

THE VICTIMS'/SURVIVORS' PERCEPTIONS OF
PARTICIPATING IN THE HUGHES INQUIRY

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**The Victims'/Survivors' Perceptions of
Participating in the Hughes Inquiry**

By

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ABSTRACT

The number of reported cases of child sexual abuse has increased over the past ten years. This increase in reporting coincides with society's heightened awareness of the extent that children in our society are being victimized. Professionals working in this field have been eager to develop their skills in responding and treating this population. Questions have been raised surrounding past interventions from professionals.

In September 1989, the Hughes Inquiry under Judge Samuel Hughes was established in St. John's, Newfoundland. The purpose of this Judicial Inquiry was to examine police investigations in the 1970's that dealt with allegations of physical and sexual abuse at the Mt. Cashel Orphanage. This Inquiry has addressed why the system appears to have failed the boys who were under the care of the Christian Brothers while at the Orphanage.

This study examines the perceptions of the victims'/survivors' experiences of participating in the Inquiry. Qualitative methodology utilizing exploratory interviews was employed to understand their subjective experience. Indepth exploratory interviews were carried out with three victims/survivors.

The data analysis is emphasized as an inductive process. Thus, the themes emerged from the raw data.

The victims'/survivors' perception of whether or not participating in the Hughes Inquiry was helpful depended upon a number of factors. These are organized around four themes with issues relating to shame, trust, empowerment and anger. These findings are discussed in relation to the traumagenic model of child sexual abuse provided by Finkelhor and Browne (1986). The limitations of the study and the implications for future judicial inquiries is explored. This study highlights the importance of the phenomenological perspective in qualitative research which seeks to understand people's experiences in their own terms.

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An appreciation is extended to the survivors for sharing their stories and making this essential information accessible to others. With their courage this study was made possible.

"Why, a young kid did you have to go through what you did go through. You should have had the best life possible for you. In reality, it never happened." - Jim

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CHAPTER 1: JUDICIAL INQUIRIES AND CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE**Introduction**

The horror of sex crimes against children has come to the forefront of society's attention over the past ten years in North America. Much of this may be attributed to our increased knowledge and heightened awareness in this subject area. The Canadian Badgley Report (1984), indicated that there has not been a sharp increase in recent years in the incidence of sexual assault, which suggests that this crime has gone largely unreported in the past. As a society we are just beginning to acknowledge the trauma that this crime has had and is having upon our children.

The Social Work profession has been jolted with a staggering increase in reported cases of sexual abuse. While the profession struggles in responding to the number of reports of sexual abuse, they are faced with the responsibility of providing crisis intervention and treatment that will serve in the best interests of their clients. This involves making informed decisions regarding interventions and having a comprehensive knowledge base of the dynamics of sexual abuse.

Understandably, society has found it difficult acknowledging that children are being sexually abused. This is especially

difficult when they have to accept that the majority of sexual abuse is perpetrated by someone the child knows and trusts (Haliday, 1986). Studies dating back to 1929, document the prevalence of sexual abuse of children (Hamilton, 1929 in Peters, Wyatt and Finkelhor, 1986).

During the late 1970's and early 1980's the reports of child sexual abuse were increasing in numbers. Those working in this field have begun to seek information and develop research to address this widespread social problem (Peters, Wyatt, and Finkelhor 1986). The Women's Movement has also been instrumental in heightening the awareness of the abuse of women and children. There has been somewhat of a parallel between violence against women and the abuse of children (Asher, 1988). Child sexual abuse however, is now receiving the kind of attention that crimes of physical abuse of women and children received 5 to 10 years ago (Asher, 1988, p.3).

In the past, child sexual abuse was a hidden problem. Thus, professionals were often inept when dealing with sexual abuse. Questions have been raised that address the issue of how professionals have responded to child sexual abuse in the past. Historically, some of these questions have been explored through the medium of judicial inquiries. The cases of Kim Anne Popen, Jasmine Beckford and Marie Colwell are

examples of such inquiries (Allen, 1982; Storr, 1985; and Greenland, 1982).

In the Spring of 1989, the community of St. John's was shaken with the disclosure of sexual and physical abuse at Mt. Cashel Orphanage during the 1970's. In September of that year, a Royal Commission of Inquiry under Judge Samuel Hughes, was established with the mandate to address the system's response to allegations of sexual and physical abuse at Mt. Cashel. The Commission has examined the responses of the Department of Justice and the Department of Social Services to allegations of child sexual and physical abuse. The Hughes Inquiry had the specific mandate to investigate two police reports dated December 1975 and March 1986, related to allegations of abuse at Mt. Cashel. The Inquiry has addressed why the system appears to have failed to protect the boys that were in the care of the Christian Brothers at Mt. Cashel.

Statement of the Research Question and the Research Problem

This study is concerned with the victims'/survivors' perception of their experiences of participating in the Inquiry. Through qualitative exploratory methods, the victims'/survivors' perceptions are explored. This study addresses the important issue of whether or not telling one's story through the means of a judicial inquiry is perceived

helpful by the victims/survivors. This question is especially salient for those providing treatment to victims/survivors who are confronted with this issue. Professionals, often encourage victims/survivors to tell their stories, since it is believed to have a therapeutic effect for them. However, this assumption is not conclusive and more research is needed in this area (Tedesco and Schnell, 1987). There appears to be no particular literature which examines whether or not telling one's story through a judicial inquiry is helpful.

As society is confronted with the reality of sexual and physical abuse in residential settings, the issue of whether or not inquiries are helpful for victims/survivors becomes more pertinent. Recently, there have been disclosures of sexual abuse alleged to have occurred in the residential setting at St. Joseph's, a private school operated by the Catholic Church in Alfred, Ontario. Some of the former residents of St. Joseph's are lobbying for an inquiry on their behalf to deal with this issue. Victims/survivors are beginning to break the silence that has existed for many years. These incidents, while unfortunate, further validate the need for this study.

A review of the inquiries into child sexual and physical abuse reveal that the majority of the inquiries have been completed

as a result of an unfortunate death of a child. In Canada 1978, the judicial inquiry into the death of Kim Anne Popen took place. The inquiry investigated all matters relating to the care of Kim Popen by the Children's Aid Society in Sarnia, Ontario (Allen, 1982). As a result of this inquiry, a number of changes were made to the structure of the Children's Aid Society.

A number of articles written in England address the issue of inquiries: Paton (1986), in 'The Beckford Report: A Critical Appraisal'; Storr (1985) in 'Jasmine: Something to Forgive'. Greenland (1982) also examined the Inquiries into the deaths of Maria Colwell in 1973, and Jasmine Beckford in 1984. He examined the purpose and scope of inquiries, and concluded that the recommendations made repeatedly by inquiries are seldom acted upon. The Jasmine Beckford case is also addressed by Dale (1986), who examined why more effective safeguards for children at risk for abuse have not been implemented. He does however indicate that the changes now made in the child protection laws should improve the past situation.

Other authors have examined the effect of inquiries on the Social Work profession and policy making such as Cooper (1986), 'Why do Social Worker's Always Get the Blame?' and

Hutchinson's (1986), 'The Effect of Inquiries into the Cases of Child Abuse Upon the Social Work Profession.' Hutchinson (1986), disagrees with the manner in which inquiries tend to use the failures of Social Work to attack the profession as a whole. Similarly, 'The Abused Inquiry', by Laurance (1987), discusses the violation of social worker's civil rights and the need for protecting the social service profession, as well as the public's interest.

The Cleveland Inquiry differed from the aforementioned in that victims of abuse were available to testify. Constable (1986), has reviewed the various articles that have addressed this Inquiry. However, the effect of participating in this Inquiry for the victims/survivors has not been explored. Although materials have been written on the issue of inquiries, there is a gap with respect to the effect of the inquiries on the victims/survivors who participate.

According to Tedesco and Schnell (1987), there is virtually no research on the issue of whether the litigation process further victimizes children. Some authors have concluded that the resolution of emotional reactions associated with child sexual abuse are disrupted through the court process (Weiss and Berg, 1982). Others recognize that cross examination is often difficult for the child witness who may be intimidated

or ashamed as a result of the court process (Berliner and Barbieri, 1984). They also suggest however, that testifying in court may be therapeutic for the child and that "some children report feeling empowered by their participation in the process" (Berliner and Barbieri, 1984, p. 135). It is argued by Pynoos and Eth (1984), that it is beneficial for children to explore and discuss their trauma and that a child's sense of efficacy can be elevated by testifying in court.

A study completed by Tedesco and Schnell (1987), into children's reaction towards investigation and litigation of sexual abuse revealed that 53% indicated that it was helpful, while 21% indicated that it was harmful. Having to testify in court and completing numerous interviews were associated with those who reported that it was harmful. In conclusion, the authors indicated that there is more research needed in this area.

There appears to be little research in the literature dealing with the effect of telling one's story for those who were abused as children. Most of the research that has been completed in the area of child sexual abuse has focused on the female population. This has been largely due to the fact that the Women's Movement has been instrumental in heightening

society's awareness around the issues and prevalence of sexual abuse of females.

Much of the clinical information has focused on the incestuous pattern of abuse which has centred around females (Finkelhor, 1984). For the most part, victim samples have consisted of females with a considerably lower percentage of samples of male victims (Vander Mey, 1988). However, with the recent increase of males in clinical settings, professionals are beginning to raise questions (Finkelhor, 1984). There is a consensus in the literature that the sexual abuse of males needs to be given far more attention than it has received in the past (Sebold, 1987; Reinhart, 1987; Bruckner and Johnson, 1987; and Fromuth and Burkhart, 1989).

Research Question

The research question in this study asks, 'what is the victims'/survivors' perception of their experiences of participating in the Hughes Inquiry'. The research methodology consists of qualitative, exploratory interviews in which the victims'/survivors' subjective experience is obtained. Their interpretation of their experience of participating the Inquiry is elicited. This adds meaning and richness to the data as it improves our understanding of their experience. In addition, it provides some useful information

about the effect of telling one's story through the judicial processes of inquiries.

Summary

The Hughes Inquiry is a phenomenon unique to the development of child welfare. Throughout the history of inquiries, their origins can be traced with the unfortunate death of a child. Although victims/survivors did testify in the Cleveland Inquiry, their perception of this experience has not been addressed. There are gaps in the research with respect to the effect of telling one's story through a judicial process and on the sexual abuse of males. With the heightened awareness of child sexual abuse, victims/survivors are beginning to disclose, as was witnessed with regard to Mt. Cashel and St. Joseph's.

An important issue for Social Workers is the victims'/survivors' perception of the effect that the Hughes Inquiry has upon their experience as a victim. This study utilizes qualitative, exploratory interviews to obtain the victims'/survivors' perceptions of their experiences. By ascertaining the victims'/survivors' perceptions, the issue of whether the judicial inquiry is useful in helping victims deal with their sexual abuse is examined. This study also

provides some insight into the male's subjective experience of their victimization.

Literature Review

Introduction

An examination of the social problem of child sexual abuse requires an initial focus on the broader issues of the incidence and the causes of such abuse. As the participants in this study are male, the issues surrounding males as victims/survivors must be explored. The effects of sexual abuse are explored in relation to the traumagenic model provided by Finkelhor and Browne (1986, p. 196). Those factors include, betrayal, powerlessness, stigmatization, and traumatic sexualization. Not all persons are affected to the same degree when they have experienced sexual abuse. A literature review of these factors is provided. As yet, there appears to be little information in the literature that addresses the effects of telling ones story as an adult or on the issues related to a judicial inquiry for survivors.

Incidence

The actual occurrence of child sexual abuse is difficult to assess due to the number of cases which may not be reported. A study by Russell (1983), supports the notion that a great deal of sexual abuse goes unreported. Out of a random sample of 930 women, only 2% of those who had experienced intrafamilial child sexual abuse and 6% of those who had experienced extrafamilial child sexual abuse ever reported it

to the authorities. Statistics on victimization varies. Finkelhor (1984), suggests that 9-50% of females and 3-9% of males are victims of sexual abuse. The Canadian statistics provided by the Badgley Report are cited frequently in the literature. They state that as many as 1 in 2 females and 1 in 3 males have been exposed to unwanted sexual acts (ranging from exposure to forced intercourse). In addition, 80% of these unwanted sexual acts were experienced when the victim was under the age of 18 years. Finkelhor (1987) notes that approximately 10% of the males in the present adult population were sexually abused at least once before they reached 16 years of age. It is suggested that sexual abuse of boys is under-reported due to the way in which boys are socialized (Finkelhor and Nasjleti, 1986).

Contrary to popular belief, most perpetrators are known to the victim, 74% reported by Badgley (1984) and 78% reported by Dube and Herbert (1988). Erickson and his colleagues (1984) estimate that as many as 90% of the perpetrators are known to the victim. Studies also reveal that the majority of perpetrators are male, 90% by Badgley (1984) and 97% by Dube and Herbert (1988). This may be actually difficult to assess, since male victims will rarely report sexual abuse by a female perpetrator (Nasjleti, 1980).

Causes

In the past, child sexual abuse was regarded as a rare phenomenon and only recently has the literature begun to examine its causes. A social cultural framework for explaining abuse is provided by Araji and Finkelhor (1986, p.93). This is a multi-factor model that discusses the four major causes of abuse in relation to the perpetrator. The first factor involves emotional incongruence in that the adult achieves emotional gratification by relating sexually to a child. The second factor involves the emotional immaturity and inadequacy of the perpetrators where they gain power and control through the sexual abuse. The adult's sexual arousal to a child and their inability to satisfy their sexual needs more appropriately, are other contributing factors. The final factor addresses the lack of inhibition that the perpetrator has around the conventional taboos regarding having sex with children (Araji and Finkelhor, 1986).

Victim precipitation theories assume that the victim behaves in a seductive manner and that the child is unconsciously acting out 'oedipal-electra' fantasies. Some offenders and defense lawyers maintain that the child acts in a seductive manner. Others argue however, that young children are not even aware of their sexuality (Mitchell, 1985). Another important point that is sometimes lost in the issue of sexual

abuse is that the adult is always solely responsible for his/her own behaviour, since children by definition are unable to give informed consent to engage in sex with adults (Erickson et al, 1984, p.45). Blaming the victims for their own abuse reflects the stereotypes in society which are similar to blaming a rape victim. These stereotypes are not supported in the literature on child sexual abuse. Unfortunately, however they often exist in popular thought (Erickson and others, 1985; Tamarack, 1986; Finkel, 1987).

Males as victims/survivors

The sexual abuse of males has not been dealt with as extensively in the literature as the abuse of females. Initially, clinicians were not aware of the extent of the sexual abuse of males as these cases were not being reported. However, with the increased awareness of the sexual abuse of males, clinicians are beginning to address some of the related issues. It is difficult to assess the true incidence of sexual abuse in males as it seems that males have been suffering in silence.

There are a number of factors thought to contribute to the under-reporting of sexual abuse in males. The way in which males are socialized is a factor to be considered. Males are taught that masculinity involves being self-reliant and that

they must take care of things themselves (Finkelhor, 1984; and Vander Mey, 1988; Nasjleti, 1980). Males may fear that they will not be believed and that there may be something wrong with them. They are socialized to thinking that asking for help means that they are helpless, which is associated with femininity (Nasjleti, 1980). A student survey reported that 25% of the males disclosed to someone about the abuse, in comparison with 33% of the females (NCCAN, 1981 as cited in Finkelhor, 1984).

Another important issue for males who have been sexually abused is the stigma and fear related to homosexuality (Haliday, 1986; Finkelhor, 1984; and Vander Mey, 1988). Males often have to struggle with their own sexual identity if their perpetrators were a male. The negative connotations that society has about homosexuals prevents them from talking about their experience. This also prevents them from getting accurate information and the support that they need. They may also be concerned that they will develop into abusers or rapists themselves, which creates a stigma that would prevent them from disclosing (Vander Mey, 1988). Another contributing factor is that males may have more to lose if they talk about their abuse (Finkelhor, 1984). This is related to the tendency for parents to give boys more independence and freedom than girls. Boys may fear that they will lose some

of their privileges if their parents knew about the abuse.

Overall, the literature suggests that the sexual abuse of males is under-reported. A national survey in the U.S. cited by Finkelhor (1984), supports this notion. The survey, according to Finkelhor, indicates that the sexual abuse of males is 2.5% to 5% for those boys under the age of 13 years. This means that approximately 46,000 to 92,000 incidents of abuse occur each year in relation to males under the age of 13 years. However, the number of reported cases each year is lower than what is reflected in these percentages. In the U.S. in 1981, the number of reported cases involving males was 7,600 (NCCAN, 1981 as cited in Finkelhor, 1984).

In examining the differences between males and females, it has been shown that males are more likely to be abused by somebody outside of the family (Dube and Herbert, 1988; Vander Mey, 1988; and Finkelhor, 1984). However, the perpetrator involved was often a caregiver and not a stranger. For males who have been victimized alone they are four times more likely to be victimized by somebody outside of the family (Finkelhor, 1984). A study completed by Reinhart (1987) indicates that the manner in which males and females disclosed about their abuse was similar in terms of the number of spontaneous and prompted disclosures. A greater number of disclosures for

females however, was based on third party suspicion. For the males the majority of third parties did not report until they had confirmed the abuse with the victim. This indicates society's reluctance to accept the sexual abuse of males. These results may also reflect society's perception that females need to be protected without their consultation.

For males the risk factors associated with sexual abuse include those coming from poorer or neglectful homes where the mother is head of the household (Vander Mey, 1988; and Finkelhor, 1984). Males who are sexually abused are more likely to have suffered from physical abuse from their families and are exposed to more coercion and threats associated with the sexual abuse (Finkelhor, 1984; Vander Mey, 1988; and Dube and Herbert, 1988).

As with the reporting of abuse, much of the literature regarding the effects and treatment for sexual abuse has centred around female victims. Research addressing these issues for males is just beginning. A study by Brunner and Johnson (1987) found that the treatment needs of men were similar to those for women. They did find however, that women tended to internalize their problems, whereas, men tended to externalize their problems. It was noted that men were more action oriented and showed a willingness to take assertive

steps in dealing with the abuse. Another difference that they found with respect to male victims was that they were more willing to educate others about their abuse and its impact. Thus, they were more apt to make their abuse public knowledge.

Effects of sexual abuse

Although much of the literature has focused on the adverse effects of child sexual abuse, not all victims are affected to the same extent or in the same way. However, those who are affected by the abuse carry this into their adulthood and are at risk for mental health and adjustment problems (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). There is a substantial amount of research that documents the extensive effects of child sexual abuse (Haliday, 1986; Finkelhor, 1984; Sebold, 1987; Kolko and Moser, 1988; Tong, and others, 1987; Sgori, 1988; and Brunker and Johnson, 1987).

A study examining the effects of childhood sexual abuse for a non-clinical sample of adult women, found that these women reported higher levels of abuse related symptomatology than did the control group of non-abused women (Briere and Runtz, 1988). A study completed by Fromuth and Burkhart (1989) of two non-clinical samples of college men, found one group suffering from slight psychological adjustment whereas, the other group did not show any problems as a result of the

abuse. However, these findings may be attributed to the fact that most of the perpetrators in the study were female and the majority of problems associated with sexual abuse involve a male perpetrator (Finkelhor, 1986).

In examining the effects of child sexual abuse on a child's development, Finkelhor and Browne (1986) provide a useful conceptual tool. This conceptual framework is comprised of four traumagenic factors which include: betrayal, powerlessness, stigmatization, and traumatic sexualization. This framework provides a structure for understanding the dynamics of sexual abuse and a conceptual framework in which to discuss the effects associated with the abuse. These factors and the effects associated with them are not inclusive because they often overlap and are interrelated.

Betrayal.

Inherent in being a child is the exclusive dependency on adult caregivers. For the most part, children invest a great deal of trust and respect in their caregivers and adults in general. A child's development of trust in relationships begins with their caregivers. Given this power imbalance, children are placed in a vulnerable position in relation to adults. When children come to the realization that the adult or caregiver has taken advantage of them for sexual

exploitation, and has lied or tricked them, they feel a sense of betrayal (Finkelhor, 1986). The extent to which they feel betrayed depends on various factors including, if the adult was a caregiver or not and the extent to which they feel manipulated. This is thought to be confusing for children because adults are supposed to protect them. A child may experience a heightened sense of betrayal if other caregivers do not provide protection and support once the abuse has been disclosed.

Experiencing betrayal in childhood may result in feelings of mistrust towards others (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; Sebold, 1987; and Kolko and Moser, 1988). The impaired ability to determine if others are trustworthy and the need for dependency may lead to subsequent abuse and/or contribute to their own children being abused (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; Haliday, 1986; and Sgori, 1988). They may experience difficulties later in life in forming intimate relationships and they may have marital problems.

Psychologically, victims/survivors may experience feelings of anger and hostility. These feelings of anger and hostility are turned inward for many victims if they suffer from depression (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; and Briere and Runtz, 1988; Gold, 1986). The sadness and loss that occurs may

result in feelings of grief. Aggressive behaviour and delinquency can be observed in those who psychologically experience anger and hostility, and turn these feelings outward (Tong et al, 1987; Sebold, 1987; and Finkelhor, 1986).

Powerlessness.

The dynamics of powerlessness experienced by a child who is sexually exploited by an adult or caregiver are referred to quite often in the literature. The abuse occurs despite the child's wishes as his\her body and privacy is invaded (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). Often the offender uses trickery or threat of force to manipulate the child (Sgori, 1988; Haliday, 1986; and Finkelhor, 1986). Rarely is force used, given the vulnerability of the child and his\her lack of control. Given the power dynamics that exist, the child feels helpless, unable to protect his\herself or stop the abuse. The developmental issue at risk for the child is their sense of efficacy.

Children report that they are afraid of the consequences if they disclose the abuse (Finkelhor, 1986; and Haliday, 1986). This repeated experience of fear keeps them silent. Unfortunately, this fear and disempowerment puts the victims at risk for subsequent abuse. The feelings of lack of control are exemplified if the victims/survivors feel that they are

unable to get others to believe them (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986).

The fear and powerlessness that exists during the abuse will often manifest into feelings of fear and anxiety for the victims/survivors (Kolko and Moser, 1988; McCormack and others, 1986; and Briere and Runtz, 1988). The fear that victims/survivors experience may develop into nightmares or actual phobias (Finkelhor and Browne 1986). The fear of adult men was significantly higher in a population of adolescent victims especially for the males (McCormack and others, 1986). Others may develop a passive personality characterized by feelings of inadequacy (Alter-Reid, 1986).

The decreased feeling of efficacy which occurs during the abuse may give rise to a need to exert control in other life situations. The need for control is evident for victims and some develop somatic complaints (Briere and Runtz, 1988; and Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). A study by McCormack and others (1986), found that male victims/survivors of sexual abuse were more likely to report physical symptomatology than female victims/survivors. Victims/survivors often suffer from dissociation and depression as they attempt to cope with the abuse (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; and Briere and Runtz, 1988). Eating disorders, running away behaviours and school

problems (i.e.; truancy) may also be displayed by victims/survivors in an attempt to gain some control in their lives (Tong and others, 1987; and Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). However, sexually abused females are more likely to engage in run away behaviours in comparison to their male counterparts (McCormack and others, 1986). Victims/survivors who are no longer attending school may experience problems with employment or their employer (Finkelhor, 1986; and McCormack, and colleges, 1986).

The psychological impact of feeling powerless puts the victim at risk for subsequent abuse. Some victims/survivors deal with the abuse by identifying with the aggressor which may result in aggressive behaviour and delinquency (Tong and others, 1987; and Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). As a need for control, some men will intimidate or overpower women and/or children, since these are usually smaller. This power gives them a temporary euphoria which reinforces this behaviour. This may develop into aggression or sexual assault (Sebold, 1987; Finkelhor, 1986; and Vander Mey, 1988).

Stigmatization.

Stigmatization affects the victims'/survivors' development of their self-concept. The negative connotations that often accompany the abuse are incorporated into the victim's sense

of self (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). Initially, it may involve the offender putting blame on the child and manipulating the child to keep the secret. The secrecy component has implications that there is something immoral about this behaviour. It is common for victims to feel ashamed about the abuse and feel as if it were their fault (Finkelhor, 1986; and Sgori, 1988). These feelings may be intensified as the child hears others comment on the evils of sexual abuse. In addition, the feelings of stigmatization may be escalated if people react with shock during disclosure and place blame on the child. There is the stereotype that the victim represents damaged goods (Finkelhor, 1986; Sgori, 1982).

The feelings of guilt and shame are heightened for the victim as a result of being stigmatized (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; and Sgori, 1982; Alter-Reid 1986). As a result of them incorporating the negative connotations associated with the abuse into their self-image, the victim's sense of self-worth is lowered (Finkelhor, 1986; and Erickson and others, 1985; Alter-Reid, 1986; Tong and others 1987; Gold, 1986). Once a victim experiences stigmatization, it may lead to circumstances where they become isolated. Males who have been sexually abused are likely to withdraw from their friends, as they experience difficulty with the opposite sex and with

friendships with the same sex (McCormack et al, 1986).

It is common for victims of sexual abuse to engage in regular use of alcohol, cocaine and other drugs (Singer and colleagues, 1989; Browne and Finkelhor, 1986; and Runtz and Corne, 1985). The substance abuse for the adolescent population may reduce loneliness as they will gain acceptance from the peer group. It may also help them deal with their emotional problems by serving as an escape in order to cope with the abuse (Singer and others, 1989).

The delinquency displayed by many victims of sexual abuse may progress into criminal behaviour (Finkelhor, 1986; Tong and others, 1987). This is particularly true for females, whereas abused males do not differ from males who have not been abused with regard to delinquency and criminal behaviours (McCormack and others, 1986). Both male and female victims are more likely to express suicidal ideation than their non-abused counterparts (Erickson and others, 1985; McCormack and others, 1986; and Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). A study by Briere and Runtz (1986) found that increased suicidal ideation correlated positively with the occurrence of sexual intercourse, multiple perpetrators, and concurrent physical abuse. Victims of sexual abuse are also more likely than their non-abused counterparts to engage in self-mutilation behaviour and self-

destructive behaviour (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986; Briere and others, 1987; Tong and colleagues, 1987).

Traumatic Sexualization.

Children are sexual beings from birth and sexual development is an important component of each life stage. However, when an adult engages the child in sexual behaviour, it has an adverse effect on the child's sexual development. The effect will depend on the child's understanding of the event as well as, whether the offender engages the child in sexual behaviour (Finkelhor, 1986).

The offender often provides the child with affection and special attention which may result in the victim learning to use sex to get his\her needs met. The victim also learns an association between sexual activity, negative feelings, and traumatic memories (Finkelhor, 1986). The adult offender has seriously invaded and distorted the child's normal sexual development.

It is well documented that psychologically, the importance of sexual issues increases for the victim. This involves a preoccupation with sexual behaviour, often inappropriate for their age level (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; Sgori, 1988; Sebold, 1987; and Tong and others, 1987). A major issue for

males is confusion and anxiety about their own sexuality (Sebold, 1987; Haliday, 1986; and Finkelhor, 1986). Males often attempt to deal with this by acting macho in trying to show their peers that they are not gay.

Aggressive and controlling behaviours are usually significant for males (Sebold, 1987; and Finkelhor, 1986). They may produce this threatening behaviour to ward off any further or potential abuse. Due to their experience some victims avoid intimate relationships and some experience a severe reaction to sexual contact (Finkelhor, 1986; Gold, 1986). As a result, men may become tense or rigid when touched. This has led some to believe that these men would possibly become touch deprived (Sebold, 1987). Thus, their sexual relationships are not often experienced as positive and healthy.

Younger children may develop a preoccupation with sex to the extent that they engage in sexually compulsive behaviours. Teenagers and adults may become promiscuous, involved in prostitution and/or aggressive sexual behaviours (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; Sebold, 1987; and Badgley Report, 1984). A study of 200 juvenile and adult street prostitutes by Silbert and Pines (1981) revealed that 60% of them experienced sexual abuse as a child.

The increased importance of sex and the association between sex, love and caregiving, may give rise to various behavioral manifestations (Finkelhor, 1986). This may result in inappropriate sexualization of their own parenting to the point where they are sexually abusing their children. A concern for male victims is the possibility that they may become perpetrators and, as a result, they may avoid intimacy with their own children (Bruncker and Johnson, 1987).

Effects by age and duration.

There is some controversy in the literature regarding the effect the age of onset at which abuse occurs has upon the degree of trauma experienced by the victim. Some believe that the younger the child, the greater the trauma due to their vulnerability and impressionability (Meiselman, 1978 as cited in Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). Other studies indicate the age of onset at which abuse occurs is not directly related to the effects (Briere and Runtz, 1988). There seems to be no clear evidence that age of onset is related to trauma. This is particularly so when other factors are controlled, such as the relationship with the offender (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). Most clinicians believe that the increased frequency and the duration of abuse has an adverse effect on victims. Briere and Runtz (1988), found that extended abuse was related to increased symptomatology and anxiety, higher levels of

dissociation and depression. These findings however, are not supported unanimously and there appears to be some contradiction in the literature on this issue (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986).

Effects by the nature of the abuse.

There is a general consensus in the literature, that the type of sexual activity which occurred during the abuse is related to the trauma for the victim (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). The type and the degree of sexual abuse is related to increased symptomatology among victims. The more intimate sexual contact during the abuse the more serious consequences it will have for the victim (Briere and Runtz, 1988; and Conte and Scherman, 1987). It is widely supported in the literature that the use of aggression and force is related to increased trauma (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986; Conte and Scherman, 1987; and Briere and Runtz, 1988). Adult survivors also rate abuse by male perpetrators as more traumatic (McCormack et al, 1986; and Finkelhor, 1984).

Effects by the relationship to the offender.

It is a common belief that sexual abuse by a relative is more traumatic than by somebody outside of the home. It is important however, to qualify that the degree of trauma is related to the victims'/survivors' perception of their

relationship with the perpetrator, and how important this relationship is to them (Conte and Scherman, 1987; and Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). Thus, abuse by a caregiver who is unrelated may be more traumatic than abuse by a distant relative. It seems to be largely dependent upon the victims'/survivors' subjective impression of the relationship. It has also been found that the abuse by an adult, as opposed to an adolescent perpetrator, is associated with chronic anxiety and an increase in dissociation (Finkelhor, 1986).

Effects of the support of significant of others.

Very few studies have examined the effect that parental reaction has had upon the trauma experienced. The studies that have been completed indicate that negative reaction from parents intensify the symptoms for victims, while a positive reaction did not seem to affect the trauma (Browne and Finkelhor, 1986). Conte and Scherman (1987) found that a positive effect in the symptoms experienced by victims was associated with a supportive relationship with an adult or sibling.

Summary of contributing factors.

The relationship between the age of onset and the duration of abuse with trauma is not clearly identified. There is however, a clear relationship that the more serious the abuse

the greater the trauma experienced by the victim. Also, the use of violence or threats during the abuse is related to increased symptomatology for the victim. The relationship with the perpetrator is a contributing factor since, abuse perpetrated by fathers, step-fathers and a caregivers greater traumatizes the child. As well, abuse by adult males as opposed to teenagers is considered to be more detrimental. The support of an adult or sibling seems to have a positive effect on symptomatology for the victim.

Summary

The prevalence of sexual abuse has not increased over the years. However, society's awareness of this issue has. The increased reporting of child sexual abuse has made it necessary for professionals to take an active role in research and inquiry into this social problem. There has been a major thrust towards developing a knowledge base around child sexual abuse, so that professionals can respond and provide treatment in a manner that is in the best interests of the victims/survivors. Historically, judicial inquiries have been utilized to examine professional's response to child sexual abuse. Therefore, it is most important to explore whether or not this process of inquiry is helpful for those victims/survivors, who have experienced a system which failed to deal adequately with their victimization.

There is a concern that the incidence of sexual abuse for males has gone largely unreported due to a number of factors. Research is just beginning to address the issue of sexual abuse of males and the differences that exist between males and females. This study explores the perception of male victims'/survivors' experience of participating in a judicial inquiry.

CHAPTER 2: OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS AND VARIABLES**Introduction**

This study utilizes a qualitative methodology. The research question asks, 'what is the victims'/survivors' perceptions of their experiences of participating in the Hughes Inquiry?' The participants subjective experiences are obtained in their own words. A definition of the concepts of victim/survivor, and child sexual abuse are provided and an explanation of the Hughes Inquiry is given.

The data is obtained through an exploratory interview. The data analysis consists of two sections. There are no preconceived concepts in the initial analysis. To avoid any predetermined responses, the concepts will be based on the participants description of their experience. The second aspect of the data analysis will be guided by the conceptual framework provided by Finkelhor and Browne (1986, p.196). These factors include: traumatic sexualization, powerlessness, betrayal, and stigmatization.

Definitions**Victim/Survivor**

For the purpose of this study, victims/survivors refers to males who have alleged to have suffered from child sexual

abuse while residing at Mt. Cashel during the 1970's and who have participated in the Hughes Inquiry as a result of that abuse. The use of 'victims/survivors' addresses the issue that these males were victims. They had no control over the fact that they were sexually abused and had no protection. Referring to them as survivors speaks to the belief that they all have the personal power to move beyond victimization. Underlying the acknowledgement that they have survived this experience is the inherent belief in their capacity to move on in their lives.

Child Sexual Abuse

There is no agreed upon definition of child sexual abuse in the literature. This problem is explored by Giovannoni and Becerra (1979) in their text Defining Child Abuse. For the purpose of this study a definition provided by the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers (1983) will be utilized. This definition has been chosen because of its encompassing nature.

Sexual abuse is the use of a child for the sexual gratification of an adult, or the allowing of such a use of a child by a parent, caretaker, or legal guardian. It includes any manual, oral or genital sexual contact, or the use of an object for sexual penetration, or other explicitly sexual behaviour

that an adult family member or caretaker imposes on a child by exploiting the child's vulnerability and powerlessness. It also includes exploitation of a child for pornographic purposes including posing children for photographs, alone or with other children or adults, or animals which are sexual or erotic in context, and/or making them available as child prostitutes (p.5).

Hughes Inquiry

This Inquiry was established in September 1989 under Judge Samuel Hughes. Its mandate was to hold an inquiry dealing with the investigations conducted by the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary into allegations of child abuse at Mt. Cashel Orphanage on December 18, 1975 and March 3, 1976. The Mt. Cashel Orphanage was an institutional home operated by the Christian Brothers for orphan boys. The suggestion has been made that an unofficial policy existed within the Department of Justice that criminal charges would not be laid in some cases of physical and sexual abuse and that the alleged perpetrators would agree to leave the province. Investigations in the Spring of 1989 have resulted in a number of charges being laid relating to these incidents dating back to 1975. The mandate of the Hughes Inquiry was to investigate why criminal charges had not been laid in 1975 and in 1976. (see the terms of reference appendix E)

Concepts

Betrayal.

When children realize that an adult has taken advantage of them for sexual exploitation, and has lied or tricked them, they experience a sense of betrayal. This often results in feelings of mistrust towards others and damages their ability to determine if others are trustworthy (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). The need for dependency coupled with the inability to determine the trustworthiness of others often exposes the victim to subsequent abuse and exploitation. Another manifestation of betrayal is that the victims' own children may be abused. Many of those who feel betrayed seem to have difficulties later in life in forming intimate relationships and they may experience marital problems.

The psychological impact of betrayal can leave the victims with feelings of anger and hostility (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). If these feelings are turned inward, the victims may report episodes of depression and/or be treated for depression. Those victims who turn their anger and hostility outward, may describe themselves as having aggressive behaviours and/or being involved in delinquent behaviours. Examples of a sense of betrayal may include; 'After I participated in the Inquiry I was treated for depression.',

or 'Throughout the whole process , I was not quite sure who to trust'.

Powerlessness.

Children report to being afraid of the consequences if they disclose the abuse and this experience of fear keeps them silent. This repeated experience of fear, the inability to protect one's self and stop the abuse leads to feelings of powerlessness (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). The experience of fear during the abuse may cause the victims to feel fearful and anxious. Thus, the victims may report experiencing nightmares or developing phobias.

According to Finkelhor and Browne (1986), the experience of powerlessness results in a decrease in one's feeling of efficacy and they begin to view themselves as victims. The lack of control that is experienced during the abuse will give rise for a need for control in other life situations. As a result victims may report school problems (i.e.; truancy), running away behaviour, and/or experience difficulties maintaining employment. The psychological impact of feeling powerless will often put the victims at risk and many experience subsequent abuse. Some victims identify with the aggressor which results in aggressive behaviours and

delinquency. Others manifest this behaviour by actually becoming abusers themselves.

With regard to the effect of the Inquiry upon their feelings of powerlessness, the victims may report having 'felt a sense of control and efficacy being able to tell their story' and are taking more assertive steps to deal with their abuse. An example may include; 'I found myself becoming more aggressive towards family members during my involvement in the Inquiry'.

Stigmatization.

The dynamics of stigmatization may commence when the abuse is occurring and continue after the disclosure. These dynamics involve the victims incorporating into their self image the dissenting connotations that often are associated with the abuse (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). The psychological impact of stigmatization is one where feelings of guilt and shame are heightened. The victims experience a sense of low self-worth. There is a distinct feeling that they are different from others because of the abuse.

Finkelhor and Browne (1986), indicate that the behavioral manifestation of stigmatization may involve one becoming socially isolated. The victim may report having abused drugs, and/or alcohol, as well as, becoming involved in criminal

activity. They may also report feeling as if they were damaged goods which may be manifested in self-mutilation behaviour and suicide attempts.

Examples of experiences of stigmatization would include: self reports of feeling ashamed and guilty about the abuse, self-reports that they feel they are different from others, and self-reports of low self-worth accompanied with reports of mutilation and/or past suicide attempts. Other examples may include: 'that they felt ashamed and guilty having to tell others', or 'since my friends or co-workers have seen me on the Inquiry they treat me different; I feel that there is something wrong with me.'

Traumatic Sexualization.

Traumatic sexualization occurs when an adult engages children in sexual behaviour inappropriate to their age. It is argued that such behaviour has a detrimental effect on the children's sexual development (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). The children's view of sexual behaviour and sexual morality becomes distorted. Psychologically given the infringement on their normal development, a number of confusions may occur. The victims may report being confused regarding sexual identity, sexual norms, and confusion with love and caregiving. They may develop a negative association regarding

sexual activities and sexual arousal later in adulthood. According to Finkelhor and Browne (1986), the offenders' interference with children's sexual development may result in later sexual dysfunctions such as flashbacks, difficulty with arousal and orgasms. Indicators of experiencing traumatic sexualization would include self-reports of negative feelings and traumatic memories linked to the sexual activities discussed at the Inquiry, such as, 'it was hard to talk about the past, I remember being really confused as a kid because I always got very special treatment from _____' - referring to the offender.

Personal Demographics

There are four variables that are related to personal demographics of participants. These include:

Age. - which will be defined by their date of birth.

Marital status. - which will be defined according to the categories single , married, common-law relationship, or divorced.

Number of children. - this is defined by the number of biological children or step-children of the participants.

Family composition. - This involves the number of family members, including sibling order, whether or not they lived in a single parent home and who was head of the family

household. This would include if they resided with any members of their extended family.

Summary

These concepts are operationalized in a manner which coincides with the qualitative methodology employed in this study. The four traumagenic factors provided by Finkelhor and Browne (1986) provide a conceptual framework for the second component of the content analysis. The categories and themes in the initial content analysis will emerge out of inductive analysis.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Research into the effects of 'telling one's story' through the means of a judicial inquiry for survivors of sexual abuse is virtually non-existent. Studies examining the impact of 'telling one's story' upon children have used questionnaires and scales, while others have questioned child protection workers (Tedesco and Schnell, 1987; Badgley, 1984). A qualitative methodology was employed by Cleveland (1986), in a descriptive story of three women's experiences of incest.

The research question in this study asks the survivors of sexual abuse to tell their story about their participation in a judicial inquiry. They are the experts whose experience we are aiming to understand. A qualitative methodology using a phenomenological perspective has been chosen to address this question. The goal of this study is to understand the participants' subjective reality of their experiences and to share this with others (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975).

Qualitative Methodology - Phenomenological Perspective

Qualitative methodology seeks to examine peoples' thoughts, notions and experiences in their own terms. Implicit in this method is the 'doctrine of verstehen,' which is an empathetic

understanding based on the subjective experience of the participants (Patton, 1980, p. 44). The focus is on the meaning of the behaviour and understanding that behaviour from the person's own frame of reference. Central to qualitative methodology is the phenomenological perspective. This perspective of human behaviour believes that 'what people say and do is a product of how they interpret the world' (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, p.13). Through research, the meaning that people place on situations and events is captured for interpretation.

Keeping with this perspective, the data is obtained through interviews using a non-standardized and an unstructured interview guide (Denzin, 1970). Exploratory interviews that are open-ended were the method of choice. The experience of the participants cannot be predetermined. Therefore, predisposed notions and concepts were not employed in the interview. Qualitative methodology emphasizes an inductive hypothesis and analysis (Patton, 1980). Hence, there was no preconceived analysis. The analysis emerged and took form from the actual quotations drawn from the raw data. This process deals with the discovery of what has happened and then it attempts to verify what has been discovered (Patton, 1980, p.47).

Truth is described as an 'evasive concept' by Bogdan and Taylor (1975, p. 9). The purpose of qualitative research is not to discover the truth, but to understand the experience from the person's own point of view (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, p. 9). People select information in a manner which is unique to them and they interpret from their own experiences. Therefore, the truth for each individual is relative based upon their own selection and interpretation of information (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). The goal in qualitative research is achieved through the process of understanding an experience from other peoples' own point of view. In order to achieve this understanding, the researcher must be able to identify and empathize with the participants (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975).

Qualitative methodology that utilizes exploratory interviews lends itself to greater depth and meaning (Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Patton, 1980). As opposed to providing an organizational scheme, exploratory interviews that use open-ended questions, seek to discover and learn the perspective of the participants (Patton, 1980). This method increases the accuracy of information, especially around sensitive issues (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, p. 197). The unstructured interview has the potential to establish rapport and empathy with the participants. It 'gives a voice to the people' as the participants are able to 'tell their own story in their own

words' (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, p. 9). The use of exploratory interviews provide the greatest amount of flexibility and it permits the continuous flow of information (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

Probes and exploratory techniques are employed to deepen the responses and to gain a comprehensive view of the participants' story (Patton, 1980). In addition, clarification and summary can be used to ensure the maximum understanding between the researcher and the participants (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). It is worthy mentioning the cost effectiveness of this method in that it allows one to obtain more data for less cost.

Other methodologies such as utilizing scales, questionnaires, or the provision of a conceptual framework as an interview guide, have been explored by the researcher. However, questionnaires and conceptual interview guides limit and predetermine the findings. They provide organizational thought patterns to the participants which strip the process of the participants telling their own experiences in their own words in a meaningful way (Plummer, 1983). The purpose of qualitative methodology according to Patton (1980), is to minimize the occurrence of predetermined responses from the participants.

The open-ended exploratory interview respects the uniqueness of each individual by discovering and understanding their subjective reality. Guba and Lincoln (1981) and Kirby and McKenna (1989) describe people in the margins 'as those who have experienced exploitation, injustice and/or inequality in their lives' (p.33). They discuss the importance of completing research with the purpose of gaining the perspective from those in the margins. This study addresses the perspective of those who have suffered exploitation and injustice in their lives. The literature recommends the use of qualitative methods in research in order to fully understand peoples' subjective experience (Plummer, 1983; Lofland and Lofland, 1984; Kirby and McKenna 1989; Guba and Lincoln, 1981). Thus, the use of indepth, exploratory interviews gains the subjective experiences of the victims/survivors and any attempts to objectify these experiences will strip them of their personal meaning.

There are a number of limitations which accompany the exploratory interviews. The results of such a study are difficult to report and predict. There is a criticism that researcher bias influences the interviewing process. The researcher needed to be fully cognizant of this valid point throughout the interviewing process. To some extent however, all researchers select the type of data they are examining in

a study (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). Thus, the influence that the researcher has upon the participants is an important concern which was taken into account during the data analysis.

Given the nature of the research, the results are difficult to generalize, since they apply solely to the people and events in a particular context (Patton, 1980). The methodology being used is a lengthy means of collecting data. Therefore, only small samples can be used which further limits the extent to which the study can be generalized. In addition, the very nature of this method makes it difficult to replicate.

Population

The population consisted of a non-probability, purposive sample. Due to the depth of the interviewing process, the sample consisted of three participants. The sample involved males who were allegedly sexually abused while residing at the Mt. Cashel Orphanage during the 1970's. Another selection factor included those males who participated in the Hughes Inquiry as a result of those experiences.

The access to this population sample was achieved through a third party. This third party introduced the research to the prospective participants through a letter of introduction (see appendix B). The aforementioned individual is a lawyer who

is a partner in the law firm in St. John's that represented the victims/survivors at the Hughes Inquiry. In addition, this individual was informed about the dynamics of child sexual abuse. The research was completed under the auspices of this law firm to ensure that the research material was privileged information for the lawyer representing the participants. This will prevent the material from being used to the participants detriment and/or during the criminal trials for the offenders. The subjects were presented with a consent form (see appendix D) indicating their approval to having their lawyer have access to the data. This third person had a working relationship with the participants and had a vested concern for their best interests.

Data Collection

Qualitative methodology incorporating a phenomenological perspective formed the basis of data collection. The data itself was collected from the indepth exploratory interviews with the raw data consisting of quotations. The interviews were unscheduled and unstructured. Probes and exploratory techniques were used to guide the content and facilitate rich and detailed information (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). The use of probes in the exploratory interviews gave the participants an element of control. This is thought to be an important issue for this population.

Once the participants had agreed through the third party to participate in the research, they were contacted by the researcher. The interviewing took place in a neutral setting. The researcher had arranged office space from a private practitioner in the St. John's downtown area, because of its neutrality and privacy.

The interviews were audio-taped. The audio-tapes were typed into a transcript for the purpose of data analysis. The researcher was responsible for compiling the transcript from the audiotapes. To ensure the anonymity of the participants, the transcripts were coded and their identifying names were omitted. The researcher and the lawyer representing the participants were the only people having access to the transcript. For the purpose of data analysis the thesis advisor was consulted if deemed necessary by the researcher. The tapes and transcript will be destroyed once the thesis has been completed and passed by an internal and external reader.

Initial Meeting

Once the participants had agreed to become involved in this study, the researcher contacted them and arranged for an initial meeting to take place. The setting for the meeting was at a private practitioner's office in the St. John's area. This meeting was not taped. This allowed the participants and

the researcher to become comfortable with the data site. Another purpose of this interview was to allow the participants and the observer to meet face to face. The process of developing a positive trusting relationship with the participants was of the utmost importance.

The purpose of the study, the risks involved and the consent forms were discussed during the initial interview (see appendices A, C and D). The consent forms were presented to the participants for signature (see appendix A and D). The participants did have the opportunity to ask questions or to seek further clarification about the research. The second interview took place no longer than 10-14 days after the initial meeting. The participants chose the time of the interview.

Interview

The goal of the interview was to learn and understand the perspective of the participants. The length of the interviews was approximately 3 hours. The participants could choose to complete the interview on one occasion or have two separate interviews of a shorter time frame. A general interview guide was used. Although the interview was focused to some extent, the style allowed the personal experience of each participant to emerge. The interview started with their present

experiences dealing with the here and now. Probes addressing this examined their experience now that the Inquiry is over. Some examples may include: Has participating in the Inquiry affected your life in any way? Do people and /or family members treat you differently? What is your perception of yourself?

After exploring the present, the interview moved to past events. How they initially became aware of the Inquiry was discussed. Also examined were such things as; what kinds of issues arose for them at the time; were there any disclosures made about the abuse to others prior to the Inquiry; and what were the reactions of significant others? This process moved through the events of the Inquiry. Such probes would include: how did you become involved in the Inquiry? How did the process of becoming involved in the Inquiry unfold in your life? Did it affect your interactions with family members? What effect has this experience had upon you of having this secret made public? Could you describe your experience of giving evidence at the Hughes Inquiry? How did you prepare yourself for this experience? What gave you the strength to participate in the Inquiry? What kind of impact did this have upon your life? These probes can elicit detailed information around the experience of participating in the Inquiry.

The last segment of the interview focused on the future. Now that the Inquiry is completed, do you perceive that this experience will shape your future in any way? Has it affected your perception of the abuse? Overall, do you feel that the process of the Inquiry was of a personal benefit for you and if so, in what way? Were there any ways in which this process was detrimental for you?

At the end of each interview, demographic information was gathered. This addressed information about their biological family and their present family composition. The demographic information was asked at the end of the interview to avoid setting up a pattern of short answer questions throughout the interview (Patton, 1980). As the interview progressed, probes were shaped according to the individual's need.

It was important to create an atmosphere conducive to openness and comfortability (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). During the interview, the researcher utilized skills that enhanced active and reflective listening, probing and unconditional positive regard. These elements were crucial in developing a positive relationship that will lend itself to openness (Patton, 1980; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). The importance of an empathic understanding was also crucial, given the sensitivity of the issues being explored. The purpose of these open-ended

exploratory probes was to minimize any predetermined responses.

Final Interview

Given that a relationship had developed between the researcher and the participant, this interview was used to deal with termination. The researcher and the participant had the opportunity to ask any further questions or to clarify data. If the researcher felt that there are some unresolved issues for the participant, the possibility of a referral for counselling was discussed. This was also followed up if the participant requested such a service.

Pretest

Prior to the data collection of this study, a pretest was completed. With the exploratory interview, it is very difficult to administer a pretest (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, p. 187). The purpose of this pretest however, was to examine the researcher's interviewing style and deal with any methodological issues that arose. The pretest was completed with a male clinician who is familiar with the issues involved in child sexual abuse and who has had considerable clinical experience. A mock interview using the outlined probes was completed and audio-taped. The participant in the interview provided feedback to the researcher. Feedback addressed the

researcher's style and ability to establish rapport and empathic skills. Given the sensitive nature of the interviews, the pretest provided some feedback on how to ensure that this process was as safe and comfortable as possible for the participants.

Data Analysis

For the purpose of this study, the data was documented on transcripts obtained from the audio-taped interview. Thus, the primary data consisted of quotations extracted from the interview (Patton, 1980). After the interview, notes were taken by the researcher which documented observations and insights obtained throughout this process. It was important for the researcher to maintain notes on his/her own impressions, subjectivity and emerging themes (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). In completing this task however, one had to be cautioned against using these notes to bias data analysis (Patton, 1980).

When commencing the data analysis, organizational issues needed to be addressed such as making sure that all the notes were completed, accounted for and available. A qualitative descriptive account of each interview is provided. This consists of a narrative of each participant's interview and some examples of their content.

In completing the data analysis, the researcher read the interviews and notes several times making connections and noting emerging themes. This process actually began while the researcher was compiling the transcripts from the audio-tapes. Through the process of content analysis, a label and file system was devised using themes and patterns. In order to complete this task, a number of copies of the transcripts were made in order to accommodate various emerging themes and patterns. This classification system emerged from inductive analysis, such that the classifications originated from the raw data and not from a preconceived analysis.

Another component of the inductive analysis is the construction of typologies (Patton, 1980). Typologies are extracted from the themes and categories that are generated from the raw data. Typologies can be initiated from the researcher analyzing the data or constructed from the participants who have described their experience (Patton, 1980). A caution is needed in constructing typologies so that one does not create typologies that do not exist (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). Addressing this concern ensures that there is convergence among the classification system (Guba and Lincoln, 1981). This mechanism speaks to the patterns and themes that are similar, so that they should occur with some degree of regularity. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981),

there should be an element of external heterogeneity and internal homogeneity. Internal homogeneity refers to the necessity that the themes in the classification system are similar and cohesive. While meeting this criteria, there must also be differences in the classification system that are vivid and clear. This ensured that external heterogeneity would be achieved (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

In the process of completing content analysis and devising a classification system, one must continually work back and forth between the raw data and the typologies in the classification (Patton, 1989). This task continued until all categories were exhausted and new information blended with the already existing typologies. Hence, convergence among the data analysis was achieved. In completing the data analysis, the researcher ensured that convergence, internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity was achieved so that typologies that were meaningful and significant were extracted from the data. See appendix F for an outline of the data analysis.

Upon the completion of the narrative description of the data and the content analysis, an additional analysis took place. The researcher filtered Finkelhor's traumagenic model which includes; themes of powerlessness, betrayal, stigmatization, and traumatic sexualization through the raw data in order to

discover if there was any evidence of their presence (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). This provided a conceptual linkage to the literature review, as well as, provided information regarding the relevance of Finkelhor's model to the participants in this study. The content analysis was not grounded in the traumagenic model that is provided by Finkelhor in order to avoid any preconceived typologies. When using inductive analysis it is important to allow patterns and themes to emerge from the raw data.

For the purpose of this analysis the four factors described by Finkelhor were filtered throughout the raw data. The researcher examined the quotations made by the participants to discover if any such themes existed. The occurrence, if any, and the prevalence of these themes throughout the data is discussed in the analysis. If they existed, some examples were provided. They may include: 'After testifying in the Inquiry, I found that people treated me differently, so I would usually avoid going out in public' - related to stigmatization; 'For once people were listening to me and believing my story' - empowerment related to powerlessness. The researcher reviewed the transcript several times and made files based upon which quotations were connected with any of the dynamics in Finkelhor and Browne's (1988, p. 196) traumagenic model.

In summary, a content analysis using inductive process allowed themes to emerge that were identified by and relevant to the participants. The analysis organized the themes and categories that emerged and then it created typologies. This was achieved utilizing a transcript of the audio-taped interviews. Once this had been completed, a second analysis occurred. This involved exploring the data to see if any themes existed in relation to Finkelhor's traumagenic model. The analysis also spoke to the relationship, if any, between the themes in Finkelhor's model to the themes in the content analysis that were created by the participants.

Ethical Issues

The ethical issues in qualitative research are salient ones. It is often difficult to assess the true nature of the risks and the benefits for the participants (LaRossa, 1981). It needs to be ensured that participation for those involved is voluntary. The important issues of confidentiality and informed consent also need to be addressed.

There are risks for the participants in any qualitative study (LaRossa, 1981). What is essential for the participants is that the benefits outweigh the risks for them (LaRossa, 1981; Plummer,1983). According to LaRossa (1981), a major risk for the participants is public exposure. Therefore, it was vital

that the participants' identities were not revealed and that any identifying information was masked. Although some information about their family backgrounds was obtained, the identifying information was altered. This issue was of particular importance to this study given the high media profile of the Hughes Inquiry and the relatively small size of the St. John's community. The researcher needed to apply a great deal of sensitivity and caution in ensuring that public exposure did not occur.

Another risk associated with qualitative research is that subjects may reveal more information than they had originally intended (LaRossa, 1981). The researcher's experience in interviewing was used to minimize this risk. The interview focused on their experience of participating in the Hughes Inquiry as opposed to the details of their abuse. It was important to inform the participants of the risk involved, so that they were aware of this.

It is well documented in the literature pertaining to sexual abuse that victims are at risk of becoming offenders (Brunker and Johnson, 1987; Browne and Finkelhor, 1986; and Sebold, 1984). Given that this study involved victims of sexual abuse, the risk that some of them may have offended was present. The child welfare law states that the reporting of

sexual abuse is mandatory. Therefore, the subjects were informed that any information revealing that a child was at risk for abuse would be reported. This requirement is specified in the consent form (see appendix C).

As with the risks, the benefits of qualitative research are difficult to determine at the onset (LaRossa, 1981). It is hoped that it was helpful for the participants to tell their story in a supportive and affirming process. It is also believed that being able to describe the impact that participating in the Inquiry had upon their lives had some therapeutic benefit for them.

The issue of confidentiality is an important concern for social research (Babbie, 1983; Plummer, 1983; LaRossa, 1981). It is essential that identifying information was not revealed to anyone but the researcher. Such information was masked in order to protect the participants' identity. The researcher and the thesis advisor did have access to the data. The thesis advisor was consulted for the purpose of data analysis. The aim of this was to promote objectivity during the process of analysis. The participants have also given consent to their lawyer (see appendix D) to have access to the data as well. Upon completion of the thesis, the typed transcripts, and the audio-tapes will be destroyed.

When completing social research, informed consent is also an important ethical issue (LaRossa, 1981; Plummer, 1983). The participants needed to be fully aware of the purpose and the goals of the research. They were given a statement of the purpose of the study when contacted by the third party (see appendix C). During the initial meeting with the researcher, the risks and the benefits were discussed. Participants in the research were voluntary and they were given the opportunity to withdraw consent without any consequences at any time (Babbie, 1983).

With any study, the risk of the data being subpoenaed is always present. This risk was a salient one for this study. To address this, the transcripts have been coded in order to conceal the participants' identity. The audio-tapes were locked in a safe place until the completion of the thesis. The concern here was that the data may reveal information that could have been detrimental to the participants, especially if the criminal case against their alleged perpetrator had not yet been heard. Since the study has been completed under the auspices of the law firm representing the victims/survivors, this risk was safeguarded. As well, the data focused on their participation in the Hughes Inquiry as opposed to the details around their abuse. The transcripts and the audio-tapes will be destroyed after the thesis has been submitted.

Summary

This study utilized qualitative methodology through a phenomenological perspective to answer the research question. The goal was to understand the perspective of the victims/survivors who participated in the Hughes Inquiry. During the initial contact with the participants, the issue of confidentiality and informed consent was addressed. The second interview was approximately 3 hours in duration and it explored the participants' experience of their involvement in the Hughes Inquiry through an exploratory interview. The data was collected through the use of audio-tapes. A final interview dealt with termination and it provided an opportunity for the researcher and the participant to ask any further questions. The audio-tapes were typed into a transcript for the purpose of data analysis. The participants were informed that the thesis, when completed, would be available at the School of Social Work and the Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial University of Newfoundland.

It is important that we know the victims'/survivors' perceptions of their experience of participating in the Hughes Inquiry. There are gaps in the literature dealing with male victimization. In addition, there are gaps regarding the impact that judicial inquiries have had upon victims/survivors of sexual abuse. The subjective experiences of those who have

suffered injustice and exploitation is an important source of data (Kirby and McKenna, 1989). This information is useful for social workers and other professionals who are working with victims/survivors of sexual abuse.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH PROCESS

Introduction

The indepth nature of the qualitative research lends itself to description. This chapter provides an outline of the sample as a collective. Individualized descriptions of each of the three participants is provided. The actual data collection process is discussed. This also includes the interview format and the limitations associated with the data collection process.

Sample as a Collection

All participants had their own unique characteristics. However, they had some elements in common as a collective. As a criteria for involvement in this study all have resided in Mt. Cashel as a youth and had participated in the Hughes Inquiry as a result of that experience. The participants in the study had all endured some degree of emotional, physical and sexual abuse while residing at Mt. Cashel Orphanage. During the time of the study all three participants had pending court cases against Christian Brothers for alleged physical and sexual abuse. Prior to the Hughes Inquiry neither had shared with anyone the fact that they were abused.

The three participants were males either in their late

twenties or early thirties. All were subjected to unstable family backgrounds and spent much of their childhood in foster homes and in the Mt. Cashel Orphanage. For the most part, they were not raised with their biological siblings and lacked a sense of family. Two of the participants had some up bringing with their siblings in foster homes and in Mt. Cashel.

The researcher did not have any contact with the participants prior to the study. Thus, the researcher was not aware of their backgrounds or personal experiences. Throughout the descriptions, the participants are given fictitious names and the identifying data has been altered to protect their identity.

Participant A - Ted

Sure the money is good.. it was a big thing in my mind.. now it's getting down to justice for what happened. I just can't picture how they got away with it 20 years ago. They shouldn't get away with it any longer.. that's how I see it now.

The researcher had minimal contact with Ted by means of the telephone prior to the interview. After reviewing the purpose of the study and the consent forms, Ted decided to proceed

with the second interview. This involved data collection. For the initial meeting, Ted was dressed in a suit with a brief case. He provided the researcher with a copy of his statement to the police regarding the abuse that he endured while at the Mt. Cashel Orphanage. This statement was not utilized for the purpose of this study.

During the time of this study, Ted was unemployed and single. He had plans however, of returning to his past employment in the near future. He comes from a family of six siblings. He is the second youngest. He describes his childhood as a difficult one. He has spent the majority of his life in foster homes, at Mt. Cashel Orphanage and in boarding homes. His childhood has been marked with physical and sexual abuse. He has spent some time with his siblings in foster homes and at Mt. Cashel Orphanage. According to Ted, he and his siblings are not close and contact with them usually results in a conflict.

He first gained knowledge about the Inquiry when his brother contacted him to make him aware that officials were attempting to contact him. At that time, Ted instructed his brother 'not to tell' officials how to get in contact him. He then later saw a article in the paper outlining the Mt. Cashel affair. This article also spoke of the law suit some of the ex-

residents were pursuing and gave the name of the lawyer to contact regarding this matter.

Initially, Ted chose not to become involved. However, he later decided to contact this lawyer in order to pursue this interest. As a result, he became involved in a press conference. He has involved himself in the media and has been quite vocal as a survivor. According to Ted, the media coverage was not for him personally, but to inform others about the Mt. Cashel affair.

As with the other participants, he was offered support throughout the Inquiry. However, he did not avail of these services as he felt that it would not be beneficial for him. While going through the Inquiry he did have support from a relationship that was ongoing at the time. This relationship has since terminated. He stated that for the most part he kept things to himself. He was not close to family members and his friends tended not to talk about it. He stated that he has received mixed reaction from the general public from one of support to other times when people have become verbally aggressive towards him.

Throughout the time of the Inquiry, Ted was very much engaged in that process. He attended the Inquiry regularly and has

always been well-informed regarding the happenings around this incident. He was familiar with the process of the Inquiry and was sensitive to the political arena at the time. He expressed scepticism towards the system and he tends to be mistrusting of people's motives.

Ted will acknowledge the difficulty involved in participating in the Inquiry. However, he tends to minimize the amount of courage it did take to participate. For him it was just 'something that he had to do.' He stated that he did not give it much thought. Overall, he was looking forward to getting to tell his story at the Inquiry. For him he would have liked to share more of the details of his story at the Inquiry. He expresses frustration around this process and views the court as his avenue to tell his story.

In terms of the judicial process, Ted has participated in the preliminary hearing associated with the alleged physical and sexual abuse that he suffered while in Mt. Cashel Orphanage. The dates for the court cases had not yet been set at the time of the study. During the final interview Ted did express positive feelings connected with his participation in the study.

Participant B - Jim

"The Hughes Inquiry.. it had to be done, people had to know about

I just did not want to be the one to do it."

Prior to meeting Jim for the interview, the researcher had minimal contact with him over the telephone. This was for the purpose of arranging the interview time. Upon meeting Jim, the purpose of the interview and consent forms were explained to him. After this phase, Jim requested to proceed to the second interview. This involved the actual data collection. Although Jim did appear somewhat uneasy, the researcher was able to establish a positive relationship with him during the initial contact. The details of the consent form were important to him. While explaining the parameters of confidentiality, Jim was informed that if he disclosed that a child was at risk, confidentiality would be breached. He responded by asking, "where was that law when I was a child?"

Typical of most of the boys that resided in Mt. Cashel, his childhood was marked with instability. He was not raised with his biological siblings. Both of his parents are deceased. In the past recent years, he has settled into a relationship and has two children. He refers to this as his family. He

now has contact with his siblings. He describes himself as particularly close to one of them.

The news of the Inquiry was the beginning of the process for Jim. At that time, he states that he became frightened and disturbed after hearing about the Inquiry through the media. An ex-resident of Mt. Cashel informed him that the police were going to contact him. This was quite upsetting for Jim. However, neither survivor discussed their experiences at Mt. Cashel. At that time, Jim denied any victimization. Reluctantly, he did contact the police in fear that they would contact him through his family. During the initial interview with the police he would only disclose some incidents of physical abuse. Later he disclosed incidents of sexual abuse.

After providing the police with his statement, Jim felt compelled to inform his family about his past. Once he did this he states that he became depressed, withdrawn, and lacked confidence. He became resistant to going to public places in fear that others would recognize him. His experiences ranged from a person ridiculing him to others who offered support. He had an experience of a former Christian Brother disclosing the abuse he experienced while he was in the brotherhood. Jim however, did not want recognition in any way.

According to Jim, his spouse was his major source of support throughout his difficult time. He states that, "my family was the only rope that I hung onto." He states that without his family, he is certain that he would have either run away or have committed suicide. Initially, his family did not want him involved with the Hughes Inquiry. However, when they saw the impact that this was having upon him they encouraged him to become involved.

He was quite nervous and afraid of giving evidence at the Inquiry. According to Jim, he was instructed to tell his story to a tape-recorder when he initially had contact with the Inquiry. He still has negative feelings associated with this experience. He stated that he was quite reluctant to giving evidence at the Inquiry and if given the choice he would not have participated.

Jim did have some media coverage through a short television interview. He states that this was not beneficial for him. His only motive for exposing himself to the media was for other children who were being abused. He refused several other media opportunities as it was a role that he was not comfortable with. He also expressed some reluctance in relation to becoming involved with this study. He indicated however, that he needed to talk about this experience.

In terms of the legal proceedings, Jim has given his statement to the police. Charges have been laid as a result of the alleged physical and sexual abuse that he had endured while at the orphanage. During the time of the interview, the court proceedings had not yet taken place. He expressed anxieties in anticipation of this event.

During the final interview, issues around trust in relation to the research were discussed. Jim was given information and provided a copy of the consent forms. Issues arose in relation to terminating the relationship with the researcher. These were explored with the participant. It was mutually agreed that counselling would be beneficial for him. The researcher made arrangements for Jim to receive professional counselling after participating in this study. He appeared to be satisfied with this arrangement. He expressed positive feelings towards the research process.

Participant C - Bob

"I feel better inside that I got it out in the open. This was always inside of me and I just wanted to get it out."

Prior to the interview the researcher had minimal contact with Bob, for the purpose of arranging the time of the interview.

Upon reviewing the purpose of the study and the consent forms, Bob requested to proceed with the second interview. This involved the actual data collection.

He was co-operative and seemed to be eager to please others. He spoke openly about his low self-concept and stated that he was working on "his belief in himself." These interviews took place prior to his involvement in his court case where charges were being laid against one of the Christian Brothers. Thus, he was quite focused on the anxiety surrounding his involvement in court. He stressed the personal importance of the alleged offender receiving a guilty verdict on the charges that were laid.

His childhood was marked with instability. He did have contact with one of his siblings throughout the time he spent in foster homes and in the orphanage. Bob was in a common-law relationship when he first gained knowledge of the Inquiry. However, this relationship has since dissipated. During the time of this study Bob was single and unemployed. He does have limited contact with his biological parents. He does not receive emotional support from them. However, he has maintained a relationship with past foster parents who are quite supportive of him. He also has siblings who are emotionally supportive of him.

Bob initially became aware of the Hughes Inquiry through the media. He proceeded by telephoning a contact number provided by a ex-resident. That is how his involvement in the Inquiry came about. Shortly afterwards, his common-law relationship ended. He describes himself enduring a time in his life where he felt depressed and suicidal.

After giving his evidence at the Inquiry he felt more at ease. Although he found the Inquiry to be helpful to him, he was not comfortable with the publicity. He stated that he pretended as if the cameras were not present. He focused on the person asking him the questions. Bob was very much open to the support from the system. Through the process of the Inquiry he has had contact with counselors. Also, he has been receiving support from a lawyer from the Justice Department in relation to his involvement in court. He was quite positive about the support he has received. In many ways this process has opened doors for him.

In terms of the legal proceedings, Bob has participated in the Inquiry and the preliminary hearings associated with his case. Shortly afterwards, he would be participating in the court trials in relation to the alleged physical and sexual abuse that he had suffered while in Mt. Cashel Orphanage.

Since his involvement with the Inquiry and the court system he has received support from siblings, foster parents and professionals. He has been quite open to intervention and feels that he is beginning the healing process.

The final interview was held on a separate occasion. He had completed his involvement in a court case and was feeling positive about that experience. He did not express any ambivalence about his participation in the research process nor did he have any questions. He seemed comfortable with sharing himself and hoped he could be of help to the researcher.

Actual Data Process

Prior to completing the interviews, a pretest was carried out. This was completed with Dr. Alan Kenworthy, who has considerable clinical experience. The pretest interview was audio-taped. A short interview was held with Dr. A. Kenworthy. After that, he provided feedback to the researcher regarding interview style and what would be useful for the purpose of the study. The researcher also utilized the audio-tape as a means to heighten self-awareness around interview style.

Jack Harris, who is the lawyer representing the ex-residents of Mt. Cashel contacted the participants to request participation in this study. The participants were determined by their availability and their receptiveness to participate in the study. He provided them with a letter of introduction and an outline describing the purpose of this study (see appendices A and C). After the participants had agreed to participate in the study, the researcher was provided with their names and telephone numbers. Then the researcher contacted the perspective participants and arranged the interview times. The interviews were held in an office in downtown St. John's.

The initial meeting was to establish a relationship with the participants and also, to discuss the purpose of the study, review consent forms and answer any questions that may arise. All three participants requested to proceed to the second phase of the interview as opposed to arranging a second interview time. For the data collection interview the participants were given the choice to have two separate interviews or one longer interview. Ted chose to have the two interviews. The other two participants requested the one interview. The interview time was approximately two hours thirty minutes to three hours in length. The final interview held with the participants was not audio-taped. The

researcher explored their feelings about their participation in the study and discussed any outstanding questions or issues.

During the time of data collection, the Hughes Inquiry had terminated. However, the Hughes Report had not yet been released. All participants had completed their preliminary hearings and their cases were going to trial. Data was collected in the same week for participant A (Ted) and participant B (Jim). Interviews with participant C (Bob) were held approximately one month later. Thus, he was closer to the date of the trial addressing the alleged abuse that occurred while he was at the Mt. Cashel Orphanage.

Interview Format

The interview style was opened-ended and unstructured. The researcher began with the here and now, in terms of what their lives were like now. The researcher then guided the participants back to the beginning of the Inquiry. Information was elicited concerning how the Inquiry started, what that process was like for them and what they saw was their future. Issues around their futures and pending court cases were also discussed.

Limitations

Interviews with the three participants were carried out after the completion of the Hughes Inquiry and prior to the release of the Hughes Report. However, the interview with participant C (Bob), was carried out approximately a month later than the interviews with the other participants. This participant was very close to his court date. Thus, much of his focus was towards court and the anxiety associated with this process. This may have affected his perception of the Hughes Inquiry. The reason for the later interview scheduled with participant C was due solely to his being unavailable prior to that time.

Gathering information for the purpose of data collection is unlike a therapeutic interview. Thus, the researcher had to be constantly aware of this difference in relation to the interviewing style and the fact that this may actually impede data collection.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

The goal of this study was to understand the experience of participating in the Hughes Inquiry for the victims/survivors of Mt. Cashel Orphanage. Qualitative methodology was employed to explore the participants' thoughts, notions and experiences in their own terms. An answer relating to whether or not the participants perceived the Inquiry as a helpful process did not emerge from the data in a clearly definable form. Instead, their perceptions regarding the quality of their experience depended on a number of factors. For the purpose of organizing the data these will be categorized under themes relating to issues of; shame, trust, empowerment, and anger. The presence or absence of these themes in Finkelhor's traumagenic model will then be discussed.

Shame Issues

The degree of shame expressed by the participants affected their perception of their experience of participating in the Inquiry. The greater the prevalence of shame and stigma, the more negative the experience of participating in the Inquiry. Shame is a theme that was present for all three participants. Not all participants however, experienced shame to the same degree. The stigma associated with being sexually abused by another male was present for all participants.

"I didn't want people to be going around saying, well he's gay, he is queer, or something like that, right. You know."

- Bob

"I didn't want to go out no more, you know. Because I mean, geees people will probably be saying, well he must be a pervert or something, you know. That's how I felt, right." - Jim

"The public is going to know, right? You know, what would they think of you? Are you a pervert or you know? I mean I wasn't but..." - Jim

"Maybe it's a bit prejudice, but they look at you in a different way and stuff like that. You could be branded queer or fagot.. stuff like that. I thought a lot about stuff like that." - Ted

Their feelings of shame were usually related to the reactions or the anticipated reactions that they may receive from others. For Ted there was evidence of shame when he was initially beginning the process of involving himself in the Inquiry. After that, his feelings of shame were not present for him. Thus, he was largely involved in the media coverage throughout the Inquiry process.

... and I thought, why would I want to tell anybody this? You know it as something that I put away and it's not the most pleasant thing to remember or to be telling anybody... why would I want to be telling anybody, right? Not just the embarrassment of it, but I mean... bound things are going to change after that. - Ted

"The thing that really.. you know.. you knew that when you got up there in the stand in a sense you were not going to be looked at in the same way, since people will recognize you."
- Ted

"Well, people are going to look at you differently. I have been hanging around with friends for years, who never knew anything." - Ted

"I find that a lot of people... considering all of the publicity about the Inquiry.. a lot of people don't know that I was ever involved." - Ted

Bob did express feelings of shame in relation to his anticipated reactions of others. However, he did not have any shaming experiences in relation to the reaction of significant others or the general public. Thus, his feelings of stigma and shame subsided.

"Because I was scared inside, frightened, didn't know whether or what anybody would have thought about me, right." - Bob

"Right, it's dirty, it's filth. Right. And then when I got to say this stuff, right, it hurts me inside to say these things." - Bob

I thought that I was going to be harassed a lot. - Bob

Did that ever happen to you? - Interviewer

It never did. It never did ever happen. - Bob

Did people come up to you in a supportive way? - Interviewer

No. It seemed like nobody recognized me really. -

Bob

"I knows that I'm going to tell the truth and I'm not going to be ashamed to teli the truth. And I mean to say I ain't the one here on trial." - Bob

Jim did not have the same experience. For him, feelings of shame were present throughout his involvement in the Inquiry. Family members also expressed feelings of shame towards him. Subsequently for Jim, this shaped his experience of participating in the Inquiry in a detrimental way.

I didn't want no one to know, because it feels .. like

I said ..in the institution I grew up in everyone was called names from day one. Right. It's not easy to carry. And I thought the public would be more or less like that. - Jim

"And all through the years, like I said, more or less, in Mt. Cashel, no one ever talked to me. I suppose I carried the shame and guilt as though they were a part.. you know." - Jim

Referring to a conversation that he had with a family member surrounding his participation in the Inquiry: "_____ said, I don't want you to, you know, because of family, respect of the family's name..." - Jim

Alluding to his conversation with the police Jim stated: "...and I told about, more or less the beatings I had. I didn't want to mention it, anything you know, sexual because like I knew it was the shame that goes on, right."

"I was really scared and frustrated and really like, I didn't want to see no one, right. I was embarrassed at the time, more or less..." - Jim

"Because I was so embarrassed and scared and frightened, what would people think of me..... No one knew, what are they going to think of me, right?" - Jim

I don't know, I could be walking out the street tomorrow and I'll see someone and someone will say, 'were you on the Hughes'.. you know that's the point that I don't like about it..... And that feeling is an uneasy feeling. And that's what carries with me. - Jim

The stigma associated with being sexually abused by another male was present for all three participants. The extent to which they experienced feelings of shame in relation to their abuse shaped their perceptions of participating in the Inquiry.

Trust Issues

Issues relating to trust and mistrust were evident throughout the data collected. It was found that factors dealing with betrayal and with the support that they received from others was linked to their ability to trust. The participant who was most trusting of the Inquiry process found the experience to be more of a personal benefit for him.

Betrayal

The experience of being betrayed shapes a person's ability to trust. Being sexually abused implies an element of betrayal. Jim's sense of betrayal was directed towards the Christian Brothers. The betrayal expressed by Ted and Jim was directed towards the system in general.

I don't think that I can forgive.... This is a man who sexually abused a child, right... who was a authority to do something like this and a religious stature. I mean. I'm a Roman Catholic. He was a Roman Catholic too, Christian and that so, you know, that was the most frightening for me, right. - Bob

They were my Mom and Dad put together. If I needed something I would have to go to them... boy problem... man problems. I would have to go to them, right. It was that sort of thing. They were our parents. - Bob

You were totally dependent upon them. - Interviewer
Totally dependent... and then to get sexually abused by one of them. I mean to say.. it was terrifying. It was an experience I mean to say as a young fellow I would never want anyone to go through what I went through. -
Bob

"How somebody like that could do something like that. Like you know. Authority, right. I trusted.. my belief was in that person." - Bob

"Just that so many things happen to you in your lifetime that it's hard to trust someone." - Jim

"It's very hard for me, and I'm sure you know for other people

to really have faith in the justice system. And it's a crying shame, because I mean, after all, I mean they were supposed to protect us." - Jim

"If you couldn't when you were a child of 5 or 6, if you couldn't put trust in a priest, who could you, Right?" -Ted

That was one of the reasons I didn't want to get involved in the first place was because of the system. I thought that the people screwed us around in 1975 and I did not want to be screwed around again. - Ted

The experience of being betrayed for these victims/survivors is evident in their feelings of mistrust towards others.

Ability To Trust Others

These experiences of betrayal seemed to be linked to their feelings about trusting others. Ted and Jim portrayed a sense of betrayal towards their abusers and the system that was supposed to protect them. Thus, they presented generalized feelings of mistrust towards others. Both of these participants discussed their negative feelings related to their experience of participating in the Inquiry. Bob's experience of betrayal is reflected in his feelings of mistrust in relation to gender and towards the Christian

Brothers. He verbalized feelings of trust towards significant others and those people involved in the system.

If I see a man with a collar on, it turns me right off, right. Cause they had collars at Mt. Cashel, right... I'm not saying every priest is guilty, or every Brother is guilty, but it just throws me off. I feel very uncomfortable with it. - Bob

Referring to receiving support from other survivors, Bob indicated that:

I said that I would rather a female survivor.

Um..hum. - Interviewer

I feel more comfortable see. I don't know. It's just men, I don't know.. like I'm not blaming men or any man. It's just that I don't feel comfortable around them. Don't matter if they didn't do nothing to me. Maybe they're the best person in the world. - Bob

"The only thing when it comes to persons, people, not trusting.. like it's anybody who's wearing a collar." - Bob

In discussing professionals involved in the Inquiry including counsellors, Bob stated that:

I know I give them my complete trust. - Bob

Was that hard to do? - Interviewer

No, Ah.. no. I don't think that it was. Being able to open up and share what happened with whatever ..with them people, right. It gave me a sense of relief, you know. Taking the pressure that was on me off. - Bob

I trusted myself then, right, That's something I never has all my life in myself. And now since the commission happened, I started learning how to trust in myself.

- Bob

Um..hum. - Interviewer

And knowing there's other people that's helping you out. - Bob

Given Jim's life experiences, his perception was characterized by feelings of mistrust towards others. Thus, he did not feel that the Inquiry process could have been of any help to him.

Just that so many things happen to you in your lifetime, that's it hard to trust someone....you never really trusted anybody to a point, right? If someone got nice to you, you were wondering why they were nice. - Jim

"Because there's so, to me there are so many sick people in society that, that I really have a hard time trusting to a certain degree. I've seen so much of it." - Jim

"Most people go too far with their trust. There'll be someone to take advantage of them. And either you die or be confused or used, right." - Jim

It's so important for me that Samuel Hughes figures out and I'm not saying now everything that he writes is going to be gospel because I'm never going to take anything from the justice system or any lawyers or anything that's gospel. Because they are all in to me for one thing, like you know it's more or less..... Some are in it for the money, some are in for their ego, some just for the power. - Jim

Is anybody in it for you? - Interviewer

I'm sure that they feel for me. You know, as if they're doing anything for me, I don't really think that they can. - Jim

Similar to Jim, Ted also expressed feelings of mistrust towards others. Thus, he seemed to feel that the Inquiry was not of a personal benefit to him.

"When people ask if they support us, they say 'sure'.. what do you expect them to say? Everybody is out for their own blood." - Ted

"The Inquiry educated people in that sense, right. That you can't trust nobody, right." - Ted

"You talked about some of your hopes yesterday of getting some answers." - Interviewer

"Yes, but I don't expect to get that from them. (laughed) I expect those guys to look out for themselves." - Ted

I thought that the Inquiry was.. I don't know..(pause) a false sense of security in a sense that it gave people bits and pieces of what they wanted. So it satisfied them in that way, but it didn't answer any questions.
Ted

Do you think that the Inquiry was of a personal benefit to you? - Interviewer

A little.. I'm not going to feel great that it really helped me. A lot of people sure it did help them... despite the time I spent there. - Ted

Support Received From Others

The participants' ability to trust others was linked to the quality of interpersonal relationships that existed in their lives. There was a positive relationship between their ability to trust and the amount of support that they received from others. The participant who had a number of positive

relationships viewed the Inquiry as a more favourable experience than the other participants did.

Although Bob did not receive support from his biological parents, there were significant others in his life whom he viewed as parents. These people were very supportive of him. Bob also had siblings who were quite supportive. Overall, Bob was open to the resources available through the Inquiry process. He reported positive feelings related to this experience. He perceived this as an avenue to begin to deal with some of the painful issues in his life. His ability to trust others directly influenced his personal experience of participating in the Inquiry.

Referring to the significant others in his life Bob stated:

It was like, here they are reaching out to me when it should be my real parents reaching out to me. You know? But I never had my real parents reaching out to me. My brother_____, he's different from that. He cried in my arms too, right. Told me he loved me. - Bob

"Nobody was there for me when I was growing up as a young person. But now there is a lot of people around for me, right, and that gives me a lot of courage." - Bob

"You know you got to talk about it. Like I went to see a counsellor you know. and it was very helpful to get it out."

- Bob

The commission and everything, right. I feels a lot more comfortable with myself now. - Bob

Do you? - Interviewer

Yea, a lot more comfortable. If the Commission wasn't there and them other people that I talked to and now so close to , like the counsellors and that, right. - Bob

Um hum. - Interviewer

Things would be different for me right now. I know it would be more painful, more stress. - Bob

Through Jim's experiences, he expresses an attitude of mistrust towards others. The majority of his support centered around his wife and children who played a vital role in his life. He was not open to receiving support from those outside of his family unit. Thus, he did not receive any therapeutic intervention. He has negative feelings associated with this experience. In the final interview with Jim's consent, the researcher linked him with professional counselling.

Like I said I don't know where I would be without the support of the family and if that ever, if I ever loss

that I would mean.. I can't honestly tell you how my emotions would take over. You know . That's a very scary thought. Could be anger, could be suicide, could be anything. - Jim

I had my family. They were me strength and source that kept me going because I would not have been here today if it wasn't for them because, I would of easy. Like I said, I either would have killed myself, or I would split. I either would have ran or would have died. You never ever would be sitting down here talking about my life. And I'm dead serious about that, because I did not want to go through that emotional turmoil. - Jim

Referring to his relationship with people in general, Jim stated, "Well I don't trust, well I trust them, well I don't trust them. But I'll give them a chance to a point, right. And then I'll cut them off." - Jim

The experience for Ted was different in that the amount of support that he received was quite limited. He mentioned talking to a girlfriend about his experience. This relationship has since terminated. Descriptions that he provides of himself indicate that he was emotionally isolated at that time. However, he does not perceive any need for emotional support from others. He did not feel

that professional intervention would be of benefit to him.

In discussing his family Ted explained:

That's a sore part, right. I wish that we were close, but we are not. We're more friends than brothers. I know that they are my brother and I love them and I'd do anything for them, right. But there isn't any closeness there. It's hard to explain, it just isn't there. I like to be closer, but it just wouldn't work. - Ted

"Well a relationship I had helped , but that didn't last long. (laughed) But at the time it helped. Like the first person I told was a girlfriend I was seeing at the time." - Ted

Friends mostly did not talk about it which was fine with me. Well.. mostly.. I just.. what ever happened there. I didn't come home with this big story from the Inquiry. It was point less all they had to do was turn on 6 o'clock news any how. - Ted

When you were doing a lot of thinking did you talk to anybody? - Interviewer

All to my self.. I didn't talk to anybody. - Ted

What was it like keeping it all to yourself? - Interviewer

Well you see it wasn't very hard cause I did it for so long it wasn't...I'm saying it wasn't hard, but I never thought about it before, right. It was just put away in the back of my head. - Ted

Did you talk to anybody at the time about what was happening? -Interviewer

Well we were offered all of that, but I don't go for all of that. I just.. I don't know. I can't see myself sitting down and having someone psychoanalyse me. - Ted

Sharing an example of how his lawyer introduced a group of survivors to a helping professional, Ted commented: "He came to tell us that if we needed any help. Ha (laughing), a professor! How is he going to help us?" - Ted

The extent to which the victims/survivors felt betrayed seemed to determine their ability to trust others. Their sense of betrayal was heightened in relation the systems failure to protect them. Their ability to trust others also affected the quality of interpersonal relationships in the life. The greater their ability to trust appeared to shape their perceptions of participating in the Inquiry in a positive manner.

Empowerment Issues

Breaking The Silence

Throughout the data collection, all three participants spoke about the importance of telling their stories. The importance of telling their story was linked to their perceptions of a positive experience. However, all three did not share that view that it was of a personal benefit for them to tell their story to the public. This data is broken into two components; the impact of them telling their story for them personally and the perceived impact that telling their story had upon others.

Impact for them personally.

The three participants had varying experiences in terms of the effect that telling their story had upon them personally. For Bob, breaking the silence gave him a sense of personal power. Thus, he expresses positive feelings associated with this experience. The details surrounding his abuse were not disclosed throughout the Inquiry. However, he was able to tell this through the statements he gave for the criminal investigations. This process was important for him. Bob did express some negative feelings about having to tell about his life experiences through the medium of a public Inquiry.

How could this man be sitting down there, right... you know. Then I realized, he could be sitting down there because I never did nothing about it. All my life, I

kept this inside.. I should of came out before, but I never had the strength or the courage to do it. - Bob
You did the best that you cold do at that time. -
Interviewer

"I wants to get this done, right. I want to go out and tell the truth, tell my whole story." - Bob

"I feel better inside that I got it out into the open. This was always inside of me and I just wanted to get it out."
- Bob

I think being in the Inquiry gave me a good boost. It gave me assurance, like that I was finally getting this off my chest. Getting it out in the open made me feel a lot more.. more power in me. More faith in me. - Bob

"Being able to talk about it after having shut out for a lot of years was great. Like you know.. I felt a lot more better inside." - Bob

It was inside of me and I wanted to get it out, but they never asked me the questions to get it out. After I went from the commission and gave statements to the RNC, I told them then exactly what happened. After I got it out it was a great chip off my shoulders. To know that it

was our right. - Bob

Do you think that the Inquiry would have been more helpful if you could of talked about the details? -Interviewer
I think so. - Bob

I felt good about myself inside too, right. That I got this stuff out in the open...And the hardest ... that is the hardest thing really ...when I went on the commission, was knowing that this was all public. - Bob

"... and I mean to say, I was there watching a TV screen before it was my turn to go up. I mean, it was very frightening for me to go in there, right." - Bob

Jim acknowledges the importance of him telling his story for him personally. However, he expresses negative feelings about having to do this through a public Inquiry. The experience of participating in the Inquiry was mentally draining for him.

"I didn't want to be there, but I wanted to tell." - Jim

What was positive about it? - Interviewer

Let it out. I let it out. Even though I didn't want to.
- Jim

How was that good for you. - Interviewer

It was good in a sense, I suppose that I carried

something for so long. As much as you didn't want it to come out. It had to. - Jim

"I had to face it, but as far as everyone knowing about it, I didn't think. I didn't want to do it. But part of me said yes and a part of me said no." - Jim

Describing how he felt after giving evidence at the Inquiry, Jim stated:

I was exhausted. I just went to bed and passed out. When you now... if I wake up it's the nervousness. That feeling was over me when I was at the court, at the Hughes Inquiry and when I came home, when I went to sleep, when I woke up, it was all over me. - Jim

I suppose everything was drained and it's a hard feeling to describe it's just like nothing is in ya...it was like you're tired. It's a feeling, but it is a hard one to describe. It's a shock, maybe.. I suppose. It's like you're almost shocked. A shock, that's the feeling that I'm shocked. - Jim

Unlike the other two participants, Ted had positive feelings about sharing the details of his experience in public. An important component of his empowerment was being able to break the silence.

In describing his decision to become involved in the Inquiry, Ted stated that:

I'd be sitting down at home watching the television knowing that something that I could do or something that I could say to help out, or something they could do to help me out. Just get it off.. to get it out of my head.
- Ted

It helped a lot of people get their problems off their chest. I mean you can say there is all kinds of ways to accomplish the same thing. Well, I think the way it happened in the Inquiry was the best way. - Ted

It didn't come out the way I wanted it to in the Inquiry, but it is coming out in the court. I'm getting to say my piece in court and stuff like that. Actually, it is a bit scary to actually look him in the eye and saying it actually helps, right. They'll say, ' is that person in the court room and I'll say yes, right there.' I think that helps. - Ted

It was good because the more coverage they got in the beginning the more people who knew about it. The more people would say there's a bunch that finally said 'no more', right. - Ted

Impact on society.

All three of the participants discussed the importance of telling their stories for the benefit of society. They felt that it was vital that the public be made aware that such abuse occurs. There also expressed hopes that this may empower other survivors to break their silence. Thus, the Inquiry was perceived by the participants as a societal benefit.

Well, I think the purpose of the Inquiry was to get people to see the light. That there was really something going on here at this institution. That's what I think the whole purpose of it was. To show people that hey, there was this corruption going on and it's about time that people wake up and see the light. - Bob

I think that it had to be told. I felt that was important. - Jim

What was important about it? - Interviewer

Well, it's important for the other children and other victims to know that, maybe, if the public would look at this as a moral issue and look at it as something positive and see the sickness that goes on within their society and finally realize that it could happen to anyone. No one's protected. - Jim

"If I can just stop one person from doing this to another person. If you could just stop one person... in my experience if someone would of stopped that happening to me, I would have been so grateful." - Ted

"I feel better in my mind, right. That something is being done about it and that there's a half of chance there that a lot of other children are going to be protected because of the boys and myself." - Bob

Cause like I was thinking more or less about the children, you know. That's going through getting abused and stuff like that. I knew it was the tip of the iceberg, that there was going to be lots more. And if I could in some way, even though I didn't want to, try to you know. It might help one or two children out, right. You know, could be anybody's child. - Jim

"It served a purpose in the sense that it got the word out. You got some other people coming forward and telling their stories. You got that group in Ontario." - Ted

I was wondering whether or not I should go through with this, but I said to myself. 'If I don't, it is going to keep going on and on. How many more children is going to be hurt?' That was my main concern.. other children.

I mean to say I was a young boy in Mt. Cashel. I know what I went through. I didn't want them to go through the same thing. That gave me the courage and the strength to say 'well, I got to do this. I got to get them put away or out of the Christian Brotherhood.' So that they wouldn't have access to children, right. - Bob

I didn't want other children to go through the.. well you know.. if they went through it to tell them that they're not alone and that if I had the courage enough to do it, that they could do it. - Jim

I think if the Inquiry was not on camera, I don't think you would have the same affect. I don't think you would have all the people who have come out if it was not as public as it was. I don't think it would be.. that you would have the people who are coming out now. If you didn't have that situation you wouldn't get to the kid at home, sort of thing. Cause they know now who to go to if they have a problem. - Ted

Because I don't want to see anybody go through what I went through. And I'm just thinking now about a lot of people who are still out there, who will never ever come out with what happened to them. - Bob

Yea. - Interviewer

And I feel in my heart that there's a lot. - Bob

Disempowerment

For the most part, Bob expresses positive feelings towards the Inquiry. It was an empowering experience for him to be able to break the silence. He perceives this as being beneficial for him as well as for society. However, Ted and Jim express some feelings which imply a disempowering experience in relation to their participation in the Inquiry.

"I wanted to say my piece at the Inquiry, but I was basically shut up." - Ted.

Ted did feel however, that the court process served this purpose for him. "It's coming out in court. I'm getting to say my piece in court."- Ted

When discussing what advice he would give other survivors going through the Inquiry process, Ted stated:

I would tell them if they are looking for answers to push it. I don't think that we pushed... that our group pushed hard enough for the answers. I think we just sat back and let the lawyers have the commission. I think we should have been pushing harder. - Ted

"...if you went over the tapes a hundred times you would still get the same, Oh God, the questions were not answered." - Ted

Referring to the Inquiry Ted indicated:

I never found it useful in any way really.

What purpose do you think it served? - Interviewer

I think... ok, I can't say that it didn't serve any purpose. I mean that it didn't serve any purpose for me.

It served a purpose in that it got the word out. - Ted

Jim expressed some feelings of disempowerment in relation to his choice to participate in the Inquiry. This was perceived as a negative experience in that he felt a sense of being revictimized.

"I'm not in the picture, right. It's basically, I suppose for the public and it is for the lawyers and all this, couple of judges and that. As for the victim, I don't think that they honestly care." - Jim

"I said, 'I do not want to do it.' I said, you know; 'Do I have to go on TV' and stuff like that. And they said you got to go more or less. I didn't think I had a choice in the matter." - Jim

I had to go and talk it over, but I didn't want to go. I didn't think that I had a choice.....I had to lie down because I was mentally dragged out, right. I was tired because they had me mentally exposed. I was just drained so much. - Jim

When a couple of other fellows didn't have to get up. I got really upset. I phoned the Hughes Inquiry and I said, 'why the hell did I have to get on and then these fellows don't have to?' Because if I knew my rights, I wouldn't have had to do it. - Jim

"It doesn't matter that you did something morally wrong. They are still protected by law, by the judges, to a point. See power is with power and they will always stick side by side."
- Jim

I think every individual's rights should be respected. If they feel the need that they have to, fine. And if they feel the need that they don't have to, not to be pressured, not to be roped into it, not to be scared into it, but to receive the normal route of help. - Jim

Anger Issues

Given the violation each participant suffered, anger was present for them all. Again, the manner in which it was

expressed was individualized. These findings focused on the anger experienced once they became engaged in the Inquiry process. Thus, it does not include any acting out behaviours or depression experienced after the alleged incidents occurred.

Internalized Anger

Both Jim and Bob experienced an internalization of their anger. This resulted in either internalized feelings of depression or self-destructive behaviours such as drinking and suicide ideation.

Bob reported his experiences when he commenced his involvement in the Inquiry. "I was very depressed. I mean to say I was depressed, in my own world. Like, I would never say nothing to nobody."

Well after I got drunk right, like the things I started thinking about, right. - Bob

Um..m. - Interviewer

They started hurting the most, right. I mean there's once or twice like I told you, I'd want to make away with myself. And after I had one too many drinks that's the time I would think about doing this. - Bob

Once Bob actually gave evidence at the Inquiry and began

receiving support these feelings were not experienced. When I started talking about it again, things started coming back to me. And I really, when I really felt most at ease was when after the commission was over. Like just to be able to be there and talk to them and to the lawyers and other people about my problem and what I went through in my life. I talked to _____, she's one of them counsellors too, right.

Bob

Jim shares the difficulties he experienced in being involved in the Inquiry. " You know, and then I started going really in depression. Like more or less, withdrawn. Like you know, I didn't have the confidence. I loss all my confidence as you would say, right." - Jim

"I went through this really deep depression. I wouldn't eat. All I did was smoke and drink coffee. And when I'd eat, I threw it up. Cause all the flashbacks were going in my head, right." - Jim

"Like you were really you know, you were scared, you were mad, you were frustrated, you were angry. All those feelings were in you . You were depressed." - Jim

Referring to a conversation he had had with his spouse, Jim stated:

She said, 'you know, you just can't think of yourself.' You know because I just wanted to go in the corner and sit down and never get up. She said, 'You got a family.' So I had to. I realized then, that I had to pick myself up for them. Like I said, that was the rope I was hanging on. - Jim

Externalized Anger

Not all three of the participants expressed their anger outwardly. The experience of directing anger outside of themselves was shared by Jim and Ted. Similar to the theme of mistrust, this anger was directed at the system. Thus, they directed hostile feelings towards the Inquiry process.

"Hard to explain.. just like... you look at these people and ask WHY? Just the simple question, why? Just answer why? Why did you sit on your thumbs when all you had to do was open you mouth?" -Ted

What are the feelings behind the why? - Interviewer
It's hard to explain. I don't know why and I think the question should be answered. I feel bad that the.. and I feel sad in another sense. That, ok you were in a tight situation sure. But I find it strange, cause the position they were in at the time if they didn't know what to do at the time there were plenty of people they could of asked. I mean, it could of been stopped back

then, right. These people get what they deserved instead of sent away to different schools. That made me mad, to the thought that the brothers... those in charge were sent away. Put back in the same situation at the time. The invitation was there for them again. The invitation to abuse. - Ted

There was nothing given to us, right. I don't care if it was in the 1800's . I'm sure the 70's is not too long ago, there would be automatically counselling. There was nothing done for us, right? And now all of a sudden, 30 years old, they're telling me go see a psychiatrist, we'll pay the bill, right. - Jim

What do you think of that. - Interviewer

I carried it all those years to myself, right. And now they're saying go see a psychiatrist. That really irritates me. - Jim

I could sit down and go through the whole thing... look at the tapes a hundred times and still have no answers. - Ted

What is that like for you.. not to have the answers?

Interviewer

It was frustrating. I said to myself.. at the end of the Inquiry. Far as that part of the Inquiry was concerned, it was a waste of time.. it was a waste of time.. it was

a waste of people's money. - Ted

Did you get anything from that experience? - Interviewer

I never got much from it. - Ted

I am frustrated. As far as I am concerned the Inquiry should still be going on until they answered the questions. Like you know, it still frustrates me because I know that I'll probably never get the answers to the questions. - Ted

As far as I am concerned, perpetrators got more rights than victims. And it's always been like that through the years. That the victim got to go through hell once, then they got to go through it twice. I like to see them speed up that process, right. I mean what can you do? The law is the law. Who the hell are you, right. - Jim

I thought that it was going to serve its purpose to get answers and basically it didn't. When it comes to the bottom line about what it going to happen next. We are the ones who have to take these people to court. We are the ones that have to go through the law suits. The government... like we had asked the government to help us with legal fees and stuff like that. But no, we have to do this all our selves. We never did anything in the first.. I'm getting mad here now. We never did anything

in the first to bring this on. We are just telling the truth. These people screwed up not us. - Ted

Although the anger verbalized by the victims/survivors reflects their perceptions of the Inquiry in a negative manner, it outlines their valid concerns.

Discussion

The themes previously discussed had emerged from the process of the data analysis. A conceptual tool that organizes the effects that sexual abuse has upon a child's development has been provided by Finkelhor and Browne (1986). This tool is comprised of four traumagenic factors which include; stigmatization, betrayal, powerlessness and traumatic sexualization (p. 196). The presence of these traumatic factors within the themes that have emerged from the data will be explored. The themes that have emerged from the data analysis will be discussed within the framework of the traumagenic model.

Stigmatization

According to Finkelhor and Browne (1986), stigmatization is the process whereby the victim incorporates the negative connotations that accompany abuse into their self-perception. The theme of shame was present throughout the data analysis. These findings were consistent with Finkelhor and Browne's

(1986) model. All three participants expressed feelings of stigmatization in relation to the negative connotations associated with being sexually abused by the same sex.

"You could be branded queer or fagot..." - Ted

"I didn't want people to be going around saying well, he's gay, he's queer..." - Bob

"... people will probably be saying well, he must be a pervert.." - Jim

The public nature of the Inquiry led to the victims' identity being revealed. Thus, the stigma of being identified as a victim was heightened. As a participant, Jim was very sensitive to the possibility of being identified by the public. Therefore, his feeling of shame and guilt were intensified. As a result, he perceived participating in the Inquiry as a negative experience.

"Because I was so embarrassed and scared and frightened. What would people think of me." - Jim

Bob also experienced feelings of shame in relation to the abuse. However, he viewed the public exposure as a means to allow significant others to become aware of his trauma.

"Because I was scared inside, frightened, didn't know whether or what anybody would have thought about me, right." - Bob

For them knowing exactly what happened and how it happened. It gave them some sense of what I went through, right. They knows now what I went through and they figures 'well we're going to be here for him'. - Bob

The feelings of shame in relation to the abuse was also experienced by Ted. However, he strongly felt that it was important for others to be aware of the issues related to the Mt. Cashel affair. Therefore, Ted was drawn to the exposure provided by the media.

"Not just the embarrassment of it, but I mean... bound things are going to change after that." - Ted

Discussing his involvement with the media Ted explained: "So I thought that if anybody had any idea about what I was doing there, here was my chance. I wasn't just someone in the background I was someone who was there for a reason." - Ted

The psychological impact of stigmatization involves the presence of suicide ideation and the use of alcohol as a means of coping (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). All participants shared childhood experiences where they had thoughts of

suicide while residing at the Mt. Cashel Orphanage. Two of the participants expressed suicidal ideation in relation to participating in the Inquiry. One of the participants disclosed their use of alcohol as a means of coping. These occurrences may be related to the increased stigma associated with the public exposure of the Inquiry.

Prior to giving evidence at the Inquiry, Bob explained; "After I got drunk, I started thinking about things. They started hurting me at most and I mean there's once or twice like I told you, I'd want to make away with myself." -Bob

"I'm not an alcoholic by no means. But.. ah it's like if I drink, I clear the problems, right." - Bob

Referring to the support that he received from his family, Jim stated, " ... I would not have been there today if it were not for them, because I would have easy. Like I said, I would either killed myself or split..."

Betrayal

The experience of being betrayed through the act of sexual abuse affects a child's ability to trust others (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). The theme of trust was apparent throughout the data analysis. Consistent with Finkelhor and Browne (1986) findings, the participants' feelings of mistrust were linked

to the experience of being betrayed. As children residing at Mt. Cashel Orphanage, the participants were totally dependent upon their alleged abusers. As well, they were dependent upon the infra-structures of society to protect them.

"Totally dependent..we were totally dependent upon them. Then to get sexually abused by one of them. I mean to say it was terrifying." - Bob

Both Jim and Ted also express feelings of betrayal towards the system for not protecting them. Finkelhor and Browne (1986), indicate that children often experience a heightened sense of betrayal if caregivers do not provide protection once abuse has been disclosed.

"...it's a crying shame, because I mean after all, I mean they were supposed to protect us. It's very hard for me and I'm sure you know, for other people to have faith in the Justice system." - Jim

"I thought that people screwed us around in 1975.." - Ted

"What really killed me so much was when all those people back in 1975 knew. I can't believe that all those people knew." -

Ted

These feelings of betrayal experienced by the participants were linked to the extent to which they trusted others. Bob's experience of betrayal was directed toward the Christian Brothers. Thus, he expressed a general feeling of mistrust in relation to Christian Brothers and males.

"I don't know.. like I'm not blaming men or any man.. It's just that I don't feel comfortable around them." -Bob

The feelings of betrayal experienced by Jim and Ted, was directed towards their abusers and towards the system for not protecting them. Their ability to trust others also affected the quality of support that they received from others. This affected their perceptions regarding the usefulness of the Inquiry in a negative manner.

"... there are so many sick people in society that I really have a hard time trusting to a certain degree." -Jim

"I'm sure that they feel for me, you know. As if they're doing anything for me, I don't think that they really can." -
Jim

Referring to his own expectation that the Inquiry would get some questions answered, Ted stated, "I don't expect to get

that from them (laughed). I expect those guys to look out for themselves." - Ted

"Do you feel that the Inquiry was a personal benefit to you?"

- Interviewer

"A little. I'm not going to feel great that it really helped me." - Ted

The psychological impact of being betrayed causes the victim/survivor to feel angry and hostile (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). In relation to the data analysis, the themes of internalized and externalized anger were present. According to Finkelhor and Browne (1986), these feelings of anger are related to the experience of being betrayed.

As a victim/survivor, Bob expressed his anger inwardly. It seems that he released some of this anger through the process of the Inquiry. He expresses positive feelings in relation to that experience.

"I was very depressed.." - Bob

"When I really felt most at ease was when, after the commission was over. Just to be able to be there and talk." -

Bob

During the data collection, Jim and Ted expressed their anger outwardly through hostile comments made towards the system. Jim also shared some examples of his experiences of internalizing his anger. Both participants did not trust the system and were not open to receiving counselling from the helping professionals.

"I went through this really deep depression." - Jim

"It could have been stopped back then, right. ... that made me mad to the thought that the Brothers.. that were in charge were sent away... The invitation was there for them again. The invitation to abuse." - Ted

"I carried it all those years to myself, right. And now they are saying 'go see a psychiatrist.' That really irritated me." - Jim

"It was frustrating, I said to myself.. at the end of the Inquiry. Far as that part of the Inquiry was concerned, it was a waste of money. A waste of money. A waste of people's time." - Ted

The findings in relation to the issues surrounding trust are consistent with the concept of betrayal in Finkelhor's

traumagenic model. The psychological impact of being betrayed was also experienced by the participants.

Powerlessness

The dynamic of powerlessness exists for victims because the abuse occurs despite their wishes and their sense of privacy is invaded (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). Given that the participants experienced abuse as children while at the orphanage, they were powerless in many ways. The result of experiencing this powerlessness lowers a person's expectation that they can have control in their own lives (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986).

The theme of empowerment emerged in the data analysis. The participants' feelings of empowerment was related to the concept of breaking the silence. They reported feelings of efficacy in relation to talking about the abuse. They felt that they were standing up for themselves. As well, there were positive feelings associated with doing this for the benefit of society. This was largely connected to the importance of educating the public around the issues of abuse.

"If I don't , it is going to keep going on. How many more children is going to be hurt?" - Bob

"I think that it had to be told. I felt that was important."

- Jim

"If you could just stop one person.. in my experience if someone could of stopped that from happening to me, I would have been so grateful." - Ted

"..the more who knew about it, the more people would say there's a bunch that finally said, 'no more,' right." - Ted

Participants reported negative feelings surrounding their experience of participating in the Inquiry in situations where they perceived that they did not have any power. This was the case for Jim and Ted. Jim felt that he did not have any choice regarding his decision to participate in the Inquiry.

"I didn't want to go. I didn't think that I had a choice...I had to lie down because I was mentally dragged out, right. I was tired because they had me mentally exposed." - Jim

"Because if I knew my rights, I wouldn't of had to do it." -

Jim

Feelings of disempowerment were also expressed by Ted. He perceived his lack of power in relation to the overall process of the Inquiry. He felt that he should have obtained answers

from the Inquiry. This perceived lack of efficacy shaped his feelings about the usefulness of the Inquiry.

"...if you went over the tapes a hundred times you would still get the same, oh God, the questions were not answered." - Ted

"I don't think that we pushed.. that our group pushed hard enough for the answers." - Ted

"I can't say that it never served any purpose. It never served any purpose for me." - Ted

The psychological impact of the feelings of fear and powerlessness experienced as a child may manifest into nightmares or phobias as an adult (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). Both Jim and Bob expressed feelings associated with fear. Jim's fear manifested in paranoid thoughts about other people trying to hurt him. For Bob, he expressed fear surrounding the threats made to him by his alleged offenders.

"I didn't want to be out, out at the mall in the first place. And I told her to stay with me cause there could be some sicko come up and God knows, try you, you don't know, right. That it could be someone come out and shoot, shoot at you. I think that was really, really, I was really scared... " - Jim

"Like I'm wary of people, right. Wondering what their motives are or what they are saying, or what they are doing, anything, you know..their motives." - Jim

You know, I mean some nights I lay in bed and wonder that, you know, like I was threatened by both Brothers, right. Like if I ever breathed a word of this to anyone or else. I mean to say what they were going to do to me. Things like that started bothering me. - Bob

Yea. - Interviewer

You know, are they going to come back for me, do something to me. - Bob

The empowerment issues present in this study were similar to the issues in the concept of powerlessness provided in the traumagenic model. Disempowering experiences reported by the participants shaped their perception of participating in the Inquiry in a negative manner.

Traumatic Sexualization

The adverse effects of a child being engaged in adult sexual behaviour is well-documented in the literature (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986; Sgori, 1988; and Sebold, 1987). Finkelhor and Browne (1986), indicate that the issue for males is anxiety around their own sexuality. The nature of this research did not lend itself to exploration of sexuality issues. However,

during the interview process, Bob did speak to this topic in relation to his own experiences. This example will be included to demonstrate the existence of traumatic sexualization factors in the data as outlined by Finkelhor and Browne, (1986).

I always wanted my first sexual experience to be with a woman. Unfortunately, it wasn't. It was with a man and then second, with a man again. And I tell you, that's frightening to me, right. - Bob

Yea. - Interviewer

Very frightening. And sometimes I, like I panic, right. This could be why I'm so scared of women sometimes, right. - Bob

"Like the problem I thought I had. I didn't feel that I could satisfy a woman, right." - Bob

Overall, Bob expressed some anxiety in relation to issues of sexuality in his personal life. Such experiences are common to victims/survivors of sexual abuse (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986).

Summary

The perceptions of the victims'/survivors' experiences of participating in a judicial inquiry is important information

for the helping profession. In order to obtain their subjective experiences, qualitative methodology was utilized. Their subjective experiences did not provide clear cut data. It was found that their perception of their experiences depended on a number of factors. The issues surrounding these factors were interrelated.

The themes that emerged from the data were related to issues of; shame, trust, empowerment, and anger. The data indicated that the greater the feelings of shame, the more negative the experience of participating in the Inquiry. This was particularly sensitive for these victims/survivors, given the unfortunate stigma that is associated with homosexuality. Issues of betrayal and the quality of interpersonal relationships were linked to the themes of trust and mistrust. A heightened sense of betrayal was associated with a greater feeling of mistrust towards others and a lower quality of interpersonal relationships. Greater feelings of trust shaped a more positive experience of participating in the Inquiry.

Breaking the silence seemed to be an empowering experience for the participants. Two of the participants, however, had disempowering experiences in relation to the Inquiry. This lowered their perceptions regarding the usefulness of the Inquiry. Anger existed for all of the participants. Two of the participants experienced externalized anger expressed in

hostile verbalizations made towards the system and the Inquiry itself.

The presence of these themes in relation to Finkelhor's traumagenic model was discussed. It became apparent from exploring the data that factors associated with stigmatization, powerlessness and betrayal were present for all three participants. The factor of traumatic sexualization was not relevant to this study. Although sexual issues were not explored, one of the participants presented issues in relation to this factor. Not only were these factors present for the victims/survivors, they shaped their perceptions of their experiences in participating in the Hughes Inquiry.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS**Introduction**

This chapter provides a brief outline of this study's research question, its methodology and results. The limitations associated with this study are discussed. The implications of this study are explored in relation to the implications for future studies, the implications for future inquiries and the implications for the helping professions.

Summary

The reporting of sex crimes has increased in North America over the past ten years. This has forced professionals to expand their knowledge base in this subject area. Questions surrounding how professionals have responded to cases of child sexual abuse have been raised in the past. In September of 1989, a Royal Commission of Inquiry under Judge Samuel Hughes was established. Its mandate was to address the 'system's' response to allegations of physical and sexual abuse at the Mt. Cashel Orphanage during the 1970's. The research question in this study asks, 'what are the victims'/survivors' perceptions of their experiences in participating in the Hughes Inquiry?'

The Hughes Inquiry is a unique phenomenon. It appears from examining the literature, that the majority of inquiries have

been completed as a result of the unfortunate death of a child. A review of past judicial inquiries indicated that abuse victims did testify in the Cleveland Inquiry (Constable, 1986). There does not appear to be any literature that has explored the effect of participating in this Inquiry for the victims/survivors. Overall, there does not appear to be any particular literature that examines the adult survivor's experience of participating in a judicial inquiry.

There is a consensus in the literature that suggests that the sexual abuse of males is under-reported. As well, the sexual abuse of males needs to be given more attention than it has been given in the past (Sebold, 1987; Reihart, 1987; Brunkner and Johnson, 1987; and Fromuth and Burkhart, 1989).

Qualitative methodology was employed to understand the perceptions of the victims'/survivors' experiences of participating in the Inquiry. Qualitative methodology explores people's thoughts, notions and experiences in their own terms. The phenomenological perspective is central to this methodology (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). Thus, the meaning people place on situations or events is determined by their own perceptions.

The data was obtained through exploratory interviews using an unstructured interview guide. The data analysis was compiled

from the raw data which allowed themes to emerge that were relevant to the participants. Thus, the inductive hypothesis and analysis were emphasized (Patton, 1980). An additional analysis was provided as a conceptual link to the literature review. This involved the traumagenic model provided by Finkelhor and Browne (1986). This model provided a conceptual framework for understanding the effects of child sexual abuse.

Three victims/survivors participated in this study. A description of each participant was provided. The researcher gained access to these participants through a third party. This third party was a lawyer from the law firm that represented the victims/survivors. The study was completed under the auspices of this law firm in order to prevent the material from being subpoenaed.

During the initial contact with the participants, issues around confidentiality and informed consent were explored. The actual data collection consisted of audio-taped interviews. The final interview dealt with termination and provided an opportunity for either party to ask further questions.

All of the three participants' experiences were unique to their own perceptions. Their perceptions of their experience of participating in the Inquiry were varied and it seemed to

depend upon a number of factors. Through the process of inductive analysis four themes emerged from these factors. These included issues around; shame, trust, empowerment and anger.

The theme of shame was salient for all three participants. There were feelings of stigmatization present for the victims/survivors associated with being sexually abused by another male. It was found that their feelings of betrayal and the support that they received from others were related to their ability to trust. All participants expressed feelings of betrayal. They expressed betrayal towards their alleged offenders and also towards the system for not protecting them.

The participant who felt betrayed by his offenders had difficulty trusting males and Christian Brothers. This participant, however, was open to support that he received from significant others and those professionals involved in the Inquiry. Thus, he had positive perceptions surrounding his experiences of participating in the Inquiry. The two participants who felt a heightened sense of betrayal for not being protected by the system expressed a generalized mistrust towards others. The amount of support that they were receptive to was limited. They did not perceive the Inquiry as being a benefit for them personally.

Their experiences of empowerment were related to being able to break the silence. All three of the participants spoke to the importance of telling their story. Two of the participants, however, preferred that it was not a public affair. All had strong feelings that the public had to be educated about sexual abuse. This is consistent with the findings of Bruncker and Johnson (1987). They found that male victims were more likely to make their abuse public knowledge and more likely to educate others.

Disempowering experiences in relation to their participation in the Inquiry were shared by two of the victims/survivors. One of the victims/survivors did not want his identity to be made public. He felt that the Inquiry was not sensitive to his needs. He also felt that he had not been adequately made aware of his rights in relation to the Inquiry. Another victim/survivor felt that the Inquiry never fulfilled its mandate. He regrets not being more assertive in pursuing the answers to the questions that he felt were left unanswered.

Feelings of anger were expressed by all participants in relation to the Inquiry process. They either internalized their anger, expressed it externally or presented it with a combination of both of these factors. It seemed that the victims/survivors who expressed their anger outwardly did so

through the means of hostile verbalizations made towards the system and the Inquiry process.

A discussion relating Finkelhor's and Browne's (1986), traumagenic model to the themes that emerged from the data analysis was presented. The traumagenic model provided a framework to understand the effects of child sexual abuse. It consists of; betrayal, powerlessness, stigmatization and traumatic sexualization (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). This study found that the themes that emerged from the raw data were related to issues around powerlessness, betrayal and stigmatization. Given the nature of this study, issues related to sexual experiences were not explored. One victim/survivor did, however, share experiences that supported the notion of traumatic sexualization.

Although the themes that emerged from the data differed somewhat from the traumagenic model, they were related thematically. The factors in Finkelhor's and Browne's model were relevant to the experiences of the victims/survivors. They also seemed to play a role in determining their perceptions regarding the usefulness of the Inquiry.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations associated with a qualitative methodology utilizing exploratory interviews.

Researcher bias is a major concern in this type of research. It is a factor in the data collection and analysis. Bogdan and Taylor (1975), point out that all researchers select the type of data that they examine. The researcher's own clinical experience and theoretical framework would contribute to this bias. While Finkelhor's traumagenic model was utilized as the theoretical framework, the author recognizes that there are other conceptual frameworks. The traumagenic model is widely utilized and accepted in the literature. As well, the model itself was formulated from information provided directly by survivors. The very nature of unstructured exploratory interviews makes this study difficult to replicate.

Given the specific content of the data collected, the results are difficult to generalize. Due to the nature of this study, the data collection process was lengthy and the sample was small. This further compounds the difficulty in generalizing the results. The purpose of qualitative methodology, however, is to understand one's subjective experience. Thus, it is not meant to generalize to other populations.

The experience of the victims/survivors in this study may not necessarily be the experience of other victims/survivors. Although the study examines the victims'/survivors' perceptions of participating in a judicial inquiry, the factors surrounding the Hughes Inquiry make this a unique

experience. This limits its ability to generalize to other judicial inquiries.

The sample for this study was obtained through a lawyer from the law firm representing the victims/survivors. Here existed a bias in terms of who participated in this study. Those who participated were consenting participants who were willing to discuss their experiences. This may have affected the type of data collected. The sample was also limited in that those involved were available geographically, meaning that they were in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The first two participants were interviewed during the same time frame. The third participant was interviewed a month later due to availability. Thus, he was closer to his trial date. This may have influenced the data that he presented. Given the nature of this Inquiry, the participants did not discuss the details surrounding their abuse. This may have impacted the data regarding 'telling one's story' through a judicial inquiry.

Implications For Future Studies

This study examined specifically the victims'/survivors' perceptions of their experiences of participating in the Hughes Inquiry. The findings focused on what factors determined whether or not the Inquiry was perceived useful by the victims/survivors. It would be useful to have similar studies carried out to compare the findings. Future studies

could also explore the interplay of the psychological factors presented from the themes that emerged from the data.

The findings in this study reflect individualized experiences and are difficult to generalize. It would be helpful for further studies to combine qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The triangulization of methods would increase the reliability of the results.

This data was collected after the Inquiry process had terminated and the Hughes Report had not yet been released. Future studies could obtain data around participants' perceptions at various stages of their involvement in the inquiry. Gathering data from family members or significant others would enrich the information surrounding the impact and perceived usefulness of the Inquiry for the victim/survivor. To further examine the importance of 'telling one's story' through the litigation process, studies carried out for adult victims/survivors who have completed legal proceedings would be an important contribution.

Implications for Future Inquiries

From examining the experience of the victims/survivors, it seems that it is very important that inquiries be sensitive to the psychological effects of sexual abuse. Therefore, it is critical that proper support be available. The support

needed will vary depending upon the psychological needs of the victims/survivors. Those not receptive to professional helping services may benefit from mutual aid such as, a peer helper contact. Victims'/survivors' experiences varied as they went through the Inquiry process. A great deal of emotional turmoil was reported around their initial involvement in the Inquiry. Therefore, services should be characterized by persistent reaching out in various forms at the very commencement of the inquiry.

Implications for the Helping Profession

When examining the clinical implications of the findings of this study, the themes of shame, trust, empowerment and anger need to be addressed. Clinicians need to be aware of the stigma associated with the male victim/survivor. It seems that the litigation process may be helpful if victims/survivors are not experiencing heightened feelings of shame and guilt.

The importance of the trusting relationship in helping relationships is widely accepted. Thus, clinicians must be cognizant of the betrayal and mistrust experienced by the victims/survivors of sexual abuse. The higher the feelings of betrayal, the greater the difficulty in forming trusting relationships. This will have implications for a person's receptiveness to intervention. The quality of significant

relationships in the victims'/survivors' lives seemed to affect the helpfulness of the inquiry process.

Throughout the intervention process with victims/survivors, the importance of empowering this population cannot be stressed enough. The clinician will have to enable the client to develop their sense of efficacy and gain an internalized locus of control. As with all clients, the victims'/survivors' rights need to be respected. A sense of control seems to increase their perceived usefulness of the inquiry process.

In understanding the anger experienced by the victims'/survivors', it is important to determine how the anger is directed. While the expression of anger is appropriate, it is important for the clinician to identify self-destructive patterns.

For clinicians assessing the effects of child sexual abuse, the traumagenic model is useful (Finkelhor and Browne, 1986). Once the factors in this model are identified, the clinician will then know what themes are present and what issues will require a focus in treatment. Although, the majority of the literature seems to focus on females around sexual abuse issues, it seems that males present similar themes clinically.

This study highlights the individualized experience for victims/survivors. Thus, child sexual abuse has to be treated based on the themes that are present for the individual victims/survivors. All victims/survivors cannot be treated in a uniformed manner. Thus, various forms of aid will need to be offered to them. This may include; individual intervention, family intervention, group work, and/or peer support.

I think everybody's individual rights should be respected. If they feel the need that they have to, fine. And if they feel the need that they don't have to, not to be pressured, not to be roped into it, not to be scared into it, but they should receive the normal route of help. - Jim

"A lot of support built around, that's been very helpful. And greatly appreciated." - Bob

I think it is necessary in any matter. I don't mean to put anybody down.. if someone wants to see a psychologist, if that's the way they want to go.. or a friend sure. I'm not saying that one is better than the other, as long as they can find somehow to get the courage to talk about it. - Ted

As professionals working with victims/survivors it is important to be aware of their needs and advocate on their behalf.

As far as I am concerned, the perpetrators got more rights than the victims. And it has always been like that through the years, right. That the victims got to go through hell once, and then they got to go through it twice. - Jim

Overall, it seems that there needs to be increased attention given to victim services.

Conclusion

The strength in the phenomenological perspective lies in its ability to give a voice to those people in the margins (Lofland and Lofland, 1984). The victims/survivors in this study have given meaningful data related to their experiences of participating in the Hughes Inquiry. Qualitative methodology captures peoples' thoughts and experiences in their true form. The value of giving a voice to those whose phenomenon we are trying to understand cannot be underestimated.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A:

Consent to Participate in Research

1. The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of the experience of participating in the Hughes Inquiry. It is important to obtain this information from people who have had such an experience.
2. The researcher is Michelle Melendy, who graduated with her Bachelor of Social Work in 1986. Ms. Melendy has been working as a social worker since that time. This study will be completed as a requirement of her Master of Social Work Degree.
3. I understand that in agreeing to participate in this study I will initially meet the researcher and discuss this consent form. The risks and the benefits of participating in such research have been explained to me adequately by the researcher.
4. I understand that subsequent to this initial meeting two interviews will follow. The first interview will be approximately four hours long. If I choose this interview can be broken into two interviews consisting of approximately two hours each. The second interview will be of a shorter duration of approximately one to two hours. Both of these interviews will be audio-taped. I may receive a copy of the tape after the interviews have been completed.
5. I will in no way be personally identified in this study. All information in this study will be kept confidential. If deemed necessary by the researcher for analysis purposes, her thesis advisor Dr. William Rowe, will be consulted. Once the thesis has been accepted by Memorial University of Newfoundland the videotapes and any other transcripts related to this study will be destroyed by the researcher. Upon completion the thesis will be available at the School of Social Work and at the Queen Elizabeth Library at Memorial University of Newfoundland.
6. I understand that if I reveal information that indicates that a child is at risk for potential abuse the researcher will be required by Law to report this to the proper authorities.

7. I agree that my participation in this study is completely voluntary and I may choose to discontinue my involvement at any time without any consequences. Also, my decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect my relationship with the referral source.

I _____ have read and understand the above information and hereby agree to participate in this study.

Signature _____ Date _____

Witness _____ Date _____

APPENDIX B:

Letter of Introduction

Dear _____ :

In recent months I have been contacted by Michelle Melendy, a graduate student at the School of Social Work at Memorial University of Newfoundland. She is requesting our assistance in completing her thesis topic which is a requirement of the Master's Program.

Ms. Melendy is a professional social worker who in the past couple of years has developed an interest in the area of child sexual abuse. She has worked with survivors of sexual abuse and will be completing a study in this topic area. She is interested in your experience of participating in the Hughes Inquiry.

I am approaching you as I thought that you may be interested in participating in this study. Ms. Melendy will be interviewing 3-4 people whc have had this experience.

I will be in contact with you within the next week to see if you are interested in meeting with Ms.Melendy to find out more about this research and/or participating in this study. You are in no way obligated to become involved. However, if you wish to discuss this further so that you may decide if you want to become involved, I will provide Ms. Melendy with your name and number. She will then be in contact with you to discuss the further details.

APPENDIX C:**Outline of the Purpose, Methodology and Risks of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to discover the person's perspective of participating in the Hughes Inquiry. This information will be obtained through interviews. The study will not inquire into the details of the abuse that you have endured, but will explore your experience surrounding the Hughes Inquiry.

This information is important in terms of understanding whether or not inquiries are helpful for survivors. Research has found that this process has been therapeutic for victims/survivors. This information will increase professionals understanding of this timely issue. It will also serve to enhance social worker's intervention strategies around this issue.

The risks involved in this particular type of study are often difficult to determine. One potential risk is that subjects may be identifiable in the study. This is a concern in this study given the high media profile of the Hughes Inquiry. Procedures will be taken to ensure that this does not occur. Identifying information will not be revealed and some information will be masked to ensure confidentiality.

A risk is that participants involved in these types of studies sometimes reveal more information than they had originally intended. Both the researcher and the participant will need to be aware of this risk.

Another risk with all research is the possibility that the results may be subpoenaed for court. However, since this study will be completed under the auspices of the law firm representing you this risk will be safeguarded.

During this study Ms. Melendy will be interviewing 3-4 men about their experience. This will consist of two interviews. The first interview will be approximately 4 hours long. This may be divided into two shorter interviews if you wish. The final interview will be 1-2 hours long. The interviews will take place at a safe, neutral and private setting. They will be held at the interviewing room at the School of Social Work. The interviews will be audio-taped however, these tapes will be destroyed once the thesis is completed.

If you should choose to participate in this study you may at any time discontinue. You may have a copy of the audiotape after the interviews. A copy of the thesis will be available at the Queen Elizabeth Library at Memorial University once it is completed.

APPENDIX D:

Consent for the Release of Information

I _____, give consent to Michelle Melendy to release the audiotapes and/or transcripts of the data obtained for the completion of her thesis regarding my experience of participating in the Hughes Inquiry to _____, this information will consist of the data collected from my personal interview with Ms. Melendy.

My signature indicates that I know what information will be disclosed. I am also aware of what I am agreeing to as a result of signing this consent and I am refuse to do so.

Dated the _____ day of _____ 1991.

Signature _____

Witness _____

APPENDIX E:

Terms of Reference of the Hughes Inquiry

Next Page

ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of
God of the United Kingdom, Canada
and Her Other Realms and Territories
QUEEN, Head of the Commonwealth,
Defender of the Faith.

COMMISSION

HONOURABLE SAMUEL HUGHES

WHEREAS it appears desirable and expedient in the public interest and in the interest of the administration of justice that an Inquiry be held relating to an investigation conducted by the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary into allegations of child abuse at Mount Cashel Orphanage in the year of Our Lord, 1975, and in relation to two police reports, dated December 18, 1975, and March 3, 1976, respectively, and into the handling of the said investigation by the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary and by the Department of Justice;

AND WHEREAS there have been suggestions made that there existed within the Department of Justice a policy that criminal charges would not be laid in some cases of physical or sexual abuse of children, where the alleged assailants agreed to leave the Province of Newfoundland;

AND WHEREAS recent investigations have resulted in a substantial number of charges being laid, particularly against members of the clergy, relating to incidents dating back in some cases to the year 1970;

NOW KNOW YE that under and by virtue of The Public Enquiries Act, Chapter 314 of the Revised Statutes of Newfoundland, 1970, by and with the advice of our Executive Council of the Province of Newfoundland, reposing our great trust and confidence in your knowledge, integrity and ability, have constituted and appointed and do by these Presents constitute and appoint you the said

SAMUEL HUGHES

to be a Commissioner to hold an Inquiry into the matters following, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, and any other matters associated therewith, that is to say:

1. to inquire into an investigation by the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary into a complaint or complaints of child abuse alleged to have been committed at Mount Cashel Orphanage in St. John's which culminated in two police reports, which were prepared and dated December 13, 1975, and March 3, 1976, respectively, and in particular to determine:
 - (a) whether the police investigation was carried out in accordance with accepted police policies;
 - (b) whether the police policies were proper and adequate to ensure that the police investigation was thorough and complete;
 - (c) whether any person or persons impeded or obstructed any police officer in the investigation of these matters;

- (d) why and at whose direction the police reports dated December 18, 1975, and March 3, 1976, were prepared;
- (e) whether either or both police reports contained sufficient information to cause the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary to swear informations alleging breaches of the Criminal Code against any person or persons;
- (f) whether the police reports were received and acted upon by officials of the Department of Justice and if or whether the files were handled in the normal manner;
- (g) when, how and by whom this file was concluded and which person or persons in the Department of Justice, the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary or elsewhere were responsible for this action;
- (h) whether any bargain was made by any person acting on behalf of the Crown or the police with any member or members of the Irish Christian Brothers or any other person not to proceed with criminal charges and, if so, the terms of such bargain;
- (i) whether any report of child abuse was made to a Social Worker, the Director of Child Welfare, or any other official of the Department of Social Services by any person in accordance with the requirements of The Child Welfare Act, and if not, why not; if so, was it acted upon?

II. To enquire into the then prevailing policy or practices of the Department of Justice and the Department of Social Services with respect to allegations of physical or sexual abuse of children and, in particular, to determine

(a) whether there was a policy or practice of suppression of such allegations where the alleged assailants agreed to leave the Province of Newfoundland, and, if so, whether such policy related solely to the incidents at Mount Cashel and, if not, for how long that policy continued and to what extent was it applied;

(b) if such a policy or practice existed, whether it was applicable to areas of the Administration of Justice other than incidents of physical or sexual abuse of children;

(c) whether such a policy or practice was justified or appropriate.

III. Whether existing Police and Government Departmental policies are sufficient and proper to prevent avoidance of the due process of law in instances of allegations of physical or sexual abuse of children.

IV. To determine what measures or policies, if any, should or could be implemented to prevent a recurrence of the events which gave rise to this Inquiry.

AND FURTHER, WE REQUIRE YOU, THE Commissioner, to bring forward conclusions and any recommendations which you consider desirable to further the administration of justice.

AND WE DO, by these Presents, confer upon you, the said Commissioner, the power of summoning before you any witness or witnesses and of requiring such witnesses to give evidence orally or in writing upon oath or upon affirmation, and to produce such documents, submissions and things as you the said Commissioner may deem requisite to the full investigation of matters you are appointed to enquire into:

AND WE DO, by these Presents, authorize you, the said Commissioner, to adopt such procedures and methods as you, the said Commissioner, may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the Inquiry, and to sit at such times and places in public form as you may from time to time decide PROVIDED HOWEVER that express authority is hereby given to hold in camera hearings where, but only where, you deem it necessary to obtain thorough, truthful and complete testimony from witnesses.

AND FURTHER, We require you to report your findings within ninety days of the commencement of Hearings.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Newfoundland to be hereunto affixed.

WITNESS: Our trusty and well-beloved the Honourable James A. McGrath, Member of Our Order of Canada, Lieutenant-Governor in and for Our Province of Newfoundland.

AT OUR GOVERNMENT HOUSE in Our City of St. John's, this 1ST day of June in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighty-nine and in the thirty-eighth year of Our Reign.

BY COMMAND,



APPENDIX F:
Data Analysis

Initial Category - stigma
- feelings of shame
- anticipated reactions of others

Emerged Theme - Shame

Initial Category - betrayal
- mistrust towards others/system
- receptiveness to support from others and the system

Emerged Theme - Trust

Initial Category - importance of telling
- impact on them personally
- impact on society
- disempowering experiences

Emerged Theme - Empowerment

Initial Category - internalized anger (depression)
- externalized anger (verbal aggressions)

Emerged Theme - Anger

Finkelhor's Traumagenic Model

Stigmatization =
Betrayal =
Powerlessness =
Traumatic Sexualization =

Emerged Themes

Shame
Trust / Anger
Empowerment
N/A



