"TELLING MY STORY": AN ANALYSIS OF HOW DISCLOSURE TO THE IRISH COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO CHILD ABUSE IS CONSTRUCTED

Niamh Moriarty BA (Hons) PGDip

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the School of Psychology, University of East London for the degree of Doctor of Counselling Psychology

March 2013

Word count: 32, 982

ABSTRACT

Beyond enabling protection of the child, disclosure of child sexual abuse makes it possible for the abused individual to access social and therapeutic support. Whether child sexual abuse is disclosed in childhood or adulthood research findings emphasise the significance of the disclosure context in facilitating full disclosure and in protecting against long term psychological and emotional difficulties. However, despite the literature identifying the need for a compassionate, non judgemental context a number of countries have established "truth commissions" as a means to investigate and acknowledge institutional child sexual abuse.

The present study argues that there might be a serious conflict between the psychological knowledge base and the State-led procedures for hearing disclosures of abuse. In order to investigate this further this study interviewed a sample of male adult survivors of institutional child sexual abuse in Ireland. The research sought to understand how these men constructed the process of sharing their story of abuse with the Government-established "Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse" and "Residential Institutions Redress Board" and, subsequent to the publishing of the report of the commission, with the Irish public.

In line with the social constructionist epistemological perspective a critical approach to discourse analysis, integrating features from discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis, was used to examine the discourses of the male participants when speaking about the disclosure of child sexual abuse to the Commission, and to consider the functions which this discourse may serve both individually and in the socio-political context.

The research found that men sexually abused as children in Irish institutions draw on the "genocide" discourse to construct their historical abuse as a wider abuse of their human rights due to their low socioeconomic position within a hierarchical class system. The participants presented the "great wall of silence" as a disciplinary practice operating within society in order to maintain social regulation and control through the silencing of disclosures of abuse, thereby forcing them to bury their experience and take up the

position of isolated, "locked away" child. Justice was constructed as multi-faceted, incorporating financial retribution but with the ultimate goal being "to be heard, to be believed". Significantly the men drew on the "being abused all over again" discourse to construct the process of disclosure to the Irish Commission as a disappointment of their hopes for justice: a painful, harsh system which replicated the cold, discriminatory and abusive context of their childhood.

It is considered that this study will contribute to the literature on male survivors of child sexual abuse, and the commission as a context for disclosure. The findings may also inform counselling practice and public policy. The findings are theoretically framed by the clinical literature on cognitive-behavioural and psychodynamic therapy in order to inform clinical practice. Recommendations are made for future research.

STUDENT DECLARATION FORM

Student Declaration form

Student Name:	**Niamh Moriarty**
Student Number:	**U0536763**
Sponsoring Establishment:	**University of East London**
Degree for which thesis submitted:	**Professional Doctorate in Counselling Psychology**

Concurrent registration for two or more academic awards:

(* Please complete/ delete as appropriate)

either	* I declare that while registered as a research degree student at UEL, I have not been a registered or enrolled student for another award of this university or of any other academic or professional institution
or	* I declare that while registered as a research degree student at UEL, I was, with the university's specific permission, also an enrolled student for the following award (see below):
Award title:	

Material submitted for another award:

(* Please complete/ delete as appropriate)

either	* I declare that no material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award
or	* I declare that the following material contained in the thesis formed part of a submission for the award of (see below):
Award and awarding body: (list material here)	

Signature of student _____ Date 03|07|2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

ADDENDUM (Separate disc containing audio files of interviews)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

CSA Childhood Sexual Abuse

SA Sexual Abuse

UK United Kingdom

USA United States of America

HSE Health Service Executive (Ireland)

WHO World Health Organisation

NAPAC National Association for People Abused in Childhood

NSPCC National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

NYSPCC New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

RIRB Residential Institutions Redress Board

NICE National Institute for Health and Clinical Excellence

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1   INTRODUCTION

Child sexual abuse (CSA) emerged as a socially and politically acknowledged phenomenon as recently as the 1960s, following disclosures of incestuous abuse and the publication of survivor narratives by women during the feminist movement of the time. Establishing CSA as a socio-politically constructed category involved the assimilation of associated language around the innocence of the child, categories of human behaviour such as "paedophilia" and regulatory practices around sexual deviance, knowledge pertaining to the significance of childhood development and subsequently a political system and institutional structure around child protection and the rights of the child.

A vast body of research literature on CSA informs us that many of those sexually abused as children will suffer long-term psychological and emotional difficulties such as anxiety, depression, suicidality, relationship difficulties and substance misuse (Roy, 2004; Ystgaard et al., 2004; Swantson et al., 2003; Brodsky et al., 2001; Molnar et al., 1998; De Luca et al., 1995; Widom, 1995). However, evidence also suggests that the relationship between CSA and later effects is complex, with no distinct post sexual abuse syndrome being identified (Cahill et al., 1991), and as many as 40% of individuals who were sexually abused as children experiencing none of the aforementioned difficulties in adulthood (Whiffen & Macintosh, 2005; Finklehor 1990). Researchers have subsequently identified that social reactions to the disclosure of CSA play a crucial role in mediating the effects of CSA, with negative social reactions involving shame, disbelief or rejection having a negative impact on self esteem and long term psychological functioning (Porges, 2005; Whiffen & MacIntosh, 2005; Messman-Moore & Long, 2003; Runtz & Schallow, 1997; Everill & Waller, 1995; Testa et al., 1992).

Disclosure of CSA is crucial in childhood and adulthood as it enables interventions such as stopping the perpetrator and protecting the child from further abuse, as well as making psychological support possible. Furthermore, the literature on disclosure of

child sexual abuse emphasises the significance of the disclosure context in facilitating disclosure and protecting against long term psychological and emotional difficulties. However, research has identified that various socio-political factors may inhibit the disclosure of CSA: social beliefs in relation to rape myths and the credibility of memories of historical CSA inhibit disclosure of CSA as the individual fears that their account of abuse will not be believed; it has been identified that variations in the definitions of CSA and the language used to question participants in CSA prevalence studies impact on the disclosure of CSA. Subsequently the literature on disclosure emphasises that it is a complex process which is best facilitated by a compassionate, non judgemental context.

Despite the literature emphasising the need for a compassionate, non judgemental disclosure context in order to protect against long term psychological and emotional difficulties, a number of countries have established "truth commissions" as a means to investigate and acknowledge historical institutional child sexual abuse. The present study emerged from the Irish researcher's interest in the "Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse" (to be referred to as "the commission"), a government initiated commission-style investigation that was established to explore allegations of widespread historical abuse[1] in religious-run residential institutions for children. Arguing that there is a serious conflict apparent between the psychological knowledge base and the State-led procedures and institutional context for hearing disclosures of CSA, this study sought to explore the process of disclosure within the context of the Irish Commission and the residential institutions redress board (to be referred to throughout the study as "the redress board") by interviewing a sample of adult survivors of institutional child sexual abuse in Ireland. The study chose to focus on males who have experienced CSA as males are grossly under-represented in the literature on CSA.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

Chapter 2 of the thesis will provide an overview of the literature relating to child sexual abuse and disclosure. Specifically, it will begin by presenting an overview of the emergence of child abuse and child sexual abuse in order to establish these as socially

---

[1] Allegations related to physical, sexual, and emotional abuse as well as neglect.

constructed categories which are socio-politically and historically situated. The literature on repressed memories will be engaged with as it is relevant to fears around the credibility of accounts of abuse which are known to inhibit disclosure, the role of social beliefs in the disclosure of CSA, and the issue of disclosure of historical CSA being explored in the present research. A critical evaluation of the literature on prevalence of CSA will establish CSA as a global phenomenon, and highlight methodological issues such as the use of homogenous samples thereby providing justification for the sample of male participants for the present research. Emphasising the role that language and interaction plays in disclosure of CSA also justifies the social-constructionist epistemological position of the current study. Critically evaluating the research on effects of CSA and factors that mediate the effects of CSA will further highlight the methodological concerns within the literature on CSA in order to justify the use of qualitative research involving male participants, and establish the significance of social support and context in the disclosure of CSA. A critical review of the literature on disclosure of CSA will be emphasise the role of discourses such as rape myth beliefs and the attribution of shame/blame in the disclosure of CSA. Establishing that disclosure is an interactive, evaluative process best facilitated by a compassionate context will provide further rationale for the study of the commission context. This critical literature review will be followed by a detailed introduction to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse and the Residential Financial Redress Board. This introduction will focus on highlighting the socio-political context of the Church as an powerful institution in Irish society as well as the institutional nature of proceedings and disclosure context involved in the Irish Commission. Thus, further justification for the social-constructionist epistemological perspective and the methodological framework of discourse analysis will be established and the chapter will conclude with a presentation of the emerging rationale for this research study.

In Chapter 3 the paradigmatic approach and epistemological and methodological frameworks of the research study will be outlined; a rationale will be given for the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm and the social constructionist epistemological position of the present study. A rationale will also be provided for the methodological design of the study which included an integrative approach to discourse analysis.

The findings of the analysis will be presented in detail in Chapter 4, and in Chapter 5 the research findings will be discussed in relation to the existing body of literature around disclosure. The potential for the research findings to inform the field of counselling psychology will also be discussed and the quality of the present research will be evaluated.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review aims to provide a context and a rationale for the current research study. It will therefore present a brief historical introduction to Child Abuse before narrowing the focus to childhood sexual abuse in order to establish the socio-constructed nature of the categories of child abuse and child sexual abuse. The literature on repressed memory will be explored as the credibility of accounts of abuse is a significant factor in the disclosure of CSA. A critical review of research literature on the prevalence of CSA and the effects of CSA will be presented to provide a rationale for the socio-constructionist epistemological position of the current study. Critically evaluating the literature on disclosure of CSA will provide further justification for the exploration of the discourse within the disclosure context. The institutional context of CSA, specifically the Irish residential institutional context for children will then be discussed in detail, together with an introduction to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse. Finally the emerging research questions will be presented and a rationale for the study will be given.

2.2 A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CHILD ABUSE

The study of historical documents and literature has led to suggestions that the abuse of children has been commonplace since ancient times. As Lloyd de Mause stated in his 1994 speech to The American Psychiatric Association Convention: "The history of humanity is founded upon the abuse of children" (de Mause, 1994, p.78). However, the recognition of "child abuse" is a relatively modern phenomenon; French Physician Auguste Tardieu appears to have been the first to identify the features of child abuse while carrying out research in the 1860s[2], and the first legal case of a child or young person being taken into care by authorities was that of Mary Ellen Wilson in 1873 (Shelman & Lazoritz, 2005). This case emerged at a time of reform and industrial

---

[2] Source: National Association of Counsel for Children. Tardieu's article *Etude médico-légale sur les sévices et mauvais traitements exercés sur des enfants* ("A Medico-legal Study of Cruelty and Brutal treatment Inflicted on Children") described the maltreatment of children through the use of thirty-two cases studies.

revolution in the United States, such as the founding of the New York Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1875 and the passing of the Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children Act 1889[3] in what was then the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Numerous revisions of national Children's Acts were passed in the decades that followed, but it was the advances in the use of radiology for medical purposes that enabled paediatrician Henry Kempe and his colleagues to identify the significant occurrence of non-accidental injuries in children through X-ray evidence in hospital emergency rooms (Kempe et al, 1962). The 1962 publication of Kempe's book "The Battered Child Syndrome" positioned child abuse at the forefront of public and professional awareness and resulted in the passing of child abuse reporting laws and the first U.S. Federal Child Abuse and Neglect Prevention Treatment Act (1974). In the 21st century figures from the World Health Organisation (WHO) have suggested that globally approximately 40 million children are subjected to child abuse each year (WHO, 2001).

This short historical overview demonstrates how social and political focus on the identification and prevention of child abuse increased in line with developing medical technology and knowledge, and as part of a change in the status of the child, in the late 20th century. Whereas attention initially focused on the physical abuse of children, the issue of childhood sexual abuse has also slowly emerged. The following section will detail the history of childhood sexual abuse and present some of the research findings in relation to CSA.

2.3   INTRODUCTION TO CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE

This section will present a brief socio-historical overview of the emergence of childhood sexual abuse as an acknowledged form of abuse. The subsequent emergence of the issue of false and repressed memories of CSA will be critically evaluated as part of this overview. Following this overview, research findings and difficulties in assessing

---

[3] This act confirmed the state's authority to intervene, and to arrest those found to be ill-treating children. It also provided the first guidelines on the employment of children.

the prevalence of CSA will be discussed. The literature on the effects of CSA will be presented and critiqued. Finally, factors that may moderate the effects of CSA will be discussed. Research findings relating to the disclosure of CSA will be presented separately in section 2.4.

2.3.1   GLOBAL RECOGNITION OF CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE

In 1857 the aforementioned physician Ambrose Tardieu published *Etude Médico-Légale sur les Attentats aux Mœurs,* arguably the first scientific book relating to childhood sexual abuse (Masson, 1984). In the late 1800s Freud was also writing about childhood sexual abuse, in the form of repressed or unconscious memories of infantile sexual abuse, in relation to his theory on seduction[4] (Freud, 1896a; 1896b; 1986c). Despite the documented work of Tardieu and Freud suggesting that the sexual abuse of children was recognised in the mid to late 19th century, this form of abuse did not become a publicly recognised issue until the 1970s. Following the increasing acknowledgement of child abuse as a significant phenomenon as a result of Henry Kempe's work in the 1960's, the specific issue of childhood sexual abuse began to emerge. The second-wave feminist movement of the 1960s is accredited with providing women with a platform to speak, and to begin to be heard (Nicholson, 1997). Discourses about childhood sexual abuse, in particular incestuous CSA, emerged and facilitated the first mainstream publishing of sexual abuse survivor narratives, such as Louise Armstrong's "Kiss Daddy Goodnight" (Armstrong, 1978) and the anthology "I never told anyone" (Bass et al, 1983). In line with the feminist theory dominating the age, these early narratives often constructed incestuous abuse, and CSA in general, as resulting from societal constructions of masculine power and the adult/child power imbalance.

---

[4] Freud's seduction theory posited that hysteria and obsessional neuroses in adults resulted from repressed memories of infantile sexual abuse. Although he did not provide clinical evidence on presentation of the theory in his 1896 papers, Freud scholars maintain that the seduction theory was informed by Freud's uncovering of unconscious memories rather than conscious reports of infantile sexual abuse amongst 18 male and female patients (Masson, 1985; Schimek, 1987). It should also be noted that Freud later abandoned the seduction theory and his subsequent theory of infantile sexuality argued that the apparently repressed or unconscious memories were in fact impulses and fantasies rather than representations of actual events of childhood sexual abuse (Masson, 1985).

The feminist movement and the aforementioned publications prompted an increase in public awareness of CSA in the 1960s and 1970s. Political response included the enactment of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act in the United States in 1974 which provided federal funding for the purpose of prevention, investigation and prosecution of CSA. Significant international acts and agreements include the United Nations Convention on the rights of the Child 1989 (UN, 1989), the Irish Child Care Act of 1991 and the United Kingdom's Children Act 1989.

It should be noted that following the second-wave feminist movement, the emergence of discourses about child sexual abuse, and increasing public awareness of CSA, controversy arose in the subsequent decades as the credibility of accounts of childhood sexual abuse were questioned. Specifically, critics queried the credibility of repressed memories uncovered by therapeutic approaches or techniques, such as hypnosis, dream work or age regression (Loftus, 1996; Lindsay & Read, 1994). These debates will be reviewed in the following subsection.

2.3.2   MEMORIES OF ABUSE: REPRESSED, RECOVERED AND FALSE

Drawing on psychological theories of dissociation and repression (Freud, 1896c), proponents of repressed memory argue that repressing memories of child sexual abuse may serve as a necessary coping method for the individual and therefore that amnesia can occur in relation to memories of CSA (Schelfin & Brown, 1996; Terr, 1994). Reviewing the literature on recovered memories of abuse, Whitfield (1997) found that between sixteen and seventy-eight per cent of research participants reported having previously had a partial or full non-awareness of earlier trauma. Furthermore, Williams (1994), following up women who had been interviewed about their allegations of abuse as children, found that a high proportion denied the abuse had occurred when re-interviewed as adults. Later in this literature review findings in relation to the significance of the context in disclosures of abuse will be presented; in relation to Williams' research it must be considered that the research questions and context may have had an effect on the resulting denials of childhood abuse. Indeed, significant methodological difficulties arise within the research on repressed and false memories: the research relies on participants' self-reporting a previous non-awareness or lack of

memory of a traumatic event during childhood, and it is largely impossible to substantiate remembered trauma (Loftus & Guyer, 2002; Pope & Hudson, 1995).

Opponents of repressed memory such as academic Elizabeth Loftus have turned to psychological literature on memory distortion to highlight the power of suggestion in creating false memories. Drawing on this literature, subsequent research has succeeded in manipulating participants to believe that dream material occurred in reality (Mazzoni & Loftus, 1995), and proving that post-event information can be incorporated into memories (Loftus, 1996; Lindsay & Read, 1994). In their research on memory, Loftus and colleagues found that prompting adult participants to imagine that a non-occurring childhood event, such as going to the emergency room late at night, had happened to them, for example by questioning the client about how they might have felt or what they might have done during the imagined event, increased the participant's belief in the occurrence of the false childhood memory as evidenced through the completion of a 40 item Life Events Inventory pre and post intervention (Garry et al., 1996). However, limitations of this study include that this effect was observed in 24% of the participant group only, and 12% of a control group who had not been prompted to imagine the non-occurring event were also found to have increased their belief in the occurrence of the imagined event. Further research is necessary to fully understand this effect and to identify other significant factors which may have influenced these results.

Researchers continue to explore whether seemingly repressed memories may in fact be conscious but denied within the research context (Dale & Allen, 1998), and findings in relation to factors that affect disclosure of CSA will be presented in section 2.4 of this literature review. To date research has proved inconclusive in determining whether memories of CSA can be repressed and later recovered. However, bodies such as the American Psychological Association and the American Psychiatric Society acknowledge that false memories can be created and that memories can be influenced (Loftus, 1996). Due to the significance of memory in CSA allegations and criminal/litigious proceedings, as well as within CSA research, significant further empirical research is required within this area.

2.3.3   THE PREVALENCE OF CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE

The literature on CSA includes a vast number of studies seeking to identify the prevalence of CSA. For decades researchers have attempted to ascertain the prevalence of CSA, perhaps to reinforce demands for increased research, funding and services. Ratna and Mukergee (1998) suggested that 1 in 6 women and 1 in 10 men reported experiencing CSA. More recently a World Health Organisation background paper to the UN Secretary General's Study on Violence Against Children estimates that 150 million girls and 73 million boys, out of an estimated 2.2 billion children worldwide (Unicef, 2008), experience forms of sexual violence including forced sexual intercourse[5] (WHO, 2006). In 2011 the NSPCC published the results of a UK-wide study in which a random probability sample of parents and young people were interviewed about their experiences of child abuse and neglect. Their findings suggest that almost 25.1% of young adults aged 18-24 experienced childhood contact[6] or non-contact[7] sexual abuse perpetrated by either an adult or by a peer (Radford et al, 2011).

However, statistics on the prevalence of CSA are unreliable for reasons beyond the aforementioned dilemmas in relation to memory; methodological approaches vary between studies; sampling is inconsistent and may include members of the general public, psychiatric patients or university students; and a universally accepted definition of CSA fails to exist. The World Health Organisation currently defines child sexual abuse as:

> The involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared, or else that violate the laws or social taboos of society. Children can be sexually abused by adults or other children who are –by virtue of their age or stage of development – in a position of responsibility, trust, or power over the victim. (WHO, 2006)

---

[5] These estimated prevalence figures were based on the analysis of 513 articles assessing CSA prevalence

[6] Contact sexual abuse includes kissing, sexual fondling or touching as well as oral sex and penetrative sex.

[7] Non-contact sexual abuse includes elements such as forcing a child to view sexually explicit acts or materials and making sexual comments

Many definitions of CSA convey the essence of what constitutes child sexual abuse but vary significantly in the precise factors which are overtly identified. Within research, the definitions used to establish selection criteria for participants in CSA studies, as well as the criteria used to measure the prevalence of CSA, differ in relation to the maximum age for a victim, the age difference between the child and the offender, and whether the selection criteria for participants includes non-contact sexual abuse as well as contact sexual abuse (see Appendix 11 for varying definitions of CSA). Kelly and colleagues (1991), examining how definitions of CSA affect prevalence figures, found that definition differences, alongside differences in sampling and question phrasing, yielded results ranging from 4% to 59% for prevalence in women and 2% to 27% for men. Defining CSA as rape or forced masturbation resulted in the lowest prevalence rates, while a broader definition including sexual abuse attempts, being pressured to have sex, "flashing", and reducing the age of the perpetrator to include peers yielded high prevalence rates.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) in the United Kingdom commissioned a review of international studies assessing CSA prevalence (Creighton, 2004). The studies reviewed (McGee et al., 2002; Cawson et al, 2000; Macmillan et al, 1997; Fergusson et al, 1996; Halpérin et al, 1996; Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994; Sariola and Uutela, 1994; Siegal et al., 1987; Badgley et al, 1984) had been conducted in the U.K., Canada, New Zealand, Switzerland, Finland, and Ireland. In reviewing these studies, Creighton found that contact sexual abuse figures for women ranged from 10% to 20.4% and for men ranged from 3% to 3.9%. Interestingly two outliers of these ranges were males in Ireland, amongst whom the prevalence for contact sexual abuse was found to be 16.2%[8], and both males and females in Canada where the prevalence for either contact or non-contact child sexual abuse was stated as 25% and 42% respectively[9]. As outlined by Creighton, there are methodological difficulties in comparing the findings of these independent studies, specifically that participant selection criterion with regards to age differed significantly:

---

[8] Irish prevalence figures were taken from McGee et al., 2002. This study consisted of a telephone survey of a random sample of 3,118 Irish adults.

[9] Canadian prevalence figures were taken from Badgley et al 1984. The later study of the Canadian population by MacMillan et al., (1997) reported figures of 12.8% of women and 4.3% of men had experienced CSA.

for example Halpérin and colleagues interviewed ninth graders (aged approximately sixteen) while Cawson and colleagues selected participants aged eighteen to twenty-four (Cawson et al, 2000; Halpérin et al, 1996). Also research design included various measures such as self-administered questionnaires, face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews and computer-assisted interviewing. Finally, definitions of CSA varied, particularly in relation to what constitutes CSA between peers with Macmillan for example specifying that the victim must have been aged less than twelve years and with a minimum age gap of five years between victim and perpetrator.

These methodological inconsistencies may account for some of the variation in the prevalence figures. However, in relation to the figures established in Ireland and Canada it is significant that both countries established public commissions to investigate institutional child abuse: the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (established 1999) (hereafter referred to as the Irish Commission) and the Canadian Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission (established 2008). These commissions were tasked with encouraging disclosure of CSA in order to understand and officially acknowledge the frequency and extent of abuse amongst certain populations, such as in religious-run residential settings, as a historical and social phenomenon (Regan, 2010; Ryan, 2009).

The social and political progress, in the form of the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse may have facilitated higher disclosure rates as observed in the prevalence figures for Ireland. It is also possible that those who had already disclosed CSA to a Commission were motivated to participate in research and therefore appeared in high numbers amongst the participant groups thus distorting the prevalence figures. Although McGee and colleagues used random sampling of the general population for their telephone interviews, which could be argued to minimise motivated participation, participants chose whether to partake in the phone interview. With these issues unresolved it is impossible to identify if these figures are a normative reflection of the prevalence of CSA in Ireland.

This critical introduction to CSA prevalence literature has demonstrated the variability and unreliability of international statistics on CSA. Differences in conceptual and methodological approaches which may account for variations in prevalence figures have

also been identified. Future research will need to take into account issues such as sampling inconsistency and the lack of a universally accepted definition of CSA. Furthermore, future research must consider the literature on disclosure in order to understand factors which may facilitate or inhibit disclosure within the research context, thereby affecting prevalence statistics. The literature on disclosure will be engaged with further in section 2.4.

2.3.4   THE EFFECTS OF CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE

Following the increase in public awareness of CSA a great deal of research, particularly in the 1990s, has focused on identifying the effects of CSA. However, the failure to identify a distinct post-sexual abuse syndrome, as well as research findings to suggest that not all individuals who experienced CSA developed symptoms in adulthood, prompted a second generation of research focused on identifying factors that mediate the effects of CSA. This section will present findings from the literature on the effects of CSA before highlighting methodological issues within the research. The subsequent section will focus on the literature on factors that mediate the effects of abuse.

The effects of CSA have been well documented by a wide body of quantitative literature to include depression, anxiety and substance misuse. Beitchman and colleagues (1992), reviewing thirty-two research studies into the long term effects of CSA, found that adult women who had experienced CSA were more likely to experience anxiety, depression, suicidal ideation, sexual disturbance or dysfunction, to have homosexual experiences, and to be revictimised later in life. Further evidence suggests that CSA is associated with increased aggression, self mutilation, suicidal tendencies and an increased risk of criminal offences as an adult (Roy, 2004; Ystgaard et al., 2004; Swantson et al. 2003; Brodsky et al., 2001; Molnar et al., 1998; De Luca et al., 1995; Widom, 1995). Longitudinal studies have found that CSA is associated with poorer psychological well-being, higher rates of teenage pregnancy and also adjustment problems in the adult victim's children (Roberts et al., 2004). A higher risk of physical and health issues such as irritable bowel syndrome, headaches, back, muscle and joint pain, obesity and eating disorders have also been identified (Irish et al., 2010; Felitti, 2007; Newman et al., 2000; Gelfand et al. 1999; Felitti, 1997; Walker et al. 1997; Talley, Fett & Zinsmeister, 1995; Connors & Morse, 1993; Domino & Haber, 1987).

13

Child sexual abuse takes place within an interpersonal relationship. Researchers have therefore explored the impact that CSA may have on the individual's ability to relate to others, particularly if the abuse was perpetrated by an attachment figure. Findings suggest that CSA can impact an individual's sense of trust in other people leading to negative internal working models of the self and others, difficulties with intimacy, anger and mistrust in relationships and insecure adult attachment styles (Kendall-Tackett, Williams & Finkelhor, 2001; Briere 1992). Alexander (1992) calls for the application of attachment theory to the study of CSA arguing that an insecure attachment between parent and child may predispose the child to CSA due to the presence of risk factors such as conflict within the parental relationship, the mother being unavailable and the presence of a stepfather; and that variables such as family conflict and lack of family cohesion are associated with long term effects of CSA more so than the abuse itself.

Revealingly, despite the large body of literature investigating CSA, research involving male survivors of CSA is sparse. Some authors argue that this gap in the literature reflects a social belief that men perpetrate child sexual abuse rather than become victims of it (Yancey & Hansen, 2010; Holmes & Slap 1998). Indeed the majority of male child abuse is perpetrated by males (Faller, 1989) and research suggests that male victims often have concerns around disclosing abuse for fear of the public perception of their sexuality (Hussey, Strom & Singer, 1992). The research that has been carried out suggests that male victims of sexual abuse have significantly poorer psychological outcomes than females; experience higher rates of depression, anxiety, suicidality, and current sexual interest or behaviour with minors; and are more likely to externalise emotional distress in the form of aggression or anti-social behaviour (Lisak, 1995; Bagley, Wood & Young, 1994; Kempe & Kempe, 1984).

2.3.5 CRITIQUE

Despite the growing body of research which identifies various effects of CSA, Finklehor reported in 1990 that 20 – 40 % of those who experienced CSA presented no diagnostically measurable symptoms. Hence the effects of CSA identified thus far reflect an elevated risk, rather than an inevitable symptom. The validity of research findings in the literature on the effects of CSA is also generally questionable. Sampling issues arise through the repeated use of the university population. This prevents findings

from being applicable to the wider population, particularly black and minority groups who are grossly underrepresented in the literature, and fails to fully represent variations in effects across age groups. Finklehor (1979) argues that the university population is reasonably consistent with regards to their social, emotional and academic functioning, and consequently may be considered less likely to have been severely affected by child sexual abuse, and therefore less likely to fully represent the extent of the effects of CSA.

In response to the absence of a single post-abuse syndrome and the number of adults who do not present with long term effects of CSA, researchers have moved from a first generation of research seeking to identifying emotional and psychological effects of CSA, to a second generation of research seeking to fully appreciate this causal relationship through the identification of moderating and mediating factors.

2.3.6   FACTORS THAT MEDIATE THE EFFECTS OF CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE

Research has identified that CSA is a risk factor for numerous emotional difficulties and disorders. Despite this, the literature suggests that no specific post-sexual abuse syndrome exists (Whiffen & Macintosh, 2005; Finkelhor, 1990). Furthermore, as mentioned above, approximately one third of those who experience CSA do not exhibit long term effects, in the form of diagnostically measurable symptoms in adulthood. This may suggest that a unitary phenomenon called CSA does not exist. However, researchers such as Briere and Runtz (1988) argue that factors exist which mediate or moderate the effects of CSA. The following research findings demonstrate a number of potential mediating factors.

Beitchman and colleagues' (1992) review of thirty two studies researching the long term effects of CSA suggested that abuse involving father/stepfather and abuse involving penetration results in increased long-term harm, that the longer duration of abuse results in greater impact, and that the inclusion of force, or threat of force may be associated with the effects of anxiety, fear and suicidality.

Social support has also been found to account for more than half the variance in functioning of those who have experienced CSA (Runtz and Schallow, 1997) with

positive social engagement found to decrease sympathetic arousal (Porges, 2005) and victim's perceived negative reaction of family members to disclosure of CSA associated with higher levels of self-denigration in adulthood (Everill & Waller, 1995). Attachment in particular has been proposed as a significant factor in later psychological outcome (Dimitrova et al., 2009; Porges, 2005). It has been argued that abuse by caregivers may affect the child's internal working models of self and others and that a negative internal working model may lead a person to develop insecure or negative adult relationships which themselves may be a mediator of adult emotional distress (Whiffon, Thompson and Aube, 2000; Alexander, 1992). Alexander (1992) attempted to explore this further by evidencing insecure adult attachment styles in individuals who had experienced CSA and adult emotional distress. However, further research is necessary to explore whether insecure caregiver attachments exist prior to experiencing CSA, perhaps putting the child at risk of CSA in the first place, rather than as a result of the impact of CSA on the relationship.

Whiffen and MacIntosh (2005) reviewed nineteen empirical studies assessing mediators such as shame/self-blame, interpersonal difficulties such as attachment difficulties, family environment and coping. They found methodological concerns which affected the credibility of research findings such as a dearth of longitudinal studies measuring mediators and emotional distress at different points in time in order to effectively identify mediator effect. However, findings included significant support for shame/self-blame as a mediator for emotional distress and results from Whiffen, Thompson and Aube (2000) supported the hypothesis that interpersonal difficulties act as a mediator between CSA and depressive symptoms. One of the few research studies to include male participants, they found gender differences with being distant and controlling in relationships acting as a mediator for women, while the mediating factor for men was feeling unassertive and taking too much responsibility in relationships. These findings highlight the difficulties in generalising CSA research with female participants to males.

Recommendations emerging from these findings included methodological recommendations such as the need for a longitudinal design in research assessing mediating factors (Whiffen & Macintosh, 2005). Clinical recommendations included focussing on reducing feelings of shame and improving interpersonal dynamics in order to alleviate later negative avoidant coping strategies such as substance misuse and adult

emotional distress. This body of literature highlights the significant effect that social support and blame can have on the abused individual. It is therefore questionable whether large-scale, impersonal contexts which may be experienced as critical and blaming, for example Commissions and financial redress boards, are suitable contexts for the disclosure of CSA.

In summary, a vast body of literature has identified that CSA results in psychological, social, physical and behavioural difficulties for the majority of individuals. However, the validity of the research has been at times questionable, and is particularly under-representative of minority groups and males. Also, it has been increasingly acknowledged that the relationship between CSA and later effects is complex, with adults experiencing varying degrees of effects and approximately a third of all individuals experiencing none of the long term effects identified. A number of factors have been suggested to act as mediators in the impact of CSA on adults such as the identity of the perpetrator, the duration of the abuse, the role of shame, attachment insecurity and social support.

The next section of this chapter will focus on reviewing the literature around disclosure of CSA, and specifically examining factors that may inhibit or encourage disclosure of abuse.

2.4   DISCLOSURE: SHARING THE STORY OF ABUSE

Undoubtedly, disclosure of sexual abuse is important in childhood as well as in adulthood, as it enables intervention, such as stopping the perpetrator and protecting the child from further abuse. Disclosure also makes psychological intervention and support possible for both children and adults disclosing CSA (Bussey & Grimbeek, 1995; Sauzier, 1989). However, research has found the process of disclosure to be extremely complex, and a number of factors which affect disclosure have been identified. A review of the factors affecting disclosure, a critical presentation of the disclosure context, and disclosure in relation to males who have experienced CSA will be presented below.

2.4.1   FACTORS AFFECTING THE DISCLOSURE OF CSA

A recent NSPCC research study interviewing young adults, children and parents of children reported that 34% of children aged 11 to 17 who had experienced sexual abuse by an adult disclose the abuse and 82.7% of children aged 11 to 17 who had experienced sexual abuse from a peer did not tell anyone (Radford et al., 2011). Research has provided much information on factors which may inhibit disclosure by children and by adults in the case of disclosure of historical CSA. Smith et al (2000) suggested that being very young at the time of rape and being abused by a perpetrator known to the family inhibited disclosure by children. Numerous studies have considered the notions of blame and responsibility with Anderson and Doherty (2008) finding that gender and sexual orientation of alleged victims and perpetrators are used by research participants in apportioning both blame and sympathy toward victim and perpetrator (Bohner, 1998; Krahe, 1988; Burt, 1980). Although research on male victims of CSA is sparse, the literature finds that males are much less likely to disclose childhood sexual abuse and suggests that this may be due to concerns about public perception of the victim's sexuality due to the majority of CSA against males being homosexual in nature (Hanson et al., 2002; Hussey, Strom & Singer, 1992; Faller, 1989). The literature on male disclosure of CSA will be attended to in further detail in the following section.

Sanderson (2006) argues that rape myth beliefs[10] specific to CSA exist and can leave child disclosures and adult historical disclosures susceptible to dismissal as a child's fantasy or misunderstanding. Examples of these myths include that "it's not that common", "strangers are nearly always the perpetrator", "child sexual abusers are monsters or easily identifiable", "only gay men sexually abuse boys" and "women do not sexually abuse children" (Sanderson, 2006, pp.16-23). Evidence suggests that myths regarding child sexual abuse are socially constructed to reassure people of their insusceptibility to crimes of this nature, similarly to a "just-world" fallacy (Lerner & Montada, 1998). As discussed earlier serious concern and debate has arisen in relation to the notion of repressed memories of CSA (Schelfin & Brown, 1996; Loftus, 1996; Terr, 1994; Lindsay & Read, 1994). It is conceivable that social myths in relation to CSA and the debate about false memory may have constructed disclosure of CSA, and in particular adult disclosure of historical CSA, as questionable in terms of its

---

[10] Rape myth beliefs are stereotypical beliefs that blame the victim and absolve the rapist of responsibility (Burt, 1980)

credibility. It appears highly likely then that fear of not being believed might be another factor affecting disclosure of CSA.

Research into the disclosure of CSA has identified that reports of CSA can include partial disclosures only, and may involve retractions and denials (Gonzalez et al., 1993). MacMartin (1999) takes a social constructionist perspective in arguing that conventional conceptions of disclosure of child sexual abuse as a transparent monologue with the sole purpose of transmitting information fails to appreciate the role of socio-historical and cultural processes in the production of reports of CSA. Furthermore, she suggests that apparent inconsistencies across reports of CSA may in fact be accounted for by the diverse interactional goals involved in each disclosure context. She calls for closer reading of the disclosure context in order to acknowledge the *co-constructed nature of disclosure*.

This section has identified that factors such as blame, shame and the disclosure context may affect disclosure of CSA. The following section will explore the significance of context in disclosure of CSA.

2.4.2   THE CONTEXT OF DISCLOSURE

The importance of context in disclosure has been explored with regards to issues such as HIV status (Moneyham, 1996), lesbian identity (Montini, 2000), and bulimia (Evans & Wertheim, 2002). These studies have suggested that disclosure is an evaluative process involving an analysis of potential risks and benefits, and that it is an interactive process which depends on consensus and cooperation for successful completion.

The literature on context in disclosure of childhood sexual abuse relates to both child and adult (historical) disclosures in a number of different disclosure contexts: disclosure to family and friends, disclosure in the context of therapy, and disclosure on a societal level within the socio-political context.

In the previous section (2.3.6) research findings were presented which suggested that later psychological symptoms may be associated with the reactions experienced at the time of disclosure, rather than the sexual abuse itself (Porges, 2005; Whiffen,

Thompson & Aube, 2000; Runtz & Schallow, 1997; Everill & Waller, 1995). Exploring this further Nagel and colleagues (1997) looked at how different types of disclosure may impact on later symptomology. They found evidence to suggest that older children who make purposeful disclosures of sexual abuse rated higher on measures of anxiety and lower on measures of their perception of their ability to cope at a one year follow-up when compared with pre-school children whose behavioural or physical symptoms prompted accidental disclosure. The authors argued that the older children, making purposeful disclosures, were more aware of potential social consequences of the disclosure such as the impact of the disclosure on the family and the involvement of services with the family. It was therefore considered that they may feel responsible and experience blame for these impacts (Nagel et al., 1997; Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994). In the studies carried out by Avata (1998) and Lange et al. (1999) survivors' psychological adjustment and physical health were found to be affected by negative reactions to disclosure. These negative reactions were said to centre on issues of blame, disbelief, stigma, and rejection. Furthermore Testa and colleagues (1992) found that social support following disclosure can have a moderating impact leading to higher self esteem and fewer psychological symptoms. Replicating these findings, Messman-Moore and Long (2003), in a study involving participants drawn from therapy treatment groups (relating to alcoholism, domestic violence and mental health problems) and a comparison group drawn from a random household sample also found evidence that social support following disclosure of CSA resulted in slightly higher levels of self-esteem and fewer psychological symptoms.

In relation to the disclosure of childhood sexual abuse the therapeutic context has been frequently assessed (Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Herman, 1992; Courois, 1988). Jensen and colleagues (2005) obtained information from therapeutic and interview settings which suggested that children are more likely to disclose abuse when a situation affords sufficient prompts and privacy, when they feel that others will not misinterpret them, or in a situation where the theme of abuse is already being addressed. These results prompted the authors to suggest that disclosure is a dialogical process that is more achievable where opportunity, purpose, and connection are already established.

Although a significant proportion of the literature relates to childhood disclosure of CSA, Roesler and Weisman Wind (1994) argue that first time disclosure of CSA is

more likely to be made in adulthood than childhood, possibly because of the resurfacing of memories of CSA during later life events or a decrease in levels of shame experienced over time. Research suggests that adults are more likely to disclose CSA to those in helping professions (Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994), and calls have frequently been made for therapists to receive specific training on asking about CSA during assessments and creating a climate that optimises opportunities for disclosure through the use of clinical skills to establish boundaries and communicate warmth and compassion (Kessler & Goff, 2006; Kessler et al 2004). Indeed Evans (2001), analysing disclosure forms completed by therapists, reported that 60% of clients disclosed some form of abuse in the first therapy session and they were more likely to disclose if the therapist had also conducted the assessment.

Beyond disclosure of CSA in the context of family and friends or the therapeutic context, disclosure of CSA also takes places within a societal context. There is a scarcity of literature on males disclosing CSA but the following review of the literature will suggest that the societal context is a significant factor affecting male disclosures of CSA.

As stated previously Kempe and Kempe (1984) found that male victims of sexual abuse have significantly poorer psychological outcomes than females. Evidence suggests that males are much less likely to disclose childhood sexual abuse (Hanson et al., 2002) resulting in wholly inaccurate prevalence estimates (ranging from 4% to 62% according to Watkins & Bentovim, 1992). This lack of accurate statistics results in less research attention on male CSA. This in turn leaves both clinicians and the public less able to identify, treat and support male victims of CSA. Research into male abuse disclosure suggests that the victim often has concerns about the public perception of the victim's sexuality (Hussey, Strom & Singer, 1992) as the majority of male child abuse is homosexual in nature with women being the abuser in only 5% to 15% of cases (Faller, 1989). Maikovich-Fong and Jaffee (2010) found that boys abused by women are even less likely to report abuse thus suggesting that further factors affect the disclosure of male CSA. Finklehor (1984) argued that for males to disclose abuse would involve going against normalised societal visions of the male as self-reliant and independent. Dimmock (1988) suggested that the social and historical encouragement of males to hide their emotional vulnerabilities affected disclosure and Cermak (1996) proposed

that the conflict between the overwhelming feeling of powerlessness experienced by victims and society's vision of the male as immune to vulnerabilities and weakness acted as an inhibitor of abuse disclosure.

Disclosure has been identified as a complex process which can take place in childhood or adulthood and in the context of families, therapy and society. The disclosure context and in particular the reactions experienced at the time of disclosure can result in feelings of shame and difficulties in interpersonal relationships which are associated with long-term psychological and emotional difficulties (Porges, 2005; Whiffen, Thompson & Aube, 2000; Runtz & Schallow, 1997; Nagel et al., 1997; Everill & Waller, 1995). Furthermore the literature suggests that socio-historical and cultural processes such as rape myth beliefs and gender stereotypes influence whether disclosures are made, and if so, how they are constructed (Sanderson, 2006; MacMartin, 1999). In summation, the literature identifies that: individuals who have experienced CSA are likely to have serious concerns about being disbelieved; a compassionate and non judgemental context will best facilitate full disclosure; the person disclosing CSA will require social support following disclosure in order to reduce the likelihood of long term psychological difficulties. The extensive body of research exploring associations between disclosure of childhood sexual abuse and later psychological difficulties largely fails to consider the disclosure context. CSA research will need to incorporate the literature on disclosure in order to thoroughly explore issues relating to CSA prevalence and long-term effects.

The literature presented thus far has outlined the history of Child Abuse and the emergence of Child Sexual Abuse into the social and political arena, a critical review of the literature on the effects of CSA and mediating factors of these effects, including disclosure of abuse. Subsequent to the disclosure process however, there exists a scarcity of literature relating to the notion of healing or seeking justice. A number of therapeutic models of treatment exist which suggest that healing takes place through a process of emotional catharsis, reassurance, addressing issues around responsibility and guilt, self-acceptance, and self-management (Bass & Davis, 1988; Meiselman, 1978; Giaretto, 1976). Bass & Davis, in their seminal tome "The Courage to Heal: A Guide for Women Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse", suggest that confrontation of perpetrators of abuse may provide an opportunity for adult survivors of CSA to have their experience validated, to reclaim power, and to correct responsibility for the

abusive event. Litigation in the form of civil claims is acknowledged as an alternative to achieve the aforementioned goals, but writers strongly advise caution with regards to this action due to the potentially re-abusive experience of prosecution examination (Clute, 1993; Bass & Davis, 1988).

2.5 CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE WITHIN CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS

Subsequent to the emergence of allegations of historical child sexual abuse by women during the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s, in the 1980s and 1990s large scale disclosures and investigations of child sexual abuse by Catholic priests occurred in the United States, Australia, Canada, Ireland, and indeed internationally (Ryan, 2009; Lytton, 2008; Philip, 2001; Law Commission of Canada, 2000; Hughes, 1991). These cases of abuse were alleged against priests both in parishes, generally referred to as clerical abuse, and those working within residential institutional settings, referred hereon in as "institutional abuse". Beyond the allegations of abuse a pattern of concealment of CSA allegations by Church officials emerged (Ryan, 2009; Hughes, 1991). For example, following the 1984 conviction of Reverend Gilbert Gauthe for the sexual abuse of at least 34 children in the United States, lawsuits were brought against the Catholic Church due to allegations that Church officials had failed to report Gauthe to the authorities, and had instead arranged for his transfer to other parishes where he continued to abuse children (Sherman, 1988). These lawsuits were later settled for 10 million dollars (Berry, 1985) and the case prompted widespread allegations of CSA against members of the clergy across the US. In response, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops commissioned a study into the allegations which determined that from 1950 to 2002 a total of 10,667 individuals had made CSA allegations by 4,392 priests, 4% of all priests, in the United States. Of the individuals alleging abuse, 81% were male and 19% female (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2004).

Simultaneous to this international movement of disclosure of past clerical abuse, disclosures also emerged about widespread CSA in religious-run residential institutions in Canada (O' Brien, 1991; Harris, 1990), Australia (Forde, 1999) and Ireland (Ryan, 2009).

Beyond identifying the prevalence of CSA in the church, investigators and researchers have attempted to understand and expose the system which enabled such wide scale abuse to occur. Investigations have concluded that disclosure of abuse did not fully emerge due to a number of significant factors: the revered position held by priests within society as well as the power difference between priests and vulnerable children acted as an inhibitor for disclosure of abuse; where abuse was disclosed families and police officials often failed to believe the child's allegations due to the social construction of the priesthood as sacred; allegations of abuse brought by families to Church officials were largely dealt with internally without the involvement of state authorities and those making allegations were often forced to sign agreements ensuring their silence in relation to the disclosure (Ryan, 2009; John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2004; Hughes, 1991; Berry, 1985). Countless investigations, publications and criminal proceedings have commented on the tendency of church officials to transfer accused individuals to other dioceses, or indeed countries, usually withholding information about the priest's abusive behaviour. Rather than focussing on safeguarding children, the Church's primary focus was protecting the institution that is the Church (Ryan, 2009; Hughes, 1991).

The expansive literature around CSA within the Catholic Church identifies that the sexual abuse of children by religious figures has occurred on an international basis throughout the past century (Ryan, 2009; Lytton, 2008; Philip, 2001; Law Commission of Canada, 2000; Forde, 1999; Hughes, 1991; Sherman, 1988). As outlined above the literature indicates that the Church's powerful position in society as a morally superior and sacred institution has been a significant factor in the prevention of disclosure of this abuse. The tendency for the Church hierarchy to disregard civil law by managing allegations internally led to a system where perpetrators of CSA had continued access to children for the purposes of abuse, without the fear of legal and criminal repercussions. As the focus of this thesis is the specific context of residential institutions run by religious orders in Ireland, a history of such institutions and the emergence of allegations of CSA perpetrated within these institutions will be presented in the following section of the chapter.

2.5.1 AN INTRODUCTION TO IRISH INSTITUTIONS RUN BY RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The specific phenomenon of CSA within the Catholic Church has been presented through a historical overview of the emergence of allegations of CSA. References to the literature, in particular the work of Ryan (2009) and Hughes (1991), have been used to present the systematic failure by the Church to acknowledge and adequately report child safeguarding concerns. In order to contextualise the issue of CSA in Irish residential institutions run by the Catholic Church a brief introduction to Irish residential institutions will be presented.[11] The emergence of disclosures of abuse within these institutions, prompting the establishment of the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, will then be presented through a socio-political historical perspective. Finally the purpose and structure of the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, as a focal point for the current research paper, and as the context for disclosure of CSA, will be described in detail.

In the context of this study the term "institution" is used to refer to industrial, residential and reformatory schools as well as children's homes and orphanages that were run by religious orders and managed/funded by the Irish state.[12] Reformatory and industrial schools were established through the Reformatory Schools (Ireland) Act 1858 and the Industrial Schools (Ireland) Act 1868 in order to provide accommodation, education or training for children who may previously have been accommodated within the workhouse system. At this time of industrial revolution, variations on the industrial school system were emerging across Europe. In Ireland, children were commonly committed to these schools through the court system following petty crimes, or as a result of family desertion or financial difficulties. Children could also be admitted voluntarily, by a local health authority, or through the Irish Society for the Prevention of

---

[11] This introduction to Irish residential institutions is informed by the historical overview of industrial schools and reformatories published as part of the report by the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (Ryan, 2009, 1, pp 35-40). The entire report, as well as the Executive Summary, can be accessed through the Commission's website: http://www.childabusecommission.com/rpt/

[12] The terms "institution" and "institutional care" have been used by the media, Irish society including the participants in this research, and within the report of the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse's report (Ryan, 2009). These terms will therefore be used throughout this paper.

Cruelty to Children[13] (ISPCC). Subsequent to the Children Act 1908, the Department of Education held legal and financial responsibility for children in industrial and reformatory schools. The department set standards for children's needs, for example in relation to accommodation, diet, education and training, and was responsible for inspecting the schools and enforcing these standards. Due to the humanitarian aspect of the protection and care of children, numerous religious orders established or assumed management of residential schools in Ireland. During the peak of the industrial school system in Ireland, considered to be 1936 to 1970, approximately 50 industrial schools were in operation, accommodating a total of 170,000 children (Ryan, 2009).

2.5.2 DISCLOSURES OF CSA IN IRISH RELIGIOUS-RUN INSTITUTIONS

The social, political and historical context is considered to be vital for enabling disclosure of CSA (Hussey, Strom & Singer, 1992; Dimmock, 1988; Finklehor, 1984). As reviewed above, the feminist movement of the 1960s has been credited with bringing CSA to the forefront of social awareness through the emergence of women's rights and the publication of survivor narratives in the 1970s (Nicholson, 1997). As demonstrated in the preceding section, the "Gauthe" case of 1984 also appears to have had an escalating effect on disclosure of CSA perpetrated by Catholic clergymen. Although these international movements and emerging disclosures undoubtedly triggered a subsequent "disclosure movement" in Ireland in the 1980s and 1990s, other significant factors and events, for example occurring within the Irish legal system, challenged the traditionally held beliefs and ideologies of Irish society which may have previously prohibited disclosure of CSA within the Catholic Church.

The constitution and legislation of any given country is not an isolated charter, but a reflection of the beliefs, morals, and crimes acknowledged in a society within a specific era. Following the emergence of the women's rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s, rape became a criminal act in Irish law in 1981[14] and the Rape Crisis Network was established in Ireland in 1985. That the first reference to CSA in Department of Health

---

[13] The Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (ISPCC) was known as the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC) until 1956

[14] Criminal Law (Rape) Act, 1981.

guidelines occurred in 1983 indicates that, in line with the aforementioned literature, CSA was recognised as an illegal or immoral problem in Irish society at the start of the 1980s. Court cases seeking amendments of the constitution in relation to homosexuality, as in the case of Norris v Ireland[15], and the right of women who have been raped to access abortion where a suicide risk exists, as in "the X case"[16], demonstrate a social and political movement in Ireland away from traditionally held moralistic beliefs that homosexuality and abortion are wholly immoral acts. The categorisation of these particular acts as immoral forms part of the teachings of the Catholic Church and so a movement away from this viewpoint may be seen as a suggestion that the irrefutable authority of the institution of the Church was being challenged at this time. Significantly, it was at this time, in 1991, that the first criminal case of CSA was brought against a priest in Ireland, Father Brendan Smyth, who was eventually convicted of the assault of 100 children. This high profile case triggered the collapse of the coalition Government in November 1994.[17] The criminal investigation also established that Catholic Church officials had been aware of allegations against Smyth as early as 1975 but responded to these allegations by transferring him between parishes and as far as the United States.

The social and political movement in Ireland, alongside the high profile conviction of the priest Brendan Smyth in 1991, may be considered a factor in the deluge of disclosures made in the 1990s about past CSA in Irish religious-run institutions. These disclosures led to media coverage such as the 1996 dramatised documentary programme "Dear Daughter"[18] and the 1999 "States of Fear"[19] television series made for the

---

[15] Norris v. Ireland was a case brought to the European Court of Human Rights in 1988 by David Norris who argued that the criminalisation of homosexuality in Ireland breached article 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights (Norris v. Ireland, 1988).

[16] Attorney General v. X was a case brought before the Irish Supreme Court involving a 14 year old girl who was pregnant as a result of sexual assault. The subsequent ruling established a woman's right to abortion if her life was at risk because of the pregnancy or because of the risk of suicide (Attorney General v. X and Others, 1992)

[17] The coalition Government collapsed in November 1994 when the Labour Party withdrew due to dissatisfaction at delays in the issuing of an extradition warrant for Brendan Smyth (Smyth, 1995)

[18] "Dear Daughter" was a dramatised documentary programme tracing a woman's experience of physical and mental abuse by members of the Sisters of Mercy while resident at Goldenbridge industrial school in Dublin (Dear Daughter, 1996)

[19] The "States of Fear" television series detailed physical and sexual child abuse in residential industrial schools between the 1930s and the 1970s (States of Fear, 1999)

national channel Radio Telefís Éireann (RTE). In response to public outcry following the broadcasting of "States of Fear", the Irish Taoiseach (prime minister) Bertie Ahern, delivered a speech to the Irish parliament on May 11th 1999 in which he stated: "on behalf of the State and of all citizens of the State, the Government wishes to make a sincere and long overdue apology to the victims of childhood abuse for our collective failure to intervene, to detect their pain, to come to their rescue". This was the first official apology for those who had been abused as children in institutions and prompted the government to commission a study into the abuse, known as The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (Ryan, 2009).

2.6 INTRODUCTION TO THE IRISH COMMISSION TO INQUIRE INTO CHILD ABUSE AND THE RESIDENTIAL INSTITUTIONS REDRESS BOARD

The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse was established by the Irish Government subsequent to widespread disclosures in the 1990s of physical, psychological and sexual abuse in religious-run child-care institutions.[20] A detailed introduction to the function, structure and objectives of the Commission will be presented in order to contextualise the Commission as the setting for disclosure of abuse.[21] Significant amendments to the function of the Commission during the nine years that it was in operation will also be presented, along with information about the financial compensation scheme, the Residential Institutions Redress Board. Finally a summary of the findings of the Commission and the reaction of those who had given evidence will be reported in order to provide a socio-political context for the current research study. As established earlier, the *context* of disclosure matters in terms of both whether disclosure happens at all and how it happens. Thus, whilst the task of the Commission was to facilitate disclosure, it is important to see how the Commission was constituted and in what way its constitution may have impacted on subsequent disclosures.

---

[20] The Commission was established on an administrative basis in May 1999 and officially on the twenty-third of May 2000 with the passing of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000.

[21] It should be noted that this overview is informed by the detailed account of the establishment and structure of the Commission as found in Volume 1 Chapter 1 of the Commission's report (Ryan, 2009)

The function of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse was established in the Act of 2000 as follows: to hear evidence of alleged abuse in institutions from 1940 onwards; to conduct an inquiry in order to identify the causes and extent of abuse; and to prepare and publish a report with recommendations on how to deal with the effects of such abuse (Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000).[22] For the purpose of the Commission child abuse was defined in accordance with the definition in the Commission's Act and included physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse and neglect. This definition identified the sexual abuse of children as:

> The use of the child by a person for sexual arousal or sexual gratification of that person or another person.
>
> (Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000)

The Commission consisted of two committees[23] which differed in their function and approach. The Confidential Committee was tasked with hearing testimony of alleged abuse taking place from 1914-2000 while giving assurances that alleged perpetrators or institutions would not be informed of the allegations and would not be named in the Commission's report. Hearings were to be conducted in private, with a sympathetic and informal atmosphere. The Investigative Committee was responsible for investigating alleged abuse occurring between 1940 and 1999.[24] Following a preliminary hearing with the applicant, this Committee had the power to summon accused individuals to attend and to demand the production of historical documents held by the religious orders. Both those alleging abuse and the accused were permitted use of legal representatives. A legal expenses scheme funded legal representation for the participants (Ryan, 2009; Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000).

In July 2000, shortly after the establishment of the Commission in May of that year, a group of solicitors representing potential applicants to the Commission advised that their clients would not participate until a financial compensation scheme was agreed.

---

[22] A full record of the functions of the Commission can be found in the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000, Section 4 (1).

[23] The appointed commissioners included representatives from the fields of law, clinical psychology, paediatrics and social care (Ryan, 2009)

[24] In 2002 a decision was made to extend the period in question to 1936 to 1999 (Ryan 2009, p.5)

The Government agreed to this in principle in October of 2000 and in 2002 the Residential Institutions Redress Board (RIRB) was established in the wake of the Residential Institutions Redress Act 2002. The objective of "the redress board", as it is commonly referred to in the published report and amongst research participants, was to award financial compensation to people who experienced CSA while resident in Irish institutions that were subject to State inspection and regulation. Applying for redress involved submitting an application form to enable the board[25] to contact alleged perpetrators of abuse, or representatives of institutions where abuse was alleged, in order to obtain evidence in relation to the allegation. Where sufficient evidence was obtained an informal settlement offer would be made. Where further evidence was necessary the application would be heard in front of the Redress Board with applicants, their witnesses, and alleged perpetrators or representatives of institutions permitted legal representation. The award of compensation, up to €300,000 was determined by a points system used to evaluate the severity of the alleged abuse and any consequential injury (www.rirb.ie).[26] In accepting financial compensation applicants were obliged to give up rights to seek damages in the courts in respect of the abuse. In total the RIRB paid compensation of €866.58 million to 14,194 applicants, with awards ranging from €62,800 to €300,500 (RIRB, 2012). Legal costs amounting to €169.8 million were also paid.[27]

Significantly, the original function of the Commission was later altered by two amendments. In the first instance a 2002 indemnity deal limiting religious compensation liability to €128million was agreed between the Conference of Religious of Ireland (CORI), representing 138 religious congregations, and the then Minister for Education Michael Woods. The second amendment resulted from a legal challenge in 2004 brought by the Christian Brothers religious organisation. Although rejected by the High Court, this challenge prompted the amendment of the Commission Act to ensure anonymity of those accused due to an acknowledgement that sufficient evidence would

---

[25] The redress board consisted of three members including one medical representative and one legal representative

[26] A detailed guide to the Residential Institutions Redress Board hearing procedures can be accessed on their website

[27] Figures quoted by Deputy Ruairí Quinn on Thursday 3rd May 2012 in a Dáil Éireann (Parliament) Debate. Available from http://debates.oireachtas.ie/dail/2012/05/03/00092.asp [Accessed 08 September 2012]

at times be lacking and therefore individuals who were not guilty of abuse may have been named (Ryan, 2009).[28] This decision thereby prevented criminal proceedings from being undertaken from the Commission findings. These amendments had a significant effect on the function of the Commission, as evidenced by the subsequent withdrawal of 142 complainants to the investigative committee and the transfer of 174 complainants from the investigative branch to the confidential branch of the Commission (Ryan, 2009). Furthermore it has been argued that this change to the function of the Commission meant that unlike other "truth Commissions" such as the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission where the confrontation of perpetrators by survivors was facilitated, participants in the Irish Commission were denied this opportunity for what has been considered part of the healing process (Brennan, 2007).

Over the course of approximately six years 1090 individuals gave evidence to the Confidential Committee and a total of 552 individuals gave evidence to the Investigative Committee. The report by the Commission was published on Thursday May 20 2009. It indicated that abuse was alleged to have occurred in 216 institutions, with over half of those giving evidence reporting being sexually abused. More than 800 priests, brothers, nuns and lay people, who worked in the institutions such as caretakers, and farm workers, were implicated in the sexual abuse. The report also found that severe corporal punishment was the norm, standards of care were poor, diet and clothing were inadequate, education was not prioritised, and training provided served the institution rather than the child. The system of inspection of the Department of Education was found to be ineffective, and the Department was found to have colluded in a culture of silence in relation to sexual abuse allegations. In relation to the Church the Commission found that the focus on protecting the Church against damaging disclosures protected perpetrators of abuse, the safeguarding of children was neglected in favour of congregational loyalty, and religious documents indicated the Church officials' awareness that abusers were likely to re-abuse. Alongside recommendations for improvements to childcare policy and service, the report recommended that a memorial be erected as a public acknowledgement to those who had experienced abuse,

---

[28] A position paper on identifying institutions and persons under the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000 is available from the Commission website. A summary of the conclusions of this paper are also included on page 7 of the Ryan report.

and that counselling, education and family tracing services be made available. Finally it recommended that the State and Religious orders admit that system and policy failures resulted in the abuse of children, and that they examine their own beliefs and procedures that enabled these failures to happen (Ryan, 2009).

Despite the Commission's Report portraying the extent and severity of the abuse, and resulting in both national and international public outcry at the offences committed, those who gave evidence expressed great disappointment, anger and frustration at the publication (BBC 2009a; 2009b; McDonald, 2009). For example on the day the report was published, victim of CSA John Walsh, of campaign group Irish Survivors of Child Abuse (SOCA) made a widely quoted public statement: "I'm very angry, very bitter, and feel cheated and deceived. I would have never opened my wounds if I'd known this was going to be the end result. It has devastated me and will devastate most victims because there is no criminal proceedings and no accountability whatsoever" (also in McDonald, 2009). A report commissioned by Amnesty International Ireland in response to the Ryan report also found that accountability was lacking historically within Irish society and politics due to the absence of a political management system over the non-State institutions that have traditionally provided services in the fields of health, education and childcare (Holohan, 2011).

As presented earlier, the commission process of inquiry and investigation into widespread CSA has frequently been employed over the past decade (Ryan, 2009; Forde, 1999) despite the literature which suggests that disclosure is context specific, and more likely to occur where those disclosing abuse consider that they will be believed. This clear disparity between psychological knowledge and socio-political practice highlights the need for further understanding of the process of commissions in order to inform and improve practice and procedure, and to prevent against psychological harm of participants. The present study aims to address this issue.

2.7   SUMMARY OF THE CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

An overview of the phenomenon of child sexual abuse, and the specific issue of child sexual abuse against males in religious-run residential institutions in Ireland, has been presented in this chapter. Research findings in relation to the prevalence of CSA, the

effects of CSA and the factors which may affect disclosure of CSA have been presented and critiqued. The critique of the literature has highlighted the need for improved research design and data analysis within the field of CSA, specifically the need for consistent definitions of CSA, consideration of factors that affect disclosure including the potential for false memory, and recognition of individual difference in the long term effects of CSA. Awareness and consideration of these factors is necessary within prevalence studies and general research in order to effectively increase knowledge in relation to CSA.

In order to further contextualise the current research the emergence of allegations of CSA against the clergy and Catholic-run institutions in Ireland has been presented within the context of a society undergoing significant social and cultural changes. Following a brief introduction to Irish residential institutions the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse has been presented. In its establishment the Commission is presented as a structure to promote disclosure of CSA and acknowledgement of widespread child abuse, thereby officially authorising a change in Irish culture and society. The changes to the Commission's function have been presented in order to contextualise the dissatisfaction of those who participated, due in part to a denial of the opportunity to confront perpetrators of abuse and therefore the opportunity to re-attribute guilt and responsibility and facilitate healing.

This literature review presents a clear disparity between the literature on CSA disclosure and the Irish Commission and the Financial Redress Board as a context for disclosure. The literature highlights the need for confidentiality and a dialogical process to facilitate complete disclosure, a non-judgemental reaction to disclosure in order to protect against immediate feelings of shame and responsibility and long-term psychological difficulties, as well as the opportunity to confront perpetrators in order to correct issues relating to responsibility and guilt.

2.8   RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Emerging from the literature review are questions about the process of disclosure of male CSA particularly in the context of Commissions: whether this environment provides a satisfactory context for disclosure, how the men make sense of their

experience of abuse, and how they manage their interactions with institutions such as the State and the Church.

In response to gaps in the literature on men who have been sexually abused as children, and in consideration of the role of social, historical and political factors in the context of the Irish commission, this thesis aims to focus on the process of disclosure rather than the original experience of abuse. Thus, the following research questions have been identified:

1. How do men abused as children in Irish institutions construct the process of their disclosure to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse?

2. What discursive choices are available and utilized by these men?

3. What effect does the choice of discourse have on these men in terms of the identities they construct?

2.8.1 IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Considering the prevalence of institutional child abuse, specifically amongst males, and informed by research suggesting that disclosure of abuse is particularly difficult for men due to societal expectations, this research seeks to gain insight into the experience of sharing one's story of abuse, not within the therapeutic setting but within the government initiated Commission. As such, the broader forces of politics, morality and other societal discourses may have a greater impact on the procedure than in the somewhat more isolated or protected context of the therapy room.

In response to recent disclosures of abuse, government and legal institutions in Australia, Canada, and Ireland have considered commissions a useful tool to investigate and acknowledge widespread historical abuse. But is this form of disclosure appropriate for the victims? The literature on disclosure has emphasised the need for a context or relationship where privacy is afforded and where the individual disclosing abuse considers it unlikely that they will be misinterpreted or disbelieved (Jensen et al., 2005). Furthermore the literature suggests that males disclosing CSA tend to have concerns about the perception of their sexuality and their identity as men (Hussey, Strom &

Singer, 1992; Finklehor, 1984). To share one's story with the Irish Government, who were party to the abuse through funding of these institutions, is arguably to entrust one's experience of pain and suffering to an institution which is viewed with mistrust. Or perhaps this signals the extent to which the State is conceived by society as separate from the Church in recent times?

However, to further share one's story both within the Commission context where people's accounts may be examined and questioned, and on publication of the report with the society which did not intervene on behalf of these victims, raises concerns when considered alongside the research evidence emphasising the significance of context and social support in CSA disclosure. Alternatively, could the opportunity to come together as a group after decades as individual sufferers, in an effort to finally challenge alleged perpetrators possibly represent a shift in the power balance: an opportunity for the individual to adopt the identity of 'survivor' rather than 'victim'? By focusing on the Commission as a context for disclosure of CSA by males this research aims to explore these issues further through an in-depth understanding of how the research participants managed this complex process.

2.8.2   RELEVANCE TO COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

The relevance of counselling psychology becomes apparent when considering research findings which suggest that many victims of CSA are unable to engage fully in therapy, with adult male survivors often reluctant to discuss their past abuse and tending to withdraw from counselling prematurely (Blanchard, 1986; Meiselman, 1978). Cermak (1996) found that adult male survivors of CSA had difficulty asserting their emotional needs, displayed a fear of intimacy and often suffered from problems relating to trust. Psychological research has emphasised the need for a good working relationship, achieved through listening skills, the communication of core values of empathy, respect and genuineness, and a non-judgemental and non-directive approach (Rogers, 1957), in order to encourage disclosure and collaboration (Sanders, 2002; Culley & Bond, 2006; Padesky, 1993; Beck, 1976).

Psychological research on survivors of Irish institutional abuse is virtually non-existent, most likely as disclosure and public acceptance of this abuse is a very recent

phenomenon. However, a study by Wolter (2006), exploring therapists' perceptions and experiences of counselling clients who had been abused in Irish institutions, found that survivors were experienced by therapists as significantly more challenging and difficult to work with, being mistrustful of authority such as the church, state and society (this was often directed at the therapists as the counselling service was part of the national health service), portraying an infantile or prepubescent emotional development, and having an immense sense of hopelessness and shame. These issues led to difficulties around engagement which led to the therapy process progressing at a slower rate. Key practice considerations for working with institutional abuse survivors were proposed, such as the need for the therapist to understand the institutional context, to work from within the clients' individual life expectations, and to prioritise therapist self-care.

This research seeks to explore the experience of men disclosing CSA to the Irish Commission in order to better understand this process and the impact it may have on this previously undermined and victimised group. The research endeavours to further understanding of the experience and effect of disclosing abuse within the commission context, on the victims' understanding of themselves and their role within society. It is considered that this research will inform therapeutic practice when working with sexually abused client groups, and enable therapists to support clients through personal or public disclosures. It is also considered that research into this experience could inform international government policy in how to best redress past abuses and systemic failures, how to provide sufficient and effective support for the individuals involved, and how to improve systemic procedures in safeguarding against future incidences of abuse.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to outline the paradigm as well as the corresponding epistemological and methodological framework of this research study and to provide a rationale for the chosen position. The chapter therefore begins with an outline of the paradigms available in psychological research. It considers the appropriateness of the constructivist-interpretivist paradigm and the social constructionist epistemological position for counselling psychology and the research topic, in part achieved by a reflection on the role of the researcher. A brief evaluation of research in the field of disclosure will lead to a discussion about the methodological framework of discursive psychology. The chapter will conclude with a presentation of the data collection and the process of data analysis for this research study.

3.2   RESEARCH PARADIGM AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The term 'research paradigm' broadly refers to the philosophical perspective about the nature of reality, as well as the possibilities and methods to gain knowledge about it. Ponterotto (2005) suggests that reflective researchers need to understand the philosophical frameworks which influence their research. This involves considering one's beliefs on ontology (the nature of reality), axiology or the role of values in research, and methodology which is how one can obtain knowledge of the reality which exists.

This study adopted a constructivist-interpretivist paradigm, was conducted from a social constructionist epistemological perspective and used a qualitative methodological framework of discourse analysis to analyse the research data.

3.2.1   THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH PARADIGMS WITHIN PSYCHOLOGY

Historically, psychological research has been dominated by the positivist paradigm and quantitative methodology from as early as the late 1800s (Gergen, 2001). The positivist philosophy on the theory of knowledge maintains a realist ontology, which proposes that an objective reality exists outside the ways people talk about that reality, and that this reality can be accurately captured through measurement and observation by an appropriately trained researcher (Ponterotto, 2005; Willig, 2008). The positivist perspective aspires to discover laws in order to predict and control phenomena. Given this stance, positivist research design involves controlled experiments, the gathering of statistical data for hypothesis testing, and the generalisation of data to form global explanations of phenomena. However, growing dissatisfaction with the notion of human phenomena as consistent and measurable through the use of statistical and mathematical formula (the principle of inductivism), and the notion that the researcher can be a detached and unbiased observer prompted the development of postpositivism. While consistent with positivist beliefs such as the existence of an objective reality, postpositivism conceded that this reality can only be imperfectly known (Lincoln & Guba, 2000), and the methodological framework shifted from "theory verification" to "theory falsification" with the development of Popper's hypothetico-deductive method (Popper, 1969).

Contemporary researchers, such as Ponterotto and Willig, acknowledge the "scientific method" of positivism and postpositivism as flawed for its implicit promotion of "the male as the norm", the reduction of the human subject to a predictable set of causes and effects, and its inability to promote the generation of novel theories or to acknowledge the role of historical, social and cultural factors in knowledge formation (Ponterotto, 2005; Willig, 2007). Critiques of the short-comings of knowledge assumptions and methodological frameworks have prompted a gradual shift in research paradigms within psychology. Presently we are aware that there are advantages and disadvantages to both qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches. Quantitative research strives to achieve reliability and claims to collate data which can be generalised to the wider population. It has been criticised for not distinguishing between social and natural phenomena, for the static view of social life created by its cause and effect approach, and for its failure to achieve ecological validity. Qualitative research successfully pays attention to rich details of individual or social significance but has been critiqued as being too subjective and lacking in transparency. This recognition that both

methodological approaches have something to offer, has led to calls for a diversity of paradigms and methodologies to be used in research in order to fully explore the variability and complexity of human experience while allowing for further paradigmatic, epistemological and methodological developments to emerge (Clarkson, 1995).

Counselling psychologists have traditionally sought to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of therapeutic treatments through the use of quantitative research approaches (Barkham, 2003). However, as scientist-practitioners counselling psychologists emphasise the importance of the individual's subjective experience and understanding of the world (Strawbridge & Woolfe, 2003). The constructivism-interpretivism paradigm incorporates this ontological shift from realism to relativism, adhering to the notion that reality is not a singular objective fact but is always in the process of construction. Subsequently, it is held that there are multiple ways of perceiving the world and therefore that multiple realities exist (Burr, 2003; Schwandt, 1994). Furthermore, it has been argued that the world is constructed by, and between, individuals through social interaction (particularly via the medium of language) and within social, historical and political contexts (Ponterotto, 2005; Burr, 2003). In terms of research, with this ontological shift and the hermeneutical suggestion that these subjective realities can be reached through the use of dialogue between the researcher and participant, the significance of the researcher's assumptions and philosophical frameworks has been highlighted and the notion of the reflective researcher has developed (Willig, 2008; Morrow, 2007; Ponterotto, 2005). This perspective aligns itself with counselling psychology not only as it allows for the exploration of subjective experience and understanding, but because of the focus on a collaborative construction of the phenomenon under exploration.

Ponterotto's constructivist-interpretivist paradigm may be considered too broad, encompassing as it does perspectives as divergent as phenomenology which focuses on subjective experience, and social constructionism which focuses on the social nature of the experience. As this research sought to understand how disclosure of CSA was constructed within a specific social, political and historical context, social constructionism was considered the appropriate research framework.

The social constructionist epistemological position may be understood as being at one end of Ponterotto's constructivist-interpretivist paradigm (the other end being phenomenology). It argues that the world is constructed not only through the medium of social interactions but within social, cultural and historical contexts that, to some extent, determine those interactions (Burr, 2003). Furthermore Harper, citing Gergen (1985), suggested that social constructionists adhere to the following four guidelines in their work: "a radical doubt in the taken-for-granted world; the viewing of knowledge as historically, socially and culturally specific; the belief that knowledge is not fundamentally dependent on empirical validity but is rather sustained by social processes; and that descriptions and explanations of phenomena can never be neutral but constitute social action which serves to sustain certain patterns to the exclusion of others" (Gergen 1985 cited in Harper, 2006, p.48). Counselling psychologists follow similar guidelines such as questioning diagnostic labels and taking social and cultural factors into account when co-constructing an understanding of the clients' presenting difficulties. This highlights the appropriateness of a social constructionist epistemological position for both a counselling psychologist researcher, and for a researcher seeking to explore a phenomenon within the Irish social, cultural and historical context.

Having identified social constructionism as the appropriate research framework in the study of disclosure of childhood institutional abuse within a historical, social and political context, in the following section the methodological framework of discourse analysis will be presented and rationale will be provided for the use of this method in the present study.

3.3   THE METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: DISCURSIVE PSYCHOLOGY, FOUCAULDIAN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE INTEGRATIVE APPROACH OF CRITICAL DISCURSIVE PSYCHOLOGY

Moving away from the traditional, positivist perspective of an objective reality and the self as an observable and predictable entity, discourse theory follows the constructivist-interpretivist (and, in particular, social constructionist) view that multiple realities exist and focuses on a self that is constructed through meaning and talk within a social and

historical context (Burr, 2003; Parker, 2002; Schwandt, 1994; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Harré, 1985).

Whereas positivist theory views language as a reflection of reality, within discourse theory language or "discourse" is conceived of as a form of communication, whether verbal, or visual, which enables meaning to be conveyed (Parker, 2002). Furthermore, it is argued that discourse consists of patterns and structures of meaning which are used to construct versions of reality, and to enable individuals to achieve something in social interaction (Parker, 2002; Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Writers such as Parker (2002), Wood and Kroger (2000), and Potter and Wetherell (1987), suggest that discourse analysis should not be carried out in a sequential manner, but rather that discourse theory be used to inform an understanding of the nature of discourse and psycho-social phenomena. However, two opposing approaches have emerged within the area of discourse analysis: discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis. A discussion of these two approaches and a consideration of an integration of these approaches are presented below.

Drawing on a multitude of theories such as post-structuralism, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis and the social scientific study of scientific practice, discursive psychology explores various social interactions and is concerned with how people negotiate and manage social interactions in order to achieve interpersonal objectives such as justifying action or attributing blame (Edwards, 2006; 1999; Potter & Edwards, 2001).

Defining discourse as both an object (text) and a practice (talk), discursive psychologists suggest that discourse is situated, action-oriented and constructed/constructive (Potter & Edwards, 2001). Discourse is considered to be *situated* in terms of sequential interaction within a given context, such as a question and answer interaction between a teacher and pupil in a school, but also situated within an immediate rhetorical context where talk may seek to accept or resist, to defend or offend (Potter & Edwards, 2001). This is in line with the social constructionist perspective that the world is constructed by, and between, individuals through social interaction, and within social, historical and political contexts (Ponterotto, 2005; Burr, 2003).

41

Furthermore the social constructionist belief that social phenomena are constructed between individuals also aligns itself with the discursive psychology suggestions that an individual constructs phenomena by managing discursive interactions and thereby the *action-orientation* of their discourse, and that discourse is *constructed*, through the use of discursive devices, as well as *constructive* in terms of producing versions of reality (Potter & Edwards, 2001; Ponterotto et al., 1990). In relation to research therefore discursive psychology acknowledges that the data that emerges from research interviews has been co-constructed between the interviewer and the participant within the interview context (Potter & Edwards, 2001; Rapley, 2001). This can be seen in the present study when participant Paul questions the researcher to assess their "Irishness" and appears to align himself with the researcher "So you know exactly where I'm coming from" (3, 733) [29]

---

[29] Transcript 3: l 711-735:

Paul: by the way are you Irish?
 NM: I am yeah, I'm from Cork
Paul: God bless you. You're from Cork?
NM: I'm from Cork yeah (laughing)
Paul: Ah great girl where you from?
NM: I'm from out (names location)
Paul: And you doing UCC [University College Cork] with a secondment?
NM: No. My undergrad was UCC, my postgrad is over in in London so I'm living there
Paul: Oh right. You did a you did your undergraduate here.
NM: Yeah
Paul: What did you do here?
NM: Mm I did a major in English, and a minor in Psychology
Paul: Oh my God
NM: A few years back now
Paul: Ah so you know what I went through at UCC (laughs)
NM: I do
Paul: In [degree subject detail removed to ensure anonymity]
NM: I do I do
Paul: Yeah exactly, and I was conferred in [reference to graduation year removed to ensure anonymity]. When were you conferred?
NM: [reference to graduation year removed to ensure participant anonymity]. I think
Paul: Two years behind me!
NM: Yeah [reference to graduation year removed to ensure anonymity].
Paul: So you know exactly where I'm coming from
NM: Absolutely (laughs)
Paul: Oh fabulous

The discursive psychology approach to discourse analysis therefore emphasises attention to detail within the discursive interaction, focussing on identifying what interpretative repertoires and discursive practices are emerging and being used in the social interaction examined, and how these are used to categorise the world and formulate beliefs thereby producing versions of reality. Potter and Wetherell (1987) define interpretative repertoires as a "lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterise and evaluate actions and events" (p.138). However, more recently discursive psychologists have abandoned the term completely as part of a movement towards emphasising the *process* of interaction and a reluctance to account for anything that might *transcend* that interaction (Potter, 2010; 1996). As the orientation of discursive psychologists has become overwhelmingly "micro" and interaction-focused, their understanding of discourse too has become progressively more and more descriptive (as opposed to explanatory). Indicatively, as of now the term "talk-in-interaction" is preferred to that of discourse (Potter, 2010; Edwards & Fasulo, 2006).

In contrast to this strand of discourse analytic research, numerous other inquiries in psychology and the social sciences adopt a more "macro" culturally and politically focused approach to analysing discourse. French philosopher Michel Foucault was one of a number of post-structuralist writers developing ideas about language in the latter half of the twentieth century (Parker, 2002). Exploring medical and legal discourses Foucault was able to describe how categories of "madness" and punishment were constructed and legitimised through the use of discourse (1961, 1975). Focussing on the organisation of language, or the "rules of discourse", and how meaning is created through a cultural and historical lens, Foucault argued that discourse categorises, constructs and brings phenomena into being, thereby enabling ways of understanding the world and ways of being in the world to be made available to individuals (Willig, 2008; Harper, 2006; Burr, 2003; Foucault, 1994; Parker, 1990).

In his theory of power and knowledge Foucault argued that power is as much a productive as an oppressive force (Foucault, 1980). Power is productive as it provides the conditions to create our social world, for example power promotes certain discourses around madness or crime which in turn lead to the production of knowledge, institutions, subjects and specific practices (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Therefore, while discourse analysis has been praised for acknowledging the individual's ability to

exercise choice in resisting or accepting discourses (Davies and Harré, 1990), Foucauldian discourse analysis argues that discourses are embedded in power relations as institutions within society support and legitimise the use of certain discourses (Harper, 2006; Burr, 2003). Therefore certain ways of constructing the world and certain ways of being in the world may be more powerful and more dominant than others (Willig, 2008). These dominant discourses then become established as "the norm" or "common sense" within society (Willig, 2008).

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis maintains that discourses create locations within talk, known as subject positions (Willig, 2008). These subject positions enable an individual to view and speak about the world in a certain way, whether the position be that of "mother" or "doctor" for example (Edley, 2001). Davies and Harré (1990) argue that individuals can exercise some control over the discourses which they choose to draw on in order to position themselves and their actions, or indeed the actions of others, as either legitimate and acceptable, or illegitimate and unacceptable.

In relation to the present research, and as presented in the literature review, the phenomenon of child sexual abuse can be seen to be a socio-historically constructed category, legitimised through discourse about sexual deviance, the innocence of the child and subsequent knowledge pertaining to the significance of the childhood developmental experience. Bringing the phenomenon of CSA into being thereby constructed acceptable and unacceptable positions and actions, such as the term paedophile termed in 1886 (Krafft-Ebing, 1998/1886), and subsequently a political system and institutional structure around child protection and the rights of the child emerged.

As the introduction above suggests, within the area of discourse analysis, two opposing approaches to analysis have emerged: discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis. Calls for an integration of these two approaches have emerged in response to the identification of inadequacies in each approach (Edley & Wetherell, 2001; Wetherell, 1998). For example Foucauldian discourse analysis looks at the kind of discourses, or discursive resources, available to people and the ways in which discourse constructs subjectivity, selfhood and power relations (Harper, 2006; Burr, 2003). With regards to the proposed research study the use of language to achieve interpersonal

objectives such as attributing blame may be relevant given the context of disclosure is a government-initiated commission, and the context of abuse was government-funded institutions. It is also possible that power relations may be implicated in the choice of discourse. However, as Foucauldian approach to discourse attends to the macro context, it has been criticised for failing to pay attention to the micro context, that of the social interactional level. Accordingly, FDA is often understood as failing to do justice to the choices participants make in an interaction and, thus, to their *agency* (Burr, 2000; Wetherell, 1998).

As outlined previously, whilst nominally still retaining the notion of "discourse", discursive psychology takes a radically different approach. It explores how people negotiate and manage social interaction in order to achieve interpersonal objectives in discourse or, rather, *whilst discursing* (Edwards, 2006; 1999; Potter & Edwards, 2001). As such, discursive psychology is concerned with the multitude of subjects and constructions that take place in any given interaction, rather than assuming that people are, more or less, mere manifestations of overarching and inevitable social-cultural-political discourses. At the same time, discursive psychology has also been criticized for failing to explore power relations or consider the impact of discourse and why some constructions are used instead of others (Sims-Schouten, Riley & Willig, 2007; Wetherell, 1998).

The obvious disparity between these analytical approaches has led to proposals that a critical discursive approach, incorporating both analyses, be utilised to enable a combined focus on both discursive practices and resources, both micro and macro levels (Riley, 2002; Edley & Wetherell, 2001; Wetherell, 1998). Wetherell's (1998) proposed integrative or critical discursive psychological approach to analysis can be seen to consist of several layers of analysis: the first layer, attending to features of the discursive psychology approach, is tasked with identifying how psychological concepts emerge from ongoing interaction/discourse. The second layer, informed by Foucauldian discourse analysis, seeks to identify discourses made available by the wider socio-historical context as they inform the speakers' talk and help them to occupy various subject positions (Davies and Harré, 1990). This way, Wetherell's integrative approach both accounts for how wider context influences ongoing discourse, and how participants adopt (or indeed reject) these influences.

As demonstrated in the critical literature review, a second generation of research within the field of CSA has sought to fully appreciate subjectivity and individual difference through qualitative research focused on identifying mediating factors in the effects of CSA and better understanding the significance of the disclosure process and context (Jensen et al. 2005; Bolen, 2002; Paine & Hansen, 2002). Indeed the *context* has been established by the literature as vital in the disclosure of CSA. As the aim of this present research was to explore the discursive choices available to and utilised by participants in disclosure of CSA within the context of the Irish Commission and to consider the effect the choice of discourse has on the individual in terms of their construction of reality, rather than to explore the experience of disclosure or to seek to produce theories of explanation of behaviour which could be explored through interpretative phenomenological or grounded theory analysis, discourse analysis was considered the most appropriate methodology. However, as presented, discursive and Foucauldian approaches to discourse analysis adhere to diverse understandings of context: discursive psychology focuses on the interactional context within the research interview whereas FDA focuses on the wider social-political context. The integrative approach of critical discursive psychology is therefore adopted in the present study in order to enable investigation of how social-political constraints that formed the context of disclosure in the Irish Commission emerge in the ongoing interaction and how they are reconstructed in the participant's dialogue with the researcher. A detailed description of the process of data analysis for the present study will be detailed in section 3.4.5

3.4   DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Criteria recommended for ensuring the quality of qualitative research include the provision of an audit trail to promote transferability and dependability of the research findings (see appendix 12). The present research strives to achieve good quality by detailing and providing justification for the recruitment process, the choice and size of the research sample, the development of the interview schedule, and the process of data analysis.

3.4.1   RECRUITMENT

Participants were recruited through charitable organisations catering specifically for Irish survivors of institutional abuse, and where it was considered the participants may

have received counselling or pastoral support, such as Irish-based organisations Right of Place and One in Four, and the UK-based NAPAC (National Association for People Abused in Childhood). These organisations were utilised rather than government funded ventures such as the National Counselling Service as research suggested that survivors of institutional abuse often view the latter with a substantial amount of distrust which, it was considered, could affect participant recruitment. Recruitment took place in Ireland and the UK due to evidence suggesting that a substantial proportion of those who had been abused in Irish religious-run residential institutions had emigrated to the UK (Ryan, 2009). Recruitment advertisements clearly stated that males who have experienced abuse as children in Irish institutions and who have given evidence to the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse were eligible. Advertisements also clearly conveyed that the research was focussing on the experience of giving evidence to the Commission, rather than the experience of being abused. Given the significance of context in the present research, consideration was given to the research context. Concerns about the impact of an institutional setting such as a University or a support group meeting room led to the decision that participants would be encouraged to identify an interview context and contact method (face-to-face interviews or Skype video calls via the internet[30]) that they considered comfortable and appropriate. Two participants requested interviews via a Skype online video call and three participants were interviewed face-to-face in a context of their choosing.

Qualitative research tends towards small sample sizes due to its emphasis on obtaining rich details of subjective experience rather than seeking to collate data which can be generalised to the wider population (Kvale, 2007; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Consequently discourse analysts, who seek to carry out in-depth explorations of individual language, argue that sample size does not predict the significance of their work (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Informed by this perspective the researcher sought to recruit approximately nine participants, all Irish males who had been abused as children in religious-run residential institutions. Following a recruitment drive lasting for four months five participants had been successfully recruited and interviewed. Despite renewed efforts at advertising no further potential participants emerged. Informed by the

---

[30] Skype video phone calls are considered a viable research medium where interpersonal aspects of the interview interaction can be maintained while also giving ethical consideration to the participant's need for a "safe space" in which to be interviewed (Hanna, P., 2012; Evans, Elford & Wiggins, 2008).

literature on disclosure which emphasises that disclosure is a complex process which can involve painful emotions such as shame, blame and guilt, it was considered that disclosure about disclosure in the form of the present research may also be a difficult process. It was therefore concluded that recruitment had reached a saturation point. In line with qualitative perspectives, and given the rich data which had emerged in the research interviews it was considered that five participants would be sufficient and that recruitment would be concluded. In addition, the quality of interviews was considered such that allows in-depth analysis even without a high number of interviews having been conducted.

3.4.2   PARTICIPANTS

The participants in this study were Irish men aged between 40 and 70 years old. The level of education they reported to have attained ranged from "less than secondary school" to university postgraduate degree. Participants reported having been resident in the Irish Industrial School system during the decades 1940's to 1980's. All participants had participated in the Residential Institution Redress Board and four had taken part in the confidential committee of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse. The other participant had applied to participate in the Commission but was advised that he had missed the closing date for applications.

Given the small community involved (Irish men who had been sexually abused as children in religious-run institutions in Ireland and who were in contact with the organisations used for recruitment purposes) it was considered that providing demographic information specific to each individual as collected at the time of interview (see Appendix 6) may enable the identification of the participants. Therefore, to satisfy ethical criteria in relation to confidentiality, the full demographic details are not included.

3.4.3   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical approval was granted by the University of East London Research Ethics Committee before data collection was carried out (Appendix 1). The organisations

which provided support in recruiting participants did not require any further ethical approval.

3.4.3.1 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION TOWARDS PARTICIPANTS

This research did not ask participants about their experience of being abused. Rather, the focus was on the participants' experience of sharing information about childhood abuse with a Government Commission. However some references to abuse or the impact of abuse was shared within the interview setting. In light of this, much consideration was given to the ethics of working with participants who have experienced abuse.

Firstly, it must be appreciated that individuals who have been abused undoubtedly participate in research unbeknownst to the researcher, and therefore may be open to potential trauma or distressing emotions by any research questions regarding parenting, childhood, relationships et cetera. It is therefore considered that working specifically with this participant group enables the researcher to plan questions and interventions more appropriately, as well as to ensure that personal self-care and professional training and knowledge can be set in place. Secondly, as psychologists we adhere to codes of ethics which state that we will seek to prevent our own biases or limitations in competence and expertise from causing or condoning unjust practices (APA, 2002). However Violante (2000) suggests that avoiding asking about abuse may constitute treating survivors as overly vulnerable, thereby reinforcing societal discourses and constructs with regards to abuse, and abuse dynamics with regards to silence. Indeed Marshall and colleagues (2001) evidenced the propensity for clinicians to underestimate the positive benefits and overestimate the negative aspects of this type of research.

In recent years much literature has considered the costs and benefits with regards to asking about abuse. Becker-Blease & Freyd (2006) referred to social problems which have been found to be associated with abuse (such as criminality, divorce, and school performance) to highlight the need for a greater understanding of abuse as a possible precipitating factor in these problems. One must also concede that an avoidance of addressing the issue of abuse impacts on the ability to correctly target and effectively provide support for these individuals.

In addressing the ethical issue of carrying out research on participants who have been abused Becker-Blease & Freyd (2006) considered ten relevant concerns such as: researchers feeling personally unable or unwilling to work with abused populations, worries that participants would withdraw from research if asked about abuse, and concerns that asking about abuse would upset or harm the participant. Researchers have considered these concerns and found that participants appreciate the value of asking about abuse (Deprince & Freyd, 2006); participants who are asked to consider trauma in research are no more likely to drop out than those in control groups (Park & Blumberg, 2002); and direct questions about abuse are less likely to trigger traumatic memories than environmental cues or indeed being confronted by issues in the media (Elliott, 1997; Van der Kolk, McFarlane & Weisaeth, 1996)

Given the findings with regards to ethical concerns about this form of research, considering that this research did not intend to use deception or challenging techniques, and due to the low level of questioning specifically about abuse within this research, it was considered that this experience would not be traumatising for the participant. Also, due to the recruitment setting it was considered that participants would have utilised counselling previously and would be able to re-access this support. However the researcher remained mindful of the potential for distress and was prepared to utilise counselling skills to support participants where appropriate. Participants were also given information detailing all relevant support services and telephone help lines.

3.4.3.2 CONSENT AND CONFIDENTIALITY

Participants were provided with an information sheet detailing the nature of the research study and what would be required of them should they choose to participate (Appendix 4). Information about the voluntary nature of participation and the participant's right to withdraw from the research study or to terminate the research interview at any time were clearly stated on the information sheet. Participants were also advised about confidentiality issues; namely that information pertaining to them would be stored on a password encrypted system; that identifying information would be removed and pseudonyms would be used to ensure confidentiality; that names and contact details would be stored separately to interview and transcript material; that quotations from research interviews would be used in the research write-up and may be published or

further disseminated for academic or scientific purposes, but that all identifying details would be removed from quotations. Contact details for the Quality Assurance and Enhancement Officer were shared with the participants in case they wished to raise concerns about the research. Participants were also advised that they could request a summary of the research findings. Following reading and discussion of the information sheet written consent was obtained from the participants (Appendix 5). On completion of the research interview participants were provided with a debriefing information sheet (Appendix 7) and also an information sheet containing details of support services should they require support following the interview (Appendix 8).

3.4.4   THE RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured interviews are considered a viable method in qualitative research as they facilitate the exploration of a participant's subjective understanding and meaning in their world (Willig, 2008). The interview schedule is structured around a set of questions in order to maintain focus on the topic at hand (Rapley, 2001). However, during the interview process emphasis is placed on asking open-ended questions, and using prompts in order to promote rapport by showing interest in the participant's meanings, as well as to explore the participant's meanings and understandings on a deeper level (Smith, 1995).

The interview schedule for the present study (see appendix 2) was structured into four chronological sections or streams of knowledge (before, during, and after the commission, and at the time of the research interview). This structure was partly informed by the recommendations to begin with easier or more straight-forward questions, such as "What was it like for you when you first heard about the commission?" in order to put participants at ease and make them feel comfortable (Smith, 1995). It was also considered that a chronological structure may facilitate exploration of different understandings or discourses in the wider society during these periods. The questions were directed at exploring the participant's understandings of the commission context and perceptions of the disclosure process. The use of "why" questions, which can be considered to be leading, were avoided. Instead questions such as "what are your thoughts on...?", "what was it like for you...?", and "what did you

think X was about" were used to encourage the participant's to narrate their own meanings.

As informed by the literature it was considered important for the interview to incorporate open questions to minimise leading the participant's answers and in order to focus on the participant's understanding of the process of disclosure. Therefore the interview schedule was used as a guide rather than a strict procedure and a flexible conversational style was adopted. Prompts included "You said X-what makes you say that?", "You mentioned Y. Can you tell me some more about that?".

As demonstrated earlier when participant Paul questioned the researcher to assess her "Irishness" (see section 3.3), discursive psychology acknowledges that research interviews produce a co-constructed narrative (Potter & Edwards, 2001; Rapley, 2001). The researcher maintained a research diary in order to promote reflection and increase self awareness of the role she played in co-constructing the narratives. Reflexivity and the role of the researcher will be further detailed in the following section.

3.4.5 REFLEXIVITY

As a counselling psychologist in training, I acknowledge that each client has their own reality or subjective experience (Strawbridge & Woolfe, 2003). Therapists attempt to understand this inner world through collaboratively constructing meaning with the client, however, they can only attempt to understand the client's meaning through their own experience and understanding of the world. Therefore self-reflexivity and self-awareness is vital in enabling counselling psychologists to separate their own experiences from those of the client.

As an Irish citizen I was aware of the allegations of historical institutional child abuse due to public disclosures in the media in the 1990's, media coverage such as the "States of fear" television series broadcast on the Irish national channel (Rafferty, 1999) and the well-publicised diocese investigation known as 'The Ferns report' (Murphy et al, 2005). Therefore, when the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse published their report (Ryan, 2009) I followed media coverage of the reaction of the Irish public. I was struck by the words of John Walsh, member of the campaign group Irish Survivors of Child Abuse (SOCA) and a participant in the commission: "I'm very angry, very bitter,

and feel cheated and deceived"; "Our wounds are open. We were encouraged to open our wounds. We opened them and they left them gaping open without healing them", "I would have never opened my wounds if I'd known this was going to be the end result" (*Breakingnews.ie,* 2009).

At the time of my growing interest in this issue as a potential research topic, I was simultaneously aware of my own feelings as an Irish citizen towards the survivors of institutional abuse, and towards the government and religious institutions which were implicated in the allegations. In my role as a researcher I therefore sought an approach which would allow me to acknowledge my subjectivity, and the significance of this on the development of the research aims and on the research analysis.

The constructivist-interpretivist paradigm acknowledges that multiple realities exist, that the world is constructed by and between individuals, and that the researcher's values and perspectives cannot be separated from the research but instead become an active part of the co-construction of meaning in the interview context (Willig, 2008; Morrow, 2007; Ponterotto, 2005). It also allows for an exploratory focus rather than approaching research with hypotheses or pre-determined ideas which may result in alternative possibilities being neglected (Ponterotto, 2005). Therefore this paradigm satisfies my personal requirements as a counselling psychologist and as an Irish person carrying out research into Irish institutional abuse.

Social Constructionism emphasises that the researcher plays a role within the interview and the research. For this reason, the researcher kept a diary of their thoughts and feelings throughout the research process and incorporated this into the research (Appendix 10).

3.4.6   ANALYSIS

As stated previously writers such as Parker (2002), Wood and Kroger (2000), and Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest that a distinct method of conducting discourse analysis does not exist, and indeed that discourse analysis should not be carried out in a sequential manner. Wetherell's (1998) integrative discursive psychological approach to analysis was used as a framework for the present analysis but Willig's (2008) stages of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis were also referred to while carrying out the analysis.

The five interviews were transcribed by the researcher in order to "immerse" the researcher in the data and commence the process of recognising themes or chunks of meaning in the data. Detailed transcription notation and symbols were not utilised as it has been argued that this approach can impede the flow of the data, thereby affecting the analysis (Potter & Hepburn, 2005). Once transcription was complete each interview was listened to again to check the accuracy of the transcripts.

Following transcription the interviews were read a number of times in order to identify interesting features or themes. These "hunches" were collated in a table in order to group superordinate themes, for example "powerless", and the associated discourses, for example "being taken advantage of", "knowledge/education as power" "trying to establish power/control", "not working together/being divided". Examples of relevant extracts for each discourse were also collated in order to check the emerging themes and discourses against the data. Emerging from this process of coding a number of these extracts were selected for further analysis. This phase of analysis involved examining each word and sentence within these extracts of text in order to explore both the micro level, that is what was being achieved in the social interaction and how the participants were constructing the process of disclosure to the Irish Commission, and the macro level such as what the participant's talk was telling us about the discourses and subject positions that were available in their wider socio-political context both at the time of the historical abuse and at the time of the Commission (see Appendix 9 for a worked example of a transcript). As well as holding the research questions in mind during this phase the researcher also held the following questions in mind in order to focus the analysis: 'What does this discourse say about reality?', 'What are the functions of this discourse?', 'What is the participant achieving when using this discourse?', 'What positions are made available to the participant from within this discourse?'.

The final process of the analysis involved merging similar discourses or constructions until three dominant discourses remained. These discourses were then organised to provide a coherent story of the participant's talk.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS

4.1   INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS

The previous chapter presented critical discursive analysis as the integrative approach used to answer the following research questions:

1. How do men abused as children in Irish institutions construct the process of their disclosure to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse?

2. What discursive choices are available and utilized by these men?

3. What effect does the choice of discourse have on these men in terms of the identities they construct?

In this chapter the findings of the analysis will be presented. Extracts from the research interviews will be used to demonstrate the discourses that were available within society for the participants to draw on in constructing their story of disclosure of childhood abuse, and also the subject positions that these discourses make available to these men. These extracts will be referenced within the text of this chapter using the following format: (extract number: participant number: line number).

The critical discursive approach to analysis resulted in the identification of three dominant discourses. The first discourse "the genocide discourse" demonstrates how the participants construct their experience of abuse. The subsequent discourse "isolated in the past" focuses on the discursive choices and positions made available to the participants in their youth. The third and final discourse "disclosure: in search of justice" focuses on the discursive choices and positions made available to the participants prior to the commencement of the Commission, as well as the participants' construction of the process of disclosure to the Commission.

4.2   "GENOCIDE: WE FIT INTO THAT"

4.2.1   THE 'GENOCIDE" DISCOURSE

In the context of the interview many of the participants draw on the "genocide" discourse to reconstruct their experience of abuse. In the following extracts Stephen, Paul and John draw on the genocide discourse and in doing so reconstruct themselves as having been powerless and voiceless against the institutions of the Church and the religious orders in the past.

Extract 1

Stephen: *Myself, my brother and my sister were medically experimented on in the institutions.*

NM: *Ok mm*

Stephen: *And I refer to it at that time that we in Ireland had our own Josef and Josephine Mengele[31]. And the experiments were done for the (pharmaceutical company) here in Ireland.*

<div align="right">

Transcript 4: l 112-118

</div>

Extract 2

  John: *(Industrial school) was a really harsh, cruel, prison, prison camp really, prisoners of war camp more than anything else.*

<div align="right">

Transcript 1: l 256-257

</div>

Extract 3

Paul: *What actually happened was was can be described by nothing more than genocide. If you look* up what genocide *means-genocide doesn't mean the* extermination *of a whole race at all, it is means lots of different things*

NM: *Mm*

Paul: *And if you look up the explanation of the word genocide, we fit into that. And I wish I had the funds, and I wish I could win the lottery today and I would take the Church and the religious orders to the Court of Human Rights in The Hague for genocide for what they did to us.*

NM: *Mm*

---

[31] Josef Mengele was a medical physician who worked as an SS officer in Germany during World War II. Following the war it was alleged that he had performed medical experiments on prisoners in the concentration camp at Auschwitz. (van Pelt & Dwork, 1996)

> **Paul:** *and I feel fairly confident, if I had a smart enough barrister, it would stand up.*

<div align="right">Transcript 3: l 1437-1445</div>

In extract one Stephen draws implicitly but tangibly on the genocide discourse, specifically referencing a particular type of abuse carried out during the Holocaust. He attends to the epistemological orientation[32] of his talk by using factual language in short definitive sentences to present the experience as reality and not opinion, while also drawing on this discourse in order to work up his account in a way that prevents it from being questioned as in the extract "*I refer to it at that time that we in Ireland had our own Josef and Josephine Mengele. And the experiments were done for the (pharmaceutical company) here in Ireland*" (1:4:116) He also reinforces his account through the use of externalising[33], for example in the following extract where he constructs his account as shared by others and thereby positions himself as a truthful reporter of facts "*Myself, my brother and my sister were medically experimented on in the institutions*" (1:4:112) (Potter, 1996).

In drawing upon the genocide discourse Stephen refers to a male historical figure, war criminal Josef Mengele, however he also constructs a female counterpart "Josephine" in order to also implicate female figures as perpetrators of abuse. It is interesting to note that Stephen also discursively positions the Irish people and the pharmaceutical company in this extract. Through his use of the personal pronoun "we", as in "we in Ireland had", he constructs himself and the Irish people as one united group. Throughout the interviews the participants appear to utilise the speaker-inclusive "we" in order to establish a shared social history or indeed a social responsibility for the abuse (Wodak, R., de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M. & Liebhart, K., 2009).

During the interview Stephen implicates other organisations and companies in the abuse. His talk of the pharmaceutical company is concise: "And the experiments were

---

[32] Epistemological orientation refers to the presentation of talk as factual or representative of reality as a means to prevent the account from being questioned (Potter, 1996).

[33] Externalising devices serve to substantiate an individual's account by presenting it as shared by others (Potter, 1996).

done for the (pharmaceutical company) here in Ireland" (1:4:118). Stephen again attends to the epistemological orientation of his talk by using a short definitive sentence rather than entering into dialogue or justification of this point, thereby positioning this statement as fact (Potter, 1996). He appears to construct himself as a moral watchdog, attempting to highlight the wider societal responsibilities in relation to the abuse.

In the second and third extracts John and Paul also choose to draw on the genocide discourse. In doing so they draw on wider societal discourses around the abuse of human rights. As has been recently noted, the discourse of human rights has become something akin to the "last utopia" in our society: a set of unquestionable values, with genocide and crimes against humanity as the pinnacle of the transgression of those values (Moyn, 2010). Drawing on these discourses enable these men to talk about the abuse they experienced in a manner which allows others to understand their account. What is more, over and above creating a shared understanding and a shared concern with the audience, the status of genocide confers a nearly sacral identity to those suffering from it: the survivors.

In his talk Paul contrasts the emotive genocide discourse with talk of institutional procedures necessary for his experience of genocide to be acknowledged. His use of "I wish" demonstrates his desire for his reality to be different, and he constructs The Court of Human Rights as a utopian sphere of ultimate justice, perhaps drawing on a wider social discourse about human rights as an ideal state (Moyn, 2010). However Paul's coupling of "I wish" with a past tense verb, for instance "I wish I had the funds" (3:3:1441) and "I wish I could win the lottery" (3:3:1442) where the implied response is "but I don't" or "but I can't", also constructs this utopian state that the desired objective is unlikely to be achieved.

In talking up the issues which prevent him from obtaining his ideal vision of justice, Paul identifies insufficient finance and a deficit of legal knowledge as the necessary resources which he lacks: "If I had a smart enough barrister" (3:3:1445). He constructs himself as powerless in relation to both the Church and the Law, which he cannot converse with without support. Interestingly, in this extract it can be seen that he links money and knowledge with the achievement of justice over his oppressors and therefore

with having power. It is possible that he is drawing on a wider social discourse about power being achieved partly through knowledge and finance.

These extracts demonstrate how the participants draw on the genocide discourse to reconstruct their experience of abuse in order to have it understood and acknowledged. In their quest for acknowledgement of the abuse of their human rights they identify resources which they do not possess, such as knowledge and finance, and construct themselves as powerless without these resources.

In the following section the participant use the "poorest of the poor" construction to further construct their abuse as socially motivated, systematic discrimination based on their socioeconomic status.

4.2.2   THE "POOREST OF THE POOR"

As demonstrated, the participants use the genocide discourse to facilitate understanding of their experience. They also draw on this discourse to discursively construct the power struggles they encounter due to their lack of social resources. Furthermore, the participants also draw on a "poorest of the poor" construction to construct themselves as discriminated against through the intentional deprivation of education and therefore, following their previous construction, power.

Extract 4

Paul: ... we sat down as the lowest of the low, because we came out of the schools illiterate, we couldn't read or couldn't write.

Transcript 3: l 354-355

In extract four Paul constructs those participating in the Commission as "the lowest of the low" (4:3:354). He identifies basic literacy as a necessary resource for social power and status, a resource which industrial school education denied these men.

Extract 5

Stephen: Even when I was at primary school (…) knowing that my father was a coal miner, we were told sit in the back. (…) Going to primary school, eh the first "what does your dad work at?" "He's a coal miner."

59

"Stand by the wall. What does your dad? What?" "He's a publican."
"You sit in the front seat". "He's a farmer", "He's a shopkeeper", you
know?

NM: Yeah

Stephen: *And then "Ok boys ye sit in the back and if you pick up*
something then ye'll go far". But what they were talking about we'll go
far underground, you see?

Transcript 4: l 267-278

Stephen uses the "poorest of the poor" construction to construct a wider class system which is motivated to replicate itself. Social theorists have long argued that class position is not determined by skills and education alone, but that social prestige and power also have a role to play (Weber, 1958). In this extract Stephen demonstrates the role of social prestige as the children of publicans for example are awarded the front seat in the classroom, and therefore arguably (or symbolically) the front seat for future achievement and social success. In contrast, the children of coal miners are told to sit in the back of the classroom. They are given no prospects beyond their fathers' occupation '"if you pick up something then ye'll go far." (...) they were talking about we'll go far underground' (5:4:277). Stephen therefore reconstructs a society systematically forcing the lower class youth to remain poor and powerless.

Throughout the interview Stephen constructs issues, in this instance discrimination, by quoting a third party. This discursive feature enables him to construct his account as factual, thereby preventing it from being questioned. It also strengthens Stephen's account when he presents it as shared by others (Potter, 1998).

The following extract demonstrates how Stephen draws on the "poorest of the poor" construction to construct the "lower working class" as powerless.

Extract 6

Stephen: *I made the point that the people who were um brought into these*
institutions um were from the lower, very lower working class areas of society.
(…) And it was easy to lock these people away. (...) And women then who were

who were fallen women, having children outside of marriage, that these
children were ta taken from their mothers and sold abroad for vast sums of
money.

<div align="right">Transcript 4: l 231-233; 247; 260-262</div>

Stephen draws on the "poorest of the poor" construction here to construct the "lower working class" as powerless and therefore "easy to lock these people away" (6:4:247), emphasising his point by stressing that they were "very lower working class" (6:4:232). Stephen also introduces a discourse around financial benefit as a result of the abuse and discrimination of the lower class: "these children were taken from their mothers and sold abroad for vast sums of money" (6:4:261). This is a discourse that Stephen draws on elsewhere in the interview, highlighting how industry and sectors in society benefited from the labour of children in "laundry schools" and the cider industry.

Stephen ends this section of talk by summarizing what he has been talking up: "our society failed the poorest of the poor" (7:4:279). He identifies society as responsible for enabling discrimination and abuse, and he draws on discourse around the constitution to strengthen his argument that unacceptable discrimination took place, that social laws were broken.

> **Extract 7**
> *Stephen: There is, where is where is the jus-, and our our consti I've been*
> *arguing that our constitution means nothing because if any aspect of the*
> *constitution falls, the whole lot falls. "And we shall cherish all of the*
> *children of the nation equally". But we were not cherished equally (...) And*
> *our our society failed the poorest of the poor*
> *NM: Absolutely yeah*
> *Stephen: And it's still failing the poorest of the poor.*

<div align="right">Transcript 4: l 264-267; 278-281</div>

It has been demonstrated that the participants draw on the "poorest of the poor" construction in order to discursively construct their experience of "genocide". The participants achieve this by constructing their experience of abuse as systemic

discrimination based on their class status. Beyond the physical, sexual and mental abuse that took place, the participants identify discrimination as consisting of the denial of education in order to prevent social mobility and economic success, the removal of children from mothers considered socially unacceptable and the placement of these children with families of different social standing, the exploitation of children for the purpose of child labour and financial gain by their oppressors. This discursive construction of a systematic social discrimination echoes the treatment of other discriminated against groups, such as black Africans during the apartheid era, the Jewish population in war-time Germany, and Bosnians affected by the ethnic cleansing campaign during the Bosnian War.

4.3 ISOLATED AND ALONE: THE PAST

The results of the analysis thus far have demonstrated how the participants draw upon discourses around genocide and extreme discrimination in order to construct a hierarchical society motivated to isolate and silence this specific social group. This section of the analysis demonstrates how participants construct themselves as the "locked away" child, isolated and alone. Drawing on the "how dare you speak of that" disciplinary practice Stephen in particular demonstrates the actively silencing discourses prevalent in society that enforce a "great wall of silence" in order to discipline and regulate social behaviour. The participants also continue drawing on the genocide discourse in their construction of the residential institution as a place of deprivation, discrimination and imprisonment.

4.3.1 CONSTRUCTION OF THE "LOCKED AWAY" CHILD

The participants draw on the discourse of the "locked away child" in order to emphasise both the physical isolation of being "locked away" in an institution, and the social isolation that occurred as a result of this.

Extract 8
Paul: This isn't just something now where you have where you have clerical

abuse, where the child is going home to his mother and father

NM: Yeah

Paul: *And can actually tell the Mums and Dads. We had nowhere to go, because we were locked up behind the walls.*

Transcript 3: l 165-169

Paul constructs the "locked away child" as physically isolated from their parents. Interestingly, though the construction "we were locked up behind the walls" could imply the impossibility of escape, this is not the aspect of the situation that Paul explicitly attends to. Rather, what is of importance is the act of telling, sharing and that of hearing. The experience needs to be communicated, and not just escaped from. He constructs physical isolation and its consequence through his talk by contrasting his experience of institutional abuse with clerical abuse. This reinforces the isolation and the lack of social resources available to those abused in residential institutions. He minimises clerical abuse as "just something" (8:3:165) and constructs the clerically abused child as possessing the necessary resources for disclosure to a protective figure. His use of the adverb "actually"[34] strengthens his argument by positioning it as fact. His choice of language "we were locked up behind the walls" (8:3:169) constructs the institutional setting as a place of imprisonment. The "locked away" child is therefore constructed as both socially and physically isolated: there is nowhere to run and there is no one to talk to.

Extract 9

Paul: *I went into (Industrial school) at five years old. I should never have gone in because (Industrial school) was a school for senior boys over ten years old*

NM: Mm

Paul: *So as a baby I was put in with all the adults*

NM: (Mm)

Paul: *And that compounded-when I came out of (Industrial school) I could*

---

[34] The word actually is defined as "the truth or facts of a situation" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2010)

hardly speak. I literally could hardly speak, I couldn't converse with people

<div align="right">Transcript 3: l 1116-1122</div>

Paul furthers the construction of the "locked away" child by talking up the social isolation of being separate to his peer group: "as a baby I was put in with all the adults" (9:3:1119). By choosing to describe the "senior boys over ten years old" as "adults" he emphasises the isolation within his social environment. He talks up this social isolation and identifies it as responsible for depriving him of the social resources necessary for life after the institution, using discursive devices such as extreme case formulation and repetition in the statement "I could hardly speak" (9:3:1121) to emphasise his point. Again, as we can see, physical isolation is not simply important in the sense of *physical* constraints. It is important in that it disables communication in the short and long term. Physical though it is, isolation, thus, starts to acquire a social and moral aspect in relation to disclosure.

Stephen also draws on the idea of social deprivation in order to construct the child as isolated later in life:

Extract 10
Stephen: I dealt with people in (place name) who were in the institute and couldn't read nor write
NM: Mm
Stephen: I tried to encourage them to go back and have gone back through to doing one to one primary school study and things like that
NM: Yeah yeah
Stephen: And one particular man came up to me and he said "Do you know Stephen", he said, "I went on holidays on a cruise for the first time. And I wasn't ashamed to sit at the table when the menu was passed to me"
NM: Massive
Stephen: You know?
NM: Hmm.
Stephen: A simple few letters in an alphabet put together in an order that he

<div align="center">64</div>

never had it before.

NM: Mm mm

Stephen: And then I said to him "You know Conor" I said, "you know, will you go back to school?" "He said I I I feel stupid Stephen. And I said "There's no reason to feel stupid. You're bringing a wealth of experience"

NM: Absolutely.

Stephen: Yeah but he said "Stephen" he said "four year olds could do what I couldn't do you know?" And but i but that's what I mean about it. And institutions and society failed the people who were in those institutions so badly.

Transcript 4: l 349-370

As previously established Stephen attends to the epistemological orientation of his talk by citing the experience of third parties in order to construct his account as factual and shared by others (Potter, 1996). Here, he draws on another man's experience to construct the illiterate individual in society as isolated, ashamed and powerless: "four year olds could do what I couldn't do" (10:4:368). He then uses the adverbs "simple" and "few" in his statement "a simple few letters in an alphabet put together in an order that he never had it before" (10:4:361) to construct literacy as a simplistic task. This talk enables Stephen to emphasise both the extent of the deprivation experienced and his utter dismay at this state of affairs.

Although Stephen constructs literacy as simplistic and fundamental, he also constructs it as a powerful resource. The everyday context of the dinner table in the statement "I wasn't ashamed to sit at the table" (10:4:356) suggests an infinite number of dinners having occurred when the man *was* ashamed to sit at the table. With the achievement of basic literacy skills the man is no longer positioned as ashamed, or isolated and unable to communicate. Through this talk Stephen constructs literacy as a powerful resource enabling the "locked away child" to emerge into society.

Throughout his interview, as also seen in this extract, Stephen not only positions "institutions" as responsible but also implicates society. Through his construction of literacy as basic and fundamental Stephen emphasises that "institutions and society failed the people who were in those institutions *so* badly" (10:4:370; my italics).

However, his construction of literacy as a powerful social resource, a resource that was denied the "locked away" child, suggests that this deprivation was part of a systematic form of abuse by an institution or group of society motivated to disempower and isolate these children.

We have seen how the participants draw on the discourse of the "locked away child" in order to construct the physical isolation of being "locked away" in an institution. The participants then move from the physical aspect of the isolation to the long term social aspect as they construct themselves as socially isolated due to the deprivation of literacy and communication skills, and the shame at having a diminished self or a "tainted" identity[35]. In the following section we will see how the participants draw on the "how dare you speak of that" discourse to construct the inability to disclose abuse as a further aspect of social isolation.

4.3.2   "HOW DARE YOU SPEAK OF THAT"

As established, the participants construct themselves as physically and socially isolated, as well as ending up with a tainted identity, as a result of being "locked away" in the institutional setting and being deliberately denied social and academic resources. The extracts below construct a further aspect of the social isolation: the participants' inability to share their accounts of abuse. The individual's inability to disclose abuse is constructed as resulting from the deprivation of social and emotional resources, as well as the lack of discourses available to them in the context of a society who may have been motivated to silence their talk for the purpose of social regulation and control.

Extract 11

Tim: I didn't think I'd get believed, or I didn't think I'd be heard. Simply 'cos my story was too horrific.

NM: OK

Tim: And I believed that what I'd experienced, no-one else had experienced (…) And I thought I was alone in this.

<div align="right">Transcript 5: l 31-34; 47</div>

---

[35] The tainted memory or diminished self is a construct that also emerges in the talk of Holocaust survivors (Langer, 1991)

Couched though in terms of a subjective feeling, Tim's account "I didn't think I'd be heard" demonstrates the lack of discourse available for him to disclose his experience of abuse and for others to hear and understand it. Thus, he demonstrates that experiences and grievances only acquire their communicability and *meaning* if there are established ways in society of telling them. As a consequence, what his utterances "my story was too horrific" (11:5:32) and "I thought I was alone in this" (11:5:47) pertain to is not simply his own experiences, but the impossibility of communicating them and, importantly, of listening to them[36].

Though the inability to disclose abuse may be seen above as connected to the impossibility of hearing/listening, the latter act acquires a more active and more morally accountable sense in the following extract:

Extract 12

Stephen: when I tried to explain to my mother what went on there

NM: Yeah

Stephen: She slapped my face and said "How dare you speak about the servants of Christ like this"

Transcript 4: l 789-793

Stephen constructs social isolation in this extract where he is actively and radically silenced by his mother. Traditionally, the mother may have been constructed as a protective figure due to a wider traditional gender ideology about the female as compassionate and nurturing. However, in this instance Stephen constructs the mother not just as unwilling or unable to engage in dialogue about the abuse, but someone who *actively* and *physically* silences the emergence of a discourse around disclosure. The contrast between Stephen's construction of the mother and the traditional social construction of the mother discursively demonstrates the power of social values in silencing and regulating offensive or challenging discourses or practices. It is likely that Stephen draws upon wider cultural ideologies at that time about not questioning or criticising the Church. It is interesting to note that his mother doesn't enter into a

---

[36] Tim's talk and his construction of the struggle to communicate the experience of abuse is strongly reminiscent of that used by Holocaust survivors, as identified by Lawrence Langer in his analysis of oral testimonies of Holocaust survivors (Langer, 1991)

dialogue about whether she believes him or not, but rather she demonstrates (both by way of talking and by way of "slapping") how his experience cannot be talked about because there is simply no discourse to draw on in order to speak negatively of the "servants of Christ" (12:4:793).

By drawing on the "how dare you speak of that" disciplinary practice operating within society at that time Stephen emphasises not just the lack of a discourse available to draw upon, but also the *presence* of a discourse, a social regulation, actively choking any attempt to find his voice. Thereby, he positions himself as an isolated, powerless and silenced young man not merely as a result of his past experience of abuse, but due to the active operations of prevailing discourses in society which form a "great wall of silence".

4.3.3   THE "GREAT WALL OF SILENCE"

It has been demonstrated that the participants construct themselves as the "locked away" child due to their experience of physical and social isolation and the denial of social resources. They talk up "how dare you speak of that" in order to demonstrate the active disciplinary practices operating within society and to further construct themselves as socially isolated on account of being unable to disclose the abuse they experienced. The following extracts demonstrate one of the main discursive resources used by the participants in the context of the research interviews: the "great wall of silence" which they struggle to break through to be heard. This may be understood as a further regulatory practice within society reflecting the prevailing norms of society, namely an inherent and categorical rejection of disclosure.

Extract 16
Paul: I have no respect for the institution of the Church. None at all. And if I'm to give a quote at all, and if I was to think up a quote, the Church, the institutional Church here
NM: Mm
Paul: in how they have responded to us has been with a great wall of silence, like the Berlin wall. (.) And behind it, behind it is nothing more than the

biggest hypocrisy you could ever meet.

NM: Mm

Paul: That now is my humble opinion of what the institutional church is all about.

NM: Mm

Paul: It is a great wall of silence behind which (.) lies enormous hypocrisy

Transcript 3: l 457-467

In extract 16 Paul draws on the "great wall of silence" to demonstrate the lack of dialogue between the Church and the person who experienced abused. By using the metaphor of the Berlin wall he again draws on social understanding of two systems (abuse and society) that are radically separated and that are impossible to connect through the act of communication – that is, disclosure. As well as the metaphor itself, he draws on further extreme case formulations, such as "none at all" (16:3:457), "nothing more than" (16:3:461), "biggest hypocrisy you could ever meet" (16:3:461), in order to emphasise his point (Pomerantz, 1986). He justifies his position by stating that it is his "humble opinion" (16:3:463) before then repeating his conclusion again: "it is a great wall of silence behind which lies enormous hypocrisy" (16:3:465).

In the following extract Paul again draws on the "great wall of silence" to demonstrate the disciplinary practice used to establish and maintain social regulation. He begins to unpack the "wall of silence" by constructing the subjects that are produced by this disciplinary power: the unhearing religious figures who are unwilling to communicate with the "lowest of the low".

Extract 17

Paul: At every single meeting the bishops sat there, the same as the first one, never said a single single word to us.

NM: The four of them?

Paul: The four of them. Not a single single word. We did all the talking. They sat there like dummies and, I have to control myself very strongly

NM: Mm

69

Paul: They sat there like dummies and never said a single single word (…)
They were already planning their strategy, because don't forget we're dealing
here with the most sophisticated, and I mean this, the most sophisticated
highly intelligent, highly educated who've had the privilege of doing nothing
but studying philosophy

NM: Sure

Paul: Studying the science, studying the stars-you name it!

NM: Mm

Paul: Anything to do with the human spirit and mankind that you can tap into.
These people spend their whole lives studying that.

NM: Yeah

Paul: And yet when we sat down as the lowest of the low, because we came
out of the schools illiterate, we couldn't read or couldn't write.

NM: Mm

Paul: When I came out (pause) these gifted scholars didn't have a single
word to say to us. Not a single word. And at the end of eighteen months

NM: Mm

Paul: Yeah, they produced the pamphlet which was their acts of reparation. I
responded to that in quite a strong way

Transcript 3: l 309-315; 345-361

Paul uses extreme case formulations "every single meeting" (17:3:309) and "never said a single, single word to us" (17:3:309) to emphasise the lack of dialogue and to justify his stance of disbelief and frustration. He also uses this feature to construct the Bishops as "*most* sophisticated, *highly* intelligent, *highly* educated" (17:3:346; my italics). By emphasising the Bishop's level of education and social skills, he creates a sharp contrast with his account of "they sat there like dummies and never said a single single word" (17:3:309). By discursively constructing the participants as people who "did all the talking" (17:3:312), and therefore as transparent and willing to engage, Paul appears to construct those with power, knowledge and social resources as the problem: "these gifted scholars didn't have a single word to say to us. Not a single word" (17:3:357), "they were already planning their strategy" (17:3:345). It is evident here that those in power are motivated to maintain the social divide and the "wall of silence" between themselves, "the most sophisticated highly intelligent, highly educated" (17:3:346), and

the participants, "the lowest of the low" (17:3:354). Thus, the extract demonstrated not only how the "great wall" makes it impossible to disclose certain experiences but also how its ultimate function is to maintain a social hierarchy and a received system of values.

The "wall of silence" as a regulatory disciplinary practice, and the construction of the religious as problematic and motivated to maintain the wall, is further drawn upon by Stephen. In the following extract he constructs institutions and higher class society as motivated to protect themselves from challenges to their power by the lower class.

Extract 18

Stephen: I've argued that we were looking for justice from a strata of society that were going to protect each other. Um the guard and the garda commissioner of the garda commission down, how do we know how many of their relatives eh were were were sons were nuns and priests and brothers?

NM: Yeah yeah

Stephen: How many of the judiciary had people in the religious orders? And it is a very small, it's a web that's there, and they certainly don't want those people punished. And I said it would be quite, and I made the point that the people who were um brought into these institutions um were from the lower, very lower working class areas of society.

Transcript 4: l 224-233

Stephen discursively constructs a powerful hierarchical system, determined to protect itself and its members: "they certainly don't want those people punished" (4:230). In doing so he constructs the justice process as inherently flawed and inevitably disappointing. Due to the construction of the justice system as flawed, Paul takes up a human rights ideology that constructs the Court of Human Rights as a Utopia. However, he constructs the dilemma he is faced with: in order to apply to the Court of Human Rights and have his account of abuse acknowledged, he must adhere to social practice and institutional procedures which require social resources such as legal knowledge and skill. He therefore demonstrates the wall that prevents him from achieving justice and the position that is available for him to take up – that of the powerless, voiceless individual "I need somebody to help me" (19:3:947).

Extract 19

Paul: I want to appeal to the Human Court of Human Rights in The Hague.

NM: Oh ok

Paul: I have the forms, the application form

NM: Mm

Paul: and I need somebody to help me to put it all together again

NM: Mm

Paul: and apply to the Court of Human Rights, in The Hague, to be heard.

Transcript 3: l 942-949

In the context of the interviews the participants have constructed themselves as being alone in the past due to physical and social isolation, the denial of social resources, and the lack of available discourses to talk about their experience of abuse. The participants construct not simply a context where their stories cannot be heard but a regulatory disciplinary practice which actively suppresses their talk in their social context at that time – coalescing ultimately in nothing less than a *wall*. Therefore, while the participants construct themselves as experiencing long term effects such as social deprivation, shame and isolation, these long term effects must be attributed to *both* the abusive event *and* the social practices and values operating outside the walls of the residential institution which resulted in the participants being actively silenced.

The next section will demonstrate how the lack of discourse around disclosure and the oppressive silencing active in their social context forced the participants to internalise their experience and further construct themselves as isolated in the present.

4.4   DISCLOSURE: IN SEARCH OF JUSTICE

This section of analysis focuses on how the participants construct themselves prior to the onset of the Irish Commission and how they construct justice and their experience of disclosure to the Commission and the Financial Redress Board.

Having constructed themselves as isolated as children and having discursively demonstrated the lack of discourse available to them and the social regulatory practices in operation, the participants were forced to "bury" their experience of abuse and position themselves as separate to the abuse in order to survive in their social context. Their talk of "it's buried in the past" reveals a process of subjectification which contributes to the production of the subject: here, the "normalized" or socially accepted individual who does not talk of abuse. In order to take up this new identity the participants are forced to bury an alternative version of their self in the past. Later the participants return to drawing on the regulatory practice of a "wall of silence" to construct the religious, political, and legal institutions as part of a hierarchical social system motivated to silence the participants in order to maintain social order.

Justice is constructed amongst the participants as multi-faceted, incorporating financial compensation and a platform "to be heard, to be believed". They construct the latter as their ultimate goal. However, as we shall see, their talk of justice finally concludes in "being abused all over again" which represents the subjectification of the individual as "the abused individual" once again, and which constructs their experience of disclosure to the Commission and the Financial Redress Board as abusive, discriminatory, and a disappointment of their hopes for justice.

Perhaps surprisingly, discourses relating to criminal justice do not emerge in the research interviews. Paul alone refers to the indemnity deal of 2002, in which the Government agreed not to prosecute individuals as a result of allegations made during the Commission process: "they actually got them a get out of jail ticket if you know what I'm saying" (3:146). It could be considered that participants' discursive constructions of justice do not draw on legal discourses around criminal justice because legal prosecution was not part of the Commission process. However, discourses around criminal justice are also absent from participants' talk of their construction of justice prior to the onset of the Commission, and therefore prior to the indemnity deal. The absence of this discourse, along with Paul's positioning of the government as more powerful than the court system, suggests that these participants construct criminal and legal justice as an unattainable or ineffectual system for accomplishing their objectives.

4.4.1 'IT'S BURIED IN THE PAST"

The following extracts demonstrate how the participants draw on the discourse of putting the abuse behind them and actively burying it in the past, thereby constructing themselves as isolated individuals prior to the enactment of the Commission.

Extract 13

John: Well when I first heard there was going to be a commission, well first of all, before the comm eh, before the commission there was actually an apology. And I, because I I actually love myself, for me to survive I actually had to psychologically remove myself from that life that I had before, I was in institutional care for sixteen years of my young life.

NM: Mm

John So I had it buried deep into my psyche. It actually took six to eight months before I realised that the Taoiseach [Irish Prime Minister] was actually apologising to me

NM: Ok

John: Because I had buried that. I'm now sixty odd years of age and when I heard about the Commission, eh before the Commission I was in my fifties. So I had to wait you know something like thirty-five, forty years without having to tell people I was in an institution. I was actually put it in, I buried it deep in my background of my thought if you know what I mean

NM: Yeah

John I just didn't think about it

<div align="right">Transcript 1: l 73-86</div>

Extract 14

NM: (…) when you first heard about the commission, what was that like? What were your thoughts about about it?

Pat: Oh yes mm in a way I felt you know what's what's it all for? What, why bother going telling anyone your life as a child you know?

NM: Yeah

Pat: Because in a way we were getting on with our lives, it felt well you know it's not so important anymore in in my forties now you know

NM: Yeah yeah

Pat: At that time as well, I'd just turned forty and thinking well I've come through this far. Why bother delving right into the past?

Extract 15

Stephen: my attitude at first was 'No'. I wanted nothing to do with this. I have worked very hard to put this behind me

NM: Hmm

Stephen: I've made a life for myself and I don't want to revisit it. I said I've had enough problems of my own over this.

By drawing on talk such as "how dare you speak of that" the participants constructed a society in which discourse around male childhood sexual abuse in religious residential institutions was not available and disclosure of abuse was actively suppressed. It has also been shown that they constructed themselves as isolated and deprived of social resources. As a result, the oppressive disciplinary practices they encountered are constructed as having completed their objective through the act of burial in the mind of the participants. The participants work up talk around "it's in the past" to demonstrate how they have actively internalised or isolated their experience of abuse: "I have worked very hard to put this behind me" (15:4:47), "I had it buried deep into my psyche" (13:1:78). This process therefore subjectifies them and contributes to them becoming individuals detached from their experience of abuse: "I actually had to psychologically remove myself from that life I had before" (13:1:75). The participants may be drawing here on a wider social ideology that people should not criticise the Catholic Church.

The participants' talk of "it's buried in the past" demonstrates the subject positions available to them within society at that time. John states that "for me to survive I actually had to psychologically remove myself from that life that I had before" (13:1:75), Pat claims that "we were getting on with our lives" (14:2:152) and Paul discloses that "I've had enough problems of my own over this" (15:4:50). The

participants' talk suggests that the participants could choose to take up the position of the isolated victim, stuck in the past and struggling with problems as a result of the abuse, or they could "bury" the experience and take up the position of the forward-looking individual who can "(make) a life for myself" (15:4:50). While the participants construct the latter as their chosen position, it will be shown later in the analysis that on some level they continued to harbor a desire "to be heard, to be believed".

This section of analysis has demonstrated how the participants construct themselves as isolated, with their experience of abuse "buried in the past", prior to the Commission. They present this as the only position available to them in the context of a hierarchical social system motivated to enforce a "wall of silence". The next section presents the participants' construction of the process of disclosure during the period of the Commission. The analysis will demonstrate how the social system of discrimination and silencing prevents the participants from achieving justice and replicates the abusive dynamics of the past.

4.4.2 JUSTICE AS FINANCIAL RETRIBUTION

Concurrent to the investigation of the Commission, financial retribution was awarded to applicants by the Residential Institutions Redress Board. The participants of this study construct this financial compensation as an entitlement, due to the work they carried out during their time in institutions.

> **Extract 20:**
> *John: The reason why I I thought I was entitled to all this is because I started working when I was five years of age (...) and I never even seen a stamp or compen or compensation or or remuneration for working from five years of age up to sixteen years of age when I left*
> *NM: Yeah*
> *John: 'cos my job was to work for the institution in a cruel and very systematic manner so that they could exploit me*
> *NM: Mm*
> *John: And use every piece of energy they could get from me to enhance their wealth, power and influence around the world.*

Extract 21:

Stephen: You take the great (names company) cider thing. Sure they used the boys (...) to pick their apples and and cart 'em in and all of that and they made millions on them

John and Stephen again construct themselves as powerless, abused children: "I started working when I was five years of age" (20:1:688). In contrast they construct the cider company and religious institution as powerful, exploitative figures using "every piece of energy they could get from me" (20:1:699) in order to increase their wealth and power. John's construction of the "institution" draws again on the abuse of human rights discourse; the young child being exploited in a "cruel and very systematic manner" (20:1:696). By drawing on this discourse and using discursive features such as extreme case formulation, for example "never even seen a stamp" " (20:1:693) and "use every piece of energy they could get from me" (20:1:699), John justifies his sense of entitlement to financial compensation.

In extract 22 Stephen again takes up the position of social commentator, constructing the cider company as implicit in the abuse. Having talked up the "millions" made by the cider company, he contrasts this with the amount awarded through the redress board in the following extract.

Extract 22

Stephen: And coming back to the compensation, the majority of us got less than what I would call a decent year's salary for the years of work, the absolute terror that we lived in.

Stephen's use of the word "decent" (22:4:400) sets up his sense of disappointment at the Redress board for failing to adequately acknowledge the abuse. He then emphasises the "years of work" and "absolute terror" (22:4:400) to discursively construct the abusive and unfair treatment in order to support his argument.

Within the interviews, financial retribution is also discursively constructed as a means to resources and therefore individual power, namely protection against further institutionalisation later in life. Stephen demonstrates this in discussing how he has used compensation to pay off his mortgage:

Extract 23

Stephen: Our biggest fear, our biggest fear is that we'll go into an institution when we're elderly
NM: Yeah yeah
Stephen: We'll pay off our mortgage so no one can put us out of our houses. (...) I have I have my daughter living there and another daughter living up there and and you know, so we said we don't want our daughters going into institutions you know our children

Transcript 4: l 486-493

Stephen's talk of "our biggest fear, our biggest fear" (23:4:486) constructs a fearful, powerless individual. His use of the passive "we'll go into an institution when we're elderly" (23:4:486) highlights the lack of control this individual has over his life. He then contrasts this with the construction of a stronger, more powerful individual on receipt of financial retribution: "no-one can put us out of our houses" (23:4:489). In his talk, Stephen draws upon the social ideology that power is achieved partly through finance.

Despite the participants constructing financial compensation as a warranted and useful resource, justice as financial compensation is also talked up as merely a brief deviation from the core objective of being heard and believed. This is demonstrated in the following extract:

Extract 24
Tim: Initially it was about, initially when Bertie Ahern apologised it started to become about money and a lot of (money). And it started becoming about money, but that changed. It took time to change, about twelve months to change you know, but it changed. And it was, it was a voyage of self discovery

78

on different levels, that had nothing to do with the Commission

There was this, there was this euphoria around "money, we're going to get money, we're going to get money, we're going to get money"

NM: Mm

Tim: And then, to me the money didn't really start to matter. I was fuelled by money first then the money didn't start to matter. Money really doesn't, do you know? (...) so yeah so it was, and then there was about helping people, just moved into helping people a little bit, do you know?

NM: Mm

Tim: And then it went into kind of eh listening to what other people have to say. And then it just went back into again you know, just about being heard.

NM: Ok, so that was the primary thing underlying it for you

Tim: Mm being heard. Someone believing

<div align="right">Transcript 5: l 108-119; 141-148</div>

Through his talk of a "voyage of self-discovery" (24:5:114), Tim emphasises that "money didn't start to matter" (24:5:118), and that the primary objective was "just about being heard" (24:5:146).

As demonstrated in John's talk, the participants construct financial retribution as an entitlement for work completed during their time in institutions. They justify compensation by talking up the financial benefit of their workforce. Paul constructs financial retribution as a means to resources and essentially protection against future institutionalisation. However, Tim identifies that financial retribution is merely a deviation from the central intent to be heard and to be believed. This "to be heard, to be believed" discourse is presented in the following section.

4.4.3   'TO BE HEARD, TO BE BELIEVED"

As demonstrated previously, the participants constructed themselves as isolated in the past, due in part to disciplinary power acting as a repressive force and preventing dialogue about their experience of abuse from emerging. Due to the lack of discourse, "burying it in the past" is constructed as the only action available to them in order "to survive" (13:1:74) and adopt socially acceptable subject positions. In talking about

disclosure as part of the Commission process, the participants draw on the "to be heard, to be believed" discourse to demonstrate their recurring desire to be heard, and their hope that the commission process would create a discourse to finally enable this objective to be achieved.

Extract 25:

Tim: I suppose that I was very very hopeful throughout the whole process. The reason being hopeful was that for many years that there was eh a wish to be heard (...) a wish and a desire to be heard and believed.

Transcript 5: l 14-23

Extract 26

Pat: Because I was involved with a survivors group I felt well almost eh if you want to call it a calling to say to finally speak up and finally yeah let it be known what exactly I went through as a child

NM: Mm

Pat: And let everyone else have the opportunity to speak and and and it may or may not be a a healing process but at at least we get the opportunity to tell why we are the way we are or why you know what's the eh who I am and why I am kind of thing.

Transcript 2: l 158-163

As stated, the participants draw on talk of "burying it in the past" to demonstrate the voiceless, isolated subject position which was available to them at the time of the establishment of the Commission. In extracts 25 and 26 however participants Tim and Pat construct themselves as people with a recurring desire to speak and be heard. This apparently contrasting talk of burying the experience of abuse in the past as opposed to having a recurring desire to speak and to be heard is certainly of interest. It suggests that the desire to disclose childhood abuse, which was present both during and after the abuse, does not become wholly "buried in the past" when the context lacks the consensus and dialogue considered necessary for successful disclosure (Courois, 1988; Herman, 1992; Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Jensen et al., 2005). The potential conflict between these two discourses is reminiscent of the conflict which emerges in Holocaust testimonies as well as the testimonies of those participating in the Truth and

80

Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. For example Ross, in his qualitative research on individuals experience of presenting testimonies to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa identifies that: "Others found it less easy to convey the complex stories they told: the setting was intimidating and the suffering of which they spoke too great to bear easily in words (Ross, 2003 pp 329). Similarly Langer states in his analysis of Holocaust testimonies that "[f]rom the point of view of the witness, the urge to tell meets resistance from the certainty that one's audience will not understand" (Langer, pp.xiii).

Earlier in this chapter the analysis demonstrated how the participants talk up "how dare you speak of that" to demonstrate the disciplinary practices operating within society at that time, practices which force the individual desiring the opportunity to communicate their experience of abuse to "bury it in the past". By drawing upon the "to be heard, to be believed" discourse the participants demonstrate that the desire to disclose their experience of abuse continues. Therefore the apparent conflicting talk, of wanting to be heard as opposed to burying the account of abuse, in fact reflects both the participants' anxiety about the suitability of the social context for disclosure, as well as the availability of a discourse of abuse for these men to draw upon.

In the following section it will be shown that the participants draw upon the "being abused all over again" discourse to construct the context of disclosure: that is, the Commission as abusive, discriminatory, and a process which disappoints their hopes for justice and being heard. Thus the rekindled wish to be heard and believed, dug up from its burial place, once again comes up against a great wall of silence.

4.4.4 THE 'BEING ABUSED ALL OVER AGAIN" DISCOURSE

Drawing on a discourse of "being heard and believed" the participants construct themselves as men determined to disclose their story at the onset of the Commission process. When talking about the Commission process in retrospect however, and specifically in reference to the Financial Redress board, they construct the process as painful, abusive, replicating the discrimination of the past, and ultimately a disappointment of their hopes for justice – in effect recreating the "great wall of silence".

In the following extracts Paul describes the procedures which participants were obliged to adhere to and demonstrates that those attempting to disclose abuse were only afforded this opportunity if they satisfied institutional procedures and systems.

Extract 27

Paul: To get redress we had to go and see um psychologists, doctors, ah solicitors, barristers, nurses, you name it. And at every one of them we had to recount our life stories

NM: Mm

Paul: as children. That was extremely, extremely painful.

<div align="right">Transcript 3: l 773-776</div>

Extract 28

Paul: (…) it would have included solicitors, barristers, counsellors, you name it

NM: Ok

Paul: The whole bloody entourage –

NM: - So the whole

Paul: We had to go and repeat over and over again

NM: Yeah

Paul: and relive our nightmares

<div align="right">Transcript 3: l 235-241</div>

Previous research looking at the importance of context in disclosure has suggested that disclosure is an interactive, dialogical process which depends on consensus and cooperation for successful completion (Courois, 1988; Herman, 1992; Lamb & Edgar-Smith, 1994; Jensen et al., 2005). In extract 27 Paul constructs the participants repeatedly recounting their "life stories" as being under force: "at every one of them we *had* to recount our life stories" (27:3:774), "we *had* to go and repeat over and over again" (27:3:239; my italics). This construction of the participants as powerless at the hands of institutions and in the presence of highly educated, socially esteemed professionals is reminiscent of the constructions of the voiceless, isolated, "lowest of the low" child amongst the educated and revered religious figures. Drawing on extreme case formulations such as "at *every* one of them" (27:3:774; my italics) and "extremely extremely painful" (27:3:776) and choosing emotive words such as "painful" (27:3:776)

<div align="center">82</div>

and "nightmares" (28:3:241). Paul depicts a process which was not interactive, and which did not afford the participants agency to analyse the risks and make choices about the disclosure. The talk of repeating their disclosure "over and over again" (28:3:239) raises two important issues. Firstly the necessity for repetition suggests that the participants' accounts were not "heard" in the context of the Commission. Secondly, the experience of repeatedly recounting one's disclosure leads to talk becoming routine, and the account therefore loses some of the subjective richness and intensity of the individual's experience. This loss of intensity in itself makes the individual's account less likely to be fully understood and to be "heard".

The participants take the construction further by drawing on the "being abused all over again" discourse to construct the experience of disclosure as abusive as well as painful. The use of this discourse is demonstrated in the following extract:

Extract 29
Stephen: Since I started this, you're continuously back there.
NM: Yeah.
Stephen: You know. So that's that's it, and and part of it is the justice of it's not, you know, the abuse took place, we were beaten, we were starved
NM: Mm
Stephen: Um there was a whole lot of other things went on I I I won't upset you by telling you of them, and em but but that happened
NM: Hmm
Stephen: Right? That's over and done with. But when the people come then to set a standard of justice, and it doesn't come up to the mark
NM: Mm
Stephen: It's after leaving an awful lot of people out there badly badly hurt and betrayed.

<div align="right">Transcript 4: 746-758</div>

Stephen summarises the justice process by drawing on the "being abused all over again" discourse: "you're continuously back there" (29:4:746). He constructs this positioning as having emerged because the institutions, in particular the people positioned as adjudicators, have failed to "set a standard of justice" (29:4:756). In his talk Stephen

suggests that there are only two positions available to take up: the acknowledged individual who has had justice served or the abused individual remaining unheard and dissatisfied.

Pat also constructs the justice process as abusive through the actions of the solicitors representing the participants.

Extract 30

Pat: the way solicitors eh you know cashed in on this whole thing

NM: Mm

Pat: Eh the way they made millions out of it and actually robbed survivors of some of their compensation by overcharging for for their services

NM: Yeah I mean they were obviously very involved weren't they with the whole the whole system and the whole process

Pat: Yeah exactly and we were too reliant on them actually that's what that's where the problem was and this is why the commission as we suggested at the beginning shouldn't have had solicitors. They were doubly doubly paid. They got money for every time they were were presented someone to the commission and they got money again when they represented people on the redress. But I was in the confidential side so I didn't and I knew the way it was going and I thought "no I don't need a solicitor" at the Commission but I'd no choice obviously at the redress and in the Redress I just felt totally let down by my solicitor the barristers who are in this, who seem to be the people making the most money out of it, were were the people who I feel possibly were never really in it for the people, they were only in it for themselves as well everyone agreed actually

Transcript 2: 490-504

In this extract Pat demonstrates how the participants were forced into a powerless and voiceless position because their demands were disregarded: "the commission as we suggested at the beginning shouldn't have had solicitors" (30:2:497), "I'd no choice" (30:2:501). In the dynamic again reconstructed here the educated, socially esteemed professional disregards and in fact abuses the participant: "they made millions out of it and actually robbed survivors of some of their compensation by overcharging" (30:2:492). Interestingly Pat's talk of the solicitors' financial gain, as a result of their

abuse of the participants, replicates the financial gain that the institutions are described as accumulating through their abuse of the participants.

It is significant that in drawing upon the "being abused all over again" discourse, the participants draw upon the same discourses which they used to construct their experience of abuse as children. They again are positioned as the "lowest of the low", other people are once more constructed as exploiting the participants for financial gain, and the participants are made powerless by institutional proceedings and systems. In the following extract Tim further constructs the disclosure process as recreating the past, with the participants forced to take up the position of isolated, discriminated against, "victim", once again up against a "wall of silence".

Extract 31

Tim: there was still even a part up 'til then that there wasn't, that it wasn't believed you know. And there was a coldness about it like

NM: Yeah

Tim: There was a coldness about it you know. Yeah. And there was, now I can say there was a that there was definitely, looking back it's easy to look back hindsight's great

NM: Yeah I know I know

Tim: Em but they eh yeah there was definitely a coldness about it. They were aloof you know. I still felt, like one of the huge terms that I have a major major difficulty major major major difficulty with is the term victim

NM: Mm

Tim: Because it's a weight. It's like giving somebody a rucksack and saying you're a victim

NM: Yeah

Tim: And there was a lot of stuff that was being said underneath you know sure look they were bastards, or they were, their families didn't do... But there was no actual recognition of the person within side that you know.

Transcript 5: l 286-297

Many of the participants construct the members of the panel as castigating figures (31:5:295). Previous research has suggested that a global victim blame construct exists,

and that this discourse provides justification for blaming victims (Muller, Caldwell, & Hunter, 1995). In extract 31 Tim represents this in his talk: "there was a lot of stuff that was being said underneath you know sure look they were bastards ..." (31:5:295). While it may be considered that the commissioners were tasked with investigating "cause and effect", the blaming and doubting discourse reportedly used by them, positions the participant in relation to their "lowest of the low" social standing, rather than recognising them as individuals who have experienced abuse. Tim uses the repetition of "major major difficulty" (31:5:290) to emphasise the unhelpful "weight" which the label of "victim" places on the individual. Given that his talk of this directly follows his construction of the commissioners as cold and aloof implies that this labelling of the participants is intentional and a continuation of the discrimination by the commissioners. The discourses drawn upon are strikingly similar to the discrimination and genocide discourse which participants have previously drawn upon to construct their experience of abuse.

In the following extract Stephen also draws upon a victim-blaming discourse: "the judges don't believe that this abuse went on in these institutions" (32:4:184). Members of the judiciary may traditionally be constructed as honourable, truth-seeking, powerful figures. Therefore Stephen's talk of the judges as unbelieving positions the participant as powerless and untruthful.

Extract 32

Stephen: I know they couldn't speak to everybody

NM: Mm

Stephen: But when we went up before the redress board, they wouldn't even look at us, wouldn't even talk to us.

NM: They being the?

Stephen: The people who said

NM: The panel

Stephen: -this is what you're going to get. And er, not only that but when we came from after ah ah what actually happened was, there was a room about twice the size of this

NM: Mm mm

Stephen: Inside in there there was a barrister and a solicitor, (solicitor's

name). In another room you had these people these faceless people who were going to determine what compensation we were, now I didn't want money

NM: *Hmm.*

Stephen: *My brother wasn't really interested in it, he was looking for it but he'll never get his revenge.*

NM: *Mm*

Stephen: *And eh it was a case of eh this is "listen take this and go away". That was the attitude really. And everybody I spoke to about it says the same way. And it was also flawed in so far as we were disbarred from the the judicial process*

NM: *Mm*

Stephen: *Because I was told, my brother was told, and other people I've actually spoke to about this, we were told that we now had our had a choice to accept what was on offer*

NM: *Mm*

Stephen: *Or we could and go before the courts. And if we went before the courts bear this in mind, that the anybody who went before the courts either had their award greatly reduced or lost because the judges don't believe that this abuse went on in these institutions.*

Transcript 4: l 157-184

In this extract Stephen similarly constructs the abused person as being forced to take up the position of isolated and hidden individual: "they wouldn't even look at us, wouldn't even talk to us" (32:4:159), "listen take this and go away" (32:4:174), "we were disbarred from the judicial process" (32:4:176). Stephen constructs the panel as powerful figures: "the people who said … this is what you're going to get" (32:4:164), "these faceless people who were going to determine what compensation…" (32:4:168). His use of the third person plural pronoun "they" and his use of the adjective "faceless" depersonalises the panel and distances Stephen from them. This talk enables Stephen to discursively represent the absence of dialogue between the panel and the participants, again drawing on the "wall of silence" as a disciplinary social practice. His talk demonstrates that the participants, who wanted to "be heard and believed", were denied a voice. Instead of encountering human ears that would "hear" and minds that would

"believe", it is "faceless" entities they encounter. Within these "great walls", the figure that implicitly re-emerges is that of the "locked away child".

As stated, in constructing disclosure as part of the Commission process the participants talk of the painful, repetitive procedures, the abuse perpetrated due to the failure of the judicial process, and the walls of silence that they encounter. Furthermore the participants construct the process as discriminatory on the grounds of their socioeconomic status.

In the following extract Stephen again draws on the discrimination discourse to talk up the abuse that was recreated within the financial retribution and Commission processes.

Extract 33

Stephen: And if you have a guy that's sweeping the streets of (place name), or a fella like me that was in in [Participant names occupation. Details removed to ensure anonymity]*, that was also abused, and used and abused there right?*

NM: Hm hmm.

Stephen: Er er and we were getting pennies because we didn't have the educational, like going back to the university, to go out and get something to to sell yourself on the the bigger market place yeah?

NM: Yeah.

Stephen: And somebody comes along to you and says "listen we're giving you a year's salary all in one go and its tax free"

NM: Mm

Stephen: An awful lot of people just said "My God look at all of this money" (...) but they got rid of us th the the at the minimum cost to the State

Transcript 4: l 469-480; 493-494

In this extract Stephen constructs the survivors as lacking resources, in this case monetary knowledge, leading to them being taken advantage of by their employers, and by the redress board. He constructs the Commission process as a means to get rid of the participants "at the minimum cost to the State" (33:4:494), thereby protecting the state.

The other participants also talk up the Commission process as a disappointment, constructing the financial redress as merely a political tool: "what was paid out (...) was set up to say 'Go away. We want you to go away and fade out'" (Stephen, line 1134); "We compounded the problem. We tried to fix it with money. It's like putting a plaster on something that needs stitches" (Tim, line 346). In contrast to Stephen's construction of the State as responsible however, Tim's use of the first person plural pronoun "we" positions all members of society as responsible. He concludes his construction of the Commission process as disappointing by emphasising this social responsibility through his construction of society's role in the abusive and discriminatory system:

Extract 34

Tim: We have yet to answer the questions like who were the laundries for? Who were the industrial schools for? (...) local farmers knew about this, and everybody knew about this (...). It always troubled me the likes of (names cider company) and the hotels and all these peop- all these groups and organisations that took these people in and made them slaves -

NM: Mm

Tim: - and denied them their rights, eh how they have yet to apologise.

Transcript 5: 636-637; 643; 644-648

As demonstrated in this section of analysis, the participants draw upon the "to be heard, to be believed" discourse to construct their hopes for justice at the beginning of the Commission process. In contrast to these reconstructed expectations, however, their experience of justice through their disclosure to the Commission is depicted through their use of the "being abused all over again" discourse, as painful, discriminatory and, eventually, a replication of the abusive systems of the past.

4.5   SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS

Employing a critical discursive approach to analysis resulted in the identification of a number of inter-related discourses and discursive resources that the participants draw on to construct the process of their disclosure to the Irish Commission. Drawing on these discourses and employing discursive strategies enables the men to construct their historical abuse as a wider abuse of their human rights due to their low socioeconomic status within a hierarchical class system. This system is further constructed as actively

motivated to suppress and silence disclosure of abuse, forcing the men to "bury" their experience. Having worked up this construction, the participants then construct the process of disclosure of abuse to the Irish Commission as replicating the abuses of the past through its repetitive, painful system and its cold, silencing representatives forcing the participants once again to take up the position of the "lowest of the low". In the following chapter the research findings will be discussed in detail and considered both in relation to the research questions and the literature.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This chapter will begin by presenting the analytic findings in relation to the research questions. The potential contribution of the present study to the literature on disclosure and to clinical practice will then be considered. The study will be further critically evaluated and recommendations for future research will be presented.

5.1   SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The present study set out to investigate the apparent conflict between the literature on the context in disclosure of child sexual abuse and the practice of "truth and reconciliation commissions" as contexts for the wide-spread disclosure of historical CSA. In examining this conflict the study sought to explore the construction of disclosure of childhood sexual abuse by Irish men to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse. The study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. How do men abused as children in Irish institutions construct the process of their disclosure to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse?
2. What discursive choices are available and utilized by these men?
3. What effect does the choice of discourse have on these men in terms of the identities they construct?

The critical discursive approach to analysis resulted in the identification of a number of inter-related discourses as well as disciplinary practices drawn on by the research participants in order to construct the disclosure of childhood sexual abuse in religious-run institutions to the Irish Commission. The analysis found that the participants draw on the "genocide" discourse and employ discursive strategies to reconstruct their experience of childhood abuse in very extreme terms: not simply in the context of sexual or institutional abuse but as a denial of their human rights due to their socioeconomic status as "the poorest of the poor". Identifying discrimination as consisting of the intentional deprivation of education and social resources in order to prevent social mobility or economic success, the participants work up the positions which they were forced to take up within society - that of powerless, voiceless and isolated individuals. Working up "how dare you speak of that" and the "wall of silence" as regulatory disciplinary practices actively silencing and preventing disclosure of abuse from emerging, the participants construct a hierarchical social system motivated to

replicate itself. This state of affairs is followed up by reconstructing their own position as internalizing that of their surrounding society where talk of past abuse in institutions is either practically impossible or downright forbidden. As a result, the only way to "manage" experiences of past abuse and take up the subject position of socially accepted individual is depicted as "burying it in the past". Therefore the abusive event itself and the discourses, values and practices operating within the social context of the time are constructed as responsible for the long term effects experienced by the participants.

In constructing their disclosure to the Commission, the participants at first introduce a radically novel discourse: "to be heard, to be believed". As such, a newly emerging desire of disclosure is occasioned and, implicitly, a new societal context is drawn upon where disclosure is possible and in fact actively sought out. However, these hopes are quickly contrasted with the reality of the process as the participants use the "abused all over again" discourse to construct disclosure in the context of the Commission as an extremely painful and repetitive procedure. They once again work up the "wall of silence" discourse to construct the Commission and Redress panel members as blaming, faceless and distant figures. Thus, in the context of the Commission they are once again forced to take up the powerless, voiceless, "lowest of the low" position once again. Interestingly, then, the main finding presented here may be that the participants construct the abuse context and the disclosure context as overwhelming similar: drawing on the "wall of silence" in both contexts they construct "the other" as aloof, cold and "faceless" while forced to take up the positions themselves of powerless, isolated men who lack the necessary social resources to be heard and to achieve justice. The search for justice is constructed as a painful, disappointing process: instead of disclosing past abuses and doing justice to victims, it recreates that abusive past and, arguably, re-traumatizes the victims in the accounts encountered. Having constructed themselves as silenced and sent away by the institutions as young men, so they construct themselves as silenced and sent away "at the minimum cost to the State" by the financial redress board.

Throughout the analysis the construction of a powerful hierarchical system determined to preserve the status quo emerges: a system which is motivated to isolate and silence, utilising a wall of silence to deny the "lowest of the low" the resources to enable social

change; a painful, discriminatory system which replicates the abusive systems of the past.

5.2   A DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS IN RELATION TO THE LITERATURE

The research findings appear to corroborate previous literature on CSA disclosure which emphasizes the need for social support during disclosure, a compassionate, non-judgemental disclosure context, and the opportunity for re-attributing responsibility and blame in order to achieve justice and a sense of healing.

One of the findings of the study is that the participants draw on the "abused all over again" discourse to construct the process of disclosure of CSA in the context of the Commission as painful and repetitive. This perhaps suggests that the repetitive procedures involved in an institutional style disclosure context may leave the participant feeling "unheard" and may diminish their account. This is suggestive of findings by Ross (2003) in relation to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa whereby participants expressed dissatisfaction and anguish at the elimination of ownership of their account when it was repeated or published without their personal voice. This finding also emphasizes that the participants construct an institutional style disclosure context as painful, with "the other" constructed as aloof and the process constructed as lacking personal connection or compassion. These understandings captured under the "abused all over again" discourse are consistent with the previous literature which emphasized that disclosure is a dialogical process, co-constructed in nature, and that the actual disclosure context ought to be private, compassionate, and a situation where those disclosing abuse do not fear being misinterpreted (Kessler & Goff, 2006; Jensen et al, 2005; Kessler et al., 2004). Furthermore by constructing the institutional process as abusive and the panel members as distant and blaming, the participants emphasize the role of social reaction in the context of disclosure. Although this research did not use psychometric measures to assess the participants for levels of psychological distress, it appears clear through their talk that their levels of distress increased following the re-abusive experience of disclosure. This supports the findings by previous authors that social reactions at disclosure (including blame, disbelief and rejection) may be associated with the long term emotional and psychological symptoms experienced by adult survivors (Porges, 2005; Messman-Morre & Long, 2003; Whiffen,

Thompson & Aube, 2000; Lange et al, 1999; Avata, 1998; Runtz & Schallow, 1997; Everill & Waller, 1995; Testa et al, 1992): specifically that positive social engagement decreased sympathetic arousal (Porges, 2005) and that perceived negative reactions were associated with high levels of self criticism (Everill & Waller, 1995).

The research also found that the participants construct the "how dare you speak of that" and the "wall of silence" disciplinary practices, and draw on the "buried in the past" subjectification in order to construct the social context in which they were abused as a hierarchical system (with the religious orders positioned amongst the upper echelons of society): a system motivated to silence disclosures of CSA in religious-run institutions by forcing the abused to "bury it in the past" in order to preserve the status quo. This finding emphasizes the role of the socio-historical and cultural context in the disclosure (or non-disclosure as in this case) of CSA. This is consistent with previous authors who have argued that children are aware of potential social consequences of disclosing abuse (Nagel et al, 1997) and that social and cultural processes affect whether disclosures are made and how disclosures are constructed (Sanderson, 2006; MacMartin, 1999). Interestingly, although previous authors researching disclosure of CSA by males have argued that social constructions of masculinity and victim concerns about the perception of their sexuality when disclosing CSA by a male perpetrator may inhibit disclosure (Cermak, 1996; Hussey, Strom & Singer, 1992; Dimmock, 1988; Finklehor, 1984), discourses around the "macho" male, or the male as independent and unemotional did not emerge from the research analysis. Recommendations for further research in relation to this will be discussed later in the chapter.

In relation to healing and achieving justice in the case of historical CSA the literature suggests that having the abusive experience validated, addressing issues around responsibility and guilt in relation to the abuse, and reclaiming power are necessary for healing to take place (Bass & Davis, 1988; Meiselman, 1978; Giaretto, 1976). The present research findings support the therapeutic models for treatment as the participants construct themselves as re-traumatised following the Commission process due to the denial of each of the aforementioned components of the healing process. In relation to having the abusive experience validated the literature suggests that victims of CSA often have concerns about being disbelieved perhaps due to social myths in relation to CSA (Sanderson, 2006) or due to the debate on false memories of CSA (Schelfin & Brown, 1996; Loftus, 1996; Terr, 1994; Lindsay & Read, 1994). Having

constructed themselves as silenced in the past, in part due to fears of not being believed, the research found that the participants drew on the "to be heard, to be believed" discourse to construct themselves as having a strong desire for their account of abuse to be heard and acknowledged, and as hopeful at the commencement of the Commission that a new social context would be created which would enable them to disclose CSA and be believed. Perhaps due to the repetitive nature required of their disclosure as part of the institutional proceedings, the inappropriateness of the context for disclosure as highlighted earlier, or the change to the function of the Commission which meant that alleged perpetrators could not be named and addressed directly, the participants later construct the disclosure process as a disappointment of their hopes to be heard. Additionally the literature suggests that addressing issues around responsibility and guilt in relation to the abuse may be achieved by confronting or taking legal action against perpetrators (Bass & Davis, 1988). In the absence of the opportunity to confront perpetrators or take legal action against them, the participants were faced with panel members or representatives of the religious orders. The research found that the participants again draw on the "wall of silence" practice of social regulation to construct these individuals as distant, blaming figures. Being denied the appropriate (warm, compassionate, dialogical) context for disclosure prevented the participants from re-attributing responsibility and guilt, and the participants construct the Redress Board in particular as attributing blame and responsibility to the participants and their families. In relation to the need for reclaiming power in order to facilitate healing the research found that in constructing the abusive Commission process by drawing on the "abused all over again" discourse, and drawing on the "wall of silence" practice to construct the panel members as distant and blaming, the participants were forced to take up the position of powerless, isolated individuals once again. Supporting the literature on healing and the Amnesty International Ireland report by Holohan (2011) the research found that the participants constructed themselves as re-traumatised and "badly, badly hurt and betrayed" (4:758) due to the lack of the aforementioned healing processes or any form of accountability within the structure of the Commission.

Finally the research found that the participants draw on the "genocide: we fit into that" discourse and the "poorest of the poor" construction in order to construct their experience of abuse as resulting from a social system motivated to maintain the status quo by discriminating against the lower classes and depriving them of the social

resources necessary to improve themselves. There was no literature found which correlated to these findings. Due to the dearth of literature relating specifically to historical institutional abuse of children by religious members in Ireland, it is considered that these are newly emerging discourses within the social context.

The critical literature review identified an imbalance in the literature in relation to research on men sexually abused as children. Furthermore gaps in the literature in relation to Commissions as a context for disclosure of CSA, as well as a dearth of qualitative research on CSA in the Irish institutional context was acknowledged. It is considered that the present study has made an original contribution to the literature as, in response to these gaps, it has extended the CSA literature on men sexually abused as children, it has conducted a critical discursive psychology approach to analysis in research exploring how men construct disclosure within a Commission context and in relation to CSA in Irish institutions.

5.2.1   INFORMING CLINICAL PRACTICE

The present research sought to address a gap in the literature on men who have been sexually abused as children and in particular those who were resident in religious-run institutions in Ireland in order to promote understanding and better inform clinical practice. The research also sought to explore the apparent conflict between literature on the disclosure context and the Commission setting as a context for disclosure so as to contribute to the therapeutic knowledge base around disclosure of CSA. As counselling psychologists we emphasise the significance of the subjective experience and understanding of the world within a social-political and historical context (Strawbridge & Woolfe, 2003). Indeed a review of the literature on the psychological effects of CSA highlights the variation in symptomology across individuals as well as the existence of various mediating factors on the effects of abuse. Crucially, no distinct post sexual abuse syndrome exists (Cahill et al., 1991). Due to the qualitative nature of the present research it does not seek to generalise the findings to the population. However, it is considered that presenting an in-depth analysis of how these five men construct their experience of disclosure of CSA may inform clinicians by furthering understanding of how individual men construct this process of disclosure within a socio-cultural context and the impact these constructions may have on their position within society. In order to translate these research findings into clinical practice the findings will be theoretically

framed by clinical literature relating to cognitive-behavioural and psychodynamic theory. These theories are being utilised as the researcher's therapeutic work is informed by these approaches. The identification of the "how dare you speak of that" and the "great wall of silence" regulatory practices highlights the role that socio-cultural processes may play in the disclosure, or non-disclosure, of abuse as the participants construct a society which was motivated to silence their talk in order to protect social order. The identification of the subsequent "it's buried in the past" process of subjectification corroborates previous findings that perceived negative social reactions and feelings such as shame and blame may inhibit disclosure of abuse (Anderson & Doherty, 2008; Hanson et al., 2002; Bohner, 1998; Krahe, 1988; Hussey, Strom & Singer, 1992; Faller, 1989; Burt, 1980).

Identifying the "to be heard, to be believed" discourse mirrors previous research findings that those who have experienced institutional abuse or CSA are likely to fear having their accounts dismissed and struggle to communicate their experiences (Sanderson, 2006; Schelfin & Brown, 1996; Loftus, 1996; Terr, 1994; Lindsay & Read, 1994; Langer, 1991).

The scarce literature informing clinical practice with Irish survivors of institutional abuse suggests that they may be mistrustful, hard to engage and likely to terminate therapy early (Wolter, 2006). The identification of the "abused all over again" discourse and the construction of the Commission and Redress board panel members as cold, faceless and blaming figures corroborates previous research findings on the importance of warmth, compassion and a non-judgemental approach in the disclosure context (Kessler & Goff, 2006; Kessler et al, 2004).

Using the aforementioned findings to inform a cognitive-behavioural formulation of the client one could consider that the client may have developed core beliefs about the world being a cruel and unfair place; about others being critical, abusive, dismissive or uninterested; and the self being unimportant. Associated rules for living or dysfunctional assumptions could include "If I talk about the abuse, others will reject me", "If I try to talk about my emotions, others will silence me", or "Nobody will ever believe me". Therefore, addressing the issues of abuse in the therapy may activate the assumption that the therapist will reject the client or worse they may seek to re-abuse

the client, if they talk of their abusive experience. The therapeutic work may focus on addressing such fears by exploring how these assumptions may have developed and seeking evidence for the assumptions, through the use of behavioural experiments for example, in order to reframe the assumptions and beliefs.

Using psychodynamic theory to frame these findings it could be considered that the client's unconscious emotions, experience and expectations of earlier relationships may be transferred to the therapeutic relationship (Woolfe, Dryden & Strawbridge, 2003). In the transference the client may force the therapist to take up the role of the critical, judgemental and abusive figure. In the counter-transference feelings of anger, pain and hopelessness may be arise for the therapist. This emphasises the need for personal therapy and clinical supervision to promote therapist self-care, to enable reflection on the issues arising in the process, and to facilitate consideration of how to work with the transference relationship in order to bring the unconscious emotions to the client's awareness.

In consideration of these findings the present author adds to the calls by Kessler and colleagues for therapists to receive specific training on creating the optimal therapeutic climate for facilitating disclosure of CSA (Kessler & Goff, 2006; Kessler et al, 2004).

The present research found that the participants draw on the "abused all over again" discourse to construct the Commission process as a disappointment of their hopes for justice, and as a re-traumatising experience. It was found that the participants construct themselves as betrayed, devoid of any healing and instead being "continuously back there" (29:4:746). These findings substantiate literature on treatment models and highlight the significance of the reattribution of responsibility, guilt and power in the healing process. It is recommended that therapists working with clients who have experienced CSA develop treatment plans which may include confrontation (or creative confrontation such as through the use of role-play) in order to help the client to address issues around responsibility and guilt.

Finally, it is considered that the present research findings relating to the newly emerging discourses around "genocide" and discrimination of human rights may enable practitioners to better understand the subjective experience of individuals resident in Irish institutions as children.

To summarise, the present research findings have contributed to the literature on males who have been sexually abused as children, and to the discussion of how to best facilitate disclosure of CSA. In line with previous literature the present study has found that males sexually abused as children may choose not to disclose abuse for fear of having their accounts of abuse dismissed, that socio-cultural processes are involved in decisions around disclosure, that context plays a vital role in disclosure of abuse, and that opportunities to readdress feelings of guilt and blame are necessary to facilitate healing. The present study has drawn on clinical literature to conceptualise the issues around abusive dynamics which may arise within the therapeutic work. It has been recommended that therapists conceptualise experiences of CSA and disclosure within a socio-cultural and historical context, that they are mindful of client concerns about having their accounts misinterpreted or dismissed, and that therapists receive specific training on how to facilitate communication and a context that will enable clients to disclosure childhood sexual abuse.

5.3   EVALUATION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

In critically evaluating the present study limitations must be acknowledged[37]. For example the research approached the Irish Commission and the Redress Board as one context and did not differentiate between these two processes in dialogue with the participants. However, in the analysis it became apparent that the participants construct the Redress Board in particular as a harsh, punitive process. It may have been useful to have differentiated between these two processes in order to understand each distinct context, and how it may have impacted on the men's construction of disclosure. Taking this into consideration may enable future research to gain a greater understanding, and therefore inform political systems, in relation to the effectiveness of Truth commissions as distinct from financial retribution boards.

Additionally, participants were recruited through survivor support organisations rather than through State-funded counselling services as previous research suggested that the latter was often viewed with a sense of mistrust (Wolter, 2006). It was considered that recruitment through State-funded services could affect recruitment numbers. However, during the research interviews it became apparent that the participants had concerns

---

[37] For further considerations of the quality of the research see appendix 12

about the management of the support organisations and more than one participant stated that the State should provide independent administration of an education and training fund set up in the wake of the Commission. Subsequently, it is considered that the recruitment context may have prevented advertisements from reaching different groups of men. The research could instead have recruited from both State and non-state organisations to promote diversity amongst the participants.

5.3.1 ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

As guided by criteria for ensuring the quality of qualitative research, peer supervision was used to assess alternative interpretations of the data (Elliot et al., 1999). This approach enabled different perspectives on the construction of the commission process to emerge. For example, consideration was given to the perspective that a "survivor" discourse appeared to be a discursive choice available in the wider social context for the participants to take up subsequent to the Commission. More specifically, in their talk it appeared that some of the participants constructed the unique identity of "advocate survivor" for themselves rather than accepting the socially constructed identity of the "victim/survivor" which they constructed as an identity for less well-functioning individuals living.

During the analysis other interpretations of the constructions and subject positioning were also considered. In section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 for example one perspective was that the participants could not disclose abuse in the past as there were no discourses available about abuse perpetrated by religious orders. From this perspective it was considered that the participants were constructing themselves as "unheard" because of a lack of discursive choices. However, on further reading of the data it was considered that this "micro" perspective did not fully take into account the wider socio-historical context. Taking an alternative "macro" view, it was identified that beyond being unable to find the words to speak of the abuse, the participants were in fact actively silenced by discourses in society, such as the "how dare you speak of that" discourse and the "wall of silence" discourse. From this perspective the participants were seen to be forced to bury the abuse in the past and to take up the position of isolated men.

5.3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Critically evaluating the present research has enabled recommendations for future research to emerge. For example, it has been suggested that future research assessing the appropriateness of Commission contexts for disclosure of CSA needs to clearly differentiate between the context of a Commission and the context of a financial redress board. Furthermore the financial redress board or retribution system itself could be explored to assess whether this format may facilitate healing or a sense of justice in those who experienced institutional CSA.

Although the research focus on men who had experienced CSA was informed by a gap in the literature, it would be interesting for further research to explore how women construct disclosure within the Commission context. This may increase understanding of any gender differences in the discourses and subject positions available to adults sexually abused as children.

5.4   FINAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Social categories such as madness, crime, and child abuse are established through a cultural and historical lens within a social and political context. To fully understand a phenomenon one must give credence to the socio-historical and cultural processes which enable it to exist. Consequently a disclosure of childhood sexual abuse is not a factual monologue but rather a version of events co-constructed through language made available within a socio-political context. The present research set out to explore how the disclosure process is constructed by Irish males disclosing historical CSA to the Government-established "Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse" and "Residential Institutions Redress Board" and, subsequent to the publishing of the report of the commission, to the Irish public.

The research findings demonstrated that, in the participant's constructions, the wider social and cultural context played a pivotal role in determining when, where and how disclosure of CSA could occur by means of the suppression of discourses around CSA perpetrated by religious figures. Furthermore it has emerged that a social system determined to protect itself was implicit in the continued discrimination and suppression of the abused individuals in the past, and during the Commission process.

Contributing to a sparse literature based on males who have experienced CSA, disclosure of CSA as part of commission-style proceedings, and the phenomenon of Irish institutional abuse, these findings present a significant opportunity to promote new clinical and political understanding around the issue of CSA disclosure within Commission-style contexts. Recommendations for clinical practice include the provision of training so that professionals may best facilitate discourse around disclosure of CSA. Most importantly it is necessary to raise awareness of the "best practice" context for disclosure of CSA amongst policy makers to ensure that individuals are not subjected to abusive disclosure contexts but instead are provided with opportunities for healing and achieving justice.

REFERENCES

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1980). Attachment in child abuse. In G. Gerber, C. J. Ross, & E. Zigler (eds.) *Child abuse reconsidered: An agenda for action* (pp. 35-47). New York: Oxford University Press

Althusser, L. (1971). 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses' *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* Monthly Review

Althusser, L. (1971). *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays,* London: New Left Books.

American Psychological Association (2002). Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct. American Psychologist, 57: 1060–1073.

Anderson, I., & Doherty, K. (2008). Accounting for rape: Psychology, feminism and discourse analysis in the study of sexual violence. *Women and Psychology.* New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Armstrong, J. G. (1996). Emotional issues and ethical aspects of trauma research. In E. B. Carlson (Ed.), Trauma research methodology (pp.174–187). Lutherville, MD: Sidran Press.

Attorney General v. X and Others 1992. I.L.R.M. p.401.

Avata, C. M. (1998). To tell or not to tell: Current functioning of childhood sexual abuse survivors who disclosed their victimization. *Child Maltreatment, 3:* 63-71

Badgley, R. F., Canada. Dept. of Justice, & Canada. Health and Welfare Canada. (1984). *Sexual Offences against Children. Volume 1. Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences against Children and Youths*. Ottawa, Canada: Minister of Supply and Services.

Bagley, C., & Ramsay, R. (1986). Sexual abuse in childhood: Psychosocial outcomes and implications for social work practice. *Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality*, 5: 33-47.

Bagley, C., Wood, M., & Young, L. (1994). Victim to abuser: Mental health and behavioural sequels of child sexual abuse in a community survey of young adult males. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 18*(8): 683-697.

Barkham, M. (2003). Quantitative research on psychotherapeutic interventions: Methods and findings across four research generations. In R. Woolfe, W. Dryden, & S. Strawbridge (eds.) *Handbook of counselling psychology* (2nd edn, pp.25-73). London: Sage publications.

Bass, E., & Davis, L., (1988). The Courage to Heal: A guide for women survivors of CSA. New York: Harper and Row.

Bass, E., Thornton, L., & Others. (1983). I never told anyone: Writings by women survivors of child sexual abuse. New York: Harper & Rowin

BBC (2009a, May 20) Irish abused 'cheated of justice'. *BBC News.* Retrieved August 19, 2012, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8060442.stm

BBC (2009b, May 20) In quotes: Reaction to Irish abuse. *BBC News.* Retrieved August 19, 2012, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/8060333.stm

Beck, A. T., Rush, A.J., Shaw, B.F. & Emery, G. (1979). *Cognitive Therapy of Depression.* New York: Wiley.

Becker-Blease, K. A. (2006). Research participants telling the truth about their lives: The ethics of asking and not asking about abuse. *American Psychologist, 61* (3): 218-226.

Beitchman, J. H., Zucker, K. J., Hood, J. E., DaCosta, G. A., Akman, D., & Cassavia, E. (1992). A review of the long-term effects of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse and Neglect 16:* 101–118.

Berry, J., (1985). Pedophile priest: study in inept church response. *National Catholic Reporter, June 7*(6): 19-21.

Blanchard, G. (1986). Male victims of child sexual abuse: A Portent of things to come. *Journal of Independent Social Work, 1* (1): 19-27.

Bohner, G., Reinhard, M. A., Rutz, S., Sturm, S., Kerschbaum, B., & Effler, D. (1998). Rape myths as neutralising cognitions: Evidence for a causal impact of anti-victim attitudes on men's self-reported likelihood of raping. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 28*: 257-269.

Bolen, R. M. (2002). Guardian support of sexually abused children: A definition in search of a construct. *Child Maltreatment, 3*(1): 40-67.

Bowlby, J. (1953). *Child care and the growth of love.* Hammondsworth, UK: Penguin.

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss, Vol. 1: Attachment.* London: Hogarth.

Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and loss, Vol. 2: Separation.* London: Hogarth.

Breakingnews.ie (2009). 'Child-abuse victims "cheated of justice"' 20 May, [Online]. Available at: http://www.breakingnews.ie/ireland/eykfkfgbaumh/rss2/ (Accessed: 20 May 2009).

Brennan, C. (2007). Facing what cannot be changed: the Irish experience of confronting Institutional Child Abuse. *Journal of Social Welfare & Family Law, 29*(3-4): 245-263.

Briere, J. (1996). Therapy for adults molested as children: Beyond Survival. 2nd ed. Springer: New York.

Brodsky, B.S., Oquendo, M., Ellis, S.P., Haas, G.L., Malone, K.M., & Mann, J.J., (2001). The relationship of childhood abuse to impulsivity and suicidal behavior in adults with major depression, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *158:* 1871–1877

Burr, V. (2000). An Introduction to Social Constructionism. New York: Routledge.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social Constructionism.* East Sussex: Routledge.

Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and supports of rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38:* 217-230.

Bussey, K., & Grimbeek, E. J. (1995). Disclosure processes: Issues for child sexual abuse victims. In K. Rotenberg (Ed.), *Disclosure processes in children and adolescents* (pp. 166–203). NY: Cambridge University Press.

Cahill, C. L. (1991). Long-term effects of sexual abuse which occurred in childhood: a review. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology, 30*: 1-12.

Cawson, P., Wattam, C., Brooker, S. & Kelly, G. (2000). Child maltreatment in the United Kingdom: a study of the prevalence of child abuse and neglect. London: NSPCC.

Cermak, P., & Molidor, C. (1996). Male Victims of Child Sexual Abuse. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 13*(5).

Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act, 42 U.S.C. § 5101 (1974).

Child Care Act, 1991. S.I. No. 17 of 1991 [Online]. Available from: http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1991/en/act/pub/0017/index.html [Accessed 15 September 2012].

Child Maltreatment. (2008). Retrieved April 20th, 2008, from http://www.naccchildlaw.org/childrenlaw/childmaltreatment.html

Children Act 1989. Chapter 41. London: Stationery Office

Clarkson, P. (1995). Counselling Psychology in Britain – The Next Decade. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, 8 (3): 197-204.

Clute, S., (1993). Adult Survivor Litigation as an Integral Part of the Therapeutic Process. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 2*(1): 121-128

Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000. Act number 7 of 2000, s.1. [Online]. Available from: http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/2000/en/act/pub/0007/sec0001.html#sec1 [Accessed 08 August 2012]

Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act. (2000). Dublin, Ireland: Government Publications.

Creighton, S. (2004). Prevalence and incidence of child abuse: international comparisons. NSPCC Information Briefings. April

Crewsdon, J. (1988). By silence betrayed: Sexual abuse of children in America. Boston: Little, Brown.

Criminal Law (Rape) Act, 1981. S. I. No. 10 of 1981 [Online]. Available from: http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1981/en/act/pub/0010/index.html [Accessed 12 August 2012].

Crittenden, P. M. (1990). Internal representation models of attachment relationships. *Journal of lnfant Mental Health, 11:* 11,259-277.

Crittenden, P. M. (1992). Children's strategies for coping with adverse home environments: An interpretation using attachment theory. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 16:* 329-324.

Crittenden, P. M., & Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1989). Child maltreatment and attachment theory. In D. Cicchetti & V. Carlson (eds.) *Child maltreatment: Theory and research on the causes and consequences of child abuse and neglect* (pp. 432-463). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Criuenden, P. M. (1989). Teaching maltreated children in the preschool. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education, 9:* 16-32

Dale, P., Allen, J., & Measor, L. (1998). Counselling Adults who were abused as children: Clients' Perceptions of Efficacy, Client-Counsellor Communication, and Dissatisfaction. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, *03069885, 26*: 2.

De Luca, R. V., Boyes, D. A., Grayston, A. D., & Romano, E. (1995). Sexual abuse: effects of group therapy on pre-adolescent girls. *Child Abuse Review*, *4*(4): 263-277.

Dear Daughter (1996). RTE1 [Television]. 22nd February.

DeMause, L. (1994, August). *The history of child abuse.* Paper presented at the 1994 American American Psychiatric Association Convention, Philadelphia. Retrieved May 12, 2008 from http://nospank.net/demause1.htm

Department of Health. (2002). *Women's Mental Health: Into the Mainstream: Strategic development of mental health care for women.* London: Department of Health.

DePrince, A. P., & Freyd, J. J. (2006). Costs and benefits of being asked about trauma history. *Journal of Trauma Practice, 3*: 23-35.

Dictionary, O. E. (2010). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Ask Oxford. Retrieved 10 August 2012 from http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/actually

Dimmock, P. T. (1988). Adult males sexually abused as children. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 3*(2): 203-221.

Edley, N. & Wetherell, M. (2001). Jekyll and Hyde: Men's Constructions of Feminism and Feminists. *Feminism and Psychology*, *11* (4): 439-457.

Edwards, D. (1999). Emotion Discourse. *Culture and Psychology, 5* (3): 271-291.

Edwards, D. (2006). Discourse, Cognition and Social Practices: The Rich Surface of Language and Interaction. *Discourse Studies, 8* (1): 41-49.

Edwards, D., & Fasulo, A. F. (2006). "To be honest": Sequential uses of honesty phrases in talk-in-interaction. *Research on Language & Social Interaction. 39*(4): 343-376

Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive Psychology.* London: Sage.

Elliott, D. M. (1997). Traumatic events: Prevalence and delayed recall in the general population. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 65, 811–820.

Elliott, R., Fischer, C. T., & Rennie, D. L. (1999). Evolving guidelines for publication of qualitative research studies in psychology and related fields. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology, 38*, 215-229.

Evans, A., Elford, J., & Wiggins, D. (2008). Using the internet for qualitative research. In: C. Willig & W. Stainton-Rogers (eds.) The sage handbook of qualitative research in psychology. London: Sage

Evans, L. & Wertheim, E. (2002). An examination of willingness to self-disclose in women with bulimic symptoms considering the context of disclosure and negative affect levels. *International Journal of Eating Disorders, 31*(3): 344-348.

Everill, J., & Waller, G., (1995). Disclosure of sexual abuse and psychological adjustment in female undergraduates. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 19:* 93-100.

Fergusson, D. M., Horwood, L. J. & Lynskey, M. T. (1996). Childhood sexual abuse and psychiatric disorders in young adulthood. Part II. Psychiatric outcomes of sexual abuse. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 35:* 1365-1374.

Finkelhor, D (1984). *Child Sexual Abuse: Theory and research.* New York: Macmillian.

Finkelhor, D (1990). Early and long-term effects of child sexual abuse: An update. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 21* (5): 325-330.

Finkelhor, D. (1979). *Sexually victimized children.* New York: The Free Press.

Finkelhor, D. (1994). The international epidemiology of child sexual abuse. *Child Abuse& Neglect, 18*(5): 409-417.

Finlay, L. (2006). 'Rigour','Ethical Integrity'or'Artistry'? Reflexively Reviewing Criteria for Evaluating Qualitative Research. *The British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, *69*(7): 319-326.

Forde, L. (Chair) (1999). The Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions-Final Report. Government of Queensland Brisbane. Available at <http://www.communities.qld.gov.au/resources/communityservices/community/forgotten-australians/forde-comminquiry.pdf> Accessed 17 September, 2012

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock.

Francis, D. M., Buckley, H., & Joyce, L. (2005). The Ferns Report. Dublin: Government Publications.

Freud, S. (1896a). Heredity and the aetiology of the neuroses. *Standard Edition* Vol. 3, 143-156.

Freud, S. (1896b). Further remarks on the neuro-psychoses of defence. *Standard Edition* Vol. 3, 162-185.

Freud, S. (1896c). The aetiology of hysteria. *Standard Edition*, Vol. 3, 191-221.

Garbarino, J. (1989). The incidence and prevalence of child maltreatment. In L. Ohlin & M. Tonry (eds.) *Family violence* (pp.219-261). Chicago: University of Chicago

Garry, M., Manning, C. G., Loftus, E. F., & Sherman, S. J. (1996). Imagination inflation: Imagining a childhood event inflates confidence that it occurred. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review, 3:* 208–214.

Gavin Wolters, M. (2006). Counselling Adult Survivors of Childhood Institutional Abuse: A phenomenological exploration of therapists' perceptions and experiences in Ireland. *Person-Centered and Experiential Psychotherapies, 7, 3.*

Gay, P. (1988). *Freud: a life for our time.* New York: Norton

Gergen, K. J. (1985). The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology. *American Psychologist, 40* (3): 266-275.

Gergen, K. J. (2001). Psychological Science in a Postmodern Context. *American Psychologist*, 56 (10): 803-813.

Giaretto, H. (1976). Humanistic treatment of father-daughter incest, in R.E. Helfer and C. H. Kempe (eds) Sexually abused children and their families, (179-198). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Gonzalez, L. S., Waterman, J., Kelly, R. J., McCord, J., & Oliveri, M. K. (1993). Children's patterns of disclosures and recantations of sexual and ritualistic abuse allegations in psychotherapy. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 17:* 81-89.

Green, A. (1991). Factors contributing to false allegations of child sexual abuse in custody disputes. In M. Robin (Ed.), *Assessing Child Maltreatment reports: the problem of false allegations (pp.177-189).* New York: Haworth Press.

Greenwald, E., Leitenberg, H., Cado, S., & Tarran, M. J. (1990). Childhood sexual abuse: Long term effects on psychological and sexual functioning in a nonclinical and nonstudent sample of adult women. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 14:* 503-513.

Halpérin, D. S., Bouvier, P., Jaffe, P. D., Mounoud, R-L, Pawlak, C. H., Laederach, J., Wicky, H. R. & Astie, F. (1996). Prevalence of child sexual abuse among adolescents in Geneva: results of a cross sectional survey. *British Medical Journal*, 312: 1326-1329.

Hanna, P. (2012). Using internet technologies (such as Skype) as a research medium: a research note. *Qualitative Research, 12*(2): 239 – 242.

Harper, D. J. (1995). Discourse analysis and 'mental health'. *Journal of Mental Health*, 4, (4), pp. 347-357.

Harper, D.J. (2006). Discourse analysis. In M. Slade & S. Priebe (eds.) *Choosing methods in mental health research: mental health research from theory to practice* (pp. 47–67). Hove: Routledge.

Harris, M. (1990). Unholy Orders. Canada: Viking Press

Henwood, K.L. & Pigeon, N. R. (1992). Qualitative research and psychological theorising. *British Journal of Psychology, 83*(1): 97-112.

Holmes, W. C., & Slap, G. B. (1998). Sexual abuse of boys. *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, *280*(21): 1855-1862.

Hughes, S.H.S. (1991). The Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Response of the Newfoundland Criminal Justice System to Complaints. 2 vols. St John's: Office of the Queen's Printer.

Hunter, M. (1990). *The sexually abused male* (Vols. 1 & 2). New York: Lexington Books.

Hussey, D. L., Strom, G., & Singer, M. (1992). Male victims of sexual abuse: An analysis of adolescent psychiatric inpatients. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 9*(6), pp.491-503.

Jenkins, P. (2001). *Pedophiles and Priests: Anatomy of a Contemporary Crisis.* Oxford University Press

Jensen, T.K., Mossige, S., Reichelt, S., & Tjersland, O. (2005). Reporting possible sexual abuse: A qualitative study on children's perspectives and the context for disclosure. *Child Abuse and Neglect* 29(12) 1395-1413.

John Jay College of Criminal Justice (2004). *The Nature and Scope of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Catholic Priests and Deacons in the United States 1950–2002*, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. Retrieved from 10 July 2012 from: http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/child-and-youth-protection/upload/The-Nature-and-Scope-of-Sexual-Abuse-of-Minors-by-Catholic-Priests-and-Deacons-in-the-United-States-1950-2002.pdf

Kelly, G. A. (1955). *The Psychology of Personal Constructs.* New York: Norton.

Kelly, L., Regan, L. & Burton, S. (1991). An Exploratory Study of the Prevalence of Sexual Abuse in a Sample of 16-21 Year Olds. London Metropolitan University: Child and Woman Abuse Studies Unit.

Kemmis, S., & McTaggart, R. (2000). Participatory action research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 567–605). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kempe, C.H., Silverman F.N., Steele B.F., Droegemuller W., & Silver, H.K. (1962). The battered-child syndrome. *Journal of the American Medical Association.* No.181, Pp.17-24.

Kempe, R. & Kempe, C. (1984). The common secret: Sexual abuse of children and adolescents. New York: Freeman.

Kessler, M. R. H., & Goff, B. S. N. (2006). Initial treatment decisions with adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse. *Journal of Trauma Practice*, 5(3): 33-56.

Kessler, M., Nelson, B., Jurich, A., & White, M. (2004). Clinical Decision-making strategies of marriage and family therapists in the treatment of adult child sexual abuse survivors. *The American Journal of Family Therapy, 32:* 1-10

Kincheloe, J. L., & McLaren, P. L. (1994). Rethinking critical theory and qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 138–157). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kingsley, C. & Mark, M. (2000). *Sacred lives: Canadian Aboriginal children and youth speak out about sexual exploitation.* Canada: Save the Children Canada.

Krafft-Ebing, R. (1998/1886). Psychopathia Sexualis, with especial reference to the antipathic sexual instinct: a medico-forensic study, translated by Klaf, F. New York: Arcade.

Krahe, B. (1988). Victim and observer characteristics as determinants of responsibility attributions to victims of rape. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 18,* 50-58.

Kuhn, Thomas S., (1996). The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 3rd Ed. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Labbé, J. (2005). Ambroise Tardieu: The man and his work on child maltreatment a century before Kempe. *Child Abuse & Neglect 29*: 311–324

Lamb, S., & Edgar-Smith, S. (1994). Aspects of disclosure. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 9, 307-326.

Lange, A., DeBeurs, E., Dolan, C., Lachnit, T., Sjollema, S., & Hanewald, G. (1999). Long-term effects of childhood sexual abuse: Objective and subjective characteristics of the abuse and psychopathology in later life. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 187*(3), pp. 150-158.

Law Commission of Canada, (2000). *Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Instiutions.* Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services.

Lepore, S. J., Fernandz-Berrocal, P., Ragan, J., & Ramos, N. (2004). It's not that bad: Social challenges to emotional disclosure enhance adjustment to stress. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping: An International Journal, 17*(4), 341-361.

Levitan, R. D., N. A. Rector, Sheldon, T., & Goering, P. (2003*).* Childhood adversities associated with major depression and/or anxiety disorders in a community sample of Ontario: Issues of co-morbidity and specificity, *Depression & Anxiety*, 17: 34-42.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 163-188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Loftus, E.F., & Guyer, M.J. (2002). Who abused Jane Doe? The hazards of the single case history: Parts I and II. *The Skeptical Inquirer, 26(24-32):37-44.*

Lytton, T. (2008). Holding Bishops Accountable: How Lawsuits Helped the Catholic Church Confront Clergy Sexual Abuse. Harvard University Press

MacMartin, C., (1999). Disclosure as discourse: theorising children's reports of sexual abuse. *Theory and Psychology, 9*(4): 503-532

MacMillan, H. L., Fleming, J. E., Trocme, N., Boyle, M. H., Wong, M., Racine, Y. A., Beardslee, W. R. & Offord, D. R. (1997). Prevalence of child physical and sexual abuse in the community. Results from the Ontario Health Supplement. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 278(2): 131-135.

Maltz, W. (2001). The sexual healing journey (2nd ed.). New York: HarperCollins.

Mannarino, A. P., Cohen, J. A., Smith, J. A., & Moore-Motily, S. (1991). Six and twelve month follow-up of sexually abused girls. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 6:*494-51.

Marshall, R. D., Spitzer, R. L., Vaughan, R., Mellman, L. A., MacKinon, R. A., & Roose, S. P. (2001). Assessing the subjective experience of being a participant in psychiatric research. American Journal of Psychiatry, 158, 319–321.

Marx, B., & Sloan, D. (2002). The role of emotion in the psychological functioning of adult survivors of childhood sexual abuse. *Behavior Therapy, 33:* 563-577.

Mary Ellen Wilson. (2008). Retrieved May 16th, 2008, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mary_Ellen_Wilson

Masson, J. M. (1984). *The assault on truth*: *Freud's suppression of the seduction theory*. New. York: *Farrar. Straus* and *Giroux*

Masson, J. M. (ed.) (1985). *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887-1904.* ed. and trans. J. M. Masson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

McDonald, H. (2009, May 20). 'Endemic' rape and abuse of Irish children in Catholic care, inquiry finds. *The Guardian.* Retrieved May 22, 2009, from http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/may/20/irish-catholic-schools-child-abuse-claims

McGee, H., Garavan, R., de Barra, M., Byrne, J. & Conroy, R. (2002). *The SAVI Report: Sexual Abuse and Violence in Ireland. A national study of Irish experiences, beliefs and attitudes concerning sexual violence*. Dublin Rape Crisis Centre; Liffey Press.

Meiselman, K. (1978). *Incest: a psychological study of causes and effects with treatment recommendations.* San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Messman-Moor, T., & Long, P. (2003). The role of childhood sexual abuse sequelae in the sexual revictimization of women: an empirical review and theoretical reformulation. *Clinical Psychology Review, 23*(4): 537-71

Molnar, B.E., Berkman, L. F., & Buka, S.L., (2001). Childhood sexual abuse and other childhood adversities: relative links to subsequent suicidal behaviour in the US, *Psychological Medicine 31*: 965–977

Moneyham, L., Seals, B., Demi, A., & Sowell, R. (1996). Experiences of disclosure in women infected with HIV. *Health Care for Women International, 17*(3) 209-211.

Montini, T. (2000). Compulsary closets and the social context of disclosure. *Sociological Perspectives, 43*(4) S121-S132.

Morrow, S. L. (2007). Qualitative Research in Counseling Psychology: Conceptual Foundations. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35 (2), pp. 209-235.

Moyn, S. (2010). Last Utopia: Human Rights in History Harvard University Press.

Muller, R. T., Caldwell, R. A., & Hunter, J. E. (1995). The construct dimensionality of victim blame: The situations of physical child abuse and rape. *Personality and Individual Differences, 19*(1), 21-31.

Murphy, F. D., Buckley, H. & Joyce, L. (2005). The Ferns Report – Presented by the Ferns Inquiry to the Minister for Health and Children. Dublin: Government Publications.

Myers, J., Diedrich, S., Lee, D., Fincher, K., & Stern, R. (2002). Prosecution of child sexual abuse in the united states. In J. Conte (ed.) *Critical issues in child sexual abuse: historical, legal and psychological perspectives* (pp. 27-70). London, U.K.: Sage Publications.

Nagel, D.E., Putnam, F.W., Noll, J. G., & Trickett, P. K. (1997). Disclosure patterns of sexual abuse and psychological functioning at a one year follow up. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 21*(2):137-147.

Navarre, E. L. (1987). Psychological maltreatment: The core component of child abuse. In M. R. Brassard, R. Germain, & S. N. Hart (eds.) *Psychological maltreatment of children and youth* (pp. 45-56). New York: Pergamon Press.

Nemeroff, C. B., Heim, C. M., Thase, M. E., Klein, D. N., Rush, A. J., Schatzberg, A. F., et al. (2003). Differential response to psychotherapy versus pharmacotherapy in patients with chronic forms of major depression and childhood trauma. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, USA, 100, 14293–14296.

Nicholson, L. (1997). The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory. Routledge

Norris v. Ireland 1988. 13 EHRR 186 [Online]. Available from: http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/pages/search.aspx?i=001-57547 [Accessed 12 August 2012].

O Riordan, M., & Arensman, E. (2007). *Institutional child sexual abuse and suicidal behaviour: Outcomes of a literature review, consultation meetings and a qualitative study*. Cork: National Suicide Research Foundation.

O' Brien, D. (1991). Suffer little children: Unlocking the memories of pain and abuse. Breakwater, Newfoundland.

Olafson, E. (2002). When paradigms collide: Roland Summit and the rediscovery of child sexual abuse. In J. Conte (ed.) *Critical issues in child sexual abuse: historical, legal and psychological perspectives* (pp. 71-106). London, U.K.: Sage Publications.

Paine, M. L., & Hansen, D. J. (2002). Factors influencing children to self-disclose sexual abuse. *Clinical Psychology Review, 22*, 271-295.

Park, C. L., & Blumberg, C. J. (2002). Disclosing trauma through writing: Testing the meaning-making hypothesis. Cognitive Therapy and Research, 26, 597–616.

Perry, J. C., Sigal, J. J., Boucher, S., & Pare, N. (2006). Seven institutionalised children and their adaptation in late adulthood: The children of Duplessis (Les Enfants de Duplessis). *Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes, 69,* 283-301.

Polusny, M. A., & Follette, V. M. (1995). Long-term correlates of child sexual abuse: Theory and review of the empirical literature. *Applied and Preventive Psychology, 4:* 143-166.

Ponterotto, J. G. (2005). Qualitative Research training in counselling psychology: A survey of directors of training. *Teaching of Psychology*, 32, 60-62

Popper, K. R. (1969). *Conjectures and Refutations*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Porges, S.W. (2005). The role of social engagement in attachment and bonding. In C.S. Carter, L. Ahnert,K.E.Grossmann, & S.B. Hrdy (eds.) Attachment and bonding: A new synthesis. Cambridge and London: MIT Press.

Potter, J. & Edwards, D. (2001). Discursive Social Psychology. In, Robinson, W. P. & Giles, H. (eds). *The New Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, pp. 103-118.

Potter, J. & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. London, Sage.

Potter, J. (2006). Cognition and conversation. *Discourse Studies, 8:* 131-140.

Potter, J. (2010). Contemporary discursive psychology: Issues, prospects, and Corcoran's awkward ontology. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 49*: 657-678.

Putnam, F. (2003). Ten year research update review: child sexual abuse. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 42:* 269 -278

Radford, L., Corral, S., Bradley, C., Fisher, H., Bassett, C., Howat, N. & Collishaw, S. (2011). Child abuse and neglect in the UK today. London: NSPCC.

Rafferty, M. (Producer) (1999). States of fear (television series). Ireland: RTE broadcasting.

Ratna, L., & Mukergee, S. (1998). The long-term effects of childhood sexual abuse: Rationale for and experience of pharmacotherapy with nefazodone. *International Journal of Psychiatry in Clinical Practice, 2*, 83-95. (Statistics for CSA)

Regan, P. (2010). Unsettling the settler within: Indian residential schools, truth telling, and reconciliation in Canada. Vancouver: UBC Press

Renu, T., DiLillo, D., Walsh, K., & Polusny, M. (2011). Pathways from child sexual abuse to adult depression: The role of parental socialization of emotions and alexithymia. *Psychology of Violence, 1*(2): 121-135.

Riley, S. C. E. (2002). Constructions of equality and discrimination in professional men's talk. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 41, pp. 443-461.

RIRB 2012. *Newsletter August 2012* [Online]. Available from:
http://www.rirb.ie/updates_article.asp?NID=121 [Accessed 08 September 2012]

Roberts, R., O'Connor, T., Dunn, J., Golding, J., ALSPAC Study Team (2004). The effects of child sexual abuse in later family life; mental health, parenting and adjustment of offspring. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 28*(5): 525-45

Robin, M. (1991). Assessing Child Maltreatment reports: the problem of false allegations. New York: Haworth Press.

Roesler, T. & Weisman Wind, T. (1994). Telling the secret: Adult women describe their disclosures of incest. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, *9*: 327-328

Ross, F. (2003). On having voice and being heard: Some after-effects of testifying before the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Anthropological Theory, 3* (3), 325-341.

Roy, A. (2004). Relationship of childhood trauma to age of first suicide attempt and number of attempts in substance dependent patients, *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica, 109:* 121–125.

Runtz, M., & Shallow, J., (1997). Social support and coping strategies as mediators of adult adjustment following childhood maltreatment. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 21:* 211-226.

Rush, F. (1980). *The Best Kept Secret: The Sexual Abuse of Children*. New York: McGraw-Hill

Ryan, S. (2009). Report of the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse. Dublin: Stationary Office. Available online at: http://www.childabusecommission.com/rpt/pdfs/. Accessed 16 July 2010.

Ryan, S. (chair) Hon, Mr Justice Sean Ryan, Chair, Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000: a position paper on identifying institutions and persons under the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000 [Online]. Available from: http://www.childabusecommission.ie/events/documents/Position%20Paper%20-%20070504.pdf [Accessed 10 August 2012]

Sanderson, C. (2006). Counselling Adult Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse, 3rd edition. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers

Sariola, H., & Uutela, A. (1994). The prevalence of child sexual abuse in Finland. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, (18), 827-835.

Sauzier,M. (1989). Disclosure of child sexual abuse: For better or for worse. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, *12*: 455–469.

Scheflin, A. W., & Brown, D. (1996). Repressed memory or dissociative amnesia: what the science says. *The Journal of Psychiatry and Law, 24*, 143

Schimek, J. G. (1987). Fact and Fantasy in the Seduction Theory: a Historical Review. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association, xxxv:* 937-65

Schneider, R., Baumrind, N., & Kimerling, R. (2007). Exposure to Child Abuse and Risk for Mental Health Problems in Women. *Violence and Victims ,* Volume 22, Number 5, pp. 620-631 (12). New York: Springer Publishing Company.

Schwandt, T. A. (1994). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 118–137). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Shelman, E. A., & Lazoritz, S. (2005). The Mary Ellen Wilson Child Abuse Case and the Beginning of Children's Rights in 19th Century America. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland.

Sherman, R. (1988). Legal Spotlight on Priests who are pedophiles. *National Law Journal, 10*(30): 28-29

Sims-Schouten, W., Riley, S. C. E. & Willig, C. (2007). Critical Realism in Discourse Analysis: A Presentation of a Systematic Method of Analysis Using Women's Talk of Motherhood, Childcare and Female Employment as an Example. *Theory Psychology*, 17 (1), pp. 101-124.

Smith, D.W., Letourneau, E. J., Saunders, B. E., Kilpatrick, D. G., Resnick, H. S., & Best, C. L. (2000). Delay in disclosure of childhood rape: results from a national survery-A prospective study of women's memories of childhood sexual abuse. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 24*(2), 273-287(15).

Smyth, A. (1995). 'States of Change: Reflections on Ireland in Several Uncertain Parts', *Feminist Review, 50*(Summer 1995): 24–43

States of Fear (1999). RTE1 [Television]. April 27th – 11th May.

Strawbridge, S., & Woolfe, R. (2003). In, Woolfe, R., Dryden, W., & Strawbridge, S. (eds) *Handbook of Counselling Psychology* (2nd Ed) London: Sage, pp. 3-22.

Stroud, D. B. (1999). Familial support as perceived by adult victims of child sexual abuse. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 11*: 159-175.

Swantson, Y. H., Parkinson, P. N., O'Toole, B. I., Plunkett, A. M., Shrimpton, S., & Oates, R. K. (2003). Juvenile crime, aggression and delinquency after sexual abuse: a longitudinal study. *British Journal of Criminology*, *43*(4).

Szyf, M. (2008). *Child abuse may 'mark' genes in the brains of suicide victims.* Retrieved May 07, 2008, from http://www.mcgill.ca/newsroom/news/item/?item_id=100310

Tardieu, A. (1860). Étude médico-légale sur les sévices et mauvais traitements exercés sur des enfants, *Annales d'Hygiène Publique et de Medecine Légale 13:* 361–398.

Tardieu, A., (1857). *Étude médico-légale sur les attentats aux moeurs (Medical-Legal Studies of Sexual Assault).* Paris: Bailliere

Terr, L. (1995). *Unchained Memories: True Stories of Traumatic Memories Lost and Found.* New York: Basic Books

Testa, M., Miller, B. A., Downs, W. R., & Panek, D. (1992). The moderating impact of social support following childhood sexual abuse. *Violence and Victims, 7*(2): 173-86

UN (1989). *Convention on the Rights of the Child: adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 November 1989.* [New York]: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR).

Unicef (2008). The state of the world's children 2008: women and children-child survival. [Online] Retrieved 15 September 2012 from http://www.unicef.org/sowc08/docs/sowc08.pdf

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Retrieved May 18th, 2008, from http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/k2crc.htm

van der Kolk, B. A., McFarlane, A. C., & Weisaeth, L. (eds.) (1996). Traumatic stress: The effects of overwhelming experience on mind, body, and society. New York: Guilford Press.

van Pelt, RJ & D. Dwork (1996). Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Violanti, J. M. (2000). Scripting trauma: The impact of pathogenic intervention. In C. Dunning (Ed.), *Posttraumatic stress intervention: Challenges, issues, and perspectives (pp. 153-165). Springfield: Charles C Thomas.*

Weber, M. (1958). "Class, Status and Party". In Gerth, Hans & C. Wright Mills (eds.) *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford University Press.

Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and Interpretative Repertoires: Conversational Analysis and Post-structuralism in Dialogue. *Discourse and Society, 9*: 387-413.

Whiffen, V. E., & MacIntosh, H. B. (2005). Mediators of the link between childhood sexual abuse and emotional distress. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 6*(1): 24 - 39

World Health Organization (2006). Global Estimates of Health Consequences Due to Violence against Children. Background paper to the UN Secretary-General's Study on Violence against Children. *World Health Organization, Geneva*.

WHO and ISPCAN (2006). *Preventing child maltreatment: a guide to taking action and generating evidence*. Geneva: World Health Organization and International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect. Available at:
http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2006/9241594365_eng.pdf

Widom, C.S. (1995). *Victims of Childhood Sexual Abuse—Later Criminal Consequences.* Research in Brief. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.

Widom, C.S. (1999). Postraumatic stress disorder in abused and neglected children grown up. *American Journal of Psychiatry*; 156(8):1223-1229.

Willig, C. (2001). Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology: adventures in theory and method. Buckingham: Open University Press

Willig, C. (2007). Discourse Analysis. In, Smith, J. A. (ed) *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods.* London: Sage, pp. 159-183.

Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology: Adventures in Theory and Method.* United Kingdom: Open University Press.

Wodak, R., De Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., and Liebhart, K. (2009). *The discursive construction of national identity (2nd edition)*. Edinburgh University Press.

World Health Organization (2001). Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect: Making the links between human rights and public health. Geneva: WHO.

Ystgaard, M., Hestetun, I., Loeb, M., and Mehlum,L., (2004) Is there a specific relationship between childhood sexual and physical abuse and repeated suicidal behavior?, *Child Abuse and Neglect, 28:* 863–875.

APPENDIX 1: ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER

EXTERNAL AND STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT SERVICES
uel.ac.uk/qa

Quality Assurance and Enhancement

MISS NIAMH MORIARTY

LONDON
UK

Date: 28 June 2011

Dear Niamh,

Project Title:	*"TELLING MY STORY": AN ANALYSIS OF HOW DISCLOSURE TO THE IRISH COMMISSION TO INQUITE INTO CHILD ABUSE IS CONSTRUCTED*
Researcher(s):	*NIAMH MORIARTY*
Supervisor(s):	*DORI YUSEF*

I am writing to confirm that the review panel appointed to your application have now granted ethical approval to your research project on behalf of University Research Ethics Committee (UREC).

Should any significant adverse events or considerable changes occur in connection with this research project that may consequently alter relevant ethical considerations, this must be reported immediately to UREC. Subsequent to such changes an Ethical Amendment Form should be completed and submitted to UREC.

Approval is given on the understanding that the 'UEL Code of Good Practice in Research' (www.uel.ac.uk/qa/manual/documents/codeofgoodpracticeinresearch.doc) is adhered to.

Yours sincerely,

Merlin Harries
Quality Assurance and Enhancement
Telephone: 0208-223-2009
Email: m.harries@uel.ac.uk

Docklands Campus, University Way, London E16 2RD
Tel +44 (0)20 8223 3322   Fax +44 (0)20 8223 3394   MINICOM 020 8223 2853
Email: r.carter@uel.ac.uk

124

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction

Today the interview is going to be about what it was like to participate in the Commission. There are no right or wrong answers in this interview, I'm just interested in your experience and your thoughts about the process of participating in the commission. So I'll ask some questions, but you can also feel free to talk about other things that I may not have mentioned. Does that sound ok? Do you have any questions you'd like to ask me before we start? Ok, and do remember that if you need to take a break or would like to finish the interview, we can stop at any time.

Interview sections (or streams of knowledge):

1. Before the Commission

2. During the Commission

3. After the Commission

4. Now, reviewing the process by talking to me today.

Main interview questions

Section 1: Before the Commission

What was it like for you when you first heard about the Commission?

What did you think the Commission was about? Who did you think the Commission was?/Who did you think they were responsible to?

What were your first thoughts about what it might be like to participate in the Commission?

What did you hope the Commission would do? What expectations did you have?

What challenges did you think might arise from participating in the Commission?

There was both a confidential and an investigative Commission. How did you decide which one you wanted to participate in?

Section 2: During the Commission

What was like for you on the day(s) that you participated in the Commission? (Did someone go with you? Did you have to travel far to get there?) When you actually went and participated, what did you think about the experience of participating in the commission? / how did the experience compare with what you had expected beforehand?

Section 3: After the Commission

What was your reaction when the Commission first published their report in May 2009?

What are your thoughts on how the government and the general public reacted to the findings of the Commission?

Section 4: Now, at research interview

Having been through the experience of participating in a commission, what would you say to people in other countries organizing commissions similar to this one? \ what would you say to people who are thinking of participating in commissions like this?

Follow-up questions

You said X, what makes you say that?

Where did you learn/get that idea from?

When you say X, what do you mean?

You mentioned X, can you give me an example of that?

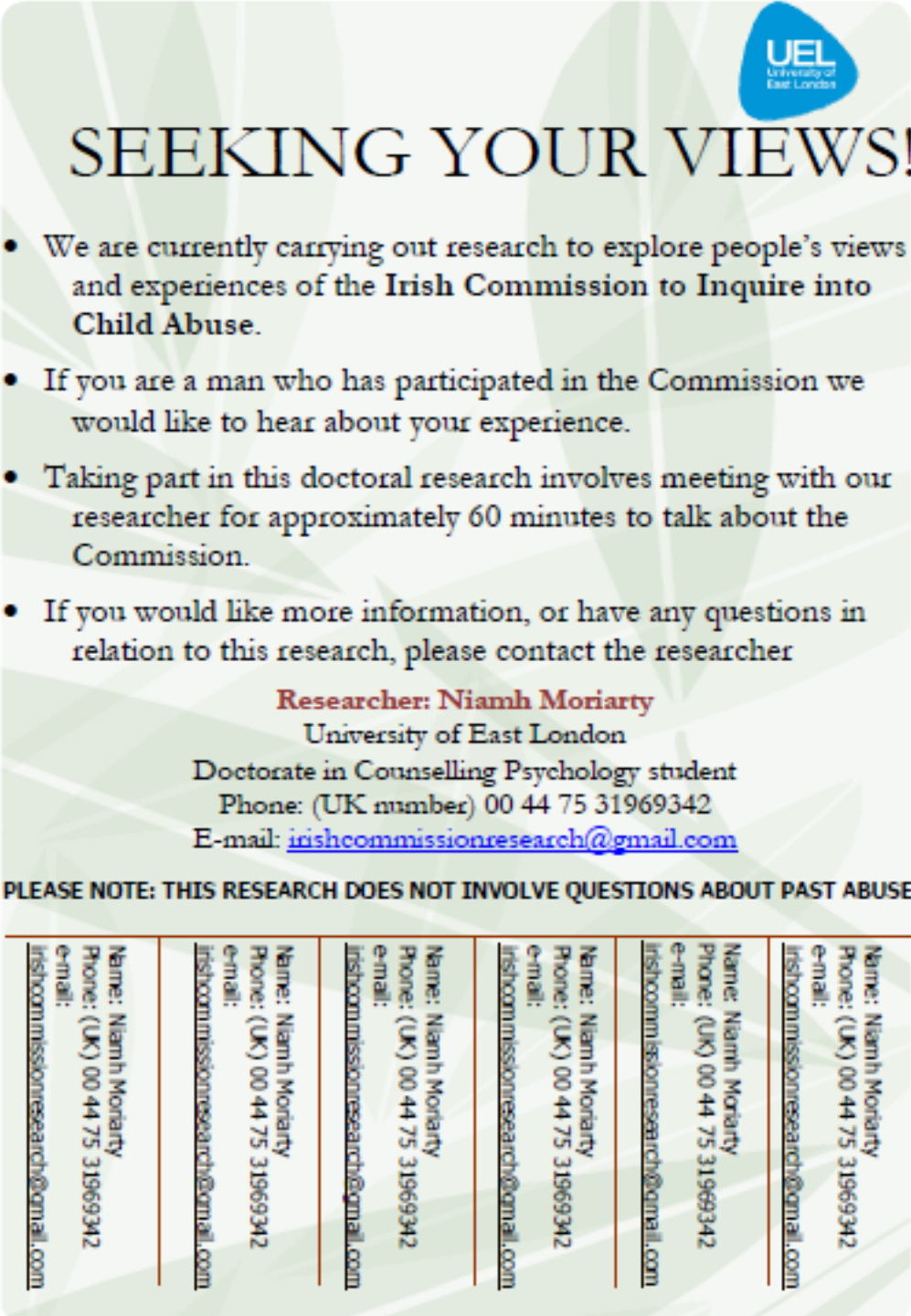You mentioned X, can you tell me some more about that?

Ending

We've got a bit more time left, what do you think of what we've talked about?

Is there anything else that you feel you'd like to add?

What was the interview like for you?

Do you have any questions for me?

(Give debriefing sheets)

SEEKING YOUR VIEWS!

UEL
University of
East London

- We are currently carrying out research to explore people's views and experiences of the **Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse.**

- If you are a man who has participated in the Commission we would like to hear about your experience.

- Taking part in this doctoral research involves meeting with our researcher for approximately 60 minutes to talk about the Commission.

- If you would like more information, or have any questions in relation to this research, please contact the researcher

Researcher: Niamh Moriarty
University of East London
Doctorate in Counselling Psychology student
Phone: (UK number) 00 44 75 31969342
E-mail: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com

PLEASE NOTE: THIS RESEARCH DOES NOT INVOLVE QUESTIONS ABOUT PAST ABUSE.

Name: Niamh Moriarty
Phone: (UK) 00 44 75 31969342
e-mail: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com

Name: Niamh Moriarty
Phone: (UK) 00 44 75 31969342
e-mail: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com

Name: Niamh Moriarty
Phone: (UK) 00 44 75 31969342
e-mail: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com

Name: Niamh Moriarty
Phone: (UK) 00 44 75 31969342
e-mail: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com

Name: Niamh Moriarty
Phone: (UK) 00 44 75 31969342
e-mail: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com

Name: Niamh Moriarty
Phone: (UK) 00 44 75 31969342
e-mail: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com

Name: Niamh Moriarty
Phone: (UK) 00 44 75 31969342
e-mail: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com

APPENDIX 4: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Programme of Study: Counselling Psychology

Title of Project: "Telling my story": an analysis of how disclosure to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse is constructed

Dear Participant,

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of the study is to explore / understand the experience of disclosing past abuse to the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse.

What will I have to do if I take part?

Participation in this research involves meeting with the researcher and speaking about the experience of participating in the Commission. The meeting will take approximately an hour. The researcher may ask specific questions during the meeting. You will have the right to refuse to answer any questions without it affecting your participation in the study. You will also have the right to terminate the meeting at any stage.

What are the possible advantages of taking part?

If you take part in this study you will help the researcher to increase understanding of the experience of disclosing information to a Commission. It is hoped that this insight will help inform counselling psychologists in how to best support clients who are disclosing information to commissions. It is also hoped that the information can ensure that further Commissions are operated in a way which best supports the participant.

What are the possible disadvantages or risks of taking part?

Speaking about the experience of giving information to the Commission may bring to mind some discomforting memories. Please note that this research does not intend to ask questions about past abuse and therefore it is considered that risk of harm to participants will be minimal.

Do I have to take part?

You are under no obligation to participate in this study. If you decide to take part, you are free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason. If you do not take part or withdraw from the study at a later date, it will not disadvantage you. If you choose to withdraw from the study all data and information which relates to you will be immediately confidentially destroyed. No information pertaining to you will be included in the written thesis.

What will happen to the information?

Your participation in this study and all information collected will be kept strictly confidential and only the researcher and research supervisor will have access to it. Information collected will be password encrypted so that a secure password will be required to access the data. Codes will be assigned to participant data and names will be removed to ensure that you cannot be recognised from the data forms. However it is important to note that quotations will be used in the written report. The researcher will ensure that these quotations do not contain identifying details. If you wish, a copy of the quotations to be used can be shared with you prior to be included in the final written report. The results of this study will be reported as part of my academic programme and may be further disseminated for scientific benefit. The results will be available to you on request from September 2012.

Who should I contact for further information or if I have any problems/concerns?

If you have any enquiries, problems or concerns, please contact:

Researcher   Niamh Moriarty   Telephone**: 075 31969342**
Email: irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com or: u0536763@UEL-Exchange.uel.ac.uk
Supervisor   Dr. Dori Yusef   Email: D.F.Yusef@uel.ac.uk

At this point we would like to thank you very much for your participation. It is much appreciated.

APPENDIX 5: PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Programme of Study: Counselling Psychology

Title of Project: "Telling my story": an analysis of how disclosure to the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse is constructed

Project Supervisor: Dori Yusef

	Please tick to agree
1. I confirm that I have read the information sheet for the above study and I have been given a copy to keep.	☐
2. I understand what the study is about and I have had the opportunity to talk and ask questions about the study.	☐
3. The procedures involved have been explained to me. I know what my part will be in the study and how the study may affect me.	☐
4. I understand that my involvement in this study and particular data from this research will remain strictly confidential. Only researchers involved in the study will have access to the data.	☐
5. It has been explained to me what will happen to the data once the study has been completed.	☐
6. I understand that I have the right to stop taking part in the study at any time and I am not obliged to give any reason.	☐
7. I understand that should I decide to withdraw from the study, all information about me will be destroyed by the researcher.	☐
8. I know that if I do withdraw, it will not disadvantage me.	☐
9. I know who to contact if I have any questions or concerns about my participation, and I have these contact details.	☐

10. I fully and freely consent to participate in the study.   ☐

Participant's Name: _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher's Name: ___**Niamh Moriarty**_____

Researcher's Signature: _____

Date: _____

If you have concerns about this research, please contact Merlin Harries, Quality Assurance and Enhancement, Docklands Campus EB1.05 on 0208 223 2009 (From Ireland 0044 208 223 2009) or m.harries@uel.ac.uk

APPENDIX 6: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

This is an anonymous questionnaire. Names and identifying details will not be stored alongside this page. The information is for research purposes only-you will not be disadvantaged in any way if you do not answer every question.

Please tick or highlight the appropriate answer as per the example below:

Example:

X	Sample answer

1. Age:

	20-29
	30-39
	40-49
	50-59
	60-69
	70+

2. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

	Less than secondary school
	Secondary school
	Some college (certificate, diploma)
	Apprenticeship or in-house training
	University undergraduate degree
	University postgraduate (Masters, Doctorate, Phd)

3. What is your current employment status?

	Employed full-time	please state occupation:
	Employed part-time	Please state occupation:
	Self-employed	please state occupation:
	Unemployed	
	Student	
	Retired	

4. <u>What is your current relationship status?</u>

	Single
	Married
	In a relationship
	Divorced/Separated
	Other

5. <u>Please indicate which of the following you have participated in:</u>

	Residential Institution Redress board
	Confidential side of the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse
	Investigative side of the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse

6. <u>Please indicate the type of abuse suffered:</u>

(This question is asked as very little research has been carried out on men who have experienced sexual abuse, therefore it would be useful to know if this research has been able to explore this area)

	Physical abuse

	Sexual abuse
	Emotional abuse
	Other

7.   Please indicate the decade in which you were resident in the Irish industrial school system

	1940's
	1950's
	1960's
	1970's
	1980's
	1990's

8.   Please indicate if you received counselling:

	Before the Commission was ever established
	During the time when you were taking part in the Commission
	Since the publication of the Ryan Report in 2009

9.   Please indicate your satisfaction with the counselling you received:

5. Excellent	4. Good	3. Satisfactory	2. Poor	1. Very poor

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

APPENDIX 7: DE-BRIEFING INFORMATION SHEET

Thank you for your participation in this research project. The aim of this research is to explore the language used by participants when constructing their disclosure to the Irish Commission, and to consider the functions which this choice of language may serve both individually and socio-economically.

I am aware that this is a sensitive topic and should you feel distressed or require any psychological support as a result of participating in this project, you could consider contacting one of the organisations below:

UK NHS National Health Line: 08454647

Samaritans Helpline: UK: 08457 90 90 90

                                   ROI: 1850 60 90 90

In the UK you can use the British Psychological Society (BPS), British Association of Counselling Psychologists (BACP) and UKCP website addresses to refer yourself to private counselling and psychotherapy. (www.bps.org.uk ,www.bacp.co.uk , www.pychotherapy.org.uk)

In Ireland you can use the Psychological Society of Ireland website to refer yourself to private counselling and psychotherapy (http://www.psychologicalsociety.ie/find-a-psychologist/)

Alternatively please see the attached information sheet for details of relevant support organisations.

This study has been approved by the Ethics Committee of University of East London for the Psychology Department. Any questions about this research project should be sent to the researcher by email irishcommissionresearch@gmail.com or u0536763@UEL-Exchange.uel.ac.uk (Niamh Moriarty), or supervisor D.F.Yusef@uel.ac.uk (Dori Yusef).

<div align="center">Thank you</div>

APPENDIX 8: SUPPORT SERVICES INFORMATION SHEET

If you have been distressed in any way by participating in this interview, or feel you would like to speak to someone, please contact one of the following groups:

London:

The Irish Support and Advice Service (ISAS)

Provides frontline advice and support and counselling service.

The Irish Centre, Black's Road, London W6 9DT

tel: 020 8741 0466

email: info@irishadvice.org.uk

website: www.irishadvice.org.uk

The London Irish Centre

Provides support, advice, information, and counseling.

L.I.S.O.S. Outreach Workers

Phyllis Morgan/Marie Aubertin

London Irish Centre,

50-52 Camden Square

London NW1 9XB

Telephone: 020 7916 7300

Email: lisos@irishcentre.org

Ireland:

One in Four

offers a voice to and support to men and women who have experienced sexual abuse and/or sexual violence.

2 Holles Street, Dublin

Telephone: 01 662 4070

Email info@oneinfour.org

The Samaritans

Provide confidential emotional support for people who are experiencing feelings of distress or despair, including those which may lead to suicide. Available 24 hours a day. Telephone 1850 60 90 90

FAOISEAMH

Faoiseamh was set up to listen to and, if required, arrange face-to-face counselling for victims of abuse by members of religious orders and dioceses.

Freephone 1800 33 1234

Rape Crisis Centres

Voluntary organisations which provide a comprehensive therapy programme for victims of rape and sexual abuse. They also offer a confidential listening and support service for women and men who have been raped and/or sexually abused, or for anyone who wants to talk about the effects of sexual violence.

Freephone 1800 778888

The **National Counselling Service** is a community based service for adults who were hurt by childhood abuse in Ireland. There is a service set up in each Health Board Area in Ireland.

Handwritten annotation (top): – not good enough / – justice not served

Handwritten annotation (top right): Constructs himself as reasonable and logical

157 P: Also 'twas flawed in so far, I know they couldn't speak to everybody

158 I: Mm

Handwritten: Use of personal pronoun constructs them as one united group. / – Also reinforces his account as shared by others

159 P: But when we went up before the redress board, they wouldn't even look at us,

160 wouldn't even talk to us.

Handwritten: they're unimportant? repugnant?

161 I: They being the?

Handwritten: – "wouldn't look me in the eye" suggests dishonesty or betrayal.

162 P: The people who said

163 I: The panel

Handwritten: Constructs them as powerful: the decision-makers, the justice makers.

164 P: -this is what you're going to get. And er, not only that but when we came from after

165 ah ah what actually happened was, there was a room about twice the size of this

166 I: Mm mm

Handwritten: "faceless" = no responsibility? / – processing the survivors like a machine – lack of human touch

167 P: Inside in there there was a barrister and a solicitor, (solicitor's name). In another

168 room you had these people these faceless people who were going to determine what

169 compensation we were, now I didn't want money

Handwritten: sense of power

Handwritten: – careful to construct himself as not wanting money ∴ not vengeful?

170 I: Hmm.

171 P: My brother wasn't really interested in it, he was looking for it but he'll never get his

172 revenge.

Handwritten: – to hurt back / – to inflict pain / – own form of justice

Handwritten: "fobbed off" / paid to go away / – not important /silenced /powerless /no control

173 I: Mm

174 P: And eh it was a case of eh this is "listen take this and go away". That was the attitude

175 really. And everybody I spoke to about it says the same way. And it was also flawed in

Handwritten: – externalising: further strengthens his case.

176 so far as we were disbarred from the the judicial process

Handwritten: – no control, no power, no voice / – almost locked away /guilty /not worthy of being included

177 I: Mm

178 P: Because I was told, my brother was told, and other people I've actually spoke to

Handwritten: → powerful word: constructs account as fact.

179 about this, we were told that we now had our had a choice to accept what was on offer

Handwritten: → but really no choice, one option only

180 I: Mm

181 P: Or we could and go before the courts. And if we went before the courts bear this in

182 mind, that the anybody who went before the courts either had their award greatly

183 reduced or lost because the judges don't believe that this abuse went on in these

184 institutions.

Handwritten: ✗NB: Therefore never any hope of achieving justice.

185 I: Oh right mm.

186 P: And I argued that I understand why, and I've said this upon the radio. I've been on

187 radio about this.

Handwritten: Strengthening his account? / – trying to be heard /to gain fair trial?

188 I: Mm

189 P: I've been in the press about this, because the people who ran those institutions came

190 from the same strata of society where the judges are drawn from, where the Garda

191 Síochána (Irish police force) are drawn from

Handwritten: – a social class issue

Handwritten: Conflict of interest

192 I: Mm

193 P: Where the solicitors, the medical profession, and indeed the church is drawn from.

Handwritten: ∴ police & judges on their side

194 I: And by that strata you mean?

195 P: The upper upper middle class.

Handwritten: The ruling professions = power

196 I: Ok.

197 P: And they are all related.

Handwritten: Upper x2 = emphasis

Handwritten: – suggests nepotism /priority is protecting each other, (and the system?) / – Against those outside the "clan" ∴ Unbiased justice not possible

APPENDIX 10: EXTRACTS FROM RESEARCH DIARY

1st March 2010

We spent some time in supervision today brain-storming and reflecting on the research. We thought about issues which might affect the research such as gender, age or cultural issues due to my demographics. Thoughts such as "how will my being a young Irish woman affect interviews where older Irish male participants are talking about disclosing CSA?" There are no answers of course but it's worth thinking about these things and keeping them in mind during the interview and especially during the analysis stage. We also talked about compiling some draft interview questions and whether it would be possible to use "neutral" language in order to avoid asking the participants leading questions. But is this even possible if I'm doing this from a social constructionist perspective? Isn't it pointless because no matter what I say I will be part of the context in which the talk is constructed? I think I need to do a bit more reading to see if there are any answers to all my questions!

2nd November 2010

I'm currently working on an epistemology essay assignment so I'm reading Burr, Willig, Parker and all things social constructionist again-in detail! It's difficult: on the one hand I feel that this perspective fits both me and the research questions quite well and at least I grasp the concepts far more than I did last year, but on the other hand I find the prospect of actually doing research using this approach quite confusing. There's a certain safety in numbers and hypotheses and quantitative thinking! I'm also working on my recruitment poster and my ethics application at the moment and I think I'm generally feeling quite anxious about starting the recruitment process-I don't feel like an expert in this! But I suppose at least that sits well with my epistemological approach!

20th September 2011

I emailed Dori today to update her on the recruitment progress. It seems to be going well in that a number of organisations have been happy to display my recruitment

poster, but I'm not having many responses! One interview down, and how many more to go? I'm finding it difficult to feel focussed and to be confident in my research when I may yet have to extend the recruitment criteria or indeed to consider analysising the published report of the Commission as well as interview transcripts. I feel I need a certain number of participants, but at the same time I'm conflicted because I feel a social constructionist approach using a discourse analysis method should not require a certain number of participants-even one interview would be worth analysising, right?! It's clearly a flashback to my undergraduate positivist perspective and that old quantitative research thinking!

11th November 2011

I'm heading back to Ireland to do two interviews tomorrow and I am full of emotions! This is why I wanted an approach where I could acknowledge my role in the research and be reflective. I feel excited at the idea of getting the interviews done, but I feel anxious about meeting the participants. I feel a strong sense of responsibility: these men have been through so much and I don't want to cause them any further distress. At the same time I'm worried that I will disappoint them because undoubtedly they have their own motivation for taking part in the research, and I can't guarantee that they will agree with the research findings or find them helpful in any way! I'm also worried about influencing the interviews too much. I have this thought that if I don't interrupt the participants, but only speak to encourage or prompt them, then the data will be far more "from them". I know from my reading for my methodology chapter that I will of course be co-constructing no matter what I do or don't say, but I still find the old positivist thoughts and belief in an objective reality popping into my mind.

5th April 2012

I am in the middle of analysis-no work this month, no clinical placements, just immersing myself in the data! And oh boy do I feel immersed! I am reading and re-reading the transcripts and I have so many thoughts going around in my head. There is so much going on in the participants' talk, and it is so emotive…I'm afraid of leaving anything out! How is one supposed to narrow down all the findings to portray it in a way that a reader can understand? I can barely make sense of it myself. It's such a struggle to do analysis on this rich data when there's no specific procedure to follow.

20th April 2012

I was feeling very overwhelmed at the start of this month. I was surrounded by transcripts, and notes with hunches or things that I'd noticed in the participants talk, but I didn't know how to take the analysis further. But the work feels a bit calmer now. I've definitely found it helpful to keep bringing myself back to the research questions and back to my summaries of the critical discursive method, even the definitions of discourses and subject positions, just to keep myself focused. I feel slightly more confident now that I have tables of discourses and sub-discourses but deciding what should be merged and what should be disregarded in the write-up is going to be very difficult. I've starting using a mind-map to try to make sense of the main discourses so that I can start drafting my analysis chapter.

APPENDIX 11: DEFINITIONS OF CSA

The World Health Organisation currently defines child sexual abuse as the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared, or else that violate the laws or social taboos of society. Children can be sexually abused by adults or other children who are –by virtue of their age or stage of development – in a position of responsibility, trust, or power over the victim (WHO, 2006).

For the purposes of the Irish Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, CSA was defined as: the use of the child by a person for sexual arousal or sexual gratification of that person or another person (Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act 2000). They did not specify the age of the child included in this definition nor did they specify the age difference between perpetrator and the child.

In a national study of Irish experiences and beliefs in relation to sexual violence, McGee and colleagues (2002) defined CSA as including the categories of child pornography, indecent exposure, contact abuse with no penetration, attempted penetration, penetration or oral sex. Detailed behavioural descriptions for each category were also used in the research interview for the purposes of identifying prevalence of CSA. The authors identified those subjected to CSA as being aged under 17 years, but did not specify an age difference between child and perpetrator.

In their 2011 research study for the NSPCC in the U.K., Radford and colleagues defined CSA as contact abuse (sexual fondling or touching, kissing, oral sex or penetrative sex), and non-contact abuse (including forcing a child to view sexually explicit material or sexual acts and making sexual comments).

Cawson and colleagues (2000), assessing the prevalence of CSA in the U.K. defined CSA as involving a child under the age of 12 with a person aged five or more years older where non-consensual or consensual abuse involving physical contact (such as touching, fondling, kissing, sexual hugging, oral sex or intercourse) or non-contact

abuse (such as making pornographic images or videos of the child, showing pornography to the child, exposing sex organs to the child, or forcing the child to watch live sexual acts) occurred.

Kelly, Regan and Burton (1991), exploring the prevalence of sexual abuse amongst 16 to 21 year olds in the U.K. defined CSA as any event or interaction that was reported as unwanted or abusive, as well as any form of penetration or forced masturbation. They specified the age difference between child and perpetrator of at least 5 years.

Finally, researching CSA across the decades Finkelhor defined CSA in 1979 as the sexual abuse of children under the age of 13 where the perpetrator was 5 years older or more, or where the child was aged between the ages of 13 and 16 where the perpetrator was 10 or more years older. In 1984 he identified CSA as the sexual abuse of child under the age of 16 where the perpetrator was at least five years older. In 1990 Finkelhor specified CSA as sexual intercourse, sexual contact, pornographic acts or oral sex/sodomy of those aged under 18 years.

APPENDIX 12: ENSURING THE QUALITY OF RESEARCH

The question of quality in qualitative research has been debated frequently in recent decades due to the epistemological conflict which arises when attempts are made to replicate quality assurance as found in quantitative research (Finlay, 2006; Parker, 2004; Burman, 2003; Willig, 2001; Yardley, 2000). Quantitative research seeks to carry out controlled experiments, gather statistical data for hypothesis testing, and generalise findings to form global explanations of phenomena. The criterion for ensuring the quality of quantitative research findings therefore incorporates reliability, validity and generalisability. Given that the epistemological position of qualitative research emphasises rich, subjective experience constructed within a social-political and historical context, as well as naturalistic and interpretative methodological approaches, criteria related to consistency, accurate measurement of reality, and generalisability are not appropriate.

Numerous qualitative researchers have proposed diverse criteria for ensuring research quality (Finlay, 2006; Willig, 2001; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992). However, it is generally accepted that qualitative research must strive to be trustworthy and relevant, achieving rigour, ethical integrity and artistry (Finlay, 2006). This study adopts these values, checking the credibility of the interpretation of the data by engaging peers in assessing alternative interpretations (Elliot et al., 1999), and giving consideration to the transferability and dependability of the research findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1994; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992). Acknowledging the present research data as constructed within a specific context, and providing details of the context as well as providing quotes from the research interviews will enable readers to form their own interpretations and determine for themselves if the present research findings are transferable (Finlay, 2006; Madill et.al, 2000; Yardley, 2000). Furthermore the present study strives to provide an audit trail in order to document the decisions and the relevant rationales (see appendix 9 for a worked example of a transcript), and also acknowledges the role of the

researcher through reflexivity in relation to the research decisions as well as excerpts from a reflexive journal (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992).

As demonstrated in the methodology section, a high level of consideration was given to the issue of ethics. The literature on the ethics of working with people who have experienced childhood sexual abuse was held in mind and ethical guidelines were adhered to in the research study. The Ethics Committee of the University of East London also approved the research prior to commencement.

In line with proposals suggested by Henwood and Pigeon (1992), Finlay (2006), Madill et al (2000) and Lincoln and Guba (1994) it was identified that evaluation of the quality of this research should include critical evaluation of the transferability and dependability of the research findings, the internal coherence or "fit" of the analytic categories, and the reflexivity of the research.

Henwood and Pidgeon (1992) emphasise that analytic categories should be shown to fit the data, that is that the research should have internal coherence and the researcher is explicit about how categories were formed (Madill et al 2000). In order to ensure this internal fit quotes were provided throughout the analysis chapter so that the reader can form their own interpretations thereby determining if the analytic findings are true to the text and are transferable (Finlay, 2006; Madill et al 2000; Yardley, 2000; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992). Furthermore an audit trail in the form of a worked example of the analysis has been provided (see appendix 9) in order to promote transparency by documenting the decisions made in the analysis process (Lincoln & Guba, 1994; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992).

Qualitative research is not concerned with generalising findings to the wider population and instead tends towards small sample sizes in order to facilitate intensive exploration within the research (Kvale, 2007; McLeod, 2003). Working instead towards the criterion of transferability the present research has documented sampling, recruitment, and data collection processes as well as reflecting on concerns relating to sampling and interview context (see section 3.4). Therefore, while the present research findings are relevant to the specific research participants involved, researchers are invited to transfer these findings to other similar contexts.

It has previously been discussed that research in the constructivism-interpretivism paradigm adheres to the notion that there are multiple ways of perceiving of the world and that the world is constructed between individuals through social communication and language in particular (Ponterotto, 2005; Burr, 2003; Schwandt, 1994). From this perspective it is argued that the researcher's assumptions cannot be separated from the research thereby requiring the researcher to adopt reflexivity in their role. In the methodology chapter I acknowledged that as a Counselling Psychologist in training I recognise the subjective reality and experience of each client, the co-constructed nature of meaning in the therapy context, and subsequently the necessity for therapist self reflexivity and self-awareness in order to separate the therapist's experience from the client's experience (Strawbridge and Woolfe, 2003). Furthermore I also acknowledged that I, as an Irish citizen, had my own interest in and perception of the Irish Commission process and the experience for Commission participants. In line with the Social Constructivist perspective it is essential that I acknowledge my positions as Counselling Psychologist and Irish citizen to contextualise these research findings as the product of co-construction of meaning in the research context, and the reading of transcripts and the analytic findings as only one possible understanding of this phenomenon and this research data. The epistemological perspective and reflexivity skills as a counselling psychologist transferred to the role of researcher in the present research and enabled me to identify times during the analytic phase when my epistemological stance was influenced by a positivist tendency towards identifying definitive understandings as well as times when the emotional impact of the "stories" pulled me towards a more critical ideological stance of advocate for the participants. The use of a reflective journal enabled me to capture and reflect on these challenges.