the middle of the night on one occasion. A substitute Brother's kindness was also a standout event for him. When Brother T went on holidays "there was this other Brother used to come in and he was kind of a Brother like he'd give you an old fag [cigarette]." James found that, although physically very demanding, working in the bog was preferable to life inside the school walls, even if the adult farm labourers could at times be verbally and physically abusive: "You were out of the school, you know what I mean? You were out, out."

Mark recalled that as part of his gardening job he was in charge of maintaining the graveyard at Letterfrack. This work consisted of weeding and digging channels to keep the water from flooding the area. The graveyard was only a short distance from the

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[139] Just three miles down the road from Letterfrack, and existing almost in another world was Kylemore Abbey. An imposing castle-like structure, situated in a stunning location on lake Pollacappul, it was run as an exclusive international boarding school for girls. There is something poignant and deeply ironic about these two institutions existing so close to each other, but affording children very different experiences, educationally and otherwise. These two worlds regularly intersected on Sundays. The weekly walk from Letterfrack, supervised by one or more Christian Brothers, was an opportunity for boys to be out in nature and to have time away from abuse and neglect. Almost inevitably and by arrangement their route took them onto the Klylemore estate and past the front door of the abbey itself. Although any form of contact was forbidden, the boys cherished the momentary glances between the sexes. Then these brief moments ended and the boys walked once again back up the avenue to St. Joseph's and the ongoing reality of their everyday lives.

main campus but far enough away to be a secluded space. On sunny days he would find himself unsupervised for a few hours and, taking his opportunity, he would often sit down beside the unmarked graves of the dead industrial school boys:

> Well, when you walked into the graveyard, you had all this like sage. It was a yellow plant and it was a real soft plant and you could fall asleep there. You could sit down and fall asleep…it was so warm and I could remember the sun would be beaming and it wouldn't be hot enough to burn you now but it would be that warm that you wouldn't even feel a breeze, 'cos you're surrounded by trees as well in there. So I used to doze off and fall asleep.

(b) Coping by engaging in peer consensual sex

Peter stated that consensual sexual activity between detainees was an everyday occurrence in Letterfrack: "if you had sex with one of the lads it would be just, how would you put it, do you know, you touch me, I touch you; you masturbate me, I'll masturbate you and good luck." It usually took place in the dormitories, in the toilets or on a walk up Diamond Hill. During walks when supervision could be lax, boys would pair off and disappear into the bushes, to re-emerge a few minutes later and return to the group without the Brother noticing. The contact usually consisted of mutual masturbation. When asked what the consensual sex did for him, Peter said it was "for relief; it wasn't sexual attraction. It was just release, getting away from the real world." For a few moments Letterfrack did not exist for him. He was consumed by the behaviour and the release. It was a form of escape. It was pleasurable, powerful and mood altering. It became habitual:

> but over time then the sex side of it would get so strong like. So in other words like, at 12 or 13 years of age I was getting erections like and to relieve that then you got somebody else to masturbate you like that and that solved, that's the way we coped with it like. The release of that sexual pleasure for that couple of seconds that was it like…You cope with it by going having sex with other lads like.

(9) Coping by engaging in pro-social behaviour

For the purposes of this study pro-social behaviour is seen as "social action intended to benefit others (remedying injustice, promoting others' welfare) without anticipation of personal reward; indeed, perhaps at some cost or risk to oneself" (Gibbs, 2014, p. 133). Although he takes obvious risks in an industrial school setting, one possible payoff for

the 'hero' who engages in pro-social behaviour is that he may feel a sense of satisfaction that results from the belief that he has done something worthwhile to help someone else and that he has been able to exert some control over his circumstances.

Matthew described a particular monitor who was verbally and physically abusive to smaller and younger boys. Matthew recalled intervening on one occasion and asking this monitor to stop picking on a particular boy, saying "leave him alone". A physical fight ensued between Matthew and the monitor. A Brother intervened and stopped the fight. After questioning both boys the Brother believed the monitor's (false) version of events. Matthew received a punishment.

Mark recalled that there was regular violence between peers during his time of detention, mostly occurring in the yard (hidden in the melee of the large group of boys) or in the toilet area where there was less supervision. He stated that if he witnessed bullying going on he intervened: "Yeah, 'cos many times I had to jump in and stop it. Seeing a weaker person getting beaten up by a stronger person, I had to stop the stronger person."

When James intervened to stop a Brother assaulting a fellow detainee it was because he saw an opportunity to take revenge on the Brother, but also because he wanted to help the boy in distress. Peter's reason for not bullying other boys also involved a certain degree of victim empathy: "'Cos I knew what it was like to be bullied. I knew they were vulnerable. I felt sorry for them. Hate and anger counteract the fear. I was a lunatic with anger; I'd dance on you."

(10) Coping by engaging in risk assessment and searching for meaning

In this case the risk assessment coping strategy or 'sussing out the scene,' as named by Matthew, it refers to attempts made by detainees to figure out which boys could be trusted, attempts to know Brothers and predict their behaviour in order to be able to avoid them or be prepared for what could happen. This element of the coping strategy seems to have involved a strong element of hyper-vigilance, a feature in children trying to cope with abuse and neglect (Bass & Davis, 2002; Herman, 1992a, 1992b; Lew, 2004).   Searching for meaning involved questioning why the abuse was being perpetrated on them and other boys, attempting to figure out the 'rules' of punishment, and trying to make sense and find meaning in their situation of captivity and abuse.

With (1) the creation of the official role of 'monitor'; (2) the development of some Brothers having pets; and, (3) the knowledge that some boys would inevitably inform to get privileges or to avoid punishment, being able to identify those boys who could be trusted to not do you physical or sexual harm or those who could be trusted to not inform on you became an important survival skill for boys in the industrial school.

Matthew recalled looking around the yard at all the boys playing in their various groups and trying to figure out which ones he could trust, that is "sussing out who you could trust, who were spies". This made him feel as if he could predict things and knew who to watch out for. James identified two particular Brothers to be especially vigilant for. With good reason: Both had previously physically abused him and one had previously sexually abused him. His coping thought was: "Keep an eye over your shoulder for Brother G or Brother T."

Sometimes no amount of 'sussing' could prevent assault. When asked if he was physically beaten by the Brothers in Letterfrack Mark replied: "Well many times, but I could never figure out why…They wouldn't tell you neither." Like other participants, John came to know which Brothers were reasonably safe and which ones were dangerous:

> We had some great Brothers…Brother S, he was assistant Superior. He was out on his own. And there was Brother Z…We had one other Brother. He came from St. Joseph's in Galway city. He was a bastard…Brother C. He split me there, look, over the eye.

He then described Brother T as one to be particularly vigilant with because this man punished for miniscule infractions of the rules: "Brother T was a man who would come up and even if your fork was in the wrong place, ya know, you'd get a dig from him." As well as being hyper-vigilant Peter tried to make sense of the level of abuse he was subjected to:

> …if you left the yard and they came looking for you. And when they did find you then like 'what are you doing there like?' Bang [punch] and you go back down to the yard like and that's where a lot of confusion came in like. You're saying to yourself, 'why are they always beating me? Why are they always doing this [sexual abuse] to me like? I've done nothing wrong; I'm towing the line like they want me but yet they'll turn around and like the click of a finger they just do it like.' Sometimes I wonder like, I think God sent them there to punish us like because I mean they were sick sick people…

Trying to observe Brothers closely and decipher what mood they were in was a daily struggle for detainees like Peter and so it was difficult to predict what was going to happen from day to day and even from moment to moment: "Fear affected all of us there in Letterfrack 'cos these Brothers would swop and change like the weather." Even the decent Brother who operated the film projector could be "a bit moody" at times. The situation was made so much more terrifying because detainees knew they were sometimes punished for no reason that they could figure out. In the following extract Peter attempts to explain the vicious assaults perpetrated upon him in terms of the only theory he has formulated:

> There didn't have to be a reason. He would make up some excuse and all of a sudden…he would just literally box the ears of ya, kick you around the place…It was just when they were in bad form or whatever reason.

Mark, too, was looking for reasons. When he was beaten for no apparent reason he "could never figure out why." Peter is still trying to figure out why the Brothers abused and neglected the boys so much:

> I feel what they were doing like - they were beating us and probably feeling that they fucked up on life themselves. So, they were stuck out in the middle of nowhere like. Now I'm only presuming like, but what they did then was they turned it around then like and they took their frustrations out on us like…it was just the mood swings…

(11) Coping by complying

All participants reported complying with the wishes, instructions and rules imposed on them by the adults in Letterfrack to a lesser or greater extent. Although Peter engaged in other coping strategies, such as escaping, his other approach was very different: "Stay out of the picture, keep your head down, stay low, keep on hating, shut down". He believes shutting down was not a good strategy in the long-term as he is to this day "still watching out, suspicious, negative, seeing the world as scary and dangerous, expecting the worst".

Detained in Letterfrack between the ages of five and seven, Matthew obeyed all instructions issued by the Brothers in the hope that no harm would ensue. From the interviews it is very clear that boys complied primarily out of a sense of profound fear. They were very aware of the consequences of not complying. Their narratives contain

many references to their awareness of the inevitability of punishment and the futility of rebellion. When asked why he never tried to escape Luke replied:

> No. I seen why. Two chaps escaped one time and when they were caught their heads were stamped…on the back of the head like a rubber stamp…so they beat them too lads in front of us in that yard.

Luke went on to make it clear that although he did contemplate escape he knew what was in store for him if he attempted to escape and was aware of the futility of having plans that could never be successful in this escape-proof institution:

> You knew what you were going to get. You had no power…You'd think of plans [to escape] but it wouldn't succeed. The plan wouldn't work out…I always thought of escaping but never done it.

Boys knew that resistance of any kind usually resulted in a further escalation of punishment. Luke described the procedure for getting beaten on the hands with the strap:

> You were slapped for something you couldn't answer [in class]. You'd get the leather strap on the back of the hand. If you pulled your hand back you'd get another two slaps for it. Every time you pulled your hand back it doubled.

Fear pervades the interviews with these survivors. Peter speaks about how fear dominated his life in Letterfrack and created a state of hyper-vigilance:

> When I mention the word 'fear', it all stems from Letterfrack. And fear to me it was you know you would get up in the morning and you'd wonder are you going to get a beating. Are you going to be taken off and abused like. I mean fear dominated my life for most of my life 'cos ah you were always watching and waiting for that moment when you would be taken from the hall or the dormitory or somewhere like.

As a child of five years of age in a group of young children, Matthew already knew to comply with the wishes of the Christian Brothers at Letterfrack because he saw older boys being punished and feared that the same could happen to him:

> I think we had no other option. We had to do what we were told because we knew what was coming down the line. We seen people older than us getting punched; it was a reminder of what would happen to us if we got out of line. And they demonstrated that big time, and they wouldn't give a shit who was watching.

Peter also experienced this sense of hopelessness: "Let's be realistic about it, back then, when you go to Letterfrack like, you were out in the middle of nowhere. So, I

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mean you could run but you were going nowhere like." John was another who complied for the most part: "I tried to do what I was told; stay out of trouble." Boys complied, therefore, out of well-founded fear, in the hope that complying would reduce the chance of assault and perhaps even gain favour, as well as out of a sense of powerlessness at not being able to effect change in their lives.

6. 7 Thematic analysis of coping strategies utilised by Brother Xavier

The following section involves a thematic analysis of Brother Xavier's interview transcripts in order to ascertain the coping strategies he utilised while living and working in Letterfrack and to compare and contrast those adult strategies with those of the child detainees. The strategies presented here are in no particular order of prevalence.

I thematically analysed that portion of Brother Xavier's transcript relating specifically to his period of time spent living and working in Letterfrack with a view to examining how he coped with the challenges he faced there. According to him those challenges included: (1) working in a low status job in comparison to Brothers working in Christian Brothers-operated day primary schools [140], (2) the geographical isolation of Letterfrack, (3) working with a population of 'young offenders,' (4) a small number of Brothers working with a large number of boys, (5) long working days and working at weekends, (6) supervising boys outside school hours as well as teaching class, and (7) lack of resources. Additionally, I thematically analysed the text of a lecture given by Brother Xavier in 1972, gifted to me by him at interview and concerning his approach to teaching children in the industrial school setting. I followed precisely the same method of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) as outlined in the methodology for both transcript and lecture text. The following themes emerged from that process:

(1) Coping by overtly and covertly resisting

Brother Xavier was very happy in his previous posting and felt he had made a valuable contribution to child learning. When he was ordered to finish this job after only a year

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[140] It seems that it was regarded as a low status job primarily because Christian Brothers were working with low status children and adolescents.

or so and transfer to Letterfrack he was deeply unhappy and angry because he had been promised that he would not be assigned to an industrial school after having worked in another one for over a decade. When asked if he had a choice in the matter, he replied, "I didn't. I resisted it…I told them I didn't want to go, that I was extremely happy where I was, and they said 'you have to go." He went to Dublin to argue his case with his superiors in the congregation. He did not see himself as a person who usually resisted the system. Perhaps what resistance he may have engaged in was usually more of the covert type of approach: "Now I wasn't a rebel but at the same time I was prepared to question things that they wanted me to do." He did negotiate for more resources to be made available to him in terms of teachers and equipment for teaching.

(2) Coping by seeking social and professional support

The three teaching colleagues that arrived at Letterfrack with him (whose presence he had negotiated) made the time there bearable: "but to help me with it was these three people…we became the team that kept the place going." He admired the three Brothers as teachers. They were all about the same age, got along well together and were interested in making changes in the school. However, they were not intent on confronting the fundamental basis of the system of care for children and adolescents these three men made him feel better about himself. He was not alone; he had friends and colleagues he could count on and he could focus his time and energy on the teaching work: "When I settled in 'twas a very happy year for me and the thing that made it happy was the fellows I was working with." In terms of other professional supports for his work, his transcript was peppered with mention of professional development courses he attended and practical support he sought and received from the Department of Education inspectorate and academics involved in education, child psychology and teacher training.

(3) Coping by compartmentalising

Brother Xavier and his three teaching colleagues put much energy into making changes to the day-to-day running of the industrial school. They introduced a second film showing at weekends; they organised educational and leisure trips in the school minibus; they put more emphasis on art and organised an art exhibition; they introduced

basket weaving; and they started a recorder band. Considerable time and energy went into the preparation and delivery of his own classes, with an emphasis on the use of new teaching aids. His lecture suggests he used a number of teaching aids in order to make learning more interesting, including pictures from newspapers and magazines, posters, boys' own art projects, new books, as well as art and craft materials. He also formally tested boys' literacy and numeracy skills. He encouraged reading, art and music.

Brother Xavier was, it seems, an innovative teacher and his morale was sustained by his enthusiasm for embracing new teaching methods and technologies. Noting that working with the "young offender" was challenging, and perhaps reflecting how he viewed himself in the role of teacher in the industrial school setting, he concluded that teaching in such an environment required "dedication, knowledge and skill." This intense focus on teaching his own class and making some (superficial) changes in Letterfrack no doubt contributed to him not witnessing the abuse and neglect these same boys in his class were suffering on a daily basis. This was a form of compartmentalisation whereby individuals can focus on certain tasks in a limited area, at the expense of being aware of atrocities occurring around them or as Cohen says of the Nazi minister for Armaments, Albert Speer: "enabling him to plead unawareness of major events in his immediate vicinity with a straight face." (Cohen, 2012, pp. 86-87). Brother Xavier expressed it thus, "…and I suppose I was taken up with this other, you know; my whole, what would I call it, my whole focus was on this [teaching] and myself." This argument that his focus was on his work as a teacher and on himself (i.e. his career and professional development and advancement) was presented in a way designed to make a virtue out of ignoring abuse. In other words, his argument was that he was so intent on doing his job of teaching well and on developing himself as a teacher that he did not notice abuse and neglect in Letterfrack.

He did acknowledge that, many years later, he had discovered that physical and sexual abuse had occurred in Letterfrack during his tenure, although he did not name these abuses directly at interview: "There was I talking about teaching methods and young fellas at school painting and so on, this fecking thing was going on beside me…" Because he did not elaborate this statement may be the only example of Brother Xavier admitting to an element of self-blame for his part in what happened in the institution.

However, because he once again talked of his work and lack of knowledge it can also be viewed as him compartmentalising his world and distancing himself from the atrocities that occurred at Letterfrack.

(4) Coping by removing himself from the stressful environment

Brother Xavier was concerned that the four teaching colleagues (including himself) bore a huge responsibility for the care of the boys in the industrial school as they were teaching and supervising for up to sixteen hours a day, seven days a week. He spoke to a member of the congregation in Dublin and this man visited Letterfrack and decreed that each teaching Brother could have a weekend free in every month. This gave him time and space from the unending work: "now that was a big breakthrough."

(5) Coping by engaging in a pleasurable activity

Although he loved teaching this coping strategy does not concern itself with that professional activity. Brother Xavier loved films and at interview he stated that he still did. In Letterfrack he was in charge of procuring films from the distributor in Dublin. He introduced the showing of two films at the weekend instead of the usual one. He acted as the projectionist for the showing of the films in the hall. Although it benefitted the boys and they looked forward to the weekend films as the highlight of the week (according to Participant 1: Peter), Xavier was also engaging in an activity he himself loved.

(6) Coping by complying

He never wanted to work in the industrial school at Letterfrack after his long-term experience in another industrial school (which he had no desire to work in either) and a positive experience for one year in a day school. As a result, he initially resisted efforts to place him as a teacher in the industrial school. However, ultimately, he complied with his masters' wishes and went to Letterfrack. He did the same for every other assignment he received, whether it was one in a regular day school operated by the Christian Brothers or the two other Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools he worked in. Even if he was content or even happy in one place he left there and went

where he was told to go. Within that space of compliance, however, there was considerable 'wriggle room.' He did question the system to a certain extent and made some changes to the day-to-day running of Letterfrack and two other industrial schools. In his lecture he spoke about trying to create good teacher-pupil relationships and the use of praise and encouragement in a working atmosphere devoid of corporal punishment. If his attitude to the boys and his approach to teaching in the classroom, as recorded in his lecture, are to be believed he may well have had some positive impact on boys' lives within the confines of his classroom. In addition, he systematically resourced himself professionally and socially (using the considerable resources of the congregation), was promoted to leasdership roles and, in general, became a more powerful person within the organisation.

It is perhaps instructive at this point to compare and contrast the coping strategies utilised by Brother Xavier and those utilised by the boys in detention at Letterfrack, at least one of whom I can confirm was in detention at the same time as Xavier was working there. Brother Xavier was, like the boys, sent against his will to the industrial school. Like them he was not looking forward to the assignment and he did not know how long he would be there. Like the boys his first impression of the place was about the isolation: "God, what am I doing here? It was totally isolated, you know, 60 miles from nowhere…I found the isolation of it daunting."

However, there the comparison ends. Brother Xavier was an adult in his 30s, he was a highly regarded man of God as a Christian Brother, and he was a professional man - a teacher – often referred to at the time as 'the master.' He had worked in a similar environment for several years and was familiar with the system. He was in a position of authority and was able to effect or get others to effect changes identified as necessary by him and his colleagues. In terms of coping strategies, while it is interesting to note that he did utilise compliance, engaging in pleasurable activities and resistance as did the detainees, the context is quite different. His coping strategies were marshaled from a position of strength. They were those of a resourced, professional adult who found himself on a challenging assignment. He could effect change in his environment for his personal benefit, putting time and energy into his work without the terror of ongoing emotional abuse, physical and/or sexual assaults and neglect. He could ask for and

receive social and professional support and he could take time out from the stressful situation regularly.

6.8 Analysis of Brother Xavier interview transcripts and lecture with a view to checking for evidence of moral disengagement

In the following section I explore whether evidence gleaned from Brother Xavier's interviews and the text of a lecture delivered in 1972 can be located within the model of moral disengagement proposed in this thesis to account for the abuse and neglect perpetrated against children in Letterfrack industrial school.

Although he was adamant that he did not perpetrate, witness or hear of abuse taking place during his time in Letterfrack, he did admit to using 'excessive corporal punishment' in his previous industrial school assignment. He claims to have learned from that experience and that he completely gave up the use of corporal punishment thereafter. He was prepared to attend the CICA and to admit to his use of 'excessive corporal punishment' in front of that committee of inquiry. He was praised by the Committee for the changes he instigated in the last industrial school he worked in.

There is also some evidence to suggest that in his previous assignment in an industrial school he came to have some sort of crisis of conscience about being part of an organisation (the Congregation of Christian Brothers) that needed to reform the system it operated in its six industrial schools. It is interesting to note his use of language in this regard. Other than a reference to the regime of the industrial school being 'military' in nature, Brother Xavier never claimed at any point in his interviews that there was anything specifically wrong with the industrial school system; focusing instead on the fact that vague changes needed to be made: "And it was only after being there for a while that things inside me began to say, like, 'there's something wrong with this system – this is crazy.'" Having spontaneously used the word 'crazy' with reference to the system, he immediately retracted it: "Maybe 'crazy' is too strong a word."

The changes he was actively involved in instigating and achieving were of benefit to the detainees but were superficial. As time passed and he came to have more experience in working with children and more power within his organisation, he became actively

involved in the transition from the industrial school model to a more child-centred residential group childcare setting. However, this would take decades to achieve.

At interview he accepted that physical and sexual abuse had occurred in Letterfrack. Particularly since the Commission hearings in relation to Letterfrack (in 2005 and 2006) and again when he read the report that issued in 2009 he was aware that during his year in Letterfrack boys had been physically and sexually abused by Brothers. He made no reference to knowing earlier than that and he made no reference to whether he had read survivor memoirs in relation to Letterfrack that would have been published as early as 1983 and would have alerted him to possible abuse and neglect suffered. It seems he coped with this knowledge that abuse had taken place during his tenure in Letterfrack by a process of compartmentalisation, that is, (a) claiming that at the time he was completely unaware of any sexual and physical abuse occurring, and (b) focusing on the good work he believed he and his three colleagues did that year: "…I had an input into Letterfrack and my input was good. And the other three fellas that were with me …their input was good, okay, so I think that stands on its own".

While he was a colleague of a subsequently convicted serial child abuser (Brother T) in Letterfrack, he was anxious to distance himself from this man, stating that he had virtually no contact with him during his time there: "I saw him as a loner. He was very much on his own. He didn't mix with us. Maybe he had his own clique or group of people that he interacted with, but he didn't interact with us".

He stated that in a subsequent job in another industrial school he challenged people who used 'excessive corporal punishment' and also reported three men for sexually abusing children, which resulted in their dismissal. 'Excessive corporal punishment' is a euphemistic term used to make more palatable the physical assault of a child. He admitted to using 'excessive corporal punishment' in his early years in another industrial school. [141]

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[141] He gave evidence to the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (in relation to two industrial schools he had worked in) and admitted this.

He justified this behaviour (*moral justification*) by claiming that it was done "out of fear of losing control" in a dormitory containing 130 boys that he supervised at night. The 'doing it out of fear' argument is, superficially, a powerful and persuasive one because it draws our attention to and empathy for the emotions of the adult man and away from the child victims and seeks to transform the perpetrator of an assault into the victim of overwhelming circumstances. It is a form of *displacement of responsibility* in that he viewed his actions as arising from the dictates of the system that he inherited and which were in some way outside his control.

In another part of the interviews with me he described the system in Letterfrack and in another industrial school operated by the Christian Brothers as 'military' in nature. This can be viewed as a *euphemistic term* in that it seeks to have us believe that Letterfrack may have been merely tough and regimented rather than the abusive and neglectful place described by participants in this study, survivors in their memoirs and extensively in the CICA report (2009, Vol. I, Ch. 8). It is also, therefore, an example of the *minimisation or denial of harmful effects.*

The 'fear of losing control' argument also served to suggest that the level of 'discipline' (another euphemism for assault) required in Letterfrack was entirely necessary in order to prevent anarchy enveloping the institution. This is the *advantageous comparison* argument, namely, that the actions taken by Brother Xavier (and others) were preferable to the catastrophe that would surely occur if the actions were not taken. Simply put, the argument states that the physical abuse of boys in Letterfrack was the lesser of two evils.

Brother Xavier advantageously equated levels of corporal punishment in regular day primary schools with that occurring in the residential industrial schools, arguing that there was but one difference:

> When there was corporal punishment in the ordinary national schools 'twas between 9 [am] and 3 [pm]. When there was corporal punishment in the industrial schools it covered the whole period of the day. You know, so in that sense it was totally different.

He minimised the nature and extent of abuse inflicted upon boys in detention in Christian Brothers' industrial schools, who could not escape every day at 3 pm like

regular primary school children. His distinction was simplistic and disregarded the violence of predatory physical and sexual assaults on children who could be targeted and accessed 24 hours a day. This minimisation, which can also be seen as a form of *denial of harmful effects,* is disturbing to note because he revealed at interview that he had given evidence to the CICA and therefore must have heard harrowing first-hand accounts from survivors of their experiences in Letterfrack. He also stated to me that he had read the Ellis (2012) book in which he featured in a positive way as a teacher. But in reading this book he must surely have read Ellis' descriptions of the abuse and neglect he and others suffered during the time Xavier worked in that industrial school. During his tenure in Letterfrack, about which he reported at interview that he saw and heard nothing of an abusive nature, boys were, in reality, being physically and sexually abused by Brothers. Participant 1 (Peter), part of whose detention coincided with Brother Xavier's time working there, was abused by three Christian Brothers that would have been known to Brother Xavier as colleagues.

In a further attempt at *advantageous comparison* he also claimed that the worst form of physical abuse that he witnessed perpetrated by a teacher on a child took place not in an industrial school but in his local primary school when he was himself a child. In this argument he seemed to imply that teachers in regular day primary schools were comparable to those Christian Brothers in industrial schools in terms of the nature and extent of corporal punishment 'administered.' Not only that, he additionally implied that, in his experience, industrial schools were less violent places. Against all the evidence we have gleaned from survivor memoirs and the extensive research by the CICA, Brother Xavier generalised from one personal experience to the statement that industrial schools (or at least the three Christian Brothers-operated ones he had worked in) compared favourably to the regular day primary school experience.

When questioned a second time about his physically abusive behaviour in one particular industrial school he took slightly more personal responsibility, indicating that, as well as those issues deriving from the pressurising pupil-teacher ratio, his behaviour might also have resulted from frustration, tension and stress that he was experiencing at the time. Here, once again, there is evidence of *justification.* I also discern an element of *displacement of responsibility* for his actions through blaming the pressures of working

in a system that caused him suffering. Additionally, there was an attempt to garner sympathy for the predicament in which he found himself.

Brother Xavier, as an experienced teacher in the industrial school system, was aware of the challenge of working with large numbers of boys and he admitted that the industrial school regime, as operated by the Christian Brothers in their six institutions, was only concerned with the physical care of the boys: "there was no time at all for any kind of emotional or psychological care." His argument was the standard one, namely, that it was not that the Christian Brothers were negligent in their duties to the children, it was simply that there were too many children to give individual attention to. This is the skilful framing of the argument to make the neglect of children's psychological needs justifiable.

A further argument presented by him was that he, like other professional men, operated in the institution as a teacher only. He had, he stated, "no concept whatsoever of what these fellas really needed." By claiming ignorance of what children might need when taken away from their parents and families and incarcerated in a residential institution he could absolve himself of any responsibility for their care. By claiming that he worked as a teacher only he could absolve himself of any further involvement in the children's lives. In addition, he could ring fence his own job as a teacher in his own classroom while denying all knowledge of others' actions. This is the same ('I was just doing my job and I knew nothing about what was going on') compartmentalisation argument presented by Adolf Eichmann in his trial for his critical involvement in transporting over two million Jews to their deaths in extermination camps during the Holocaust (Cesarani, 2005).

He minimised the findings of the Moore Report (1962), which criticised various aspects of another industrial school system while he (Brother Xavier) was working there and revealed serious instances of abuse and neglect. He claimed that Moore took a few isolated examples and generalised from them (*denial of harmful effects*). His focus was on the Department of Education inspectors who descended (supposedly unannounced) upon the institution in the wake of the Moore report and produced a glowing post-inspection report. In denying the harmful effects of living in that institution as a boy that he was aware of post CICA, he chose to not mention the many instances of physical

and sexual abuse documented in the CICA report itself and described in various survivor memoirs pertaining to the residential institutions he had worked in, for example, Coleman, 2010; Ellis, 2012; Finn, 2011; Flynn, 1983, 2003; Hogan, 2008; Joyce, 2004, Touher, 2005, 2008; Tyrrell, 2006.

He adamantly denied that his three teacher colleagues and friends in Letterfrack administered anything other than the minimum level of corporal punishment for the year he spent there. Moreover, he claimed that by the time he came to work in Letterfrack his mind-set had changed, and he was no longer using any form of corporal punishment. He could not account for the actions of certain other non-teaching Brothers in Letterfrack because he claimed to have had little contact with them. He seems to have believed that he could, however, ascertain the intentions of and endorse the actions of the three teaching Brother colleagues, although they occupied different classrooms during the school day, supervised different groups of boys on walks and trips away from the school, slept adjacent to different dormitories at night, and once a month were in the industrial school for weekends when he was not present. His apparent assumption that because his class of about 20 boys were safe with him – that there were no harmful effects 'on his watch' – that they were safe in their contact with other Brothers is naïve at least, containing an element of diffusion of responsibility, and almost certainly a selective inattention to the well documented abuse and neglect occurring in the industrial school at both an individual and institutional level.

His response to questions pertaining to whether he knew of any abuse perpetrated in Letterfrack was to compartmentalise – to repeatedly focus only on his work as a teacher in his classroom with his class of 20 boys. He rated his success in this endeavour primarily on the metrics of numeracy and literacy. He stated that he did not hear any abuse taking place. He stated that he did not see any abuse taking place. And yet two Brothers and teaching colleagues of Brother Xavier in one industrial school he had worked in admitted to sexually abusing boys. One man, referred to in the CICA report (2009, Vol. I. p. 174) as Brother 'Dennis,' admitted to carrying out that abuse in the classroom. Another Brother and colleague of Brother Xavier (referred to as Brother 'Etienne') also admitted to "certain acts of sexual abuse" of a complainant and although he was accused of carrying it out in the classroom he denied doing so. In addition, two complainants at the CICA gave evidence of sexual abuse by lay staff in the same

institution during the 1960s when Brother Xavier would have been teaching there (2009, Vol. I, p. 182). The congregation did not dispute the veracity of these survivors' evidence. Furthermore, four Brothers who had formerly worked in that institution gave evidence to the CICA (2009, Vol. I, p. 186) that they had heard rumours of Brothers being asked to leave the industrial school as a result of the sexual abuse of detainees. During his time in working in Letterfrack the serial violent physical and sexual abuser, Brother T, was operating with impunity. [142]

Brother Xavier stated that he was simply doing his teaching job, that the job took all his attention and effort, and that it was difficult to do due to (1) the number of boys, (2) the fact that the boys perceived Letterfrack as "a place of punishment", (3) the traumatic home backgrounds of the boys and (4) their history of failure in the regular primary school setting. His assumption that all detainees came from backgrounds that inflicted trauma on them and that they had a history of school failure emanated from his prejudice and can be viewed as *attribution of blame*, that is, the belief that it was the boys' own fault for their antisocial behaviour and the parents' fault for the neglect of their children.

This claim, that detained boys came from homes where they had been abused and neglected, was used by the Christian Brothers as a form of *advantageous comparison* in that it was strategically used to present a picture of life in an industrial school as less injurious than life at home. Carr (2009), in the study conducted in conjunction with the CICA, firmly repudiates this claim. He did find some evidence of abuse in the family of origin: on the Total Scale of the Family Version of the *Childhood Trauma Questionnaire* (CTQ) over a third (38%) of survivors were classified as having experienced child abuse at home. This, however, is in stark contrast to the Institutional Version of the CTQ where almost all (99.2%) cases were classified as having experienced institutional abuse. It is also instructive to note that of those classified as having experienced abuse and neglect in their family of origin nearly half (47.9%) were classified as having experienced physical neglect. I suggest that at least some of this

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[142] Brother T was known in the CICA report by the pseudonym Brother Dax.

neglect may be connected to the level of poverty experienced by families from which, typically, most detainees in industrial schools came. [143]

In all sub-tests of the CTQ scores for abuse and neglect were seen to be significantly higher in the Institutional Version than those for the Home Version, as evidenced in Table 4 below:

Childhood Trauma Questionnaire

	Total	Physical Abuse	Sexual Abuse	Emotional Abuse	Physical Neglect	Emotional Neglect
Family Version	38.0	26.4	8.3	20.7	47.9	28.9
Institutional Version	99.2	97.2	47.0	94.7	97.6	95.1

Table 4: Percentage of survivors experiencing abuse and neglect at home and in the institution (CICA, 2009, Vol. V., pp. 99-101).

Brother Xavier spoke a great deal and with enthusiasm about changes he and other apparently forward-thinking Brothers initiated and completed in three industrial schools, but not about how, outside of this compartment, boys were abused and neglected. He also spoke extensively about how he advanced his career and described some of the opportunities for further training he was in a position to avail of (in Ireland and abroad) as a competent and motivated Brother in the congregation.

I concluded that Brother Xavier was a good example of someone that can go to great lengths to keep themselves uninformed about bad things happening in their organisation (Bandura, 2016). As well as not doing, not seeing or not hearing any evil, obvious

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[143] Cut-off scores for classifying people as having experienced abuse and neglect using the CTQ were set at two standard deviations above the mean for combined male and female community samples (CICA, 2009, Vol. V., p. 99).

questions that would have all too easily revealed incriminating information remained unasked.

Cohen (2012) speaks of different forms of 'not-knowing' or states of denial. He defines states of denial as, "assertions that something did not happen, does not exist, is not true or is not known about" (p.3). There are three possibilities of the truth-value of such statements: (1) they are true, justified and correct. They are statements of fact and made in good faith, (2) they are statements deliberately intended to deceive, and (3) neither telling the truth nor deliberately lying but engaging in the psychoanalytic defence mechanism of denial, whereby guilt, anxiety and other disturbing emotions are blocked off from conscious awareness. The psyche blocks off information that is unthinkable or unbearable (Cohen, 2012, p. 5). Dominant groups, Cohen concludes, seem particularly adept at shutting out or ignoring the injustice or suffering around them.

In the case of Letterfrack and Brother Xavier, such questions he could have asked of himself or others in his Congregation included: Why are children being detained in an industrial school? Why are young boys detained? Why are boys being detained for so long? Why are so many boys (young and older) bed-wetting? Why are boys trying to escape, knowing how harsh the conditions are in the countryside, how remote Letterfrack is from civilisation and how severely they will be punished upon (inevitable) return? Why do boys have cuts, bruises and other injuries? Why are boys looking under-nourished and hungry? Why are boys afraid of certain Brothers? Why do parents not visit their sons? Why are some boys not allowed home to their families on holidays? Assuming I was to believe that he was not lying about his experiences it seems that for Brother Xavier to claim that he did not know about the abuse and neglect of boys in Letterfrack and for him to not ask these questions about human beings he dealt with every day can at best be interpreted as him being totally naïve or him being in a state of denial. I favour the second explanation.

However, it must be acknowledged that this defence mechanism, although activated unconsciously to protect himself from the psychological impact of 'knowing' of the atrocities occurring in the institution, also had the effect of dehumanising boys in Letterfrack and ensuring that their suffering continued. His denial was part of their problem. This tendency to distance himself emotionally from the boys in his care could

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still be detected decades later. At interview he never spoke about what happened to the boys during or after their industrial school experiences and he never spoke in any personal or warm terms about the boys he had worked with. He mentioned only one former detainee by name. This was a boy who physically assaulted (or perhaps stood up to) him and other Brothers in Letterfrack. Without any apparent sense of cruel irony, Brother Xavier claimed that the Brothers had considered pressing charges against this boy for assault.

Further evidence in locating Brother Xavier's narrative within the model of moral disengagement may be found in a 1972 lecture, the typed script of which he gifted to me. He referred to boys of between 7 and 16 years of age in Letterfrack as "young offenders," as by the time he was teaching there all boys detained had been prosecuted for committing some (usually petty) crime(s) (CICA, 2009). He viewed them as 'other' and created a stark in-group / out-group dynamic at the beginning of the lecture:

> …generally speaking the young offender comes from a sub-culture that is completely different from our middle-class culture. His norms of behaviour, his interests, his language, his attitude to school is quite different from that of the normal middle-class child.

The blame for a boy's predicament was laid firmly at the door of his parents: "His home gives him few if any of the pre-school experiences which are the lot of the normal class child and which are so important when the child enters the classroom." He seemed somewhat surprised to note boys' negative reaction to their detention in the industrial school, noting, "All this is bad enough. But on top of this, the boys in Letterfrack regard the School as a place of punishment for their delinquent behaviour." As well as noting the word 'bad' and the label 'delinquent' we also note the euphemistic term 'school'. As Raftery and O'Sullivan (1999) noted, industrial schools were not schools in the real sense of the word.

Because of the "facts" as he saw them he viewed the teaching of the "delinquent child" as very challenging, a task that required "dedication, knowledge and skill." He quoted an expert in childcare in Ireland at the time who believed the system was adequate but who bemoaned the dearth of committed workers in the residential care sector, "We have the system, the money, the knowledge, but still it does not work, because it lacks dedicated workers." There was an implication that perhaps Brother Xavier viewed

himself as one of the conscientious men who would devote themselves to teaching these industrial school boys.

Once again blaming the parents, he referred to "the scars left by his environment." However, he was of the opinion that the industrial school experience could, in some way, compensate for such parental failings in the early years of his development and that the child could be "given back his self-respect and self-confidence." He referred to this process as one of rehabilitation, implying that it was a process involving what we would normally associate with a rehabilitative programme, that is, empathy, structure, graduated learning or performance goals, compassion and an overall atmosphere of nurturing.

His prejudice allowed him to assume that learning difficulties experienced by terrified boys in a classroom were due to "conditioned backwardness which [was] due to their [home] environment." His prejudice also extended to other realms of the children's lives and he was unequivocal in his statement that, "all these children will of course have other emotional, personality, and in some cases psychiatric problems." Once again, the implication was that the boys brought these problems with them to Letterfrack and there was no reference to even the possibility of institutional life itself being responsible for at least some of the problems experienced by the children.

He deprived them of 'normality.' They were both different from and less than their so-called middle-class peers. In this way he dehumanised them. Victims were blamed for bringing the industrial school upon themselves through their criminal behaviour and their parents were faulted for not rearing them properly. Parents, he believed, created the 'scars' that he encountered when he met their children in Letterfrack. Dehumanisation was evident when Brother Xavier revealed that the Christian Brothers in the industrial school sector only concerned themselves with looking after the boys' physical care, as if these children were not thinking, feeling beings in need of attention, attachment, love and support.

As well as apparently utilising a number of laudable teaching techniques and a variety of teaching aids, part of his approach to motivate boys in the classroom was to offer inducements through the use of class competitions. These rewards included giving boys cigarettes. He justified the use of cigarettes with young children by arguing that most of the boys in Letterfrack were "confirmed smokers" before they came to the industrial school. This was a form of advantageous comparison, whereby he exonerated himself

by arguing that he was doing nothing that the boys were not used to already. He was also aware that offering cigarettes, a drug they were, he claimed, already addicted to, was a means of ensuring compliance: "They will do anything for a drag [of a cigarette]." Older boys would, he claimed, do an "almost unbelievable…amount of hard work…in order to get a fag." Whether it was an acknowledgement of their pre-existing addiction or a sure fire means to encourage compliance and to improve motivation, Christian Brothers in Letterfrack distributed cigarettes on a daily basis. Brother Xavier revealed that all boys over the age of 14 in Letterfrack were given a ration of three cigarettes every day.

Predicting (correctly) that most detainees leaving the industrial school would never return to education and claiming that they were destined for jobs in the skilled or semi-skilled sectors, the immediate aim, he stated, was to prepare them for "the needs of their future life." His contention that boys would work in skilled or semi-skilled jobs was at best overly optimistic, at worst misleading and based on the self-interest of the congregation who wished to be seen as training boys for meaningful and gainful employment. When one looks at where boys went post-detention it is clear that most did not start a job of any description, let alone a semi-skilled or skilled position.[144] In the case of boys exiting the industrial school system in the 1968-69 year, for example, 203 out of a total of 338 (60%) returned to "parents or friends" (Department of Education, 1973). In that same time period, out of the boys who did secure a job (N=74), 30 of them went into hotel work, 10 went into 'farm work' (as unskilled labourers) and a further 10 boys became 'houseboys' or domestic servants.[145]

Giving the impression that boys in the industrial school had learning difficulties or were so culturally different from their mainstream peers, Brother Xavier commented, "We middle class teachers at times fail to appreciate that much of what we say is not fully understood by these children." He appeared to look down on them for what he referred

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[144] Boys who could not be classified as going into employment, 'returning to parents or friends,' being 'adopted', having 'died', or the vague 'miscellaneous' were said to have 'absconded.' These were boys who could not be accounted for, who went their own way, and who simply disappeared. In 1968-69 there were 33 such boys. This high number of 'absconders' and 'miscellaneous' (36 in that year) points to the lack of commitment to following up on these boys when they were released. The number disappearing may also be significant in another way. Far more boys than girls disappeared post-release that year (33 as opposed to 4) and I believe that at least part of the explanation for this may be connected to the trauma experienced by boys, the resulting sense of shame, and the desire to run and hide that is characteristic of shame-based coping strategies used by trauma victims (Herman, 1992; Van der Kolk, 2014).

[145] For girls leaving the industrial school system that same year 50 per cent started work as 'domestic' workers.

to as their "sub-cultural slang," failing to recognise the importance of slang as a form of bonding between children detained in a residential institution as well as a type of shared shorthand communication that is common across social strata.

Although his teaching methods appear to have been based on current knowledge at the time (which he cited in the lecture) and showed evidence of creativity in their use, his model was designed to work specifically with a population he refers to as "slow learners," or what we would today call children with learning difficulties. Against the notion promulgated by the Christian Brothers that they were dealing with a high proportion of children with learning difficulties in their industrial schools, the CICA report (2009) is clear that the survivors they spoke to were both intelligent and articulate.

I believe Brother Xavier was teaching children that certainly lacked education, through absence from school for various reasons (including abusive learning experiences as in the case of Participant 1), and more likely than not had a negative attitude to schooling, but, did not (any more than the general school going population) have learning difficulties. This form of labelling ensured that his discovery (as a result of formal literacy testing) that on average his class was "four years behind in reading" resulted in him assuming that the group was intellectually below the norm also. As a result of his assumption his approach came from a book he cites, *Basic Teaching for Slow Learners.* However, later in the lecture he admits that the boys did make progress in reading, that they were able to read aloud for the Resident Manager and visitors, that their vocabulary improved "considerably," as did their writing skills.

He believed that boys' motivation to learn to write was due to their eagerness to be able to communicate with their families at home. It seems that if the boys did not learn to write no adult in Letterfrack would help them write to their families. He did not indicate in the lecture that he had any empathy for a boy far from home - perhaps for a number of years - whose only means of contact with his parents was through the medium of a letter. Interestingly, he admitted that most children had parents who wrote to their sons in the institution This fact seems to contradict the general picture of parents who were usually depicted by the Christian Brothers as detached and uncaring (Ferguson, 2007). This connection to family was once again in evidence when boys were released from detention. As mentioned above, other than those who immediately took up jobs

procured for them by the Christian Brothers the vast majority of boys returned to their families of origin.

Brother Xavier noted that the teaching of religion in the classroom was "particularly difficult" for him but he attributed the boys' apparent lack of interest in loving God to "them never [having] experienced real love and affection from their parents." He was of the belief that "one must be loved in order to love" but in attributing blame to the parents he showed no understanding that it might have been the abuse and neglect experienced in the institution itself and at the hands of the men of God that might have created the resistance in the detainees to all matters pertaining to religion. Seemingly ignorant of the physical and sexual abuse suffered by boys in Letterfrack and of the irony of what he was doing, Brother Xavier attempted to portray Jesus as a man "full of compassion, understanding, kindness, friendliness." To add insult to injury he hailed Jesus as a man who did not "despise those who were failures in the eyes of society." These boys must have been very aware of the irony of a Christian Brother teaching them about love, compassion, understanding, kindness and friendliness. In the case of clerical physical and sexual abuse we know that the mixed messages communicated to the child by the authority figure/abuser are part of the traumatic betrayal experienced by victims - abusing the child while at the same time being obsessed with child obedience and child sinfulness (Heimlich, 2011).

He described how the boys in his class were moved by the Bible story of Jesus showing compassion to a prostitute. The story "made a great impact on them." Because he claimed to be unaware of abuse at Letterfrack he could make no connection between the lack of compassion experienced by the boys and them being hyper-alert to and touched by the humanity of the adult male authority figure in the story towards the marginalised female figure.

He blamed boys further by alluding to their moral deficiencies, claiming that they had no conscience about committing certain criminal activities: "Boys that I have questioned in Letterfrack about stealing see nothing morally wrong with it." Like the congregation of Christian Brothers Brother Xavier took the high ground in any matters concerning morality. Detainees were labelled as morally inferior and blamed for the circumstances in which they found themselves. Although he had worked with children who had come from impoverished backgrounds for approximately 20 years he showed

no awareness of the effects of that poverty and of social marginalisation on people and their resulting efforts to survive.

In summary, from an analysis of the transcripts of the interviews I conducted with Brother Xavier together with the analysis of the text of the 1972 lecture he delivered, I find that there is significant evidence of the presence of moral disengagement, including elements of moral justification, dehumanisation, attribution of blame, advantageous comparison, the use of euphemistic language, denial of harmful effects, displacement of responsibility and diffusion of responsibility.

That there was evidence of moral disengagement in the lecture he gave in 1972 and in the interviews that took place over 40 years later is, I believe, particularly powerful because, in terms of the Brothers who worked in the Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools, Brother Xavier could certainly be described as 'not the worst of them' and perhaps even 'a good man.' It seems he was an intelligent man and a conscientious professional. He was a primary school teacher who had gone on to garner further academic qualifications. He came to see the wrongfulness of some of his ways and it appears he changed those particular ways. He was an experienced teacher who worked in the industrial school system for decades and he instituted changes that ultimately led to better conditions for children and adolescents in care. He became a leader within his religious community and was committed to professional development. He was confident enough to lecture on his approach to teaching in an industrial school setting. He made himself available to be interviewed by the CICA and was mentioned on a number of occasions in the final report: he was singled out for praise by some of his colleagues, described by survivors as among the more kind and fair Brothers, and praised for changes he instigated in his third posting (CICA report, 2009, Vol. 1, Ch. 7). [146] In his memoir of a childhood spent in a Christian Brothers-operated industrial school Ellis (2012) described Brother Xavier as cheerful, good-natured and a good music teacher. [147] One could argue that he was, in these respects, a 'poster boy' for the Congregation. While I do accept that other relevant factors such as age and health status were important factors to be taken into account, perhaps that is why his Congregation asked the 'good Brother' if he would agree to be interviewed by me.

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[146] Brother Xavier revealed his pseudonym in the CICA report to me during interview.
[147] Brother Xavier revealed his pseudonym in the Ellis (2012) memoir to me during interview.

6.9 Analysis of the drawing gifted by participant 5 (Luke)

The gifting of a drawing by Luke during the data gathering phase of this study brought up two unexpected issues for me: (1) gift giving and accepting, and (2) the inclusion and, therefore, analysis of the visual material.

In the field of counselling clients giving gifts and counsellors accepting gifts (or not) is regarded as falling into the area of professional boundary maintenance and has been a controversial topic among professionals (Knox et al., 2003). The American Psychological Association's (2017) code of conduct does not directly address gifts. However, the code of the American Counselling Association (2014) notes that gifts are usually tokens of respect and gratitude and recommends that in determining how to respond to the offer of a gift a counsellor should consider the therapy relationship, the monetary value of the gift, the client's motivation for wanting to gift and the counsellor's motivation for accepting the gift (Knox et al., 2008). The British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy refers to "avoiding giving, receiving or exchanging gifts during the therapy relationship" (2013). Widening the context, other authors (e.g. Martinez-Taboas et al., 2016; Spandler et al., 2000) have explored issues around gifts in the counselling setting such as client insecurity, controlling and manipulative behaviour, the power relationship between client and counsellor, gratitude, social class, cultural factors and whether counsellors unconsciously invite gifts.

Whether counsellors do or do not accept gifts they usually assist the client in making the gift's non-verbal message verbal (Knox et al., 2009). In their study of psychologists Brown and Trangsrud (2008) found that they were more likely to accept gifts that were inexpensive, reflected a cultural context, and were given at termination of counselling. They were not likely to accept gifts that were found to be expensive, were given during the course of counselling, and were interpreted as an attempt at manipulation.

Handmade gifts are particularly significant and deeply personal for clients as they inevitably reveal aspects of themselves as individuals, may say something the

counsellor-client relationship, and reflect how they see their world and understand it. I interpreted Luke's offer of a gift in a very positive way. He was a very poor man in that he had few possessions and very little in the way of disposable income. His need to gift may also have been part of his cultural heritage as a Traveller. I also thought that he wanted to share something of himself and, as he had previously informed me, his skills lay in the areas of art and craft, I was grateful and deeply moved to be offered so bespoke a gift. I accepted it on the basis that it was not a direct gift to me per se (i.e. out of gratitude) but a contribution to the research that he was comfortable with and I also believed that he consciously wanted to communicate the meaning he made of his younger days that he had spoken about in the first interview.

The use of visual methods and their analysis in qualitative research is not a new technology; it has been utilised in anthropological and sociological research for over a century (Bryman, 2016). Interest has grown in carrying out qualitative research in the social sciences that focuses on using images or other visual materials to explore participants' experiences and meaning making rather than using them as merely incidental evidence or simply a means of enhancing text (Frith et al., 2005; Taylor & Coffey, 2009). However, some researchers (Frith et al., 2005) have cautioned against the use of visual methods alone as the context in which they were generated is removed. For this reason, researchers tend to use multi-method data collection. For example, Bagnoli (2004, 2009) describes the use of verbal interviews along with written diaries, video diaries, self-portraits, timelines, and relational maps to study adolescent identity.

Visual data can be generated by the researcher or by participants (Forrester, 2010). In the study of psychology, the analysis of client-produced visual materials (usually drawings) has traditionally been associated with children and has been used primarily as a tool in clinical assessment and treatment, but also, to a lesser extent, in research (Merriman & Guerin, 2006). A distinction is made between extant materials and material that is produced specifically for the research (Bryman, 2016). In the case of this study the image was not pre-existing; the participant specifically created it for the research project. I did not use the drawing as image-elicitation in the second interview, whereby I could have used the image(s) as a starting point for further discussion with the participant about the meaning and significance of the image(s).

The basis on which I analysed the drawing was primarily my professional background, that is, my experience of working in a counselling capacity with survivors of residential institutional abuse and my experience of working with a sub-group of survivors, namely, members of the Travelling Community. Therefore, I approached the task with certain assumptions about Travellers' life experiences in the Ireland of the 1960s and 1970s and what their treatment within the industrial school system could have been, given their particular marginalisation in Ireland. It was, therefore not a formal or manualised system of art interpretation. The analysis of Luke's visual material was also carried out in parallel to my knowledge of contextual verbal material derived from interview. I believe it added to the richness of the data and provided a stark representation of childhood influences upon him. I was aware that visual data could not provide objective knowledge about this participant but that instead it provided insight into how a participant retrospectively viewed his world at a particularly formative time in his life. Such an image may represent deep feelings, cultural meanings, an existential truth about a particular experience, or it may refer to memories, beliefs or even a world-view (Willig, 2013).

Given that the primary purpose of the interviews was to give the participant an opportunity to share his experiences during his time of detention in Letterfrack and to provide some space for self-analysis, I viewed Luke's drawing as a self-narrative, revealing information about a specific time in his life. Unlike a diary, for example, which can represent a period of time in a person's life, I viewed this visual material as a snapshot of a particular moment in his childhood. The data derived from the drawing was, therefore, seen as equal to the verbal contribution from Luke.

The drawing measured 23cm x 40 cm, was rectangular in shape and was created using a blue ballpoint pen. There were no other colours and shading created variation. Every part of the sheet of paper was utilised. Luke filled the sheet with a depiction of an idyllic rural scene of a traditional Traveller encampment that would have been ubiquitous in 1950s and 1960s Ireland when he was a boy. The main object depicted was a traditional wooden barrel top caravan. It was unhitched from the horse and was parked in a field. Its front door was highly decorative and the chimney was smoking, indicating a fire in the stove within. What appears to be a male figure wearing a traditional peaked cap and holding a cane sat on a log, apparently smoking a pipe. Two animals were depicted: a

dog situated near the man, and a horse - perhaps the animal that pulled the caravan – grazing in a nearby field. A house was depicted at the bottom of a hill in the distance with smoke emanating from its chimney. [148] A campfire was lighting near the caravan - usually used for cooking - and some cooking implements could be discerned. It was a peaceful scene of rural tranquillity reminiscent of the days when Travellers roamed the countryside and could camp without fear of harassment from the law. Interestingly, although Travellers almost invariably moved from place to place in a group and set up camp together, there were no other caravans depicted in his drawing. The man was also alone. That the scene is one of tranquillity is evident by the lone man smoking his pipe, the caravan standing unhooked from the horse, the horse grazing in the field, and the comfort of a fire.

The second most prominent feature depicted was a large structure that was obviously representing a church. It had an oversized cross on top, emphasising its importance and further small crosses on different parts of the building confirming its religious function. The church, which would normally be located in a town or village and not in the countryside, seemed somewhat out of place in this landscape and was in close proximity to the camp and even overlooking it. Boundaries were evident between fields in the form of fences and between the church and the camp. So, although the church and camp were depicted as physically close they were also seen to be separate.

I did not approach the analysis from a *Content Analysis* perspective, that is, having but one image I was not concerned with counting the occurrence of pre-established categories that were the focus of the research. However, in following the approach of Gleeson (20011) cited in Willig (2013) it was apparent that four themes emerged within the drawing: (1) church / Church (represented by the large building, the over-sized cross on the top of the church and other smaller crosses at various places on the building); (2) boundaries (represented by extensive fencing of fields and buildings); (3) shelter (represented by three 'homes', that is, the church, the barrel top caravan, and the house in the distance); and (4) warmth (represented by the smoke emanating from both the caravan and the house). Themes three (shelter) and four (warmth) refer to basic needs

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[148] Two references to smoke and therefore heat may reflect the importance of making fire to the nomadic Travelling Community.

that were vital to a community of nomadic Travellers, particularly in inclement weather. Theme one (church / Church) and its positioning in the drawing, near to and almost overlooking the camp, may refer to the prominent part that the Church, in the form of Christian Brothers, played in taking him from his family and culture and detaining him in Letterfrack. The prominence of the church building in the drawing may also allude to the role taken by a priest in saving him from that same institution. Theme two (boundaries) may refer to the confluence of the Travellers' lives with that of the Catholic Church but may also refer to the Traveller need for a safe space in which to be and the freedom to roam.

As previously outlined, Luke was detained in Letterfrack after committing the petty crime of stealing jelly sweets from an unoccupied and parked delivery van He was detained in the industrial school without either of his parents having been present in court and without any legal representation. He was abused and neglected in Letterfrack by representatives of the Catholic Church but, ironically, the Church also rescued him. Through the intervention of a priest who worked with the Travelling Community Luke was eventually located after a period of three months and, remarkably, he was freed from detention in the industrial school.

This dual relationship between Luke and the Church may explain why the church was depicted the way it was in his drawing. In a somewhat ambiguous way it was drawn as big and close to the Traveller and this can be interpreted as the Church being close and guarding over the Traveller or, alternatively, of the Church being close and encroaching upon him in a menacing way. [149]

Perhaps the image can be interpreted as an archetypal narrative (see Breakwell et al., 2012), reflecting both Luke's condition but also reflecting certain concerns of his family or the wider Traveller Community. Or perhaps, on another level, it reflects the thorny issue of the clash between Church and State in Ireland.

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[149] It is not known how many children from the Travelling Community were placed in industrial schools in Ireland. A number of Luke's siblings were placed in industrial schools. Bohn Gmelch and Gmelch (2014) spoke to John Donoghue, a Traveller who had been detained in Letterfrack as a boy. He revealed that two brothers, Joe and Willie, had also been detained there and that two sisters had been detained in an industrial school for girls in Galway.

6.10 Thematic analysis of how survivors perceived that they had been impacted by their experiences in detention

The following impacts of the experiences of abuse and neglect in Letterfrack, in no particular order of prevalence, were identified by a thematic analysis of the transcripts of the six survivor interviews:

(1) Lack of preparation for the world

Survivors were very aware that they had not received a proper education in Letterfrack, that is, in terms of basic literacy and numeracy, in terms of a complete training and a formal qualification in a trade, and in respect of general preparation to engage meaningfully with the world at large post-release. James was clear that he did not benefit educationally: "Well, we didn't get any education out of this place anyway." Matthew expressed a similar view:

> First and foremost I think we didn't get sufficient education towards the real world…and when we eventually went out into the so-called real world we were lost. We had no proper guidance or anything like that and anything we done or looked at we found ourselves feeling foolish, lost, no one to turn to …you were left to cater for yourself.

Although the boys had been partially trained in various trades such as carpentry, shoemaking and tailoring, the majority found themselves working as farm labourers and living in with the farmer and his family as 'houseboys'.[150] Houseboys received bed and board but very little money. Many were exploited, enduring long working days and adult level physical work in all weather conditions. With training and education that did not prepare them properly they had little or no choice in where they worked upon release and usually took the job offered to them by the Christian Brothers if, indeed, they did get an offer of work. In these matters the Brothers acted as agents who connected 16-year-old boys with farmers in need of labourers. Matthew got a shock

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[150] For example, the Cussen Report (Commission of Inquiry, 1936) revealed the workplace destinations of thirty boys who were released from Letterfrack in the previous twelve months. Just over half of the group (16) went to work on farms. Other workplace destinations included woodworking (4), domestic and personal service (3), boot making (1), and baking (1).

when he was informed upon leaving the industrial school at 16 that he was going to work for a farmer:

> The thing I wanted to do was to be a shoemaker. That was my love 'cos I loved handling the leather and I still love it. But when I was told 'you're leaving school on such and such a day', three or four weeks down the road, they threw me up to the farmer…I hadn't a clue what the hell was going on. So I was doing heavy-duty work, you know – labouring, weeding, …picking poppies [potatoes].

He summarised his position as a labourer at 16: "I was just a slave." To this day he wonders what would have become of him if he had worked as a shoemaker. He likes to think he would have started his own shoe making and repair business. Although Matthew and Luke were directed to jobs upon release, the other four participants were simply given a new suit of clothes and handed a bus fare for a one-way ticket back home to their families of origin.

Both Matthew and Mark revealed that while detained and upon release the boys knew nothing about money because as Mark stated, "from the time I went down to Letterfrack in 1959 until 1963 we weren't allowed to handle money". Matthew is of the opinion that after Letterfrack, it took him years to be able to learn to budget and save his money. When he secured a high-paying job he thoughtlessly loaned many people money but was never repaid. He also spent money recklessly, primarily on alcohol. One participant revealed that he left Letterfrack not knowing how to tell the time because boys did not have watches and there were no clocks in the rooms.

Mark believes he received no practical preparation or advice from the Brothers before he was released. All survivors in this study agree that they received no money to see them through for a few weeks post-release, received no information on job hunting, received no character reference, received no information on their rights as citizens, and received no follow-up contact from the Brothers. When Mark was in London looking for work he wrote to the Christian Brothers in Letterfrack, requesting a reference. He received a written response that hurt him deeply:

> …I got a letter back and it was far from being a reference. It was the other way. They called me all the names under the sun. So I had to continue on me own then and make me own way – get me own jobs without their reference.

At interview Mark made mention of a name he was called in this so-called reference: 'pig head'. Aside from the insult he felt at seeing this in writing he was also baffled as to why the Christian Brothers would call him a name in a letter of reference he had requested in order to secure a job. Perhaps it was due to Mark's literacy issues, but I believe that the reference was, in fact, claiming that Mark was 'pig headed' – not much of an improvement on the first interpretation.

Mark was not alone in experiencing difficulties with reading and writing. All survivors in this study had literacy issues in later life. In relation to this study none of them chose to read the interview questions or do the multiple-choice psychometrics tests themselves. All were of the belief that their literacy levels were below normal levels for boys their age upon leaving Letterfrack. [151] Even when problems with literacy were obvious in the industrial school John did not get help from the teachers. Instead he turned to friends: "When we'd get letters from home…an older fellow than myself, he'd have to write the letters. I'd tell him what to say and he'd write them." Luke was clear that what prevented him from learning in the classroom was fear: "Yeah, I would be afraid in a way 'cos I knew I was going to get a beating." Peter recalled that his learning came to a halt on one particular occasion when he was asked to spell a particular word:

> …and he [the Brother] approached me and asked me to spell the word hippopotamus; and him being so close to me; and I just couldn't get the spelling out. To be honest I didn't know how to spell it anyway, but ah he kept asking me to spell it. And obviously I couldn't spell it. So I got a couple of belts [punches] for that…even to this day - this is forty years later - that word still sticks in my stomach today.

Forever afterwards the idea of being in a formal learning environment filled him with dread. He is an intelligent and articulate man. He has always fantasised about what career he might have had if fear had not intervened in the learning process.

(2) Anger

James was of the opinion that far from having positive effects in terms of education and vocational training Letterfrack actually prepared people for a life of crime: "It was a

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[151] This was not just their perception. Their literacy levels must have been lower than same age peers who were not in industrial schools. They were kept in Letterfrack to age sixteen, and yet were only ever educated to primary level, with the consent of the Department of Education.

school for criminals." He said Letterfrack changed him "to being more cruel than good." He thought this aggression was the norm: "I thought it was the way to be. If you don't stand up for yourself, you suffer." He took out his anger on nameless victims of his crimes. John echoed the 'stand up for yourself' approach: "You have to stand up for yourself. There's only so much you can take, you know." He took his anger out in the sporting arena. James moved into a life of crime post-Letterfrack and met many former residents of the industrial schools in the criminal underworld. Matthew got into violent confrontations in the army, in later jobs and in bars. He stated that he was always very conscious of being a former industrial school boy and explained what was going on for him and other survivors:

> Oh I did, [fight] a few times. They call it brawling, fighting, all that like and that was because the anger was there and we were crying out for someone to help us …some were lucky maybe; they got through the barrier. But others were locked in that syndrome. And we were just crying out for love and affection and that was very very hard to come by and we more or less had to learn the hard way. So we did what we could to get attention. And I thought the only way was to show that you could defend yourself. And then people [survivors] would say… 'at least they know I'm alive, I'm here like, and there's no one going to try and take me on'…and it wasn't them [civilians] you were looking at. You were looking at these cruel people that you were brought up with, people with black habits and white collars. And that's who we were looking at.

Luke's anger was taken out on a partner and in a life of (sometimes violent) crime that resulted in him being imprisoned for over 15 years, including time in a UK prison. Some of that anger may have turned inward, when he made one suicide attempt. Peter, who also entered the world of criminality post-Letterfrack and was to spend many years in prison (including the UK), became an extremely violent man. His motto was "keep on hating" and like many other men he knew in that world he had the words 'love' and 'hate' tattooed on his fingers. As well as a life involving some violent crime, Peter became extremely violent when he consumed alcohol. A number of his crimes were directly attributable to his experiences in the industrial school and his deep desire for revenge. He burgled priests' houses, convents, monasteries, and even churches. To this day he has an aversion to the black attire worn by priests and members of certain religious orders.

(3) Loss

Luke knew that his experience in Letterfrack changed him as a person and expressed it as follows:

> [I]t was like a change of life for me. It was different and I found things a lot harder to do and it took me a long while to get back to me own way – the way it used to be in the first place.

However, post-release he "used to think an awful lot about it" and described it as "haunting; it's like a tape in your head then." He stated that bad memories can be triggered to this day: "It's like you get a photograph and you put it away and if someone asks you for a photograph you remember when you take it out then. But otherwise it wouldn't bother me." James believes he lost the softer side of himself: "It changed me to being more cruel than good…I thought that it [being tough, aggressive and cruel] was the way to be…if you don't stand up for yourself you suffer."

Peter believes that he was completely changed by his experiences of abuse and neglect in Letterfrack and this is reflected in an identity crisis and a sense of hopelessness that persist: "I still don't know who I am, what I am, like I just feel that Letterfrack took everything that I had, like my identity, my childhood" He believes his mind froze post-release, just as it had done when Brother R sexually abused him:

> All I can remember is like this person satisfying his own lust, for a better word like. And from that moment on, the confusion, and not knowing what it's all about or what's happening me, I just froze. And I think from that period on my mind actually froze up – to this present day…I'm still not sure who I am, what I am, and I'm not sure will I ever get over this nightmare.

He believes that the experience of sexual abuse in particular has had a profound affect on him and he expresses this in terms of loss:

> [T]he sexual side of it was a more personal thing because they were taking something from you like. They were taking you at 11 years of age. They were taking your innocence; they were taking your self-respect; they were having sex left, right and centre with you…everybody was plagued with this disease…We were being tampered with and we were being done like, but at that age you wouldn't have the understanding of sex.

Post-release, he found it difficult to relate to girls his own age and was confused about his sexual orientation:

> [I]t stays with you we'll say from 16 onwards - when you grow up - and the confusion it has then when you go out and meet a girl like. You haven't got a clue. You wouldn't know how to approach them; you wouldn't know how to talk to them. You don't know how to use sex – boy, girl, whatever…you don't have a chat-up line because all you knew was a wild animal 'cos, and that was it period.

He is aware that the fact that his first sexual experience was with an adult male abusing him and that further experiences of being abused by older detainees in Letterfrack are part of the life experiences that have resulted in his confusion but knowing this does not help. Matthew believes he turned to alcohol to forget about the industrial school and to feel happy like other people appeared to be: "It's just people coming out of the pub, laughing and joking; they're happy" Alcohol also allowed him to express the rage within:

> You know you get violent and all it is you want to be one of the men. You want to be one of the lads and you can't help yourself because what's happened is lodged in your head. It's lodged within you and in here more so, in your heart – the hatred of what happened to you and, you know, your comrades…and I didn't want to talk about it; I just wanted to drink and hear different stories rather than that.

In detention boys were acutely aware that when they met 'outsiders' their uniforms and short hair marked them out as industrial school boys. They were called names that placed them apart. In Tralee, which had a Christian Brothers-operated industrial school, detainees were known by the local townspeople as 'mon boys' because they lived beside the monastery.[152] In an effort to blend in with the 'outsiders' Matthew tried to let his hair grow long as soon as he left the institution: "If your hair was longer you wouldn't look as if you were from the industrial school…you'd look like one of the outsiders." For years the feeling persisted that by their looks or behaviour they were in some way recognisable as former industrial school boys, as if they had the mark of Cain:[153] Matthew expressed this internalised stigma as follows:

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[152] The expression still lives on among locals in Tralee, Co. Kerry. In 2015, when the author was searching the graveyard in Tralee for the specific section where industrial school boys and Brothers were buried, a local man approached in a helpful manner, and asked: "Are you looking for the mon boys?"

[153] The 'mark of Cain' refers to a phrase originating in the Old Testament, whereby God declared that Cain would be forever cursed for murdering his brother Abel. A mark was thus put upon him in order to brand him forever as a murderer.

> [A]nd friends around you, right, they were brought up different, but they know you were brought up in these schools because of the way you carry on…then they'd bring up something about Letterfrack down there …and that used to gall me. I used to get up and get out, move on to another place…I mean, you put us amongst, we'll say, a sporting arena and you scattered about ten of us around that arena. You'd pick us out no bother 'cos we stuck out like sore thumbs; we had that way about us, those features.

This consciousness of the stigma of being connected to the industrial school system made him hyper-vigilant: "I felt I wasn't the same as the rest of the people around…I was on my guard; I just wanted to be left alone."

Peter was acutely aware that he could not risk revealing the sexual abuse he had experienced in Letterfrack and how this confused him post-release because of how others might judge him as being in some way complicit in the abuse or regard him as sullied by the experience: "Because the way the world is they would think that you were dirt, you know, that you were not normal." Then he tells the truth that has dominated his post-institution life: "and of course we're not normal because what we had [done to us] or what we should have had was totally taken from us."

John believes that because he secured a job looking after the cattle on the Letterfrack farm and was heavily involved in representing the industrial school in a number of sports, he avoided much abuse. However, even he admitted that the nicest thing that happened to him in Letterfrack was "getting out of the place." He missed his parents and siblings while he was there. When he was released his father died within three months and he is conscious that he lost those final years with him while he was institutionalized far away. As is his way, he minimises the impact of his experiences in Letterfrack and tries to focus on the positive side of life by being grateful that he was with his father for the last weeks of his life.

(4) Post-traumatic symptoms

Bed-wetting appears to have affected many boys in the industrial school system (CICA, 2009). Enuresis, although common in early childhood, is not prevalent in mid-adolescence. Although it appears they never wondered why so many boys over 12 years of age were having problems with enuresis, the Christian Brothers were obsessed with bed-wetting and soiling and punished boys severely for doing so.

Matthew recalled seeing boys running around the yard with their wet sheets or even their wet mattresses held over their heads. Although it was ostensibly a means of drying the sheets or mattresses, it seems the main purpose of the exercise was to humiliate the individual and deter others. Mark recalled wetting the bed in Letterfrack and being punished for it. While John did not wet the bed, he noticed that "the younger lads" did and were punished for it. Matthew recalled still having a problem with bed-wetting when he was released from Letterfrack at 16. He also revealed that he and some other boys wet themselves during the day as a result of fear: "Sure some of us, even out in the yard, used to wet ourselves – afraid to go up and say 'could I use the toilet please?'" In addition, he suffered from severe nightmares on a regular basis down through the years. He had a tendency to wake up several times a night – a habit that he believes developed from the night watchman in the industrial school waking boys from sleep several times a night in order to make them go to the toilet and avoid bed-wetting.

Luke also developed nightmares about Christian Brothers after Letterfrack and still had them at time of interview:

> Well to be honest about it, yeah, I do have nightmares. When I lie down all I see is darkness in front of me. A dark person, all black. That's all I see; I don't see any other things.

He also experiences auditory hallucinations to this day, that he refers to as 'voices in the ears,' that remind him of the adults shouting at children in Letterfrack:

> And I got voices like shouts. Sometimes I could be walking along - it might happen very often - and the next thing, a shout. When it comes it's very frightening. It's a real shout; it's something like me shouting into your ear. I look behind me and there's no one there.

John tried to forget about Letterfrack and concentrate on his job and sporting interests post-release:

> I put it behind me, I'd say. All you have to do is only look after yourself, do what you are told, obey the rules there…look after yourself if some boy is trying to bully you and things like that – stand up to them…I'd go about my business…I avoid trouble.

However, his boxing skills were useful to him in times when avoiding trouble was difficult and, though his main coping strategies in Letterfrack and thereafter were ones

of compliance and distraction, he too, did have limits to his endurance. When asked if he ever reached that point what would happen, he replied: "You'd probably lose the rag."[154]

Three men reported that they had been hospitalised for mental health problems. Mark described having a 'nervous breakdown' when he could not cope with bullying in the army. Matthew lost his secure and pensionable job in the army when he developed problems with authority and resisted bullying by certain officers. He went absent without leave and never returned. He has been diagnosed with depression. Peter was diagnosed as 'sociopathic.' James could never hold down a job for any period of time because of his difficulties with authority. If they fought back against the system these three men did so physically and this worked against them. They did not have the resources to deal with conflict in any other way. In terms of workplace conflict, they were either fired or gave up on the job. Four out of the six men developed problems with the use of alcohol and two with illegal drugs. Three men were imprisoned for violent crimes.

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[154] 'Lose the rag' is an expression meaning to suddenly become very angry and act violently.

Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to ascertain how survivors of historical abuse coped while institutionalised and how their experiences of abuse and neglect impacted upon them thereafter. The study sought to answer these questions primarily through the use of a thematic analysis of retrospective survivor interview-generated data. One contribution to the research literature is the survivor-centred focus on lived experience in one particular Irish industrial school. It is survivors' voices we hear, their testimony about their experience of abuse and neglect, and their analysis of how they coped and how they were impacted post-release.

To date, there has been a disproportionate research emphasis on the impact of historical institutional abuse in religious settings and virtually none on how children coped in residential institutions (Blakemore et al., 2017). [155] This is mainly a function of research purpose in that much research has stemmed from large state-initiated public inquiries that include a redress or compensation component and, therefore, wish to assess impact (e.g. CICA, 2009; Law Commission of Canada, 2000; Royal Commission, 2017).

In addition, there has been a disproportionate focus on historical child *sexual* abuse above other forms of abuse and neglect in residential care. [156] This appears to be because redress schemes for survivors are designed in part by lawyers and there is a recognition (both now and over the lifetimes of the institutions) that child sexual abuse is a clear and unambiguous criminal offence. Penglase (2005) has argued that viewing sexual abuse as the most severe form of abuse (with the implication that it has the

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[155] The exception here is the research commissioned by and conducted in conjunction with the CICA (Carr, 2009; Carr et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2010; Flanagan et al., 2009; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009).

[156] A recent exception is the *Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry* for which all forms of maltreatment are included (Carr et al., 2017).

greatest impact) is an adult-centred perspective that focuses only on the aspects of criminality and the 'unnaturalness' of the acts themselves. Even state commissions of inquiry have taken different views: In Australia the Royal Commission (2017) focused exclusively on child sexual abuse while the Irish CICA (2009) included physical and emotional abuse, as well as neglect. The effect of a sole focus on sexual abuse has been, I believe, to create a hierarchy of abuse, both in the public's mind and even in the survivor community, with child sexual abuse at the top and financial compensation reflecting its primacy. This development sends the wrong message to survivors of severe physical and emotional abuse and may result in them remaining silent about other forms of abuse experienced.

7.2 Principal findings in context

Results from this study confirm testimony from all survivor memoirs pertaining to Letterfrack (Coleman, 2010; Flynn, 1983, 2003; Heeney, 2016; Tyrrell, 2006) and oral testimony presented in the CICA report (2009) that boy detainees in Letterfrack were subjected to physical, emotional and sexual abuse, as well as neglect. In addition, other human rights violations endured by participants in this study included forced labour, sub-standard education and vocational -training, and long-term separation from families. Again, these findings echo previous research conducted in the Irish setting (e.g. Feeley, 2014; O'Riordan & Arensman, 2007; Pembroke, 2017). Participants' narratives in this study echo those of other survivors cited above and evidence given to the CICA (2009, Vol. I, Ch. 8) that presented the industrial school at Letterfrack as a harsh place, where children were subjected to cruel and degrading treatment and where they lived in fear of victimisation.

Violence or victimisation in the industrial school occurred between staff and detainees and also between peers, mirroring international evidence that demonstrates that violence is endemic to correctional environments (Ireland, 2002; Stohr & Walsh, 2016), including institutions for young offenders (Barter, 2011; Barter et al., 2004; Dyson, 2005; Spain, 2005), and that it can consist of verbal, physical and sexual assault (Ricciardelli, 2014). Although theft-related bullying has been reported as prominent in other carceral settings (e.g. Ireland, 2005; Ireland & Power, 2016) it was not an issue in Letterfrack because boys were deprived of personal possessions for the most part.

Supporting evidence from other studies on institutional abuse that impacts can endure over a survivor's lifetime (see Blakemore et al., 2017; Carr et al., 2017; Fisher et al., 2017), this study reveals that more than four decades later these men continued to be negatively impacted by their experiences as child detainees, with the core PTSD symptoms of *Intrusive Experiences* and *Defensive Avoidance* being prominent and a mean of 3.6 subscales at the T=70+ on the *Trauma Symptom Inventory*.

Although dismissed by the Christian Brothers as being illiterate or learning disabled (CICA, 2009; Tobin, 2015), this study reveals how creative these detained children were in their attempts to cope in the harsh world of the industrial school and how children and adolescents in Letterfrack were not just incredulous, passive and frozen at the hands of the representatives of a powerful organisation.

Thematic analysis revealed the presence of 11 coping strategies and that all participants in this study engaged in more than one coping strategy. [157] Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the nature of the regime and the vast gulf in power between adults and children, all boys utilised *coping by complying* to survive in the industrial school. Five out of six engaged in *coping by engaging in pleasurable activities*, indicating a very human need for reprieve (even if short-lived) from suffering. Boys utilised coping strategies that required both individual agency (individual strategies) and group agency (alliance strategies), as described by McCorkle (1992). Individual-passive strategies such as *coping by isolating self* and individual-aggressive strategies such as *coping by externalising* (described by Ricciardelli, 2014) found expression in this study as *coping by physically abusing peers* and *coping by sexually abusing peers*. In this extreme place boys did what they had to do to survive. Some coping strategies were noble, such as pro-social behaviours and individual or group escape attempts; others were less edifying, ranging from lying and manipulating (spying and informing) to brutal assaults (physical and sexual abuse).

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[157] See chapter 6, section 6 for a full outline of coping strategies utilised by participants in this study.

Themes that emerged in this study such as *coping by externalising, coping by seeking social support* and *coping by complying* are similar or exactly the same as those identified in previous Irish research (Carr, 2009; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009) as *re-enactment, positive coping* and *coping by complying.* One participant's pattern of testing newly-arrived Brothers by physically intimidating, threatening and assaulting them (known in this study as *coping by fighting back*) may be typical of the precautionary behaviours identified by McCorckle (1992) as a type of pre-emptive aggression designed to assert dominance and reduce the risk of victimisation. This study's *coping by engaging in risk assessment* may describe the same coping strategy as Ireland's (2011) *threat appraisal* used by adults in UK prisons. In relation to that same study (i.e. Ireland, 2011) she identifies the component of fear of repeated aggression in the utilisation of bullying behaviour. One participant in this study admitted to being both a victim of sexual abuse and a perpetrator, but not simultaneously. Victimhood preceded perpetration and perpetration occurred when he was big enough and strong enough to defend himself against potential assault and impose himself on those more vulnerable than him.

 Although Barter's (2004) study did not locate bullying behaviour within the framework of a coping strategies model, her analysis of peer group dynamics and power relations reveals themes similar to the findings in this study. Barter's theme of *you get used to it* equates to this study's *coping through acccaptance*. Her theme of *pecking orders and group hierarchies* may overlap with this study's *coping by securing an advantageous role*. Her theme of *bullying* equates to this study's *coping by engaging in peer physical abuse* and *coping by engaging in peer sexual abuse*. Finally, her themes of *spontaneous retaliation* and *planned retaliation* equate to this study's *coping by fighting back.*

Theorerically, this study extends the work of Carr (2009), Flanagan-Howard and colleagues (2009), and Wolfe and colleagues (2003) by unpacking the concept of coping strategies to identify greater variation in detainee strategies. Based on in-depth interviewing of a small sample of survivors, this study is the first investigation of detainee self-reported historical strategies adopted to cope with the harsh environment of the industrial school and, specifically, the potential for victimisation.

In terms of the impacts upon survivors, this study demonstrates that participants, as well as suffering from typical post-traumatic symptoms such as *Intrusive Experiences*

and *Defensive Avoidance* were also impacted by issues pertaining to a lack of preparation for the world beyond the institution, anger and loss. Survivors draw our attention here to both neglect and abuse, that is, that they should have been provided with knowledge and skills but were deprived of them and that they had something taken from them. Some of these issues of anger, loss and lack of preparation for the outside world identified in this study have been noted (but not all together) in previous Irish research on survivors of residential institutional abuse (e.g. Feeley, 2010, 2014; Gavin Wolters, 2007; O'Riordan & Arensman, 2007; Pembroke, 2013, 2017; Tobin, 2015) and the effects of lack of preparation (in terms of literacy, sub-standard education and sub-standard vocational training) on later educational and employment prospects (Feeley, 2010, 2014; Gavin Wolters, 2007; O'Leary & Arensman, 2007; Pembroke, 2017; Tobin, 2015).

Participants' narratives are, therefore, replete with evidence of what Carr and colleagues (2017) refer to as *structural neglect*, that is, the failure at an individual and organisational level to meet children's basic physical, developmental, and emotional needs due to inadequate and/or unsuitable staffing and limited resources. Interestingly, O'Leary and Arensman (2007) noted a recurring post-release theme of survivors moving to another form of institutional life, such as working for a religious order or joining the defence forces. In this study two participants had been members of the defence forces and four participants had been institutionalised in either psychiatric facilities or prisons or both.

The sense of loss and the presence of post-traumatic symptoms noted in this study are common themes in studies exploring the experiences of survivors of childhood maltreatment and, in particular, sexual abuse (Carr et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2010; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009; Lueger-Schuster et al, 2014; Sprober et al., 2014) as well as in treatment programmes for survivors (Bass & Davis, 2002; Finkelhor, 1979, 1984, 1986; Herman, 1992 a, b; Lew, 2004; Van der Kolk, 2015).

This study builds on prior research on Irish industrial schools (e.g. Carr, 2009; Carr et al., 2010; Fitzpatrick et al., 2010; Flanagan et al., 2009; Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009) but it is a unique contribution, being the first one designed to explore how survivors retrospectively viewed themselves as boys coping in a hostile environment. In so doing it is hoped that the results of this study will extend our knowledge of how children and

adolescents survive for long periods of time in particularly stressful environments, where the fear of victimisation is ever-present. In addition, the entire thesis, along with additional material that has not been presented here, will form part of a training module for trainee advocates that will inform sensitive professional contact with survivors in a charity set up to support those abused in Irish state institutions.

Expanding upon the more recognisable narrative of adult abuser / child victim, this study is, to the author's knowledge, the first one to identify the issue of peer physical and sexual abuse in the industrial school system and to reveal it as a counter-narrative. I have argued in this thesis and elsewhere (Lynch & Minton, 2016) that the invitation by adults for detainees to inhabit roles such as *monitor* or *pet* created a hierarchy of power within the peer group and that certain empowered detainees took advantage of their enhanced roles to victimise peers.

I also found evidence that a culture of physical and sexual predation existed among Letterfrack detainees in general (not just monitors), with older and stronger boys abusing younger and weaker ones. This finding reflects a similar pattern noted in residential children's homes in the UK, for example, whereby hierarchies of power were found to be related to abuses of that power, including physical and sexual violence (Barter et al., 2004; Barter, 2011; Kendrick, 2011).

This study also introduces the notion that, along with the parallel narratives of adult physical and sexual abuse of children and peer physical and sexual abuse, a third narrative also existed, namely, one of consensual peer sexual contact.[158] In a system operated by a religious order that formally rejected any expression of sexuality it is not surprising to find that such prudery led to overwhelming regime repression of all matters sexual and that this, in turn, resulted in surreptitious expression.[159] In psychodynamic terms that which is disowned or repressed tends to find expression elsewhere.

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[158] I use the term 'contact' rather than 'relationship' to indicate the transitory nature of the contact as described to me. I do not mean to imply that sexual relationships did not develop between boys in the industrial school.

[159] See Inglis, (1998, 2005) in relation to what he calls 'Victorian prudery' in Ireland.

In adult prison settings, the direct experience of peer victimisation was found to be most related to the development of fear (Edgar et al., 2003). Given the nature and extent of abuse perpetrated on child and adolescent detainees by adults in Letterfrack (see CICA, 2009, Ch. 8), I argue that even being a witness to others' victimisation was sufficient to induce fear and act as a deterrent to resistance. Perhaps this was why severe, deeply humiliating punishments (for example, a boy being partially stripped and beaten on the bare buttocks) were often administered in a ritualistic way in front of a large group of boys.

In a similar fashion to the prison setting (see Björkqvist et al., 1992; Ireland, 2005) both direct and indirect aggression perpetrated by adults and/or peers in Letterfrack was particularly fear-inducing and traumatic because of the entrapment situation whereby the victim could not escape the assault situation and could not escape from possible future assaults.

A number of clinicians and researchers have attempted to account for clerical institutional abuse (see Proeve and colleagues, 2016 for a comprehensive literature review of evidence and frameworks for understanding perpetrators of institutional abuse). This study is, to the author's knowledge, the first one to propose a social cognitive explanation for the systemic abuse and neglect that was perpetrated on children in Christian Brothers-operated residential institutions. In addition, this study revealed evidence of the presence of the mechanisms of moral disengagement (as described by Bandura, 2016) in the text of the participant Christian Brother's lecture delivered in 1972 and in data collected from interviews with him over 40 years later, indicating the persistence of moral disengagement.

This study provides some evidence for the presence, in a group of survivors, of the phenomenon described as *speechless terror* (Harris, 2009) or *silent terror* (van der Kolk, 1996), whereby survivors of extreme trauma exhibit difficulty recounting the events they have suffered or witnessed or, in this case, difficulty in describing how they coped with abuse and the fear of victimisation in detention. It is hoped that it may contribute to the theory of trauma in residential institutions.

When asked the specific question about how they coped with their experiences of abuse and neglect in Letterfrack, participants' responses were very brief. For example, one

participant (Mark) responded: "To be honest I just had to survive. I had to be there. If it was going to happen to me, it was going to happen. I couldn't do nothing, just accept what comes my way." As well as a desire to survive, coping by accepting or being resigned to his fate emerged as his only response to the direct question.

Further analysis of his transcripts, however, revealed that he was punished for breaking certain rules (for example, picking and eating blackberries and pulling his hand away during punishment with a leather strap) and fantasised about escaping, indicating elements of both *coping by overtly resisting* and *coping by covertly resisting*. Furthermore, he developed a friendship with two other boys, indicating that he engaged in *coping by seeking social support*.

Responses to the question of how, post-release, they had been impacted by their experiences also tended to be brief. For example, one participant (James) responded: "It made you wiser, like. What would you say? It was a school for [training] criminals. That's what it was."

Initially I thought that perhaps participants had never given thought to how they had coped. Later I began to think that perhaps it had been too painful to return to that place in order to analyse it. It may also have been that they found it difficult to convey thoughts and feelings about the things they had experienced as children or adolescents to an 'outsider.' In the Fleck & Müller (1997) critique of Bruno Bettelheim's description of life in a Nazi concentration camp in World War II they refer to a similar phenomenon, I believe: "For a number of prisoners it was their very speechlessness, the inadequacy of language to describe the situation and their reaction to it, that characterised an essential dimension of the camp experience" (p.19). Likewise, in his remarkable account of surviving Auschwitz, Levi (2000) described a similar phenomenon that occurred to those prisoners in the camp when trying to articulate the nature of the atrocities inflicted upon them.[160]

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[160] "Then for the first time we became aware that our language lacks words to express this offence, the demolition of a man. In a moment, with almost prophetic intuition, the reality was revealed to us: we had reached the bottom. It is not possible to sink lower than this; no human condition is more miserable than this, nor could it be conceivably so. Nothing belongs to us anymore; they have taken away our clothes, our shoes, even our hair; if we speak they will not listen to us, and if they listen, they will not understand. They will even take away our name: and if we want to keep it, we will have to find ourselves the strength to do so, to manage somehow so that behind the name, something of us, of us as we were, still remains" (Levi, 2000, pp. 32-33).

Perhaps being literally 'at a loss for words' was a typical impact of this extreme experience in Letterfrack also. Moreover, it is important to note that being at a loss for words may have ensured that victims of abuse remained socially isolated; it may have acted as a barrier to disclosure and, in this way, it may have protected perpetrators. Coming to an understanding of this speechlessness imposed by prolonged exposure to traumatic experiences in residential institutions led to the decision to extend the statute of limitations for the reporting of historical institutional abuse in Ireland via the Statute of Limitations (Amendment) Act of 2000. [161]

Concerned at the paucity of data and wanting to respect survivors' speechlessness, while at the same time looking deeper, I made the decision to extend the thematic analysis to the entire section of each interview concerned with the individual's period of detention in Letterfrack. I believe the results are revealing, are a fair reflection of how boys coped with abuse and the fear of victimisation in Letterfrack, and that they justify the use of individual in-depth, face-to-face semi-structured interviews. I also believe that the results justify the choice of thematic analysis as a respectful, person-centred means of gathering and analysing data from a vulnerable population.

A number of facors pertaining to this country during the relevant time period (i.e. the century from the 1870s to the 1970s), the results of studies on clerical perpetrators, and victim impact research are important in my conceptualisation of a specific type of betrayal trauma: (1) the predominance of the Roman Catholic church; (2) the level of involvement of Roman Catholic religious orders in the provision of education and social care; (3) the entrapment nature of residentail institutions for children; (4) the rupturing of the attachment bond with primary attachment figures; (5) the *in loco parentis* position of Christian Brothers in the residential institutions; (6) the unthinking reverence towards and trust granted to clerics by both parents and children as *repraesentativis Dei* (representatives of God); (7) evidence that clerical sex offenders utilise specific religious pro-offending distorted thinking as part of their offence cycle and use their religious role and relationship with God in their distorted thinking to justify their behaviour and as a means of maintaining victim silence (e.g. Doyle, 2008;

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[161] Acknowledging both the nature of the trauma of institutional abuse and neglect and its longstanding consequences for survivors, the Irish *Towards Healing* counselling service, established to offer free counselling to survivors, offered up to 80 sessions to each individual. This could be extended if it was deemed necessary.

Keenan, 2012; Saradjian & Nobus, 2003; Wolfe et al., 2003); (8) evidence on the impacts of clergy-perpetrated child sexual abuse that note the spiritual impact on victims and refer specifically to 'spiritual devastation' and 'deep spiritual confusion (Blakemore et al., 2017; Carr et al., 2017; Fisher et al., 2017; Pargament et al., 2008) and (9) evidence demonstrating that clerical offenders utilise the Roman Catholic *sacrament of reconciliation* in order to get absolution from God for their sins, to derive a sense of relief from unburdening themselves, and to make a (vain) resolution not to re-offend, in the safe knowledge that, under canon law, the confessor is bound by a sacred confidentiality and cannot reveal either the nature of the crimes or the identity of the perpetrator to a third party (Cornwell, 2014; Keenan, 2012).

For these reasons, this study proposes an addition to the theoretical literature on betrayal trauma and institutional trauma. I propose that *Clergy Betrayal Trauma* (CBT) is a unique betrayal, distinct from other types of betrayal because of the above-mentioned factors and the inevitability of a spiritual element to the trauma experience.

There is a distinction between coping functions and coping outcomes (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). A strategy can have the function of avoidance, for example, but it may not result in avoidance. This was particularly the case in the industrial school where perpetrators had access to victims both day and night. There is a focus on outcome in the literature and an explicit assumption, for example, in some measures of coping strategies, that some forms of coping are adaptive and that others are not. Seeking social support is universally regarded as an adaptive coping strategy; it emerges in most of the literature and features on scales pertaining to coping strategies, for example, the *COPE* instrument (Carver et al., 1989), the *Coping Responses Inventory* (Moos, 1993) and the *Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale* (Connor & Davidson, 2003).

Shulman and Cauffman (2011) acknowledged the inherent problems with coping in residential institutions. They noted that *social support seeking* and *self-distraction* (perhaps the equivalent of *coping by engaging in pleasurable activities* in this study) were generally seen to be beneficial coping strategies for adolescents. In their study of male juvenile offenders, they found that *social support seeking* was indeed a key coping strategy used by the incarcerated adolescents. However, the authors did not identify to

whom the adolescents were turning for such support, but speculated that it was a combination of peers, facility staff, family and other visitors.

However, the unique feature of the industrial school experience in this regard was that children were separated from family, friends and neighbours for a prolonged period of time and did not experience the supportive presence of caring adults. They were denied appropriate modelling, connection to a caring adult and the feeling that they mattered as human beings. Seeking adult social support (measured in the ICAPCI as *coping through social support* and emerging in this study as *coping by seeking social support*) was not a viable coping strategy for many boys. The existence of *pets, spies* and *monitors* in the industrial school system may have also acted as a means of separating boys through suspicion and hyper-vigilance, thus compromising the use of peer support-seeking. However, it is important to note that inhabiting the role of *pet, spy* or *monitor* may have functioned as a means for some boys to receive some modicum of adult social support from a Christian Brother, even if there were negative consequences in terms of how these boys were perceived by their peers or that such an arrangement with a Brother could have been part of a pattern whereby they were manipulated into ongoing sexual victimiation (e.g. Clemenger, 2009).

Coping strategies utilised by participants post-Letterfrack were not investigated in this study. However, research by Wolfe and colleagues (2006) found that for male survivors of religiously-affiliated institutional abuse substance abuse was a common post-institutional response to try to control distress and discomfort. It is interesting to note that in this study three participants (Peter, Matthew and James) reported histories of chronic alcohol abuse, with one more (Luke) showing some evidence of alcohol abuse, while two (Peter and James) also disclosed that they had experienced periods of dependence on illegal drugs. Because three participants had been incarcerated for crimes involving an element of violence we could argue that *coping by externalising* continued post-institution. Additionally, because all six participants were accessed through two survivor support groups, all men can be said to have engaged to some extent in *coping by seeking social support.*

As in other prison environments, the 'macho' values of self-reliance and the belief that emotional expression represented weakness can lead to a certain detachment (Brown & Ireland, 2006). This detachment emerged in this study as a type of 'lone wolf' strategy

(*coping by isolating self*). Brown and Ireland (2006) also note a problem in prisons that was very central to coping in Letterfrack, namely, that in such environments those who are incarcerated lack control over stressors and attempts to assert control may lead to frustration. Normal stressors that one would expect in Letterfrack and that one would expect to be difficult to adjust to, such as loss of freedom, sudden separation from family, homesickness, and isolation were compounded by the ever-present threat of victimisation by peers and adults. This was an environment that was not conducive to a sense of self-efficacy, that is, people's beliefs about their capabilities to exercise control over events that affect their lives (Bandura, 1989). Rather, it was a helpless and hopeless situation for a young boy and this sense of being out of control - inevitable abuse to be endured over an indeterminate period of time - pervaded the participants' narratives. When people experience feelings of helplessness and hopelessness, depression can follow. Decades later four participants still had symptoms of depression (at the T=50-70 levels), as measured by the *Personality Assessment Inventory*, and one man had clinically significant levels (i.e. T=70+). [162]

The literature on coping strategies suggests that turning to religious or spiritual beliefs can be a key element of resilience (Glicken, 2006; Pargament et al., 2008) and it was a strategy measured in the ICAPCI (Flanagan-Howard et al., 2009) as *coping through spiritual support*. Although poignantly described as a coping strategy in one survivor's memoir (Clemenger, 2009), coping through spiritual support did not emerge in the survivors' narratives in this study. Neither did *religious disengagement* (another coping strategy measured by the ICAPCI). It seems that participants in this study neither sought spiritual support nor disengaged from religious practice while in Letterfrack. This may be because they had very little choice about religious practice. Just as they were forced to engage in hard physical labour in and around the institution, religion was imposed upon the boys through (1) the rote learning of catechism in the classroom, (2) the compulsory ritual of prayers throughout the day, (3) daily supervised morning mass attendance in the chapel, (4) weekly confession in the chapel. [163]

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[162] Brown and Ireland (2006) caution that it is unwise to assume that "links between coping style and psychological outcomes in prison populations will correspond to those in the general population" (p. 657).

[163] Depending on their age, children who would normally prepare for and receive the important milestone Roman Catholic sacraments of *Confession, Communion* and *Confirmation* with their families were

Given that religious practice was imposed upon detainees in Letterfrack and that some of the men of God living out their religious faith or teaching religion in the classroom were also victimising them, it is probably no surprise to discover that post-Letterfrack four participants described actively disengaging from formal religious practice and three described an abiding sense of betrayal, lack of trust and even hatred for Church institutions and representatives. For participants in this study this disengagement took the form of reduced or no religious participation in formal religious or spiritual groups or activities (especially the sacraments of the eucharist and of reconciliation) and reduced or no religious/spiritual private practices, for example, prayer.[164]

Running away has been recognised as a form of protest among detainees of residential institutions in a number of countries (Daly, 2014). Indeed, Penglase (2005) identified the typical pattern of harsh physical punishment, running away, being apprehended, being returned to the institution, and being harshly punished again that was also typical in Letterfrack. In this study, evidence was heard from two participants (Peter and James) attempting to escape on numerous occasions. While in Letterfrack, James persisted in making escape attempts, in the full knowledge that it was an impossible dream and that the consequences of his efforts were dire. Yet he rationalised his strategy of repeat escape attempts by believing it was worth the effort and consequences for the feeling of freedom he enjoyed for those few precious hours.

Perhaps by escaping and being aggressive towards staff (*coping by overtly resisting*), he saw himself as not bowing down to the authority figures. He could thus preserve a sense of self-esteem and could 'live with himself'. Objectively, he repeatedly used a strategy that did not work (he never escaped for long) and was repeatedly severely punished to the point where we might conclude that it was a form of self-injurious behaviour – on the face of it a maladaptive coping strategy. But he did escape (even if only for a few hours before being re-captured), and he may have benefitted by his perception of himself as being proactive, that is, increased self-efficacy. In addition, his peers may have perceived him as courageous and daring, thus enhancing his status

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prepared for and attended these services far from their loved ones – in the chapel in Letterfrack or another local village such as Leenane.

[164] As part of his criminal activities one participant (Peter) took particular pleasure in breaking and entering the dwellings of priests, nuns and brothers. For him it was a form of revenge on the men and women in black and an externalising of his rage and level of disengagement.

within the group – surely an adaptive coping strategy. In a similar fashion, Crewe (2012, p. 82) notes that in the UK adult male prison setting, being seen to be punished may achieve a "perverse kind of kudos among prisoners," while in contrast being seen to be rewarded may "draw stigma." Interestingly, as I do here, Ireland and Murray (2005) argue the case that in a prison context aggressive behaviour is arguably adaptive in that it can result in the acquisition of material goods, an increase in status, and it can serve a protective function.

There is a belief among many clinicians and advocates working with that population that survivors, who developed certain coping strategies at a young age and in extreme circumstances, may have continued to use them post-release. Widom (2000) is a proponent of this view, suggesting that childhood victimisation may result in the development of coping strategies that are possibly functional at the time of the trauma(s), but which may later be unhelpful and even hurtful to self and others. For example, some victims of abuse may externalise their trauma through resistance or retaliation in an overtly aggressive response. Although they provide the victim with some sense of agency, aggressive responses can be self-destructive and ineffective in restoring a sense of self-worth

However, the results from the Carr (2009) study did not necessarily support the Widom (2000) view. Participants reported an increase over time in the use of what Carr referred to as 'positive coping strategies' (seeking social support, skill mastery, and planning) and a reduction in the use of coping by complying and avoidant coping strategies, which Carr viewed as dysfunctional (CICA, 2009, Vol. V, p. 83).

The two participants who reported contact sexual abuse in Letterfrack (up to and including oral and anal rape) were the only two men in this study to report that they had experienced post-traumatic symptoms concerning their sexuality: In the *Trauma Symptom Inventory* one (Peter) scored in the clinically significant range for *Sexual Concerns* (T=100) and the other (James) scored in the clinically significant range for *Dysfunctional Sexual Behaviour* (T=95).[165] This is consistent with research indicating how sexual abuse impacts victims' sexuality (see Blakemore et al., 2017; Fisher et al., 2017). These two participants also described experiencing other post-release problems

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[165] Neither participant described illegal sexual behaviour.

such as alcohol dependence and illegal drug abuse, as well as a chronic history of violent behaviour and incarceration.

Given the level of life difficulties these participants experienced post-institution and the mental health issues they were still experiencing decades later (as ascertained by the *Personality Assessment Inventory*), it is sad to note that only two men have been in receipt of counselling. This may reflect a national trend. Ward and McGrath (2010) in their analysis of client engagement with the National Counselling Service (NCS) between 2000 and 2010 noted that the gender ratio was 2:1 in favour of females. I speculate that if male survivors were the victims of physical and / or sexual abuse at the hands of Brothers or peers, and if consensual peer sexual contact was the norm, then shame may still be preventing male survivors from accessing professional help. Shame can also cause additional problems when people do go for help. We know that it is the most frequently reported reason for non-disclosure of mental health issues in therapy (Hook & Andrews, 2005) and that in the Irish clerical historical abuse context Gavin Wolters (2007) found that therapists experienced survivors, and particularly male survivors, as having an immense sense of shame.

While two participants (Peter and James) resisted and actively rebelled against the system in Letterfrack (for example, attempting escape on multiple occasions) other study participants (James, John, Mark and Luke) generally complied. Compliance can also be called 'conformity' (Merton, 1938) or 'colonisation' (Goffman, 1961). Such people in the institution appear to be relatively content with the demands of the system and comply with "apparent sincerity and enthusiasm" (Crewe, 2012, p.152).

O'Sullivan (1976), in his sociological study carried out in Letterfrack, found strong support for detainee conformity. The majority of boys in his sample endorsed the statement that they should be friendly with the Brothers, that institution rules should be adhered to, and that detainees should obey the Brothers. In the light of what we now know about the level of victimisation of detainees occurring at the time of O'Sullivan's research in the early 1970s, these results take on a poignant and ironic significance. It seems that what was really going on was not simply conformity with apparent sincerity and enthusiasm, but more like Goffman's (1961) notion of primary adjustment. As one participant (Peter) confirmed to me, endorsing the statements would have been a

strategic act of giving them (the researcher and the institution authorities) what they wanted to hear.

As per Goffman (1961) and Crewe (2012) and as in the above example, compliance may be seen to mask other modes of adaptation. We could argue that Luke complied because, as an excellent sportsman, he had acquired special status and was getting some of his needs met and was less vulnerable to victimisation. The same applies to Mark who, in his outdoor work, was providing a good service for the institution and was also safe from the hands of abusive men. Both men in their own ways worked the system for their own benefits and their compliance can be viewed as a type of trade-off for benefits such as personal space and safety. In such places where victimisation was an everyday occurrence and the fear of assault was ever-present, where food was inadequate and where there was hard labour to be done, competition for favours was part of everyday life, resulting in a constant jockeying for position.

In the divide and conquer approach of the authoritarian regime "the lowest instincts of self-preservation were encouraged by the system of constant fear and deprivation (Hayes, 2017, p. 204). It seems that the development of and the acting out of these 'lowest instincts' were then noted and used by the authorities as evidence to justify their labelling of detainees as 'moral dirt' (Ferguson, 2007), which in turn justified a harsh, if not brutal, response. This is the classic case of a self-fulfilling prophecy, as described by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968/1992).

In addition to it being the 'path of least resistance' perhaps compliance as a coping strategy developed from a sense of fatalistic resignation, that is, the belief that there were "no alternatives and that one's subordination [was] inevitable and unalterable" (Crewe, 2012, p.83). Crewe, speaking about adult prisons in the UK, considers that in some contexts acceptance of one's position of subordination may be strategically adaptive in that it may be preferable to "embrace one's powerlessness than to torment oneself with the daily recognition of one's subjection" (p. 94). In addition, he reminds us that in extreme places survival for many people takes up most of their energy at the expense of radical action, resulting in compliance and resignation.

Of course, the carceral system's unvarying rituals and routines reinforce a sense of fatalism and repetition through rigid spatial control, and timetabling socialises

inflexible habit formation. As well as these impositions, coercion, through the use of physical force and deprivation, ensured compliance in industrial schools. Constraint was instilled in both the body and the mind (Foucault, 1977). As Crewe (2012, p.81) notes, the threat of force acts as the "final persuader." In the industrial school setting being repeatedly confronted with the absence of alternatives is what Langer (1980) has referred to as "choiceless choices," that is, the expectation that whatever choice one makes may lead to disastrous consequences. Realising this or coming to terms with it may have been part of how boys coped in Letterfrack, that is, *coping trough resignation / acceptance.*

In residential institutions, where abuse and neglect were systemic and pervasive, it may also be difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between compliance as a coping strategy, and a psychological coping mechanism that occurs when faced with great danger, known as 'psychic freezing to lethal malevolent authority' (Turan & Dutton, 2010). These authors argue that freezing is a normative response to apparently inescapable capture, and that the possibility of escape is underestimated due to freezing. This is why large-scale rebellion is rare. The phenomenon, the authors note, may contain elements of both dissociation and learned helplessness. This may be what one participant in this study described as 'shutting down' and hoping that the potential victimiser did not notice him.

Bullying has been described as being an "ingrained and salient aspect of the experience of being an incarcerated youth" (Spain, 2005). Participants in this study confirmed that peer bullying (both physical and sexual) was a feature of their time in Letterfrack. One participant (Peter) was the only one to admit to a detention history of being a sexual bully, a victim of sexual bullying, and a witness to the sexual bullying of others; another (James) was a witness to physical bullying and one (Mark) was both a victim of and a witness to physical bullying. None of the participants reported that they had physically bullied their peers. This confirms evidence from the CICA (2009, Vol. III, p. 74) that noted the presence of peer bullying, albeit on a relatively small scale. Of the 496 physical abusers reported to the Confidential Committee only 15 (3 per cent) were identified as peers. In contrast, this study revealed that peer bullying was pervasive in Letterfrack and met with the tacit approval of the authorities: One participant noted:

"Bigger boys dominated smaller boys. It was a fight for survival. The Brothers allowed that. It suited them to have peace and quiet."

This study is the first to highlight peer consensual sexual contact in the industrial school setting, although one instance of it was referred to in the Flynn (1983) memoir and it was referred to on one occasion in the CICA (2009) report. As well as it being identified here as *coping by engaging in pleasurable activities*, from another perspective peer consensual sexual contact in the industrial school could also be viewed as an act of radical resistance. This is because every detainee would have been fully aware of the Christian Brothers' profoundly negative attitude to sexuality in any form, and the zeal with which they tried to prevent the development of 'particular friendships' that might lead to sexual contact between boys. In the sociological literature on adaptation to imprisonment the behavioural norms of the inmate community are referred to as the 'inmate code' (Clemmer, 1940; Garabedian, 1964; Sykes, 1958/2007; Sykes & Messinger, 1960). This code, above all else, proscribes certain behaviours but tacitly allows certain other behaviours (for example, homosexual sex and/or relationships) that are specifically contrary to the behaviour expected and even demanded by the authorities that be. Adherence to the inmate code declares one's rejection of the regime's code of conduct and is, therefore, an overt act of resistance (Wellford, 1967).

In the Myers & Sangster (2001) analysis of resistance in Canadian reform schools for girls the authors refer to sexual relationships as a form of resistance: "Girls also rebuffed the authorities' attempts to inculcate feminine heterosexuality by creating same-sex intimacies and networks." The nuns operating these reformatories tended to be silent about such relationships in the same way that the Irish Christian Brothers were because these religious orders renounced any sexual expression among same-sex peers and did not wish to draw attention to the existence of same sex relationships because they did not wish to draw criticism to themselves for not being able to control such behaviour.

In their research with Irish survivors of residential institutional abuse Flanagan-Howard and colleagues (2009) developed and validated a psychometric instrument to measure the coping strategies that were used. The items on the instrument were informed by a literature review and especially by the work of Wolfe and colleagues (2003). Some coping strategies that they identified (in the *past version*, that is, coping strategies the

participants used as boys in the institution) are similar to those that emerged in this study, for example, *re-enactment of abuse* (which in this study includes both peer physical abuse and peer sexual abuse but in the Flanagan-Howard and colleagues study the type of abuse was not specified), *coping by opposing* (which in this study includes active acts of resistance such as escaping and fighting back physically but in the Flanagan-Howard and colleagues study only included 'planning revenge on my abusers.'), *coping through skill mastery* (which in this study includes *coping by improving social position* through responsibility, job or sport), *coping through seeking social support*, and *coping by complying*. Examples of coping through skill mastery would also include one participant (Mark) enjoying the gardening work and grave tending that he could do well, and another (Matthew) learning to love working with leather and becoming somewhat adept at the craft.

In the Flanagan-Howard and colleagues (2009) study *coping by opposing* comprised only one item in the ICAPCI: 'I planned revenge on my abusers then.' This study takes a wider view of opposition and includes overt and covert resistance activities such as planning revenge, fighting back physically, assaulting a Brother, refusing to co-operate, refusing an order, planning an escape, and executing an escape. Some coping strategies utilised in the Flanagan-Howard and colleagues (2009) instrument are not relevant to when detainees were in Letterfrack and were included in order to measure coping strategies at the time of interview, for example, *coping by using alcohol, drugs and food*. Alcohol and drugs were not available to boys in the industrial school, and food was in such scarce supply and of such bad quality that it could not be used to 'comfort eat' as a way of coping.

Because abuse and neglect were chronic and pervasive in the industrial school and existed in an atmosphere of fear, I argue that detainees effectively experienced torture. Supporting this view, the director of Amnesty International Ireland has stated that the CICA report represented the largest catalogue of human rights abuses in the history of the Irish State (Holohan, 2011). The United Nations (1987) defines torture as the intentional infliction of physical or mental pain or suffering and it can be divided into such categories as physical torture, psychological torture, deprivation of basic needs, sexual torture, and other body experiences (Choi et al., 2016).

For our purposes, what is interesting is that the list of torture techniques shows a startling similarity to those indignities inflicted on boys in Letterfrack, including beating, hanging, water torture, deprivation of medical care, forced stress positions, stripping naked and sexual humiliation, sexual assault, verbal abuse, mockery, forced unwanted behaviour, witnessing torture, threats of sexual assault, deprivation of food, sleep deprivation.

The evidence of both survivors in their memoirs, that of the CICA (2009), and participants in this study indicates that children witnessed peers being physically assaulted on a daily basis. Brothers had no compunction about physically assaulting boys in front of other detainees and fellow Brothers, and it seems it was meant to engender fear and act as a deterrent. Two participants in this study also witnessed sexual abuse being perpetrated on peers in the classroom setting.[166] That predatory Brothers would feel free to sexually abuse children in front of other children speaks to how comfortable they were in their belief that both victims and witnesses would remain silent and that there would be no repercussions for their actions. It also sent out a powerful message to the boys that Brothers could do what they wanted to them and that they were powerless to resist.

Gallagher (2000) reviewed all instances of institutional abuse in eight English and Welsh local authorities and found that the overwhelming majority of sexual abuse cases (ninety-two per cent) involved sexual abusers acting alone. The evidence of survivors in their memoirs, that of the CICA (2009), and participants in this study supports the Gallagher finding in that sexual abuse was almost always perpetrated on detainees in private and on a one-to-one basis. In the CICA report (2009) the majority of incidents of sexual abuse were perpetrated in private (not including some acts of voyeurism and public physical punishments with a sexual component). I have mentioned two exceptions described to me by participants in this study above. However, even these abusive acts were perpetrated somewhat 'under cover' – one under the child's clothes and the further covering of the Brother's soutane, and the other behind the teacher's desk. It is this very secrecy or semi-secrecy surrounding the sexual abuse of children in

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[166] Peter witnessed a particular Brother placing different boys on his lap and in each case covering the front of the boy's body with his soutane. By the way the boy was wriggling to get away from the attentions of the Brother and the movement of the Brother's hands under the soutane Peter knew the Brother was abusing the boy. James also witnessed sexual abuse in the classroom: "I saw Boy X from Waterford being fondled behind Brother M's desk in the classroom. X was 11 or 12, a small boy."

industrial schools that indicates that the perpetrators were aware that it was both morally wrong and / or a crime.

In another example of awareness on the part of Brothers, the operators of the industrial schools actively impression-managed situations for the benefit of the outside world, for example, dressing children better or giving them better food during Department of Education inspections or visits by dignitaries and celebrities (Clemenger, 2009; Fahy, 2005; Ferguson, 2007; Raftery & O'Sullivan, 1999). In relation to impression management Ferguson concludes: "When abusers do this they demonstrate that they know very well that what they are doing is wrong and that they are abusers" (2007, p.128).

7.3 Limitations of the study

This study relied on a small sample of survivors from one institution and their recall of experiences that occurred over 40 years ago. Participant numbers were limited by age, physical health, willingness to share traumatic material, and the ethical condition of having contact with a survivor support service. My findings are thus pertinent to the detention experiences, coping strategies of child and adolescent males, and post-institution impact in relation to one Irish industrial school and are, therefore, not generalisable. However, it is important to state that research on the other industrial schools in Ireland (e.g. CICA, 2009) and international research on institutional abuse perpetrated by Roman Catholic orders (e.g. Law Commission of Canada, 2000; Royal Commission, 2017) show remarkable similarities in terms of the harsh, regimented regime imposed on the children and the nature of the victimisation. In this way, choosing Letterfrack as an exemplar of residential institutions was legitimate and ensured that the lived experience of survivors could be personalised and that the voices of survivors could be clearly heard. It is also relevant here to state that as a qualitative researcher I believe that small samples can yield rich insights into the individual's perceptions and experience, as well as illuminating the contextual factors that shape social phenomena. This is of particular importance when dealing with a disadvantaged or vulnerable group of people (Silverman, 2013).

Equally, my efforts to engage with representatives of the religious order who operated Letterfrack industrial school were limited by issues of age, health and willingness to

explore controversial subjects in in-depth face-to-face interviews. Thus, I relied on the evidence of one Christian Brother. However, the study did benefit from the fact that he had vast experience of the system, having worked in three separate industrial schools as well as a number of Christian Brother-operated day schools.

Much supporting documentation in relation to the Christian Brothers-operated industrial schools was unavailable to me as it had disappeared or was archived and inaccessible. Additional evidence in relation to the Christian Brothers provided to the CICA and the RIRB is archived for 70 years. The book in which all infractions and punishments for same were recorded for Letterfrack was viewed by O'Sullivan (1976) but by the time the Commission requested it to be handed over it had disappeared. Memoirs of Christian Brothers are not numerous and what ones I reviewed tend to avoid issues of organisational failure to keep children safe as well as the nature and extent of abuse perpetrated by colleagues. Dunne (2010) is an exception in this regard, as he acknowledges that the industrial school he briefly worked in (Tralee) had an atmosphere of "meanness, bleakness and fear" and that the detainees had the appearance of "cowed servility…so overwhelmingly grateful for any hint of kindness" (p. 42).

7.4 Overall contribution of the study

The findings of this study add to the substantial evidence in the literature suggesting that carceral settings are violent places for young people and that violence occurs between staff and detainees, as well as between detainees (Mendez Sayer et al., 2018). This violence can take the form of verbal assault, physical assault, threats and intimidation, or sexual assault.

This study adds to the existing literature on historical clerical institutional abuse by expanding our view of life in the industrial school system to encompass the narrative of adult perpetrator / child victim and to include the parallel narratives of peer abuse (physical and sexual), and consensual peer sexual contact, as well as theoretically viewing these behaviours as occurring within the frameworks of social learning theory, the psychodynamic defence mechanism of repetition compulsion, and coping strategies in extreme circumstances.

Contributions to theory include (1) the notion of speechlessness as a response to trauma in a survivor population and the implications of same for research with this population and for counselling provision; (2) the proposal that Bandura's (2016) social cognitive model can help to understand how children came to be institutionally abused by a religious order of teaching Brothers; (3) the finding that the mechanisms of moral disengagement in evidence in the participant Christian Brother's thinking in 1972 were also present 40 years later and that this speaks to the persistence of moral disengagement over time; (4) the proposal that *Clergy Betrayal Trauma* (CBT) involves the clerical offender utilising specifically religious cognitive distortions and utilising the sacrament of reconciliation ('confession') as part of an offence cycle that was aided by a uniquely Irish set of socio-cultural circumstances pertaining to the role and power of a clergy with unquestioned and unsupervised access to vulnerable children, and that it accounts for the particular impact of clerical abuse on Irish survivors.

7.5 Recommendations

Although survivors from a range of historical residential institutions are still coming forward and, in some cases, disclosing for the first time, the two main survivor services in Ireland - the counselling service (Towards Healing) and the health, education and housing support service (Cara Nua) - are both in the process of being wound down, not due to lack of demand but due to funding shortfall. Yet the religious orders have still not handed over all monies owed to fund these services, nine years after the CICA report issued. Evidence gathered for this study about the nature and extent of victimisation experienced by these participants, the nature and extent of survivor post-traumatic stress, the effects of *Clergy Betrayal Trauma*, the presence of ongoing anger management issues, the level of grief as a result of childhood loss, and ongoing life problems such as physical/mental health concerns and poverty suggest that supports for survivors should be expanded rather than decreased or deactivated.

Even with the survivor speechlessness identified in this study and substantial evidence in this study and others (e.g. CICA, 2009; Feeley, 2014; Tobin, 2015) that children's educational needs were not met in institutional care, it remains the case that survivors in Ireland have to date not been granted the option of an individual advocate. As well as the benefits accrueing to survivors from individual attention and unconditional

positive regard, this advocacy system would greatly enhance the quality of contact between many survivors and service providers and in their general dealings with the world.

When they did muster the courage to disclose their childhood histories of abuse and neglect many survivors reported having negative help-seeking experiences (Moore et al., 2015). One solution to help survivors cope, especially those who tend not to engage in *coping by seeking social support*, is to provide a support network of fellow survivors that encourages them to reach out for professional help (for example, to engage with an advocate, to engage in individual counselling, and to partake in a group trauma recovery programme) but also provides informal spaces for practical and emotional support, as well as an opportunity to engage in social activities in a safe environment. Such facilities are provided by a small number of charitable organisations in Ireland, but they are grossly under-funded and thus find it next to impossible to provide group therapy or group leisure activities, for example. This is an area of priority for those of us in the *Reclaiming Self* charity that has emerged from the process of engaging in this research.

Where sensitive practice with survivors is concerned, the findings of this study clearly identify that as well as therapists embracing the theoretical formulation of CPTSD as being particularly relevant to the population of survivors of historical clerical institutional abuse and being competent and willing to deal with the immediate presenting symptoms of CPTSD (including emotional regulation issues, relationship difficulties and dissociation to name but three) issues such as anger management and grief work are essential to the therapeutic process with male survivors. This is a multi-faceted, medium to long-term treatment rather than a brief, solution-focused and Cognitive Behavioural Therapy-based model that currently pertains in this country, with therapists and survivors under pressure to justify the extension of sessions. In terms of additional implications for therapeutic approaches to working with survivors, it would also be important to provide time to survivors to tell their stories, including time to connect with a therapist and develop trust. If survivors are verbally reticent it might also be wise to incorporate different modes of expression into the therapy, such as art, drama, singing and music in order to allow the survivor's story to be told and for their thoughts and feelings to be expressed.

Although proposed here to extend trauma theory pertaining to clerical abuse, the nature and extent of *Clergy Betrayal Trauma* in the context of Irish survivors needs to be addressed in a further study of a larger sample of both male and female survivors. Suggesting that CBT is a fundamntal component of the trauma experience for detainees in clerically-operated residential institutions, it is further suggested that part of the suite of redress services for survivors of clerical abuse could, accordingly, involve a religious component where and when appropriate, that is, an optional mediated cleric-survivor face-to-face process designed to re-connect the survivor with his/her lost or stolen spirituality (See MacAlinden & Naylor, 2016 for a review of restorative justice options). Unfortunately, such a trust-building exercise is difficult, if not impossible, in a climate where the Roman Catholic Church does not take responsibility for the abuses committed by its clerics or for the subsequent systemic cover-ups that protected those abusers.

Evidence from this study that three participants had been incarcerated for violent crimes and three had received psychiatric intervention for mental health problems supports the conclusion of the CICA (2009) report:

> The strict regime, the routine that took away all initiative and placed all its emphasis on following orders, led to the boys becoming institutionalised. Many left to join the army, or drifted into other institutionalised occupations, and far too many ended up in institutions like prisons or in psychiatric care.

It is the case that even to this day more targeted supports need to be made available to the many survivors in the prison community in this country, who, by virtue of their incarceration, are not in a position to benefit from certain survivor supports for education, leisure pursuits, and home improvements, for example, and are thus being discriminated against and disempowered once again.

One implication of the persistence of the mechanisms of moral disengagement in the thinking of Brother Xavier is that we can conclude that before true change can take place within the religious orders implicated in the systemic abuse of children, that the orders' public acceptance of state inquiry findings, apologies, contributions to financial redress, contibutions to service provision, and the introduction of new safeguarding policies and procedures are not sufficient to ensure that the mechanisms of moral disengagement are deactivated. There is more work to be done at an organisational level.

Being aware of the traumatic *speechlessness* of survivors may have implications for further research with this vulnerable and ageing population. As in this study, different questions and various back-up prompts designed to elicit responses may be preferable to the traditional minimal open questioning of the qualitative approach to data collection. A number of opportunities for researcher and participant to meet is preferable in order to build rapport and to give enough time for survivors to tell their truths. Although I utilised some psychometric testing the survivors wanted to talk rather than answer test questions. Indeed, one participant refused to do the testing part of the research. The richness is in the data derived from the interviews and future research could take note of this.

As a result of their traumatic experiences and subsequent trust issues with authorities, survivors are a difficult population for researchers to access in this country. However, when they feel safe and free to speak out, the voices of the survivor population are powerful and cannot be ignored. Through the medium of sensitive and ethically thorough qualitative research those voices have a vital role to play, not just in telling their truth but in shaming the church and state into apology, financial redress, compensatory services and ensuring that organisations take full responsibility for abuses committed and the systemic cover-ups that followed.

 Large religious organisations tend not to like being reminded of past sins committed in the name of God. Only in the last 10 years have they readily expressed remorse and claimed to have put safeguarding structures in place to ensure vulnerable children and adults will not be abused again. However, they still have difficulty with admitting responsibility for abuse, neglect and the ensuing cover-ups. Survivors and their advocates (including researchers) have the power to effect change but, unfortunately, time is running out for many of these men and women.

In addition to this study's finding in relation to survivor speechlessness are the references to the sense of powerlessness and hopelessness that were evident in the narratives of all participants. My conclusion is that all coping strategies utilised occurred against the significant backdrop of those feelings of powerlessness and helplessness, as well as the fear of victimisation, and were, therefore, activated only to the extent that circumstances and these feelings allowed. What this study shows is something remarkable: that the energy expended in surviving may have been limited

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by a pervasive sense of powerlessness and helplessness, and the ever-present fear of victimisation, but that these feelings did not completely prevent young boys from utilising a number of strategies. That they tried against all the odds makes them heroic.

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Appendix A

Research Participant Consent Form

<div align="right">

School of Education

Arts Building

University of Dublin

Trinity College

Dublin 2.

</div>

Research Participant Consent Form

I consent to participate in this study, which is being conducted by Jeremiah Lynch, Ph.D. candidate, School of Education, Trinity College, Dublin, under the supervision of Dr. Stephen James Minton.

I understand that the study will involve two audio recorded interviews of about 2.5 hours duration, that my participation is voluntary, that what I say at the interviews will be confidential and that I may withdraw from the study at any time.

Signature of participant

_____

Witnessed by Jeremiah Lynch

_____

Date_____

Appendix B

Research Participant Information Sheet

<div align="right">
School of Education,
Arts Building,
University of Dublin
Trinity College,
Dublin 2.
</div>

Dear study participant,

My name is Jeremiah Lynch and I am a Ph.D. candidate at the School of Education, Trinity College, Dublin. My research is supervised by Dr Stephen James Minton.

I am conducting a study to explore what it was really like to be detained in St. Joseph's Industrial School, Letterfrack, Co. Galway.

I am asking you to participate in this study and to contribute your experiences and memories of Letterfrack on the basis of three criteria:

1. You are male.
2. You were detained in St. Joseph's Industrial School, Letterfrack, Co. Galway for a period of time as a child.
3. You have applied for compensation through the Residential Institutions Redress Board (RIRB) and have received an award.

While in Letterfrack you may have suffered neglect, physical abuse, emotional abuse or sexual abuse. What little research has been carried out on industrial schools in Ireland has looked at all institutions run by different religious orders, for both boys and girls. This study is about trying to gain a deeper understanding of boys' experiences in one particular institution.

I am asking you to take part in this study by meeting me for two interviews of approximately 2.5 hours duration.

You do not have to write anything during the interviews, as I will record your responses in a survey booklet. In addition, I will audio record the interviews so I do not miss anything you tell me.

Your participation is voluntary and your decision to respond to individual questions is entirely at your own discretion and will be respected. You have the right to not answer a question.

I assure you that all your responses will be treated confidentially by me so that no individual research participant will be identified by their responses. You will be allocated a personal identification number to ensure this security.

Attending the interview implies that you consent to the information you provide to me being included in my dissertation and that you also consent to your anonymous information being published in journal or book format, as well as in seminars, lectures or workshops.

Should you wish to terminate your involvement at any time you may do so by texting or phoning me at 087-2737476 or by e-mailing me at jeremiahlynch@eircom.net

All paper data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in a secure location. If it is transferred to a computer database, in part or in whole, the original paper data will be shredded and all electronic data will be secured in a confidential file, on a password-protected computer. Data will be retained for a period of 5 years, as required by Trinity College Dublin guidelines, and then safely destroyed.

This study has been approved by the Ethics Committee, School of Education, Trinity College, Dublin and I will carry out this research in accordance with these guidelines and those of my professional organisation, the Psychological Society of Ireland.

I understand that talking about your past experiences in Letterfrack may be difficult for you and may bring up memories and emotions. Your welfare is important to me. If you experience a problem as a direct result of this study and you tell me I will refer you to an appropriate support service.

Jeremiah Lynch

Appendix C

Interview Schedule

Date of interview:

Start Time:

End Time:

1. Date of Birth

2. Where did you usually live one year ago?

- o Same as now
- o Elsewhere in Ireland [write the county] _____
- o Elsewhere abroad [write in the country] _____

3. What is (was) your occupation in your main job?

4. Do you own or rent your current accommodation?

- o Own with mortgage or loan
- o Own outright
- o Rent
- o Live there rent-free

5. What is the highest level of education/training (full-time or part-time) that you have completed to date?

- o No formal education/training
- o Primary education up to sixth class
- o Lower secondary –Group, Intermediate, Junior Cert.

- Upper secondary- leaving Cert.
- Technical or vocational
- Advanced certificate/ completed apprenticeship
- Higher certificate
- National diploma or pass degree
- Honours degree
- Post-graduate diploma or degree
- Doctorate

6. What is your current marital status?

- Single (never married)
- Married (first marriage)
- Re-married (following widowhood)
- Re-married (following divorce or annulment)
- Separated (including deserted)
- Divorced
- Widowed

7. Where were you living before you were sent to Letterfrack, ie. Where was your home?

8. What is your religion at this point in your life?

- Roman Catholic
- Church of Ireland
- Islam
- Presbyterian
- Orthodox
- Other
- No religion
- Not practising

09. How would you describe your present occupational status ?

- Working for payment or profit part time
- Working for payment or profit full time
- Unemployed
- Student full time
- Student part time
- Looking after home/family i.e. stay at home father
- Retired from employment

- o Unable to work due to permanent illness or disability
- o Other

| 10. What was the best job you had since leaving Letterfrack? |

- o Unemployed
- o Unskilled manual
- o Semi-skilled manual / farming less than 30 acres
- o Skilled manual / farming 30-49 acres
- o Other non-manual / farming 50-99 acres
- o Lower professional / lower managerial /farming 100-199 acres
- o Higher professional / higher managerial / farming more than 200 acres

| 11. What was the highest level of school exam you passed? |

- o None
- o Junior school exam in 5th or 6th class (Primary School Cert.)
- o Mid secondary school exam (Group Cert. or Inter. Cert.)
- o Leaving Cert
- o Certificate or diploma or apprenticeship exam
- o Primary degree (e.g. B.A., B.Sc.)
- o Higher degree (e.g. M.A., M.Sc.)
- o Doctorate

| 12. Are you single or married? |

- o Single and never married or co-habited
- o Single and separated from first co-habiting partner
- o Single and separated from first married partner
- o Single and divorced from first marital partner
- o Single and separated or divorced from second or later partner
- o Single and widowed
- o Co-habiting in second or later long-term relationship
- o Married in second or later marriage
- o Co-habiting in first long-term relationship
- o Married in first long-term relationship

| 13. How many long-term relationships or marriages have you had that have ended? |

| 14. How long have you lived with your present partner? |

15. Have you any children?

- o Yes

- o No

16. If yes, how many?

17. What age were you when your first child was born?

18. Where did your children live when they were growing up?

- o Lived with you when they were growing up
- o Lived sometime with another parent when they were growing up
- o Lived some of the time with family or relatives
- o Lived in the care of the State
- o Got put up for adoption

19. At the time you were admitted to Letterfrack were your parents

- o Married
- o Single
- o Separated
- o Extra-marital relationship
- o Co-habiting
- o Single due to death of other parent (widowed)
- o Information unavailable

20. At the time you were admitted to Letterfrack what job did your father do for a living?

- o Professional worker
- o Managerial and technical
- o Non-manual
- o Skilled manual
- o Semi-skilled
- o Unskilled

- o Worked full time
- o Worked regular part time
- o Worked occasionally

- Unemployed
- Disabled
- Information unavailable

21. How many brothers and sisters did you have?

22. How many homes had you lived in before you were admitted to Letterfrack?

23. What age are you now?

24. What age were you when you were admitted to Letterfrack?

25. What year were you admitted to Letterfrack?

26. What year were you released from Letterfrack?

27. What age were you when you were released from Letterfrack?

28. Why were you sent to Letterfrack?

- Conviction for a criminal offence
- Parental abandonment
- Non-attendance at school
- Death of one or both parents
- Lack of care at home
- Chronic illness or hospitalisation of parent
- Transferred from another institution
- Other

29. Tell me about how you ended up being sent to Letterfrack   e.g. offence(s)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

30. When you were committed to Letterfrack did you know how long you were going to be there for?

- o Yes
- o No

31. What were your living circumstances just before you were sent to Letterfrack?

- o Living with my parents/guardians
- o In another industrial school
- o In an orphanage
- o Living with relatives
- o Living with friends / neighbours
- o other

32. For the duration of your detention in Letterfrack how many times did a parent /guardian visit you?

- o Never
- o 1-3
- o 4-6
- o 7-10
- o 10+

33. For the duration of your detention in Letterfrack how many times did a brother or sister visit you?

- o Never
- o 1-3
- o 4-6
- o 7-10
- o 10+

34. For the duration of your detention in Letterfrack how many times were you allowed out to visit your family back home on a short break or holiday?

- o Never
- o 1-3
- o 4-6
- o 7-10
- o 10+

35. When you arrived at Letterfrack for the first time did you recognise or know any of the boys already detained there?

- o Yes
- o No

36. If yes, how many?

37. During your detention in Letterfrack how often did you receive mail or post from family, neighbours or friends?

- o Regularly
- o Occasionally
- o Rarely
- o Never

38. During your detention at Letterfrack how often did you receive telephone calls or messages left via telephone from family, neighbours or friends?

- o Regularly
- o Occasionally
- o Rarely
- o Never

39. During your detention in Letterfrack how often did you receive parcels from family, neighbours or friends?

- o Regularly
- o Occasionally
- o Rarely
- o Never

40. If your parents visited you rarely or never while you were detained in Letterfrack what were the reasons for this?

- o They didn't care about me
- o Letterfrack was too far away and they couldn't afford the time away fro work or family
- o They were too poor to get to and from Letterfrack
- o The Christian Brothers didn't allow or encourage visits

o Other

41. Why were you released from Letterfrack?

- o I reached the age of 16
- o Letterfrack closed down
- o My sentence was over
- o My family requested my return
- o I ran away
- o I was on holidays and didn't return
- o Other

42. Did you have any brothers or sisters who were also in state care at some point e.g. mother and baby home, orphanage, industrial school?

- o Yes
- o No

43. If yes, how many?

44. How far in advance of your release from Letterfrack did you know from the Brothers that you were going to be leaving?

- o Months before
- o Weeks before
- o Days before
- o On the day I was released

45. What level of preparation or assistance for the outside world did you receive from the Christian Brothers before you left Letterfrack?

- o Money to get you through a few weeks
- o New clothes and shoes
- o Completed a qualification in a trade
- o Information about job hunting, including c.v. preparation and interview techniques
- o Information on unemployment assistance ('the dole'), relevant forms, information on available courses
- o A contact or contacts that you could meet to help you get a job
- o Money or a bus or train ticket for a one- way journey home
- o Information on how to handle money, budgeting, using public transport, socialising i.e. life skills

o No preparation or assistance

---

46. After you were released from Letterfrack did you get any of the following follow-up supports from the Christian Brothers?

o Telephone call to see how you were doing
o Letter to see how you were doing
o A visit from a Christian Brother to see how you were doing
o No follow up

---

47. Where did you live immediately after release from Letterfrack?

o Family home
o With extended family, grandparents, aunt, uncle or other older sibling
o Another institution
o Secured your own accommodation e.g. B&B, flat, house
o Lived 'rough'
o Other

Physical Abuse: For the purposes of this study physical abuse is defined as: 'the wilful, reckless or negligent infliction of physical injury on, or failure to prevent such injury to, the child'.

---

48. The following is a list of events that could happen to an individual, all of which would be regarded as physical abuse of a child by an adult. Did **you** experience any of these physical abuses in Letterfrack?

o Hitting or slapping with the hand open
o Punching (with the fist closed)
o Kicking
o Biting
o Spitting
o Ear pulling
o Hair pulling
o Burning
o Scalding hot water in a bath or shower
o Stabbing using a sharp implement or tool
o Head shaving
o Forced out into the cold weather
o Hosed down with water
o Slapped with a leather strap
o Hit with a ruler, stick, hurley
o Objects thrown at you e.g. chalk, dusters
o Forced to strip naked
o Forced to walk long distances i.e. miles
o Forced to kneel or stand in fixed position for lengthy periods
o Beaten in public

- o Partially stripped or stripped and beaten in public
- o Solitary confinement
- o Deprived of food as a punishment
- o Other

49. If you were in any way physically abused, in what areas of Letterfrack (inside or outside) did the physical abuse happen to you?

- o Classroom
- o Office
- o Dormitory
- o Showers
- o Washrooms
- o Infirmary or sick bay or nurse's quarters
- o Refectory or dining hall
- o Staff bedroom
- o Chapel/church
- o Work areas and trade shops
- o Fields
- o Farmyard
- o Play yard or sports areas
- o Sheds, outhouses
- o Kitchen
- o The bog
- o Other

50. What implements were used to abuse you physically?

- o Leather strap
- o Stick
- o Hurley
- o Broom handle
- o Forks, pikes
- o Keys
- o Belts
- o Boiling / hot water
- o Cold / freezing water
- o Ruler
- o Other

51. Under what circumstances or for what reasons were you physically abused?

- o Bed wetting
- o Bed soiling
- o Dirty underwear ('skid marks')
- o Absconding or escaping or running away

- o If you didn't know something in class or got something wrong
- o Not clean enough, not washing properly
- o Faulty clothes, hole in sock, tear in trousers
- o Not paying attention in class
- o Talking in line
- o Not doing work quickly enough or properly
- o Delay in obeying an instruction
- o Looking the wrong way at a member of staff
- o Talking at meal times
- o Talking in bed at night
- o For no apparent reason
- o other

52. As a direct result of physical abuse by a Brother or other staff member at Letterfrack did you suffer any of the following injuries?

- o Marked, bruised, swollen with welts
- o Blood was drawn
- o Eye / ear injury
- o Split lip
- o Broken or damaged teeth
- o Broken rib
- o Broken arm
- o Broken leg
- o Broken finger
- o Broken nose
- o Knocked unconscious
- o Unable to breathe properly
- o Scalded or burned
- o Treated by nurse for non-accidental injury
- o Treated by doctor for non-accidental injury
- o Treated in hospital for non-accidental injury
- o Other
- o

53. Were you ever physically abused by two or more adults at the same time?

- o Yes
- o No

54. If yes, give details:

_____
_____
_____

_____
_____

55. How regularly were you physically abused by adults in Letterfrack?

- o   Never
- o   A few times a year
- o   Monthly
- o   Weekly
- o   Daily
- o   Several times a day

56. Which adults in Letterfrack physically abused you?

- o   Male religious staff i.e. Christian Brothers
- o   Priests
- o   Resident Manager
- o   Lay teacher
- o   Lay worker e.g. tailor, farm labourer, man in charge of farm
- o   General public
- o   Other

57. Name the people that physically abused you.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

58. What is the worst example of physical abuse that you experienced? Tell me about it.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

59. Which of the following forms of physical abuse did you witness being inflicted by an adult on a boy or boys in Letterfrack?

- o   Hitting with open hand, slapping
- o   Punching, fist closed

- Kicking
- Ear pulling
- Hair pulling
- Biting
- Spitting
- Burning
- Scalding with hot water
- Stabbing
- Head shaving
- Hosed down with water
- Slapped with a leather strap
- Hit with ruler, stick, hurley
- Objects thrown at him
- Forced to strip
- Forced to kneel or stand in fixed positions for lengthy periods of time

60. How regularly did you witness physical abuse inflicted on boys in Letterfrack?

- Never
- A few times a year
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily
- Several times a day

61. What was the worst incident of **physical abuse**, inflicted on a boy by an adult in Letterfrack, that **you witnessed**?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Sexual abuse: For the purposes of this study sexual abuse is defined as: 'the use of the child by a person for sexual arousal or gratification of that person or another person.'

62. While detained in Letterfrack were you ever **sexually abused** by a Christian Brother or other adult working at the industrial school?

- Yes
- No

63. If yes, in which of the following ways were you sexually abused?

- Inappropriate touching, fondling, rubbing against you
- Forced masturbation of the abuser by you
- Oral-genital contact i.e. making you perform oral sex
- Kissing you anywhere on your body
- Digital penetration i.e. putting a finger in your anus
- Attempted anal rape, buggery
- Anal rape, buggery
- Showing you pornography from a magazine or reading pornographic material to you
- Mutual masturbation i.e. forcing you to masturbate him while   he masturbated you
- Voyeurism i.e. watching or staring at you or spying on you for a sexual thrill
- Exposing his penis to you - flaccid
- Exposing his penis to you - erect
- Forced to be naked or partially naked in front of others
- Beating or caning you on the bare buttocks
- Questioning you about your sexual knowledge or sexual experience where the purpose of the questioning is for the abuser to get a thrill from what you say

64. While you were being sexually abused was there also physical violence involved e.g. forcibly holding you down, preventing you from getting away, beating you during or after the sexual abuse?

- Yes
- No

65. Describe the worst incident of **sexual abuse** that happened to **you**.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

66. If yes, how often did you witness boys being sexually abused by an adult while resident in Letterfrack?

- Once or twice a year
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

67. Did you ever **fight back** physically against a Christian Brother at Letterfrack?

- o Yes
- o No

68. If yes, describe the situation:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

69. Did you ever steal something from an individual Brother or other adult, or damage his personal property in order to get **revenge** on him?

- o Yes
- o No

70. If yes, describe the situation:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

71. Were you ever part of a group of boys who **ganged up** and attacked an individual Brother in revenge?

- o Yes
- o No

72. If yes, describe the situation:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

73. Did you ever cause **damage** to the Letterfrack **property** e.g. breaking furniture, smashing windows, destroying the garden, injuring animals, burning, etc.?

- o Yes
- o No

74. If yes, describe the situation:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

75. Did you ever get into the **Monastery** in order to cause damage or steal food or other items from the Christian brothers?

- o Yes
- o No

76. If yes, describe the situation:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

77. If sexually abused at Letterfrack did you ever **report** the matter and the identity of the abuser to the head Christian Brother or Resident Manager?

- o Yes
- o No

78. If not, why not?

- o Fear of severe punishment.
- o I knew nothing would be done
  even if I did tell.
- o Because of the threat of being
  moved to another institution.
- o I wouldn't be believed if I disclosed.
- o Because the Resident Manager was sexually abusive.

79. How did the sexual abuse occur?

- o In private
- o In the presence of other boys
- o In the presence of other staff members
- o In the presence of other boys and staff members

80. Were you, on any occasion, sexually abused by more than one adult at the same time?

- o Yes
- o No

81. If yes, describe:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

82. If you were sexually abused, **where** were you sexually abused by an adult or adults in Letterfrack?

- o Dormitory
- o Office
- o A Brother's bedroom or that of another staff member
- o Chapel
- o Sacristy in chapel
- o Classroom
- o Workshop
- o Kitchen
- o Infirmary / sickbay
- o Showers
- o Washrooms
- o Toilets
- o Outside sheds or farm buildings
- o Fields
- o Yard
- o Car or van
- o Private home
- o Commercial premises e.g. shop, pub, warehouse, shed.

83. Before sexual abuse took place did the abuser:

- Try to win your trust
- Express concern about your welfare or show interest in you
- Befriend you and give you the impression you were special or his 'pet'
- Give you treats e.g. comic, extra food, chocolate, sweets
- Give you money
- Other

_____
_____
_____

84. After sexual abuse were you ever given:

- Medicine for pain relief or to help you sleep
- Treats like sweets and chocolate
- Toys
- Money
- Extra food
- Other

_____
_____
_____

85. What **type** of person sexually abused you?

- Christian Brother working in Letterfrack
- Resident Manager
- Lay staff e.g. farm worker, trade teacher
- Adult not working in the industrial school

86. Did you ever tell, inform, "rat", "snitch", "squeal" on another boy or boys in order to be well in with the Brothers, to avoid punishment, or to get some reward?

- Yes
- No

87. If yes, describe the situation:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

88. Did other boys ever tell, **inform**, "rat", "snitch", "squeal" on another boy or boys in order to be well in with the Brothers, to avoid punishment, or to get some reward?

- o Yes
- o No

89. If yes, how many?

- o Only one
- o Vey few
- o Some
- o Many
- o Everyone

If yes, describe the situation:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

90. If there were such "tell-tales", "rats", or "snitches" in Letterfrack how did the other boys view them and deal with them?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

91. Were you ever chosen by a Christian Brother to be a "special" or a "pet", or a "monitor", whereby you would get treats or privileges?

- o Yes
- o No

92. If yes, describe the situation:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

93. While you were incarcerated in Letterfrack did you ever attempt to **escape** by running away?

- o Yes
- o No

94. If yes how many times?

- o 1-3
- o 4-6
- o 7-9
- o 10+

95. If yes, describe the plan and what occurred for **one** escape attempt:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

96. If **caught** and returned to the industrial school after an escape attempt, what punishment did you receive?

- o Public beating, fully dressed
- o Public beating, partly naked
- o Head shaved
- o Given no food
- o Transferred to another institution
- o Beating in private, clothes on
- o Beating in private, partly naked
- o Beaten by other boys
- o Made to walk around the yard alone, no contact with other boys
- o Beaten by more than one Brother at the same time
- o Other

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

97. While detained in Letterfrack were you forced to do **unpaid, physical work**, either inside the building or outside, on a regular basis?

- o Yes
- o No

98. If yes, what sort of **indoor domestic work** did you have to do **regularly**?

- o Cleaning
- o Scrubbing floors
- o Cooking
- o Preparing food
- o Tidying
- o Dusting
- o Washing clothes
- o Polishing boots
- o Washing and peeling vegetables
- o Carrying heavy pots
- o Scrubbing pots and pans
- o Polishing floors
- o Serving Brothers in the Monastery
- o Other:

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

99. If yes, what **outdoor physical work** were you forced to do **regularly**?

- o Cleaning out sheds
- o Milking cows
- o Tending cattle, pigs, poultry, sheep

- Saving hay
- Picking potatoes, or harvesting any other vegetables
- Felling trees or chopping wood
- Cutting and saving turf in the bog
- Picking or breaking stones
- Other

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Neglect: For the purposes of this study neglect is defined as: 'failure to care for the child which results, or could reasonably be expected to result, in serious impairment of the physical or mental health or development of the child or grievous adverse effects on his behaviour or welfare.'

100. How would you rate **the standard of food** you received while a resident in Letterfrack?

- Excellent

- Very good
- Good
- Average
- Below average
- Bad
- Very bad

Comment:

_____
_____
_____

101. How would you rate the **amount of food** you were provided with on a daily basis?

- Too much to eat for a boy of my age
- More than enough

- o Enough
- o Less than required
- o Far less than required
- o Starvation diet

102. Do you recall being hungry at Letterfrack due to inadequate standard and amount of food?

- o Yes
- o No

103. If yes, how often did feeling hungry occur?

- o Rarely
- o Occasionally
- o Regularly
- o Nearly all the time

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

104. Was the temperature warm enough in the classrooms and dining hall during the day, particularly in cold weather?

- o Yes
- o No

105. If no, were you too cold ?

- o Rarely
- o Occasionally
- o Regularly
- o Almost all the time

106. Was the temperature warm enough in the dormitories at night, particularly in cold weather?

- o Yes
- o No

107. If no, was it too **cold**?

- o Rarely
- o Occasionally
- o Regularly
- o Almost all the time

Comment:

_____
_____
_____

108. How would you rate the **standard of clothing** you were provided with while resident in Letterfrack?

- o Excellent
- o Very good
- o Good
- o Average
- o Below average
- o Bad
- o Very bad

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____

109. How would you rate facilities for **personal hygiene** at Letterfrack i.e. toilets, showers, soap, wash cloths, towels, toothbrushes, toothpaste, hot water, toilet paper?

- o Excellent
- o Very good
- o Good

- Average
- Below average
- Bad
- Very bad

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____

110. How would you rate the standard of **bedding** in Letterfrack i.e. individual bed, matrass, pillows, regular change of bedclothes, warm blankets?

- Excellent
- Very good

- Good
- Average
- Below average
- Bad
- Very bad

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____

111. Did you complete your **Primary Certificate** exam while in Letterfrack?

- Yes
- No

112. If yes, did you pass the exam?

- Yes
- No

113. Did you ever **miss out on school work** as a result of being forced to work in the school e.g. the kitchen or on the farm?

- o Yes
- o No

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____

114. Were conditions in the classroom suitable for you to learn and achieve to your potential?

- o Yes
- o No

115. If no what factors **prevented you from learning** well and achieving to your potential?

- o Noise and disruption from other boys
- o Fear and the anticipation of being physically abused by the teacher
- o Fear and the anticipation of being sexually abused by the teacher
- o Having to witness other boys in the classroom being physically abused
- o Having to witness other boys being verbally abused by the teacher
- o Having to witness other boys in the classroom being sexually abused by the teacher
- o Fear and anticipation of being verbally abused by the teacher

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____

_____
_____

116. In comparison to boys your age in Ireland when you left Letterfrack would you say your **ability to read and write** was

- o Better than average
- o About the same as the average boy my age
- o Below the standard of the average boy my age

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

117. How many of the following **health care services** did you receive while resident in Letterfrack?

- o Regular medical check-ups by a doctor
- o Medical attention by a doctor if I was sufficiently ill or injured through accident or injury
- o Medical attention if I was injured as a result of physical or sexual abuse
- o Nurse available for cuts, bruises, scabies, lice, boils, colds, 'flu
- o Annual or bi-annual dental check-up
- o Dental treatment for abcesses, fillings, extractions
- o Infirmary / sickbay available for rest and monitoring
- o Immunisation
- o Hospital attendance

Comment:

_____
_____
_____

For the purpose of this study emotional abuse is defined as: 'any other act or omission towards the child which results, or could reasonably be expected to

result, in serious impairment of the physical or mental health or development of the child or serious adverse effects on his behaviour or welfare.'

---

118. While resident in Letterfrack were you subjected to any of the following forms of **verbal abuse**?

- o Shouting at you
- o Screaming at you
- o Name-calling
- o Derogatory remarks about your family
- o Sarcastic comments about you
- o Calling you a criminal
- o Making fun of you or telling jokes at your expense
- o Bad or offensive language, cursing
- o Threatening you with physical punishment
- o Silent treatment / deliberately ignoring you
- o Refusing to listen to you or take your views into account
- o Accusing you or blaming you in the wrong
- o Judging and criticising you
- o Ordering you around
- o Calling you a nickname
- o Only referring to you by your surname
- o Criticising your academic or sporting ability
- o Told you had no future after Letterfrack, that you were a 'hopeless case'
- o Told you were a sinner, evil, bad

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

---

119. While in Letterfrack did you receive any of the following **positive supports:**

- o Showing genuine personal interest in you i.e. how you thought, felt and were generally getting on in Letterfrack
- o Showing a caring attitude to you i.e. gentleness, warmth, empathy (trying to see things from your point of view)
- o Allowing you to interact with other boys and girls in the local community
- o Allowing you time and space to be on your own, unsupervised and undisturbed
- o Allowing you the choice of whether you wanted to attend mass, confession, rosary, prayers, catechism
- o Allowing you space in the dormitory in a locker or a wardrobe to store your personal possessions
- o Being available to confide in or ask for advise
- o Showing genuine physical or verbal affection

---

120. Apart from clothes and shoes what **personal possessions** did you have over a period of time in Letterfrack?

- o None
- o Penknife
- o Diary
- o Books
- o Comics
- o Watch
- o Photographs
- o Letters from family, neighbours, friends
- o Prayer book, bible
- o Scapular, rosary beads, holy medal
- o Jewellery
- o Gifts from family, neighbours, friends

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

---

121. Which of the following **activities** were provided in Letterfrack? Which ones did you engage in to some extent during your time there?

- Hurling
- Gaelic Football
- Soccer
- Handball
- Table tennis
- Card and board games
- Library
- Listening to the radio
- Watching films
- Nature walks
- Musical band
- Day trips to the seaside
- Swimming in sea or river
- Drama / musicals
- Irish dancing
- Unstructured yard play
- Arts and crafts
- Watching television
- Boxing
- Athletics
- Drills and gymnastics

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

122. What **religious practices** were you obliged to engage in regularly?
- o Attend mass weekly
- o Attend mass daily
- o Go to confession once a week
- o Go to confession daily
- o Say rosary daily
- o Say prayers at night before bed
- o Learn catechism in the classroom
- o Attend Legion of Mary group meetings
- o Make your first holy communion
- o Make your first confession
- o Make your confirmation
- o Other

Comment:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

123. In which situations were you forced to be **silent**?

- o During breakfast
- o During lunch
- o During dinner
- o In the dormitories at night
- o At any ceremony in the chapel
- o At the films
- o Other

Comment:

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_____

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_____

Bullying: For the purpose of this study we say a resident was bullied when another resident, or more than one resident

- o **Said mean and hurtful things, or made fun of him, or called him mean and hurtful names.**
- o **Completely ignored or excluded him from their group of friends or left him out of things on purpose.**
- o **Hit, slapped, kicked, pushed, shoved around, punched him.**
- o **Told lies or spread false rumours about him or sent mean notes to try to make other residents dislike him.**

When we talk about bullying by other boys in Letterfrack, these things happened more than just once and it was difficult for the resident being bullied to defend himself. We also call it bullying when a resident was teased more than just once in a mean and hurtful way

We do not call it bullying when the teasing was done in a friendly and playful way. Also, it was not bullying when two residents of equal power and strength argued or fought.

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124. Were you **physically bullied** by other boys in Letterfrack?

- o Yes
- o No

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125. If yes, in which of the following ways?

- o Hitting with open hand (slapping)
- o Punching (closed fist)
- o Kicking
- o Ear pulling
- o Hair pulling
- o Biting
- o Spitting
- o Burning
- o Scalding with hot water in shower or bath
- o Stabbing
- o Hitting with ruler, stick, hurley
- o Objects thrown at you
- o Other

Comment:

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_____
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126. While resident in Letterfrack you may have **witnessed boys** being physically bullied by other boys. Which of the following forms of physical bullying did you witness being inflicted on a boy or boys by other boys?

- o Hitting with open hand (slapping)
- o Punching (closed fist)
- o Kicking
- o Ear pulling
- o Hair pulling
- o Biting
- o Spitting
- o Burning
- o Scalding with hot water in shower or bath
- o Stabbing
- o Hitting with ruler, stick, hurley
- o Objects thrown
- o Other

Comment:

_____
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127. If you were physically bullied by other boys in Letterfrack, how regularly did it occur?

- o Once or twice a year
- o On a monthly basis
- o On a weekly basis
- o On a daily basis

128. If you witnessed boys being physically bullied by other boys in Letterfrack, how often did you see this?

- o Once or twice a year
- o On a monthly basis
- o On a weekly basis
- o On a daily basis

129. If you were bullied physically by other boys in Letterfrack, where were you bullied?

- o Classroom
- o Dormitory
- o Showers, washrooms, toilets
- o Infirmary / sick bay
- o Refectory / dining hall
- o Chapel
- o Work areas or trade shops
- o Garden or fields
- o Farm yards
- o Yard and other play areas
- o Sheds, outhouses
- o The bog

130. As a direct result of physical bullying by another boy or boys at Letterfrack, did you sustain any of the following **injuries**?

- o Marked, bruised, swollen
- o Cut
- o Eye / ear injury
- o Split lip
- o Broken tooth
- o Broken rib
- o Broken arm
- o Broken leg
- o Broken finger
- o Broken nose
- o Knocked unconscious
- o Unable to breathe properly
- o Scalded or burned
- o Treated by nurse for non-accidental injury
- o Treated by doctor for non-accidental injury
- o Hospitalised for non-accidental injury

131. Tell me about the worst bullying you experienced.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

132. Did more than one boy ever physically bully you at a time?

- o Yes
- o No

133. If yes please give an example:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

134. While in Letterfrack did you engage in bullying of other boys who were smaller, weaker or in some way vulnerable?

- o Yes
- o No

135. If yes, tell me about it

_____
_____
_____
_____
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_____

136. While a resident in Letterfrack were you ever **sexually bullied** by another boy or boys?

- o Yes
- o No

137. If yes, in which of the following ways:

- o Inappropriate contact with any part of your body outside your clothes e.g. touching you, stroking you, rubbing against you
- o Forcing you to masturbate him
- o Forcing you to perform oral sex on him
- o Kissing you anywhere on your body against your will
- o Digital penetration i.e. putting a finger in your anus
- o Attempted anal rape
- o Anal rape
- o Making you masturbate him while he masturbated you against your will
- o Exposing his penis (flaccid)
- o Exposing his penis (erect)
- o Inappropriate contact with any part of your body inside your clothes e.g. touching you, stroking you, rubbing against you
- o Other

138. If you were sexually bullied by another boy or boys at Letterfrack was there also physical bullying involved i.e. holding you down, preventing you from escaping, beating you during or after the assault?

- o Yes
- o No

139. If you were sexually bullied by a boy or boys while resident in Letterfrack how regularly did it occur?

- o Once or twice a year
- o A few times a year
- o Monthly
- o Weekly
- o Daily

140. If you were sexually bullied, how many boys sexually bullied you during your time in Letterfrack?

141. If you were sexually bullied, where in Letterfrack did the sexual bullying by another boy or boys take place?

- o Classroom
- o Dormitory
- o Office
- o Chapel
- o Kitchen
- o Infirmary / sick bay
- o Showers/washrooms
- o Toilets
- o Outside sheds and farm buildings
- o Fields
- o Yard
- o Other

142. If you were sexually bullied, were you ever sexually bullied by more than one boy at a time e.g. two boys working together to sexually bully you?

- o Yes
- o No

143. If you were sexually bullied by another boy or boys in Letterfrack did you report the matter to an adult e.g. a Christian Brother, the Resident Manager?

- o Yes
- o No

144. If not, why not?

- o Fear of not being believed
- o Fear of severe punishment
- o Fear of being transferred to another institution
- o I knew nothing would be done even if I did disclose
- o He was sexually abusive

145. If you were sexually bullied, where did it occur?

- o In private
- o In the presence of another boy
- o In the presence of other boys
- o In the presence of staff members

146. While detained in Letterfrack did you ever have **consensual sexual contact** with other boys ?

- o Yes
- o No

147. If yes, comment:

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148. When you recall your time spent in Letterfrack how did you **feel** there most of the time?

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_____
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149. Do you wish to emphasise any of the following **positive** aspects of your care at Lerrerfrack?

- o Extra food
- o Spoken to kindly by an individual
- o Shown affection
- o Turned a blind eye to behaviour which could have resulted in punishment
- o Helped with reading, writing or arithmetic
- o Given a treat
- o Rescued from a beating
- o Talked to me
- o Words of encouragement or praise
- o Allowed to attend a nearby school
- o Allowed to go to a Feis Ceoil
- o Allowed to go to matches
- o Seaside holidays
- o Allowed to attend a cinema
- o In the school band
- o Better food at Christmas
- o Kindness of local villagers
- o Weekend breaks

- o Annual holidays
- o Friendship with some fellow resident(s)
- o Trips to swimming pond
- o Trips to Tully Strand
- o Walks to Kylemore
- o Christmas show in the hall
- o Other

Comment:

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'Human moments': For the purpose of this study we define human moments as times in the middle of pain or suffering, where something nice happens to a person and he gets a positive view of life and it gives him a welcome break from everything else that is going on in his life. Examples could include a letter from home, a kind word from a teacher, a friend who shows understanding, a beautiful view or something nice in nature, a few precious moments of rest or privacy.

150. When you recall your time spent in Letterfrack do you remember an example of a positive / pleasant / happy experience you had there?

- o Yes
- o No

151. If yes, describe:

_____
_____
_____
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Appendix D

Confirmation of Ethical Approval

Decision of the Ethical Approval Committee, School of Education, Trinity College Dublin

Research Ethics Meeting Date: 26th November 2012

Application for approval for research design of PhD student Jeremiah Lynch, 11266984

Title of Project: *Surviving St. Joseph's Industrial School, Letterfrack*

Supervisor: Dr. Stephen Minton, School of Education, TCD

Decision of Ethics Committee:

The Committee noted that the documentation required for research ethical approval had been submitted and that this was of good quality and detail. The Committee grants ethical approval based on the undertakings given that a) participants should be fully informed of support groups and counselling services available in the event that issues emerging from data generation might require these; b) that participants are informed of the researcher's professional background as registered psychologist and accredited counsellor; c) that a thorough debriefing should be carried out at the end of each interview.

Mr. Lynch should include in his research report a post-project statement that indicates that the project was carried out as planned and approved in the documents submitted to this Committee for this approval. Any changes in research design and methodology would require new approval by this Committee.

To be resubmitted:	NO
Reasons for resubmission	n/a
Date	28/11/2012

Dr. Aidan Seery
Chair of Ethics Committee
School of Education
Trinity College Dublin

Appendix E

Researcher's Statement

Researcher's statement by way of adhering to conditions imposed by the Ethical Approval Committee, School of Education, Trinity College, Dublin when granting approval for this study.

In compliance with the requirements for the granting of ethical approval for this study on 28.11.2012, I, Jeremiah Lynch (the researcher), hereby declare that:

(1) All participants in this study were fully informed (verbally and in the form of a handout) about relevant support groups and counselling services available to them in the event that issues emerging from data generation might require these.

(2) All participants in this study were informed of the researcher's professional background as a registered psychologist and accredited counsellor.

(3) All participants in this study received a thorough debriefing at the end of each interview.

Researcher: Jeremiah J. Lynch

Signature:

Date: 17 September 2018

Appendix F

Support and Counselling Information Sheet

If you find yourself upset or even emotionally disturbed after participating in this research study you might like to know that there is support available to you. I recommend two professional organisations:

(1) **Towards Healing** is an organisation that provides a telephone helpline, individual, face-to-face counselling for survivors of institutional abuse and neglect, and support / counselling for immediate family members. The services are free of charge and the helpline is open Monday to Thursday from 11am to 8 pm and Friday from 11am to 6 pm. Individual counselling is provided by an accredited counsellor in your area. The Towards Healing Freephone number is **1800-30-34-16**

(2) **Connect** is a free telephone counselling and support service for any adult who has experienced abuse, trauma or neglect in childhood. It is an out-of-hours service and is available Wednesday to Sunday from 6pm to 10pm. The Connect Freephone number is **1800-47-74-77**

Appendix G

Recruitment Advertisement

PARTICIPANTS WANTED FOR RESEARCH STUDY ON ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, LETTERFRACK, CO. GALWAY

My name is Jerry Lynch. I am a Registered Psychologist and Accredited Counsellor who has worked with survivors of residential institutional abuse and neglect since 2000.

I am looking to interview survivors of St. Joseph's Industrial School, Letterfrack as part of my study for my Ph.D. in Trinity College Dublin. I am studying the abuse and neglect suffered by boys detained in Letterfrack against their wills. I want to find out how they survived their experiences and what happened to them in their lives after Letterfrack.

The research will take the form of two meetings with me. Meeting 1 will consist of an interview where you will be able to tell your own story and answer some questions. Meeting 2 will involve some questionnaires. Both meetings will take place at the survivor support centre [Right of Place Second Chance in Cork and the Aiislinn Centre in Dublin]. You will not be asked to read anything or write anything during our two meetings other than signing your name to give me permission to interview you.

I believe this research is important because the Ryan report (2009) did no research on individual industrial schools. This is a chance for you to put the record straight and tell what it was really like for you as a boy in Letterfrack.

If you are a Letterfrack survivor and you are willing to talk about your experiences with me, your confidentiality will be guaranteed by me and I would be grateful if you would volunteer to meet me and take part in this research.

Please contact Anne Marie Crean at the Cork survivor centre on **021-4551399** or Anne Marie Kennedy at the Dublin centre on **01-8725771**.

APPENDIX H

Glossary of Terms

Abuse and neglect

In Ireland, it was not until the introduction of *Children First* (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 1999) that there were guidelines for professionals to report suspected cases of abuse and neglect. As per current international standard practice, such reporting by Irish professionals working with minors is now mandatory. The revised national guidelines for reporting child abuse in Ireland, *Children First* (Department of Children and Youth Affairs, 2011), categorise child abuse into four different types: neglect, emotional abuse, physical abuse and sexual abuse. This document also provides examples of neglect and abuse, for the purpose of recognising signs of each type of abuse, and a protocol for reporting concerns to the relevant statutory agencies.

Neglect is defined in terms of omission: "where the child suffers significant harm or impairment of development by being deprived of food, clothing, warmth, hygiene, intellectual stimulation, supervision and safety, attachment to and affection from adults…" (p.8). Emotional abuse occurs "when a child's developmental need for affection, approval, consistency and security are not met", and can include persistent criticism, sarcasm, blaming, emotional unavailability, unresponsiveness, unrealistic expectations, under-protection, over-protection, hurtful disciplinary measures, and exposure to violence in the home (p.8). Physical abuse results in "actual or potential physical harm" and can include beating, slapping, hitting, kicking, pushing, shaking, throwing, pinching, biting, choking, suffocating, poisoning, exposing a child to violence, and severe threats of violence (p.9). Sexual abuse occurs when a child "is used by another person for his or her gratification or sexual arousal, or for that of others".[167]

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[167] Barnett et al. (2011, pp.197-198) remind us that a number of factors need to be considered in defining acts as sexually abusive, including forms of non-contact abuse, the intention of the perpetrator, the exertion of power/control over the child victim, the age difference between victim and perpetrator, and the types of abuse perpetrated.

Coping strategies

Lazarus (1991, 1999) emphasised the important mediating role of coping strategies in determining the immediate and long-term effects of this interdependent "stress system" on the mind and body. Coping strategies appear to have a major role to play in moderating an individual's physical and psychological well being when confronted by stressful life events (Endler & Parker, 1994; Miller, Brody, & Summerton, 1988). For the purposes of this study I use a modified version of the definition used by Weiten et al. (2011): *Coping strategies refer to the conscious and / or unconscious efforts of industrial school detainees, to master, reduce or tolerate the demands created by the stress of chronic abuse and neglect experienced in Letterfrack, while resident in the institution.*

Detainee

Boys were generally accused of a crime, or their parents were accused of neglect under the 1908 Children's Act (Daly, 2014). Boys were brought before a judge in a court and convicted. They were sentenced to a term of detention. They had to serve this sentence. They were held against their will. They were not allowed to leave the premises. They were escorted to the industrial school by the Gardaí (Irish police). For these reasons, I refer to them as detainees rather than the euphemistic term 'pupils' (as used by the Christian Brothers).

Stress and coping

Lazarus (1991, 1999) saw stress as a stimulus-response interaction, that is, that stress is neither in the person nor in the environment, but rather in the relationship between them. An environmental factor exerts a demand, which leads to the person appraising the relationship between that and their ability to respond, and then mobilising coping responses to manage the perceived person-environment relationship (Lazarus, 1991). He argued that stress consisted of three processes: (1) primary appraisal is the process of perceiving a threat to oneself; (2) secondary appraisal is the process of bringing to mind a potential response to the threat; and (3) coping is the process of executing that response

Given the extent of the information we have gleaned from survivors of Letterfrack (Coleman, 2010; Finn, 2011; Flynn, 1983, 2003; Tyrrell, 2006) and what was made clear in the CICA Report (2009), boys detained in Letterfrack lived with externally imposed stress every day of their detention. For the purposes of this study, therefore, I define stress in terms of a stimulus: *Stress in the industrial school setting was an environmental event or external force exerted on a detainee, which required an adaptive response.*

Coping is an individual's on-going cognitive, emotional and behavioural efforts to manage demands that are appraised as threatening (Ben-Zur, 1999; Lazarus 1966; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Lazarus (1966) lay much of the groundwork for future research on stress and coping and, indeed, he introduced the concept of coping as a process. He defined coping in terms of "cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external or internal demands (and conflicts between them) that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person" (Lazarus, 1991, p. 112). As well as cognitions and behaviour Lazarus also recognised the emotional content of the coping process. Coping may flow from emotion and may also have the goal of changing the conditions surrounding an emotion or indeed the emotion itself. Coping affects further appraisals, and thus can be seen as a causal antecedent of the resulting emotion. This in turn might influence subsequent appraisal of the situation and affect the type and intensity of the individual's stress response.

Resilience

The term resilience was initially derived from the field of engineering and refers to the physical strength of a material in the face of a stressor (Meredith et al., 2011). The commonly observed fact that not all people appear to suffer the same effects of adversity or trauma has been the main impetus for research into the notion of resilience. Bettelheim (1943,1979) was one of the first researchers to attempt to examine and describe how people survived in extreme situations, as a result of his own experiences as a prisoner in two concentration camps during WWII. [168] Post-war research on

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[168] Although recent scholarship has questioned his 'spin' on certain events and his methodology (e.g. Fleck & Müller, 1997), his writings on the Nazi concentration camp system and the identification of prisoner survival strategies have been hugely influential. For Bettelheim, surviving meant trying to cope with a radically altered set of conditions where old values and adaptive mechanisms did not apply any more. This was a new world with new rules. Indeed, he noted that some old adaptive mechanisms, if

resilience tended to focus on the area of child development as a result of research findings that showed that despite being raised in adverse circumstances, some children had normal developmental profiles. Landmark longitudinal research projects were carried out by Garmezy (Masten et al., 1999; Masten & Tellegen, 2012), Werner (Werner & Smith, 1982, 2001) and Rutter (Pickles et al., 2010).

In her excellent literature review of resilience research pertaining to institutional child abuse, Conway (2012) notes one major difficulty with research in this area: "Despite extensive research and developmental work, it has proved impossible to establish a single, comprehensive, universally accepted definition of resilience" (p.2). She notes, however, that researchers overwhelmingly now view resilience as a process, rather than an individual character trait, or a particular outcome. Two elements were apparent in all proposed definitions in the literature she reviewed: they described *positive personal responses* in the face of *adverse external events*. Perhaps this is the simplest and best definition available for our purposes here. Internal or personal factors related to resilience included: positive self-image; control or the ability to exercise agency; a sense of meaning in one's life, including spirituality; and hope for a brighter future, which sparked ambitions and aspirations and motivated persistence in pursuit of goals. External or social factors included relationships with family, friends, and the wider community.

Conway (2012) noted that factors relating to resilience were categorised as either *risk* or *protective*. Risk factors were those "associated with heightened chances of suffering negative outcomes as a result of adverse events or experiences". Protective factors "acted as a buffer, offsetting the depth of harm caused" and included internal factors such as self-image, meaningfulness and hope as well as external factors such as safe, caring, supportive relationships. Twenty-one of the research papers reviewed by Conway offered definitions of resilience, with many referring to the "absence of significant psychological ill health" (p.7).

In the Irish context, the definition of resilience used by the Carr (2009) study on 247 survivors of residential institutional abuse followed in the 'absence of psychological

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retained, could endanger the very life they were meant to protect. The challenge, according to Bettelheim, was to develop a new set of values, attitudes and a way of living that the new situation required. In concentration camp terms, survivors were those that lived to tell the tale.

ill-health' model. Survivors with lower levels of adult psychopathology, as measured by the DSM-IV (Axis I & Axis II), were deemed to be more resilient. This study used various tests to measure successful adaptation, including those of marriage satisfaction, parenting satisfaction, and quality of life. Relating to the same study, Flanagan et al. (2009) identified the following personal and contextual factors associated with positive adjustment following childhood adversity and trauma: cognitive ability, self-regulation skills, positive view of self, positive outlook on life, supportive caregivers, pro-social peers, effective schools and supportive recreational, social and healthcare community organisations.

Some definitions have focused on coping that resulted in coming back to some baseline level of functioning while others emphasise coping that leads to post-adversity or post-traumatic growth or even flourishing (Meredith et al. 2011). In other significant research in this area Friedman & Martin (2011) have identified the personality factors of sociability and conscientiousness, while Seligman (2002, 2006) focused on an individual's level of optimism. In a new and remarkable treatment approach for PTSD, researchers (Zimbardo & Boyd, 2008; Zimbardo, Sword & Sword, 2012) have identified an individual's perception of time as a major resilience factor. Programmes have even been developed to teach resilience to children (Brooks & Goldstein, 2001; Brooks & Goldstein, 2007). Other researchers have identified a number of personal characteristics as factors in resilience (Cyrulnik, 2009; Reivich & Shatté, 2003; Sherwood, 2009; Stoltz, 1997).

Survivor

The deliberate shift from using the term 'victim' to the term 'survivor' owes its origins to feminist scholarship on sexual violence against women (e.g. Kelly, 1998). Describing a woman as a survivor rather than a victim was designed to emphasise the positive, even the heroic. It denoted a triumph of hope over despair, of future possibilities emerging rather than the world coming to an end. It was also based on clinical evidence: many women who had faced the most appalling levels of violence had escaped, survived and gone on to build a new life for themselves. Finally, it was a question of losing all the accompanying negative connotations attached to the word 'victim' such as 'helpless', 'passive', 'weakness' 'damaged', and 'powerless'.

All support organisations in Ireland use the term 'survivor' for those men and women who experienced abuse and neglect in the residential institutions. All men and women I have spoken to since 2000 are only too aware that they have been victimised in those same residential institutions and subsequently by not having their voices heard but wish to call themselves, and wish to be called, 'survivors'. For the purposes of this thesis I see these men and women as both victims and survivors and refer to them when they were child detainees as victims and when they are post-release adolescents and adults as survivors.