The nature, context and implications of child sexual abuse on the educational achievement, development and opportunities for children in Queensland orphanages from the 1940s to the 1960s

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This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

November 2007

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

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November 2007

Acknowledgment

I wish to thank and acknowledge the guidance and skill of my Principal Supervisor, Dr Juliette Goldman, whose dedication, patience, support and expertise prepared me for the marathon of research and writing of the thesis. Dr Goldman guided me through the many "cul de sacs" enroute to the finish line.

Thanks also to Associate Supervisor Professor Merv Hyde for his input into the design of the study, and also Dr Alan Edwards and Susan Kelly for their valued support along the route.

I also wish to thank my late wife, Gwen, and my family for being a wonderful support team providing encouragement, patience and assistance during the journey.

This thesis is dedicated to the many children raised in Queensland orphanages who suffered abuse in all its forms. I thank those who were brave enough to provide me with the opportunity to obtain relevant data that were examined in this thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis examines generally how a sample of male and female adults have endured, and still endure, the adversity of child sexual abuse suffered while they were orphans in Queensland, Australia from 1940 to 1960. As orphans, they experienced physical, emotional and sexual abuse, as well as neglect, during their childhood, and the adverse effects of this abuse substantially determined their life chances. Specifically, this thesis examines how the sexual abuse affected their educational achievement, their educational development and their educational opportunities. There appears to be a scarcity of research data on the long term effects of sexual and other abuses, on the educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity for children, at the time of the abuse, and then later as adults. This thesis examines a sample of male and female adults who were sexually abused and suffered other abuses in Queensland orphanages from 1940 to 1960, and analyses their perceptions of how this influenced their primary schooling, secondary schooling, and further education. The method of data collection involved in-depth face-to-face interviews with 10 male and 10 female adult former residents of Queensland orphanages. The interviews examined the effects that the child sexual abuse, and other tandem orphanage experiences, had upon their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities. The results of this research strongly affirm that the effects of the child sexual abuse on child residents in Queensland orphanages had a demeaning and devastating long-term effect on their educational development, achievement and opportunities whilst in the orphanage, and then throughout their lives.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The establishment of orphanages in Australia

This thesis specifically examines the nature, context and implications of child sexual abuse on the educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities for children in Queensland orphanages from 1940 to 1960. In order to clarify the major educational concepts addressed here, namely educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity, they are defined as follows.

Educational achievement is defined here as "the mastery of content, cognitive and affective gains e.g. general knowledge, skills, attitudes and values, behaviours" (Student Academic Achievement Assessment, 1997, p. 6).

Educational development is defined here as "the process of developing the capacities and potential of the individual so as to prepare that individual to be successful in a specific society or culture. From this perspective: education is serving primarily an individual development function" (Educational Psychology Interactive: Why Study, 2001, p. 1).

Educational opportunities are defined here as "the means to provide all students with an opportunity to learn the material of national content standards or state content standards with prospects of attaining formal knowledge and skills" (Archived Information Definitions, 2000, p. 1).

There was horrendous child sexual abuse of orphans in both state and non-state orphanages in Queensland in this era from 1940 to 1960, and the impetus for the thesis emanated from a commission of inquiry, known as the Forde (1999) Report, into the abuse of children in these Queensland institutions. The report found significant breaches in statutory obligations about food, clothing and in particular, education. It states that:

One of the strongest impressions left on the Inquiry was the poor quality of education

> received by many of the witnesses. A number were illiterate, or close to it, despite having spent their childhoods in the care of the state; others who had, in their adult lives, displayed significant ability had not been able to achieve a higher level than Scholarship [about age 12]. The limitation on their education was one of the most profound and enduring losses suffered by former residents. The Inquiry found that in the period up to and including the 1960s there were breaches of this legislation (p. vi).

The effects of these breaches were exacerbated by the concurrent sexual abuse of children while residents in the orphanages. It is the degree of exacerbation that provides the context for this study. This thesis will focus upon a little researched risk factor such as living in an orphanage, and will evaluate seven specific research questions created from this risk factor to explore the inter-relationship between child sexual abuse and educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity.

In many countries, including Australia, child sexual abuse has now become a significant social issue, and the focus of research emanates from a wide variety of academic disciplines such as Psychology, Sociology and Medicine (Briggs, 1993; Finkelhor, 1994; Goldman, 2000; Hawkins, 2001; Oates, 2000). Richardson (2004) places the Queensland setting in a broader context in noting that:

> It is estimated that 500,000 Australians experienced childhood care in an institution or out-of-home environment in the past century. Children were placed in care for many reasons including being orphaned, being born to a single mother, being mistreated or neglected, family dislocation, domestic violence, family poverty, and parents' inability to cope with their children often as a result of some form of crisis or hardship. Many of these children did not receive adequate care, affection and

nurturing, and often children experienced physical, sexual and emotional abuse while in care (p. 3).

Furthermore, a recent study in Australia on the relationship between child sexual abuse and academic achievement in a sample of adolescent psychiatric inpatients by Buckle, Lancaster, Powell and Higgins (2005), found that sexual abuse played an important role in determining academic achievement, but that it was only one of the factors that determined academic performance. They examined other factors such as intelligence level, substance abuse, internalizing behaviour problems and externalizing behaviour problems, and concluded that these had a bearing on the interaction between sexual abuse and academic achievement. Indeed, Buckle et al. (2005) point out that "examining the impact of sexual abuse is complex because it is typically an experience embedded in a range of other risk factors, such as poverty, family dysfunction and other types of maltreatment" (p. 1031). Other risk factors such as living in an orphanage and specific abuses such as physical, spiritual and emotional abuse, as well as witnessing domestic violence are examined later in the thesis.

This introductory chapter examines the background social conditions and the various educational and other policies and practices concerned with the care of orphans, neglected and destitute children of different Australian state governments, with an emphasis on the Queensland government and the power that it had over children's lives. It should be noted that where the focus is upon power and politics, then it can be assumed that social inequalities are also present (Smith & Watson, 1989).

The focus in this chapter is on the progression of events in the development of the colony of Sydney Cove from convicts, to gold rushes, the late 19th century, and then from the early 20th century until the late 20th century. The literature explores that the development of orphanages was not so much based upon philanthropic concern for

children, but rather they were established as a convenient dumping ground for neglected children in the various colonies, as well as a way of emptying crowded orphanages in Britain (Gandevia, 1978; Heney, 1943; Van Krieken, 1992). Neglected and orphaned children, conveniently gathered together, were easily manipulated and provided a ready source of labour for the colonies. In particular, the literature is examined to determine the extent of social control of these neglected, destitute, and orphan children. The ubiquitous concept of an 'orphan' is that of a child without one or more parents, and who has been abandoned in some way. In contrast, the neglected or destitute child was often taken into care and protection, but was not strictly an orphan.

This historical section is important to the thesis in that it provides an insight into the social and political conditions that set the scene for the orphanages in Australia and Queensland in particular. As in other states, the conditions for Queensland orphanages in 1940-1960 followed the British pattern.

1.1.1 The British influence on orphanages in Australia

From the commencement of British settlement in Australia in 1788, social inequalities did exist, and provision needed to be made for people affected by poverty and negative circumstances. The establishment of Australian orphanages in the 18th century was based on the orphanage system in England. By the early 19th century, orphan schools and barracks were able to be established in order to house many of the orphaned and neglected children of the colony. At this time, the care of the poor and neglected was based upon the English Poor Law which was originally enacted in 1536 then amended in 1834. This law was based on the belief that the poor would benefit from workhouses, reformatories and industrial schools, and would encourage children to develop habits of industry (Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, 1985). Initially, churches were unable to assist because they were just beginning to be established

themselves, and lacked the resources they relied upon, which needed to be sent from England. Further, the government in New South Wales was suspicious of religions other than the established Church of England (Dickey, 1987). Consequently, to cater for the destitute, poor or orphaned children, institutions were not effectively established until the early 19th century, although the first orphanage in Australia was established by Governor King on Norfolk Island in 1795 (Samuel Midgley-First Fleeter, 2006). Indeed, Burns and Goodnow (1979) point out that "in all States, institutional care was the first kind provided, with Infant Asylums and Orphan Schools taking the younger children, and Industrial Schools and Reformatories the older and the delinquent" (p. 29). The basic philosophy underpinning the removal of such children, and placing them in asylums or orphanages, was to remove them from the poorer and/or detrimental influence of their home environments. In the early part of the 19th century, orphans and other destitute children were placed into barrack-type institutions. Then, in the latter part of the 19th century, children were placed into "boarding-out" situations where the inmates were fostered with approved families (Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, 1985).

In 1907, Spence wrote extensively on the welfare of children in the different colonies of Australia in the 19th century. She examined the institutional care of the abandoned, neglected and the destitute children, especially the practice of "boarding-out". She believed that the boarding-out system was successful, and that it was possible for the boarded-out child to have equal opportunities to the child in a normal family situation. Thompson (1987) claims that Spence (1907) highlighted the way that boarding-out was used to advantage the child, as being ideal for economic reform, as well as for social and moral reform. The government would then benefit from such social and moral reform, especially in such a young colony as Australia. Ramsland (1974) also wrote about the boarding-out system, but unlike Spence (1907), he dealt with New South Wales from

1860 to 1910 in greater detail, and contended that much of the boarding-out system in Australia followed the English example. However, Spence (1907) claimed that South Australia was the only state that followed the English Poor Law of 1834 and allowed the poor and destitute to claim food and shelter from the public purse. Although Evans (1965) argues that the English Poor Law of 1834 had its shortcomings, he states, "punishment was regarded as the great cure-all ... British social welfare reforms directed themselves partially against punitive clauses of the 1834 Poor Law" (p. 300). Ritter (1978) argues that the development of boarding-out in Australia was more unique and wider in scope and complexity than the English system of boarding-out. She did not see the boarding-out system used for humanitarian reasons, but rather it was used by the state to control the children and prepare them for a life of hard work. Spence (1907) noted that:

> All of the colonies experienced the need for some communal help early after their settlement. As the government was reluctant to assume a continuing and direct responsibility for relieving individuals who were in need, other means were sought and encouraged. This largely explains why voluntary organizations came to assume a prominent place in the charitable relief systems of most of the colonies (p. 1).

This appears to be a simplification, since, regardless of any government reluctance, the various state governments did not neglect poor children, and worked in concert with charitable organizations, usually under the umbrella of the various churches, who with their state governments, came to rely on each other.

Church orphanages in the various Australian states were subject to legislation passed by the various state governments, especially if they wished to obtain government

subsidies, which proved to be a means whereby the states were able to exercise control over the church-run orphanages. Norcott (1968) makes the point that:

> Every state in the Commonwealth has made more or less provision for the care of neglected children or those who, because of their parentage or domestic disabilities, are in danger of becoming neglected or delinquent. This work is not carried out in state institutions alone. Widows and deserted wives are subsidised by the State to rear their own destitute children under the protection of the home and assistance being rendered efficiency by the frequent visits of Government inspectors (p. 194).

Orphanages in Australia were established as soon as the colony was settled, and in much harsher physical and social conditions as in England. These conditions were a reflection of society in general in the fledgling colony of Sydney Cove. It was necessary for the state to have control over the neglected, destitute and orphaned children to ensure their survival in a new land. However, as Liddell (1993) indicates:

> In general, institutions were poorly managed, provided inadequate care, provided too few spaces, and were indiscriminate in who they cared for. Separate facilities for transported children were frequently not developed for decades; orphans, destitute and offending children were often placed in similar institutions with all the consequences of that; and children were sometimes jailed through lack of alternatives (p. 31).

Thus, the way in which the orphanages operated provides an insight into the conditions under which the orphans lived. In particular, this thesis addresses the impact on orphans of, not only child sexual abuse, but also of being a resident of an orphanage, and their effect on orphans' educational achievement, educational development and educational

opportunity. However, it is important to juxtapose the orphans' experiences with non-orphans living conditions in the same period of 1940s-1960s.

1.1.2 Living conditions for non-orphanage working-class children in the period 1940s-1960s in Australia

Living conditions in Australia for non-orphanage working-class children during the period 1940s -1960s were greatly changed from previous decades as these children faced a period of reconstruction and development in Australia. Mendelsohn (1979) indicates, "The period 1950-1970 was one of rapid economic and social advance. There was and is, however, a substantial measure of poverty, affecting one person in six" (p.60). Poverty in turn had an effect on children's education. In Australian society, most families were affected by the Second World War in some manner, but, as the economy expanded, more opportunities developed, so also did opportunities for non-orphanage children from working-class backgrounds. However, in working-class families, in general, during the post-war period and into the 1960s, primary school education standard was all that was required to obtain a job. A commonly accepted emphasis was for children to obtain a job, usually as an apprentice or in an unskilled occupation where training could occur on the job. There were plenty of jobs available, and with the post-war economic growth, the demand for both skilled and unskilled workers was extremely high. This was a time when the Federal government realised that for the nation to expand, there needed to be changes in the policy of selling primary products to pay for imports and this was made possible by immigration (McQueen, 1991, p.178). The Federal government provided the fillip for Australian development, and with that, the change in the composition of the Australian population and the traditional Australian way of life occurred.

One of the most definitive books on the life of children and life in Australia during the 1940s-1960s is the *Oxford History of Australia Vol. 5 1942-1988* in which Bolton (1990)

outlines the Australian social, political and economic landscape in a captivating manner. He indicates that a meritocracy existed, and there were distinct divisions between the elite and the working class. When it came to schooling, privilege and affluence were the keys to a sound education, and he cites the statistic that three-quarters of Victorian students matriculating in 1948 came from independent schools and, "although most of these schools claimed some vestigial allegiance to one or other branch of the Christian church, they seldom saw it as their task to exalt the humble and meek from working-class backgrounds" (p.115). He maintained that although scholarships were awarded to children from limited family means and "in the post-war era, high schools were seen as creating elitism. High schools, it was thought, should be comprehensive, democratically recruiting from a given neighbourhood students of every range of ability. In practice this simply meant that a school reflected the class and ethnic character of its surroundings." (p.114). Thus, the chances of non-orphanage working-class children obtaining a secondary school education were minimal during this period. There is a distinct pattern to this dilemma of unequal outcomes of schooling. It can be argued that there is a direct link between unequal outcomes of schooling and income level. Fitzgerald (1976) points out:

> The discussion of unequal outcomes, in terms of the use of and benefit from school, is based on factors which are objective and measurable such as length of schooling, achievement, income and occupation. In the light of available information, it shows an important facet of the extent of educational disadvantage in Australia and certain of the consequences of that disadvantage. It is also clear from the discussion that part of the explanation of the nature of educational disadvantage lies in the structures of our society which determine that some people will succeed and others will not (p.12).

In support of Fitzgerald's argument, it is clear that the structures of our society ensure that there is a distinct working class, and the children from that class are usually the ones who are at a disadvantage and have unequal outcomes in schooling.

The living conditions for working-class children during the period 1940s -1960s reflected the interaction of various other influences as well as education. These included health, housing, transport, isolation, employment and social welfare. These are not the only dimensions with which to view conditions of life, for, as Mendelsohn (1979) indicates, "living conditions have often in the past been narrowly conceived as having only physical, or even only economic aspects." (p.58). He argues that it is also important to consider the psychological and spiritual aspects of living, in addition to the physical environment.

In regard to the standard of living linked to diet, it became apparent, as Mendohlson (1979) points out, "Australians during 1944 obtained supplies of foodstuffs and nutrients sufficient to ensure a fully satisfactory diet…..Surprisingly, some country areas showed diet deficiencies, particularly vitamin C, because of supply and transport difficulties and climatic conditions" (p.68). No doubt these deficiencies in diet would be exacerbated within working-class families because of their limited economic circumstances. Such dietary deficiencies have a direct impact upon educational performance. There then became a trend for working-class families to overcome these poor economic circumstances by having the mother of the family join the workforce. Indeed, as Macintyre (2003) indicates, "between 1947 and 1961 the number of married women in the workforce increased fourfold, and in 1950 the Arbitration Court increased women's pay to 75 per cent of the male basic wage" (p.216). These changes affected family life and allowed some working-class families an opportunity to obtain social and economic mobility in both urban and rural settings.

1.1.2.1 Urban living conditions for non-orphanage working class children in the period 1940s-1960s in Australia

For the Federal Curtin government in the 1940s, there was an urgent need for Australia to "populate or perish", and thus there was a development of urban life in the early years of the 1940s into phases which emphasized the need for the family to expand, but also to survive in times of economic difficulty. Lawson (1973) indicates that in the latter part of the 19th century, life for working class families was where, "the bulk of the work force, earning a subsistence wage, lived in constant fear of unemployment and debilitating illness, both of which meant an end to income" (p.134). Especially in large working class families, if the parents became ill, it then became the responsibility of the older children to help take care of the family. This responsibility meant that often the education of the older children was neglected, and they had to leave school to secure employment, as Lawson (1973) indicates:

> Inspite of the 1896 and 1900 factory legislation prohibiting the employment of children under 14 years, inspectors were giving dispensations to under-age children from families in desperate circumstances "in order that poor people might have the benefit of the children's earnings". Indeed, even in "good" times, when the father was earning, it was usual in lower-class families for the working children to contribute their entire wage to the family exchequer. Both parents and children, recognizing the necessity of this practice, took it for granted, and it often continued until marriage, even with males (p.134).

This was the accepted practice from the 1940s – 1960s, and the pattern not only for urban working-class children, but also for their rural counterparts in Australia. Life was difficult for the working families in which the father died or deserted the family and these women had to find some kind of work and "most mothers from lower-class families had

to find employment, and usually, because women's wages were so low, had to supplement their income with the earnings of their children. Sometimes they were forced to hand over their children to "baby farmers" in order to survive, or even place their children in an orphanage (Lawson, 1973, p.134). Indeed, children from working-class families were less likely to have time to play after school, and were expected to do domestic chores at home. Often children would be punished at home for not performing a chore well, and would also receive corporal punishment at school for not concentrating because of tiredness. Corporal punishment was generally accepted by the Australian community at large in this era of the 1940s-1960s.

For families and children in the 1950s McQueen (1991) similarly describes the difficulties of life in the cities. He describes the difficulties for fathers who had to leave a young family behind in the city in order to work in the bush. McQueen (1991) points out that 'in the cities it was just as hard to find a house. Young couples with families crowded into single rooms in the inner-city slums' (p.181). Life chances for children growing up in these urban slums were almost as limited as for those children placed in orphanages. Indeed, some mothers who were facing extreme hardships in these urban areas, placed their children in orphanages for temporary care.

However, in the 1950s and 1960s, life in the cities was very different to what had occurred in Australian society. As a result of increased industrialisation and high employment, there was an increase in affluence in the suburbs to reflect the general expansion of the economy of this era. Macintyre (2003) indicates "the rate of home ownership increased from 53 per cent in 1947, which was the historic norm, to an unprecedented 70 per cent by 1961, among the highest in the world" (p.215). The role of the housewife was also redefined from a domestic provider to that of a domestic consumer. The 1950s – 1960s were also a time when the family structure changed to that

of the nuclear family (Mother, Father and children), and the post-war emergence of "baby boomers", who were children born in rapid succession following the Second World War. Macintyre (2003) states:

> The 'baby-boomers' swamped the maternity hospitals and infant welfare centres after the war, then during the 1950s burst the capacity of primary schools. By the 1960s they forced a crash programme to build and staff secondary schools for the increasing numbers that stayed beyond the school-leaving age and even continued to university (p.217).

The working-class children of this era could avail themselves of these opportunities, but many left at the compulsory schooling age of 14 years, and entered into an apprenticeship or some form of non-skilled employment.

1.1.2.2 Rural living conditions for non-orphanage working class children in the period 1940s -1960s in Australia

Rural conditions in Australia for non-orphanage working-class children during the period 1940s -1960s were similar to those for children in urban areas, as they also had to work considerably long hours to support their family, often at the expense of their education. Immediately after the Second World War, education facilities in rural areas were rudimentary with the focus upon primary school education. The one-teacher rural primary school was often the focus for the community. Rural high schools began to emerge in the 1960s where previously these schools finished at Grade 10 standard, and gifted students would need to leave rural areas and attend boarding school or hostels in nearby towns or cities, to attend high school for Grades 11 and 12. The chances for these rural students gaining entry to university were minimal, for as Bolton (1990), indicates:

> Going to university was a third option, but country girls were not often encouraged in that direction. Growing up in the Eyre Peninsula of South Australia, Jill Roe

> found: "In my experience country people value educational achievement highly, but they expect it to have a practical outcome…because income-earning women with skills are an asset, not a drain, in rural communities where liquidity is often a problem. But the idea of girls aiming for the university was something new" (p.116).

Thus, there was certainly little hope for working-class students in rural communities to continue their education beyond what was necessary for practical purposes, and this usually meant being educated to primary school standard.

The type of employment for non-orphanage working-class children was similar to their counterparts in orphanages. This was as farm labourers for the boys and as domestic servants for the girls. This view is supported by Lockie and Bourke (2001) who claim:

> Rural students throughout Australia have been disadvantaged for a range of reasons. Rural residents are known to have lower education levels, low retention rates – especially for girls – and have been less likely than their urban counterparts to enrol in post-secondary education (p.99-100).

Living conditions for children in rural communities were more difficult than for those children growing up in the cities, because services such as medical, dental, social security and transport were limited. Moreover, "people in rural communities often find it difficult to influence government social policy for a variety of reasons including geographic isolation, poor access to policy development processes, insufficient networking and lobbying skills, lack of resources" (Cheers, Darracott & Lonne 2007, p.25). Such reasons limited rural children's chances for educational, social and economic development.

This view is supported by McQueen (1991) who outlines the difficulties of growing up in the country in the 1940s -1960s. He maintains that farms were under threat from drought, lack of manpower, and exacerbated by rabbit plagues. However, this changed with the introduction of mechanization, and myxomatosis which reduced the rabbit

problem and allowed more sheep to be introduced. Notwithstanding these benefits, life was still hard for children growing up in this rural environment. He also maintains that services were slow to reach the country areas, and outside the larger towns there was no electricity and running water. The problems for children in this rural environment are summed up by McQueen (1991) when he states:

> Children studied by the light of a kerosene lamp which did not help them win scholarships. Though life in the country was no longer a pioneering challenge, it was much harder than life in the towns and cities. The steady drift off the land continued despite a number of government-backed schemes to open up new farming country (p.185).

Thus although these children did not spend time in an orphanage, they in turn suffered privations of their own, and life in a rural area was also divided into a class structure with children of graziers being sent to boarding school while children of rural support workers within the country towns themselves did not have equal opportunities. These divisions are highlighted by Gray and Phillips (2001) who indicate:

> All rural communities – whether clearly differentiated along racial, ethnic or class lines – possess systems of social status. Clear distinctions of wealth or other attributes, such as longevity in the community or reputation for community service, bestow prestige and esteem in the most seemingly and structurally homogenous communities (p.55).

In particular, it is rural poverty, along with education and access to reasonable health services, which has caused rural working-class children to be grossly disadvantaged during the period 1940s -1960s, and to some extent to the present time. Rural poverty has existed since the early pioneering days, and unfortunately has been ‘ generally associated with images of inner city ghettos and homeless people in the city centres asking for

money – as an urban problem' (Lockie and Bourke, 2001, p.98). However, rural poverty, although not frequently in public view, exists, and as Lockie and Bourke (2001) point out:

> The focus on urban poverty has been justified by the belief that the cost of living is lower in rural areas. While rural housing costs may be lower in some regions, most other costs – including food, petrol, transportation, consumer goods, utilities and a range of services – are higher. Many rural people have additional expenses associated with education, health care, vehicle maintenance, travel to work, social services and leisure activities (p.99).

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that working-class children who were raised in crowded city conditions or in remote rural areas in the 1940s -1960s had similar difficulties in education and social services that affected their life chances. This allows these children's experiences to be compared with children in orphanages during this time, and they are surprisingly similar in view of current community attitudes towards education, corporal punishment and employment. With this broad background, the development of the orphanages will now be addressed in order to provide a context for orphans' educational experiences.

Chapter 2 Orphanages in Australia

2.1 Background of orphanages in Australia

Orphanages in Australia were initially modelled on the English orphanage system and were large, impersonal barrack-type institutions. Orphanages were run by the state and various churches which had management committees answerable to the particular church denomination. Admission to state orphanages meant that the child became a ward of the state. Admission of a child to a church orphanage usually entailed the parent or parents of the child signing over the child completely to church control as a condition of admission. State children, whose costs were paid by the government, were selectively screened by the church committees in order to be admitted to a church orphanage (Mellor, 1990).

Various books have been written on the details of orphanage life. Often the books are definitive accounts, written by former residents, who give intimate details of the cruel punishments, the indifference of staff to their needs, and punitive measures meted out in a closed institution where perpetrators of all sorts of abuse were able to operate with impunity. Quite often the child residents of these institutions were profoundly neglected.

In the 1950s, a number of books were published which placed emphasis upon the deprived child. Two books, which covered the deprived child in England, by Tucker (1952) and by Lewis (1954), are similar, in that they trace the life of children without homes. Lewis (1954), in her book, is almost clinical in describing the development of children under the Children Act of 1948. Tucker (1952), by contrast, provides an analysis of the shortcomings of running an orphanage or Children's Home as they came to be called. This was done ostensibly to improve the quality of service for the destitute child, and yet it developed into an account of the good works that the orphanages were doing regardless of the shortcomings. Similar difficulties may be found in the Queensland orphanages of that era of the 1950s. Also in that decade, other books on institutionalised

children provide evidence of such difficulties. The problem of providing quality staff to run the institution features in various books on orphanages. For example, Ford (1955) discussed the fact that this had been a major difficulty in Children's Homes, and that the foster home is far superior to the orphanage in providing quality care of children. Similarly, McLean (1956), whose book is based on orphanage case histories, provides an insight into the running of orphanages in New South Wales in the 1950s. One of these case histories is based on the life of Alan Moore who used his personal experience to describe life experienced in the orphanages in Australia after the Second World War (Moore, 1990). He graphically describes life in a Barnardo's Home in New South Wales. David Hill (2007) also outlines life at Fairbridge Farm School, an orphanage in rural New South Wales where physical and sexual abuse were prevalent. General reference books on Australian children in the 1950s by Brown (1980) and Goodnow and Russell (1989) also place the care of children in Australian orphanages in the same era in perspective and they examined concurrent social trends. Brown (1980) also highlights the intervention of the state and its form of social control over the conditions for the care of orphans.

2.1.1 Social conditions in Australia 1788-1901

The social conditions for the care of orphans, and neglected and destitute children in Australia differed from those in England, because Australia was initially founded in 1788 as a penal colony. However, although social conditions in Australia may have differed from those in England, the concept of social welfare for children and youth naturally followed the English tradition. Section 2.7 of the Forgotten Australians Report: A report on Australians who experienced institutional or out-of-home care as children (Forgotten Australians, 2004) notes as follows;

> The early period of Australian settlement was beset with problems in every aspect of life. From 1788, colonial New South Wales needed care for children who were

> orphaned or whose parents were in jail, destitute or experiencing some misfortune. Given Australia's British heritage, notions from England about child welfare and juvenile justice practices prevailed, and well into the 1890s, benevolent ideas of usurping poor parents and placing children in more 'morally suitable environments', prospered (p. 18).

Such 'morally suitable environments' were thus established early in the colony of New South Wales's development, and by 1807 there were 1,025 orphans, abandoned or illegitimate children, and Governor King felt a responsibility to care for these children, so he established a female Orphan School in 1801 in George Street, Sydney. Later, a male Orphan School was established by Governor Macquarie in 1819 on the site of the female Orphan School when the female Orphan School was relocated to Parramatta, Sydney. The benevolence of child welfare programs undertaken by Governor King and the establishment of the first Orphan Schools, are considered to be the beginning of social welfare in Australia (Cleverley, 1971). King's approach may be seen as reflecting a theory of social control as the Orphan School was primarily designed to protect girls from prostitution, to educate them, and bring about an improvement in morals in the colony (Heney, 1943). Gandevia (1978) adopts a similar position to Heney (1943), and claims that the Government had social control of inmates in its institutions to the extent that "in many variant forms, this pattern of dual, government and private control dominated institutions concerned with social welfare throughout the nineteenth century" (p. 57).

The role of women in the colony of New South Wales was one of marginalisation because they were excluded both socially and politically (Daniels & Murnane, 1980). The female orphanage was used to create a supply of good domestic servants for the wealth-generating citizens of the colony (Liston, 1999). Demand for such servitude helped establish and enhance early class distinctions in Australian society. The British

and colonial leaders thought that the destiny of the convict women would be as domestic servants within the labour force of the colony of New South Wales (Robinson, 1988). It soon became evident that convict women and their offspring were doomed to a life of servitude because they had little education and few skills other than manual labour. Indeed, an entry in the Women Australia (2006) website states:

> The orphanage [the Orphan School] was supported financially by port duties... When it was officially opened on 17th August, 1801, 31 girls aged between the ages of 7 and 14 were in residence. The girls were taught spinning and sewing and some were taught reading and writing. Evidence given by Governor Bligh to the British Select Committee on Transportation in 1812 suggested that there was little evidence on education, and that the Institution had instead become a clothing factory and a source of domestic servants for colonial households (p. 1).

Lower class girls did not have the social, economic or political power to change their station, and those who found themselves in institutions such as reformatories or industrial schools were destined to become laundry maids (Williamson, 1983). One of the most prolific writers on the topic of destitute children and social welfare is Horsburgh (1982), and, although he has focussed on New South Wales, his work reveals the common pattern adopted by all the Australian states in their work with neglected children. He adopts the position that the early developments in the care of the orphaned, destitute and neglected children were manifestations of the government's policy in order to keep the colony surviving. Indeed, many children in the colony of New South Wales in the 19th century were at risk, and there was a need for charity and government support. Brown (1972) indicates that "government in Australia thus committed itself from the beginning to a policy of major intervention in the lives of children, as a counter to the influence of parents" (p. 23). These children were not necessarily orphans but were those in moral

danger or destitute or suffered parental neglect. This evidence of government social control in the early years of the colony shows that the government was trying to separate children from their aberrant parents. Such actions led to the development of institutions for this purpose of saving children from a life of poverty, abuse and neglect.

Another insight into the early period of orphanages and the way in which the government used them for their own purposes, is provided by Burns and Goodnow (1979) who examined the structure of early families in Australia. They looked at the historical contribution of others to the field of destitute children such as Cleverley (1971). Burns and Goodnow (1979) came to the conclusion that the orphanages in the mid-1820s in New South Wales were able to nurture children, so that they were no worse than the rest of the children in the colony.

Dickey (1987) provides a definitive outline of charity in the colony of New South Wales from 1815. He makes the point that the churches were heavily involved in the relief of the poor, and he claims that until 1856, the government role was clearly defined, as institutions were financed by the government and thus controlled by it. A similar study on welfare for the same period by Peyser (1939) found that the New South Wales government had a large part to play in the early development of orphanages, but they were also run by private individuals, and the result was the emergence of the mixed system of welfare institutions in Australia, as continued today. Peyser (1939) also indicates that the care of the poor at the beginning of the gold rushes about 1851, brought about increased pressure on the government of the day to do something about the destitute, whether single mothers, deserted children because of the gold rushes, inebriates, or the elderly. The attitude of the government in establishing these institutions is evident from its beginning. Peyser (1939) argues that such institutions are a reflection of an unhealthy society, and that the focus needs to be upon rectifying the environment to render such institutions un-

necessary. Garton (1990) examined poverty in Australia, and concluded that the colonial poor in New South Wales had to rely on the benevolence of private individuals and institutions, as well as on government charity.

Following the increase in control of orphanages by the New South Wales government in the 1800s, the development of social welfare policy in the subsequent years largely maintained the previous system of support for the disadvantaged child. Van Krieken (1992) saw this as a time when the New South Wales government was trying to separate the destitute child from the 'vicious parent', and the intention was to influence the child in a positive manner, away from the negative influences of a dysfunctional family. This government action led to the development of institutions such as the Male and Female Orphan Schools in New South Wales for this purpose.

Howe (1993) raises the spectre of the single mother being a threat to the state, and a challenge to the traditional family. He explains how each state government of Australia during the 1800s sought to save children, and punish single mothers as a means of discouraging illegitimate births. Asylums were established for these mothers and children, as well as for the aged and infirm, such as the Sydney Benevolent Asylum in New South Wales which had 364 people admitted in 1843 (Garton, 1990).

When examining the role of orphanages in the various Australian states, it is important to consider Australian commonwealth and state government policy and its development. The position of neglected and destitute children from 1900 to 1910 is placed in perspective by Kewley (1947), who aligns child welfare with other social services in Australia, namely with the aged and infirm. He outlines three periods of significant development of social services in Australia viz., (1) 1788 to 1900 when Australia became a social laboratory, (2) 1912 to 1939 and (3) during World War 2 and immediately afterwards (pp. 12-77). The major point that Kewley (1947) makes about

neglected children in the early 20th century is that the Australian government, although supplying economic assistance, did not want to have the children entirely dependent on the government, and so the financial allowance to widows and deserted wives was kept to a minimum to encourage industry and thrift in both orphans and service providers. Such virtues reflected the extant state social policy of the time.

By the mid 20th century, the various Australian state governments adopted policies of supporting the boarding-out scheme. The boarding-out system involved children being boarded with private families and attending state schools. Various Orphanage Inspectors openly stated their positions in favour of it. The Orphanage Inspector was a state government officer who had the responsibility of checking upon the welfare of the state ward, whether the child was "boarded-out", or in an orphanage. A survey of child care in Victoria in 1962, for instance, revealed a move away from institutions to foster care, and the development of the boarding-out program (Brooks, 1964). The various state governments released information to society about orphanages and boarding-out through the Annual Orphanage Reports. Not surprisingly, these reports lauded the good work that the State was doing for orphans. Apart from being Government propaganda, the reports however, do provide valuable statistics from which trends about treatment of orphans can be placed in a wider context. For example, in 1985 an Australian Senate inquiry into changing attitudes and approaches towards institutional and other forms of substitute care (1985 Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Social Welfare, 1985), outlined the history of child welfare and revealed the trend towards the end of the 19th century for replacing the barracks system with boarding-out in all Australian states. The role of the state governments then was to co-ordinate those children who were to leave the orphanage to board-out. Foster parents were paid an allowance by the government for this service. Other children were hired-out once they reached the age of 12. The hiring-out system was

in effect a form of apprenticeship, and boys were usually hired out as farm labourers, and girls as domestic servants.

Such trends during the early and mid-20th century also reflected the social conditions of the time. As mentioned earlier, the churches assisted the state in the care of orphans and destitute children during the 19th and 20th centuries. McGrath (1991) points out that Catholic orphanages opposed the boarding-out system advocated by the various Australian state governments. This was considered to be because there were not enough Catholic families for the large majority of Catholic destitute children, and that staff in the Catholic orders were trained specifically for the existing Orphanages. This seems to be an over-simplification of the situation. Rather, it appears that the Catholic structure, with large institutions, ensured that their children were easier to convert, proselytise and therefore easier to control, from a religious, sexual, and social viewpoint.

Although some of the Queensland Orphanage Inspectors may have favoured the boarding-out system, the trend there was to have large institutions, and to adopt the pattern of care and control initially set by the Roman Catholic and Church of England churches. This pattern continued throughout the early part of the 20th century, and by World War 1 many large institutions were established. After World War 1 this pattern was extended into the Great Depression when economic conditions were more difficult. This was in keeping with the social conditions of the time, when governments were aware of the need for economic privations. It was easier for the government of the day to promote the large barrack-type systems, because many private families were financially unable to support orphans. However, as Mellor (1990) indicates, 'by the late 1920s, many State children or children in receipt of benefits were being cared for in their own homes, rather than boarded-out or institutionalised – surely a more humane and rational policy' (p. 94). This may have been so, but the various state governments of Australia sacrificed

humane and rational policies for expediency in the 1930s and 1940s, and, by 1945, there was a gradual drift back to institutions rather than placing children in their own homes or in boarding-out situations. Ironically, as Jaggs (1986) points out, “most state wards were in the situation from which their predecessors had been removed nearly eighty years previously” (p. 141).

The intervention of the state and its form of social control of orphans, neglected and destitute children is highlighted by Brown (1972). He claims that the state is entitled to intervene in the relationship between children and their parents. Such intervention may be warranted if the welfare of the child is in jeopardy by remaining with the parent. Jamrozik (1991) illustrates the relationship between social structure and government policies and focuses on the dynamics of class, inequality and the welfare state. The examination of class is not confined to economic factors, but also to those of power and influence. Orphanages and their control by the churches or the state are examples of such power and influence.

Graycar (1978) supports a similar viewpoint. He examines the socio-political process in a compendium of papers dealing with the historical, analytical, constitutional and comparative issues in Australian welfare policy, and suggests that it is impossible to discuss the economic distribution of benefits to children unless power and service issues are considered as well. Central to his position is that there are many different approaches to the study of social welfare policy. For example, he also examines whether the welfare state in all Australian states in the 20th century was a repressive or beneficial one. This focus on social control highlights the social inequalities in Australia. Orphanages are, in fact, a reminder of these inequalities, which continued in all Australian states from their establishment.

Western (1983) researched the support of the state in the care and control of children. He addresses the role of the ruling class and their position of power in relation to the state. Indeed, data on deprived children, orphanages and relations with the state highlight the inequalities within Australian society. For example, Baldock (1978) examines inequality and social welfare in the post-World War 2 period and advances this issue further by identifying the inequalities as being forged by the inequalities of resource distribution. Another important work on the history of Australian social welfare by Dickey (1987) argues that social welfare policy has a history of being selective, and socialist, as well as being political.

It appears that orphanages were managed for both social control and for altruistic purposes. It is apparent that the state and humanitarian groups needed each other in order for the orphans and other destitute children to have any hope of success, as well as for social, economic and political reasons. The treatment of orphans was a reflection of the social conditions that were evident throughout Australia since 1788, and what might have appeared to be a deprivation within orphanages, was also frequently experienced by the wider society.

Social conditions in the late 1860s and 1870s allowed all children in Australia to receive a basic education. Eventually, in the 1870s, education became free, secular and compulsory in all states. The development of orphanages was thus structured to keep abreast of these social and educational changes.

2.1.2 Broad historical context of the period 1940s -1960s in Australia

2.1.2.1 Broad Historical Background

In order to place the orphanages in the context of the 1940s -1960s, it is important to consider the broader historical context of Australia in this period. The development of

Australia in this era was a time of great political, economic and social change. Social changes hastened during World War II when the Curtin Federal government established the first Child Endowment program. The following Chifley Federal government, in 1946, maintained a policy of developing national social welfare while at the same time establishing maximum employment. A similar policy was followed by the Menzies government in the 1950s as Australia developed "on the sheep's back", along with mineral resources and primary industries.

The national child endowment scheme was to assist the nation's children as Chan, Clark, James, Kelly, Munro and Swivel (1995) point out:

> When explaining the financing of the endowment scheme to Parliament, Assistant Treasurer Mr Anthony said that it is hoped that it will stem the decay of family life which was one of the greatest dangers facing Australia. 'There are 100,000 fewer children under 15 years of age in Australia today than there were 7 years ago,' he said. 'This means that, in a few years there will be fewer men and women to do the work of the nation.' (p.308).

The implications of this for the nation were that it was important to safeguard the children of the nation, and for Australia to increase its population. An endowment scheme would provide the incentive to do this. These changes placed an emphasis upon such aspects as providing for widows and orphans, unemployment insurance, invalid and old age pensions, and comprehensive health schemes. The Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Act 1944 provided relief for families. This was a time when there was an emphasis upon high levels of employment, but this legislation made provision for the less fortunate. The Chifley government then passed The Social Services Consolidation Act (1947) which united legislation dealing with age, invalid, old age and widows pensions, maternity allowances, child endowment and unemployment and sickness benefits. This

was followed by The National Health Service Act (1948), The Menzies government extended these social services into legislation such as the National Health Act (1953), the Aged Persons Homes Act (1954), and for the handicapped, the Disabled Persons Accommodation Act (1963). A continuation of these social services was developed throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Such services could only be sustained by a strong economy, as Crawford (1979) points out:

> Post-war discoveries of metals, oil and natural gas on a scale inconceivable to pre-war geology have been justly described as themselves producing a revolution in the Australian economy, and have been the major attraction for the inflow of foreign capital at a rate which has contributed strongly to the exuberant and buoyant tone of the economy of the post-war years (p.173).

This was a time when Australia moved from a strategic dependence upon England to a broader reliance on the United States of America with the Australia, New Zealand and the United States (ANZUS) treaty in 1951. It was also a time when Australia looked to South-East Asia for its exports.

Pastoral and industrial developments resulted in the unprecedented affluence in the 1950s and 1960s in Australia. During the 1950s, Australia had one of the most evenly distributed income allocations of any industrialized Western nation, and the 1960s expanded this affluence further. The key to the expansion of the nation industrially in the 1950s and 1960s was to obtain a rapid increase in its population by encouraging greater immigration, especially those with skills needed in the workforce. After World War II Australia needed to develop, and it became obvious that it would need to expand its population as Hugo (2001) indicates:

> The last fifty years have seen an unprecedentedly high and sustained influx of immigrants to Australia. In the immediate post-World War II period, however,

the shortages of labour, but also an inability to attract sufficient immigrants from the British Isles and the existence of several million "Displaced Persons from Eastern Europe, saw a change in policy…This then led to settlers being recruited from elsewhere in Western and Northern Europe, then in the 1950s from Southern Europe and in the 1960s from parts of Eastern Europe and the Middle East" (p.10).

As a consequence of this rapid increase in population and the development of primary and secondary industry, Australia became a rich industrialised nation in the 1950s and 1960s. Manning Clark (1980) succinctly indicates, "By the 1960s the migrants from Europe, and the revolution in communications, had broken down the cultural isolation…and prepared Australians to confront the universal problem of man in the age of plastics, chromium, and the bomb" (p.251).

The expansion of the Australian economy resulted in not only material prosperity but also in the raised standard of living generally in the community. However, Saunders and Jamrozik (1987) highlight the fact that there has not been an even distribution of wealth over time across regions and between sub-groups of the population, resulting in some groups whose economic circumstances were far from desirable. The influx of an immigrant population and the disparity in wealth led to a change in the dynamics of Australian society in the 1950s and 1960s especially in the social and cultural spheres. The 1950s and 1960s are referred to as the 'golden age' of Australian development and prosperity. It was a time, when, according to Macintyre (2003), 'an annual growth rate of over 4 per cent was maintained throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s. There was full employment, higher productivity, improved earnings, a pattern of sustained improvement that no-one could recall' (p. 203).

Thus, it is against such a broad background of rapid economic and social change during the 1940s-1960s that the broad welfare changes and attitudes to social services in

Australia during the 1940s-1960s are examined in helping to shape the educational experiences of children of this era.

2.1.2.2 Broad welfare policies of the period 1940s-1960s in Australia

For social welfare policies to develop in Australia in 1941, it required a shift of power and finances from the various state governments to the federal government. Such a move would enable a much more even distribution of finances, and therefore resources to the needy to be developed as Dickey (1987) indicates:

> The focus of government shifted inevitably to Canberra, away from the entrenched systems previously built up by state governments and public charitable societies. The embodiment of that shift was in the agreement of 1942 for 'uniform taxation'….It was a change in the relative access of Australia's governments to finance which was to have profound repercussions in the provisions of social welfare (p.132).

Such repercussions inevitably led to political pressures. Indeed, the development of welfare policies in Australia from the 1940s to 1960s was dominated by political ideologues and lobby groups. Mendes (2203) indicates that there were periods of action and periods of political conservatism which set the scene for the rise of neoliberalism in the 1970s and the rise of the welfare state. Smith and Smith (2003) point out:

> The historical summary is somewhat conventional, stopping at the standard stations:
>
> - Social laboratory in the 1900s
> - Conservative inaction in the 1910s to 1930s
> - Heroic reform in the early 1940s
> - Conservative caution in the 1950s and 1960s
> - Social democratic reform in the early 1970s (p.1).

This historical summary identifies the key initial forays by the Federal government. Following the conservative inaction from the 1910s to the 1930s, necessary action was required during the 1940s when Australia was at war. As Kewley (1973) points out:

> The Curtin Government, which established in 1943 the National Welfare Fund, considered that it would not be possible in war-time to introduce all the measures that would form part of the national welfare scheme, which had been initiated by the establishment of that Fund. However, in view of the growing demand for social security, the Government recognised in the same year the political importance of making some token instalment without delay. This took the form of proposals for new maternity allowances, funeral benefits for deceased age and invalid pensioners, and allowances for the wives and unendowed children of invalid pensioners (p.255).

Such forays into social services set the pattern for the Australian nation for the years ahead and had a beneficial impact upon families.

Traditional family services, according to Nocella (1996), were developed to assist those families who were unable to meet their economic and social obligations, and required assistance. She argues, that prior to the 1940s in Australia, the family services assistance was directed to families in the form of emergency financial assistance and home help. The major point of this assistance is that it was done in an ad-hoc manner, and Australian children received services that reflected the nature of Australian development as Nocella (1996) points out:

> When looking at families in an historical context, the unique aspects of the Australian experience must not be overlooked. By this I mean the colonial history of Australia which saw the early Australian family as a small nuclear unit cut off from the assistance of extended family networks and dense kinship ties. As in other industrialised countries, it was expected that any crisis with which it was faced would

> be borne by the family unit through the 'pooling together' of all members' efforts and the sacrificing of individual interests for the greater good of the whole (p.1).

Thus, some children, not placed in institutions during this time, were suffering similar hardships, although not to the same extent, as those children in orphanages. The Federal government recognised that there was a need for support for families, and such assistance would enable families to remain together. In 1942, Commonwealth pensions for widows were introduced to support such families, however, war widows' pensions had been introduced in 1914.

There was a rapid increase in the births of children following World War II. The government urged families to "populate or perish" and as the Australian Bureau of Statistics (1997) indicates:

> The number of children in Australia more than doubled between 1925 and 1995, from 2.2 million to 4.6 million. Most of the growth occurred after World War II, from the late 1940s, through the 1950s, and to a lesser extent through the 1960s. The growth over this period started the post-war baby boom, which has been attributed to the rapid increase in the proportion of people marrying and having children. At the same time, high levels of immigration brought additional children and young couples of child-bearing age to Australia. (p.2).

It is also pointed out that children have traditionally required health services to ensure their development, and thus the development of child welfare services in Australia became a necessity. During the 1940s and 1950s the trend was for families to have one parent working, and usually the mother stayed at home to nurture the children, for, as is indicated in Australian Social Trends (1997), " families provide the nest for child development but families are also supported by governments, businesses and community groups in providing services for children"(p.1).

Kennedy (1989) argues that "nothing happened in the welfare field until World War II" (p.35). and that it was the machinery of war which galvanised the government into action by creating a welfare state which provided income security. He indicates that this policy of welfare continued into the 1950s and the 1960s with its economy growing rapidly and with the increase in population numbers and goods and services.

The evolution of these services was shaped by the increasing trend of mothers leaving home to join the workforce to provide economic support for their families. Support for the unemployed, the disabled and other disadvantaged in the wider community was improving. It is as Kennedy (1989) points out:

> Centrepiece of the Australian welfare state is its system of income security, mainly pensions, benefits and family allowances. The basic outlines of this system were drawn in the 1940s, when earlier forms of provision, mainly age and invalid pension, were elaborated and integrated into a wider framework of Keynesian political economy. The 1940s development gave the Australian welfare state a distinctive character with specific import for economic and family life in the post-war period of economic growth and full male employment. It laid the basis, too, for the welfare politics of present-day history, in which the 'long boom' has been followed by economic recession and political questioning of the merits and purposes of public welfare provision (p.154).

The provision of such benefits impacted directly upon children's educational and health provisions in spite of political questioning in Federal Parliament. This questioning of welfare that arises from time to time in the Australian political landscape, helps to shape Australian social attitudes as discussed below.

2.1.2.3 Broad social attitudes of the period 1940s -1960s in Australia

Social attitudes, during the period 1940s to 1960s, varied with the changes in the structure of Australian society and the political policies of the period which varied with the implementation of various child welfare policies and legislation to enable services for children within the changing patterns of Australian family life. In particular, this meant that allowances were made for widows, deserted wives, supporting mothers, families with disabilities, the unemployed, as well as sole parents. During this period, changing social attitudes of caring for single mothers ranged from one of indifference to one of providing support services for the mother and child. Consequently, child health services were improved to meet the demand. The capacity to adapt to the changing social circumstances enabled those children, who may have been forced into out-of-home care, to remain with their families.

The Australian family structure has changed to include not only couples but also more single parent and de-facto families. The functioning of the family unit remained important and the Federal government endeavoured to assist in this regard with the introduction of Social Services Acts such Widows pensions, and Child Endowment. Concern was evident for family economic security, and the family's ability to raise money when in out-of-home care. There was a need for families to obtain outside support in time of crisis. The significance of this support during the development of Australia over the last century is highlighted in the Framework for Measuring Progress Report (2006) which states:

> Families are core structural elements in society - basic building blocks of national life. Families provide guidance on the social values underlying civil society and the care generated within the family supports the development of healthy functioning individuals. The vast range of services provided within communities by groups, clubs and charitable organisations are a crucial adjunct to support the role of the family.

> The quality and strength of people's relationships and bonds with others - are important ingredients of the level of social cohesion. And a more cohesive society is one in which communities are strong and inclusive (p.19).

This philosophy was adopted by the Federal government to provide the resources to the families and children to help prevent them from going into the large orphanages of the 1940s -1960s. Where possible, it was far better to keep families together by government assistance in the form of social security. Kewley (1973) argues:

> that there is general agreement about the meaning of the term "social security". Refers to those measures where...the object of public action is to provide alternative income to persons whose normal private incomes have temporarily or permanently disappeared, or to remove from individuals and families the burden of more generally experienced charges on income. The first of these types of public action are usually called income-maintenance measures and embrace benefits such as age, invalid and widows' pensions and unemployment and sickness benefits. The second type takes the form of arrangements for communal assistance…they include such measures as assistance with the costs of health care and payments to families with children (maternity allowances and child endowment) (p.xi).

The public attitude to these social security measures during the 1940s-1960s was positive as both the Curtin and Menzies governments continued to develop in these areas. Part of this attitude towards social security measures can be identified in the Australian psyche of being an egalitarian society and that of the mateship. Mendelsohn (1979) points out that:

> Equality in Australia has rarely been defined, even in ideal terms, as possession of equal wealth or equal income or equal status, but only as the conferring of equal opportunities at the start of the race of life…Even in simpler days of idealism it was

> rarely advocated that, as well as assuring initial equal opportunity, society should prevent persons from advancing economically beyond others. Nor has there been any substantial sentiment that variations in economic status should be contained or minimised. Among the working class the skilled are firm in their claims for greater income than the unskilled (p.64).

Thus, during the 1940s -1960s the general attitude towards support for the disadvantaged in Australian society was one that reflected the early beginnings of an Australian way of life. Poverty caused by factors such as illness, unemployment, single parenthood, age and drought all influenced the attitudes of the Australian government towards poverty and the need for social services to provide support for these people. Serr (2006) sums up the attitudes to the development of social services in Australia when he indicates "despite shifts in language from 'charity' to 'welfare' and from 'benevolence' to 'rights'…these ideologies continue to inform the social policies of the present Commonwealth government, and the attitudes and practices of many members of Australian society" (p.78).

These attitudes indicate support for the unfortunate, and this is reflected in the attitude of each state in caring for orphans and provides a background for the education and health of children generally in Australia in the 1940s-1960s.

The next section provides an overview of the care of orphans in each Australian state, and identifies the similar and differing patterns that occurred in orphan, neglected and destitute child care.

2.2 New South Wales

The benevolence of child welfare programs undertaken in 1785 by Governor King in the early settlement of New South Wales, the largest colony, is outlined by Cleverley (1971) who lauds the efforts of the first established colonial orphanage in 1801, and

views it as the start of social welfare in Australia. Other governors followed Governor King's example of establishing Orphan Schools. Indeed, destitute children were able to receive similar support, care and encouragement from subsequent Governments (Bonwick, 1820).

Horsburgh (1982) explored the development of government policy and charities such as in the New South Wales Benevolent Society in 1813, the history of the Randwick Asylum in 1852, the apprenticing of children in New South Wales, as well as the role of the churches in the care of neglected children in New South Wales during the 1850s. Although he focuses on New South Wales, his work reveals the common pattern adopted by all the states in their work with neglected and destitute children, where the care of these children involved both the churches and the state working together. This pattern in New South Wales was followed by other states. The crowded confinement of orphans in large barracks and the resulting effect on children's health concerned the government in the early 19th century in the colony of New South Wales. The issue of disease, as a result of children's close confinement, was raised. Garran (1879) states:

> It is just about 28 years ago that a small band of three women, Mrs Windeyer, Mrs Jefferis and myself, having long been impressed with the evils and misuses of herding children together by hundreds under what has been called the barrack system, resolved to use every effort to induce the Government to introduce the system of boarding-out into families, destitute children who had come into the charge of the state (p. 3).

Such concern for the treatment of children in a separate environment away from the barrack system is highlighted in Section 2.11 of the Forgotten Australians Report (2004) which states:

Beginning in the 1800s, notions about ways to care for children requiring welfare

> assistance tended to move between those favouring institutions, or, family-based care such as foster care. Initially, the new colony chose foster care but the shortage of stable families and the survival needs of the times rendered this strategy doubtful. Fashions existed at various times both within and among the colonies about institutional care or boarding-out (out-of-home care or foster care). Such fluctuations continued until the 1960s when governments became more involved in child welfare and moves began to close large institutions for children (p. 19).

Regardless of these sentiments, the government policy in the colony was one of pragmatism. The emphasis was upon removing the child from the influences of the corrupting environment, and placing it in a controlled environment such as a large institution (Dickey, 1987). Although such actions may have been well intentioned, such a policy lacked sensitivity, as Ramsland (1985) points out:

> Seldom could real compassion be shown to the individual child in the type of asylum epitomised by Randwick with its huge impersonal dormitories, its meagre staffing and its massive feeding and care arrangements (p. 207).

Such lack of sensitivity was one of the factors that helped to change attitudes towards the large barrack-type institutions for orphaned, destitute or neglected children.

The number of children in institutional care in New South Wales, as shown below, includes the orphan schools, industrial schools and both government and religious orphanages.

Table 2.1: Number of children in institutional care in New South Wales, 1857-1940

Year	Number of children
1857-1899	54795
1900-1909	16354
1910-1919	22749
1920-1929	41654
1930-1940	52618
Total	188170

Source: Dickey & Suthern, 1987

These numbers reflect the large numbers of children that the government had to cater for, and with over crowding, it became necessary for the state to work with the churches for the benefit of the orphaned, destitute and neglected children, as pointed out in Section 2.14 of the Forgotten Australians Report (2004):

> In the period 1850-1890, institutions continued as the prime response for housing welfare children and this coincided with the development of child neglect legislation and the establishment of reformatories and training schools and marked the beginning of greater government acceptance of responsibility in the child welfare sector (p. 20).

With such an increase in the number of children in care, to more than trebling, as shown in Table 2.1 above, more empathetic legislation became necessary.

2.2.1 Legislation and child welfare in New South Wales

From the early 1800s, there was a need for legislation to control what occurred in orphanages, although as addressed later, this did not prevent the spreading of a culture of abuse that developed in orphanages. It was a culture that repeatedly breached statutory legislation. During the 1850s the different states adapted legislation to suit their particular

circumstances in dealing with the destitute, neglected or orphaned child. Cunneen and White (2007) indicate:

> Legislative changes in New South Wales beginning in 1828 and 1834 enabled magistrates to place orphans as apprentices…there was overlap between the processes of criminalisation and the development of specific welfare institutions. A child in poverty could be dealt with under vagrancy laws and potentially imprisoned, or the child could be treated as a destitute and kept in a welfare institution (p. 8).

Thus, there was little social justice for destitute children in New South Wales in the early 1800s.

New South Wales developed a system of childcare which was based upon two Departments, namely the Children's Courts of Justice and the Protection of Infant Life. These were legally based in the 1857 New South Wales Infant Protection Act (Spence, 1907). This Act was established to incorporate and promote the objects of the Society for the Relief of Destitute Children. The significance of this Act was that it dealt with the legal control of children in the Society's asylum for children (Ramsland, 1985). This meant that the Society's Directors had all the powers and privileges of a father over such children until the age of 19 years. Thus, these children had no power or control over their destiny. However, this also applied to many non-orphaned children and to women of this era.

In 1857, The Relief Society of Destitute Children Act enabled power to be given to Directors of the Children's Department to control the lives of all state children until 19 years of age. In 1866, The Industrial Schools Act was passed. This Act gave authority to the Governor to control destitute children. The Act, also known as the Act for the Relief of Destitute Children 1866 states:

> Any ship or vessel or any building or place together with any yards, enclosures, grounds or lands attached thereto to be a 'Public Industrial School'. Any vagrant or destitute child under the age of sixteen could be directed by two Justices of the Peace to attend an Industrial School and to remain the responsibility of the Superintendent until the age of eighteen, unless apprenticed out or discharged. A child could be apprenticed out from twelve years of age but if twelve or over when admitted was required to attend the School for a year before being apprenticed (p. 1).

Thus the destitute child was able to obtain an education, or, prepare for an apprenticeship.

After 1874, legislation was established to re-create family life based on the British system of care, and this enabled the government to assist orphaned, destitute and neglected children. In 1881, The State Children's Relief Act was passed, and boarding-out occurred under this Act. Under the 1881 State Children's Relief Act, the state became the guardian of all children in any institution, which was funded wholly or partially by the government. This enabled children in charitable institutions to be removed, and to be boarded-out in licenced private homes.

The 1923 Child Welfare Act stipulated that all institutions were under the control of the State, and that they were subject to quarterly inspections by government-appointed inspectors. This Act also made provision for anyone who injured or neglected any children in children's institutions to be liable to a fine of one hundred pounds or imprisonment of six months or both. To what extent this was enforced is very questionable in view of the number of children abused in orphanages subsequent to this legislation.

The 1939 Child Welfare Act amended the 1923 Child Welfare Act, and it stated that any punishment of children in institutions ought to include physical punishment as a last resort. Of course such legislation was largely ignored by administrators of the

institutions, and children were subject to an array of abuses. Indeed, legislation provided little real protection for children.

2.2.2 Role of the churches and child welfare in New South Wales

After colonisation in 1788, it took 80 years for a specific church-run orphanage to be established in New South Wales. Ramsland (1985) explains "one general reason might be found in the necessity of the churches, particularly the small protestant denominations, to become well established before they had any energy to devote to expensive good works such as children's institutions" (p. 272). However, the churches soon became active in the care of destitute children, and by 1870, almost 100 years after settlement, some 2498 children passed through the charitable institutions of New South Wales. This totalled 0.5 percent of people of all ages in the colony (Burns & Goodnow, 1979).

An Amendment to the State Children's Relief Act of 1881 raised the age for boarding-out of any children from 12 years to the age of 14 years. The major impact of this Act was that the government withdrew funding to church institutions. This led to the closure of the Roman Catholic orphan schools, and the Roman Catholics had to conduct their own orphanages without aid. The Protestant institutions also did not receive subsidies from the government. Fox (1997) points out that:

> One of the central issues in the history of Australian child welfare has been the debate over institutional care and its potential for conflict between Church and State….The principle of normalisation was applicable to children's institutions and the movement spread throughout the western world, making an impact in Australia in the 1960s and 1970s (p. 2).

Religion was so important in the colony of New South Wales that an envoy, Mr. J. T. Bigge, was sent from London in response to complaints about Governor Lachlan

Macquarie whose letter to the Roman Catholic chaplains of the colony in 1820 indicates his religious bias in about orphans. The letter stated:

> That you do not interfere with the Religious education of orphans in the Charitable institutions of this colony, they, being by the fundamental Regulations of those institutions, are to be instructed in the faith and doctrines of the Church of England (Bonwick, 1820).

By 1909, the Roman Catholic, Church of England, Wesleyan and Presbyterian churches were all involved in the care of orphans in their orphanages. Such actions were contradictory to the state policy of boarding-out. The Catholic Church opposed the scattering of "their" children to different families where the quality of their religious upbringing would vary. The Catholic Church preferred the large institution where orphans were under the control of the church's religious, physical and educational development. Horsburgh (1982) notes that:

> Whilst there can be no doubt about the dedication of many of those associated with church homes for neglected children over the last one hundred years, it cannot be said innovation has marked their work. They were largely reactive in their inception. In many cases their foundation and development has been viewed in terms of competition with other churches in defence against the pernicious influences (pp. 285-6).

In the 19th century, the New South Wales government had social control of inmates in its institutions such as orphanages, asylums and hospitals, and the orphan was manipulated using a balance between benevolence and social conditions. It was in the interests of the colony under Governor King that he was determined to control the environment for these orphan and destitute children (Gandevia, 1978).

McLean (1956) notes that "the first duty of a Child Welfare Department is to prevent children suffering the de-privations in which social ills are bred…those whose education needs are not being met must be helped to achieve education" (p. 17). The social ills were addressed and eventually there evolved a sharing of responsibility for orphans by the state as well as the churches, as in the other states of Australia.

2.3 South Australia

In the early 19th century, South Australia was at the forefront of care for orphaned, neglected and destitute children, according to Spence (1907) . She wrote extensively on the topic, and contended that there were few real orphans, but rather there were half-orphans with one parent dead, or else there were illegitimate children. Spence (1907) praised the work of South Australian care for neglected children by saying " the example of South Australia with regard to boarding-out and Children's Court has been of infinite value" (p. 128).

South Australia had the disadvantage of not having government funding for the churches' orphanages in the early 19th century. Consequently, the churches struggled to establish orphanages. Barbalet (1983) points out "all Australian states treated state wards in much the same way as South Australia… Most State wards were fostered, that is, boarded-out with families other than their own" (p. xi). She focuses upon the lives of state wards growing up in one of the South Australian orphanages. Although, as she claims, the experiences of those state wards are similar to any state wards in any other Australian state. The care of the children in institutions was not only for the orphaned and neglected, but also for the destitute. A Destitute Board was established in 1848 to help cater for these children, but it was not until after 1887 that they were able to board-out with their real parents.

2.3.1 Role of the churches and orphanages in South Australia

Dickey and Suthern (1987) indicate that there were about 23,000 children in institutional care in South Australia between 1900s and the 1980s, as shown in Table 2.2

Table 2.2: Number of children in State care in South Australia, 1900-1979.

Decade	In institutions	Others
1900-1909	2115	10953
1910-1919	2120	14603
1920-1929	2679	15180
1930-1939	2307	8945
1940-1949	2176	9599
1950-1959	2766	8923
1960-1969	5206	28038
1970-1979	3584	31760
Total	22953	128001

Source: Dickey & Suthern, 1987

Dickey and Suthern (1987) do not specify what the category "Others" includes, but it may be children in foster care. Table 2.2 also does not specify the number of children specifically in church-run institutions and those in state institutions. However, the dominance of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church in South Australia, as in the other Australian states, is evident because South Australia had only two church-run orphanages in the 1800s; one run by the Church of England and one by the Roman Catholic Church. There was great difficulty in boarding-out children with Roman Catholic families because the Roman Catholic children were placed only with Roman Catholic families, while the Protestants whether Church of England, Presbyterian or Baptist, were placed with Protestant families. South Australia refused to pay public money to any denomination either for churches or orphanages, and as a result, in the 1800s, South Australia had only two orphanages, whereas other colonies had established

many charitable institutions, such as in New South Wales with its male and female orphan schools. In Adelaide, the Church of England established the Orphan Home in 1860, and a Roman Catholic lay society, the St Vincent de Paul Society, established the St Vincent's orphanage in Adelaide in 1886 (Mellor, 1990).

2.3.2 Legislation and orphanages in South Australia

In 1848, The Children's Apprenticeship Board was established to provide apprenticeships in order to protect orphaned and impoverished children. Mellor (1990) notes that:

> Between 1864 and 1874, all Australian colonies passed legislation that made provision for neglected or destitute children. This legislation included the: Destitute Persons Relief Act 1866 (SA)…In 1872, the South Australian Neglected Persons Act significantly broadened that colony's definition of 'neglected' to include uncontrollable children. This allowed parents to seek committal of their own children to an industrial school, but they were expected to contribute towards the cost (p. 18).

The industrial schools initially were established to provide training and cater for children who were neglected rather than orphaned, but Mellor (1990) indicates that the Adelaide Orphan Home broadened its function to classify itself as an industrial school in order to obtain government funds for admitted state children.

The South Australian State Children's Amendment Act 1909 provided care and protection for children and infants, and enabled children's inspectors to visit the homes where children were being cared for at any time, and it was empowered to dismiss carers who neglected the welfare of the children in care (Mellor, 1990).

In South Australia, by the 1920s, there were moves towards providing social security legislation (Kewley, 1947). By 1926, The Maintenance Act meant that families had a

better opportunity to prevent their children from being institutionalised because of poverty. Consequently, the number of state wards, who were children in the care of the State, decreased with the passage of this Act, but, as Barbalet (1983) points out:

> The children whose mothers received assistance under the provisions of the Maintenance Act, while not removed from their mothers, were still liable to be visited as though 'boarded-out', and the social welfare bureaucracy continued to grow (p. xviii).

The government inspectors were mandated by the 1926 Maintenance Act to visit children in their homes, boarded-out or in institutions to safeguard their welfare. Such inspections would include accommodation, clothing, food and treatment in compliance with legislative requirements. These inspections applied to parents, foster parents, employers or administrators of orphanages or other institutions for children. Punishment of state children in care was also specified by regulations of the Maintenance Act 1926, which ensured that children would not be deprived of food or placed in detention for longer than 48 hours. The health of the child as well, was to be addressed in administering punishment (Maintenance Act 1926, regulations 103,107). In South Australia, boarding-out became the major focus, and South Australia became the first state in Australia to adopt a government policy of boarding-out children with private families.

2.4 Victoria

2.4.1 Role of the churches and orphanages in Victoria

Between 1850 and 1857, the Church of England and Roman Catholic churches initially catered for the neglected and orphaned children in Victoria by establishing orphanages. This was a similar pattern to other states such as Queensland, Tasmania and South Australia. Between 1850 and 1857 there were two Catholic and two Protestant Orphanages built in Melbourne, and later another two were built in Ballarat. In 1871, a

foster care programme commenced in Victoria, and in 1881 the Scots Church in Melbourne developed reception centres to rescue neglected children. By 1882, the state had almost withdrawn from institutional care, and the churches ran it. Subsequently, Child Welfare legislation, between 1887-1890, confirmed the position of the voluntary agencies, and it became established practice, for the State to transfer to voluntary institutions, all children who could not be placed in foster care. By 1955, 60 percent of state wards were placed in voluntary institutions (Brooks, 1964).

The voluntary agencies were established by various churches. The destitute and orphaned children in Victoria were boarded-out, or placed out to service as farm labourers for boys, or domestic servants for girls, when they attained 14 years of age. The work of the Ladies Committees, which were established to monitor the care of boarded-out children, was one of the strengths of the Victorian administration (Spence, 1907). From 1930, the old system of boarding-out gradually decreased and placement in voluntary private institutions predominated (Tierney, 1963). The following statement from a nine-year-old inmate from the Melbourne Orphanage gives an insight into the destiny for orphans in Victoria.

> At the age of nine I found myself an inmate of the State Melbourne Orphanage, subsequently I found that all the girls were destined for cheap labour as domestic servants and all the boys for farm labourers. We attended the local State school as “insiders” – the more fortunate children were “outsiders”. For we “insiders’ no textbooks were available, nor were we issued with any lined workbooks (Dow, 1991).

Leonard (1963) examined the role of social welfare in Victoria, and notes that the welfare system adopted by the government failed to obtain desirable results for the destitute child. The work of institutions and boarding-out had little value for the child in

most cases, and his contention is that the interests of the government and its administrative structure were catered for, rather than the interests of the child. As in other states, the foundation of institutions and the boarding-out system were based to a large extent on humanitarian grounds, but the system became too complacent, and did not keep pace with other developments in society, and soon became outdated. Leonard's position is essentially one which opposes the social control and manipulation by the government.

2.4.2 Legislation and orphanages in Victoria

In Victoria, the construction of orphanages, and later the development of the boarding-out system, was considered of greater benefit than the mere baby-farming practice which placed the welfare of the neglected, abandoned or orphaned child in jeopardy. Tierney (1963) notes that:

> Humanitarian and religious concern led not only to the founding of the great private orphanages at Ballarat … But also to the passage of the first important child welfare legislation in Victoria, the Neglected and Criminal Children's Act of 1864 (p. 3).

This Neglected and Criminal Children's Act of 1864 was designed to provide institutional care for children, and to provide industrial training. The Act repealed The Infants' (Felons) Act of 1849. This new legislation enabled voluntary institutions to flourish as the government provided subsidies. However, Rylah (1964) points out:

> The programme was a total failure. Many of the buildings were unsuitable, the scheme of industrial training was poorly conceived and staffing problems were a continued source of worry (p. 71).

The Neglected and Criminal Children's Act of 1864 led to the development of further programmes to assist neglected children. By 1882, the state had almost entirely withdrawn from the field of institutional care of orphaned and neglected children. In

1890, The Neglected Children and Juvenile Offenders Act made it easier for private individuals and institutions to assist neglected children. As well, the Infant Life Protection Act was passed in 1890 and, as Jaggs (1986) indicates, harsh penalties existed for anyone who was found guilty of 'neglect to provide adequate food, nursing, clothing, medical aid or lodging for any child in his or her custody or wilfully ill-treat or expose any child' (p. 84). Then in 1919, The Children's Maintenance Act heralded the start of financial assistance to children in their own homes. Rylah (1964) maintains that:

> During the past century there has been a slow evolution in the type of institutional care. Until 1950 the institution was typically a large building where the children slept in dormitories and received little individualization… since 1950 no new types of institutions have replaced the old style orphanage. The first is the cottage institution where children live in small cottages over several acres. The second is the family group home where the cottages are established in ordinary suburban streets. In both cases the children receive individual attention (p. 71).

The Children's Welfare Act of 1954 provided further assistance to the neglected child. Indeed as stated in Section 2.31 of the Forgotten Australians Report (2004):

> From 1954 the government increased its involvement in direct services, coupled with the tighter government standards for non-government homes. The Victorian Department's increased participation reflected the growing recognition of the importance of retaining the parents in their children's lives. Under the Victorian Children's Welfare Act 1954, the government established its own institutions for its children and young offenders. However, the Victorian Government continued to rely on the non-government sector until the 1960s and 1970s (p. 24).

What is significant, is that the Children's Welfare Act of 1954 indicated under Section 46 that there was to be no corporal punishment of inmates of children's homes and juvenile schools, but rather punishment was to be in the form of fatigue duties, deprivation of privileges, variation of diet, or temporary isolation. An amendment to the Children's Welfare Act in 1955 removed the variation of diet as a punishment for inmates of orphanages and juvenile schools (Forgotten Australians Report, 2004). No doubt the aspect of no corporal punishment under the legislation was neglected because there was subsequent provision made for it. Section 37 of the 1960 Social Welfare Act states:

> Corporal punishment as a corrective measure shall be authorized only to meet major acts of misconduct or repeated insubordination. Every instance of behaviour considered to require such correction shall be reported by an officer or officers observing same to the Superintendent or Matron who, after interviewing the inmate concerned and being satisfied that medical, psychological or psychiatric advice would not be more appropriate and that in the interests of discipline generally immediate action is necessary, shall order the nature and extent of the corrective measures to be adopted (p. 380).

It would be idealistic to believe that such a lengthy protocol was followed in cases of severe misconduct and corporal punishment. Punishment would be more likely to be meted out spontaneously.

In 1960, the Social Welfare Act made provision for the Social Welfare Branch of the Chief Secretary's Department to replace the Children's Welfare Department. Overall, the evolution of care for orphans in Victoria was a process whereby the state relinquished its obligations to the churches, but maintained its power through the provision of subsidies.

2.5 Western Australia

2.5.1 Role of the churches and orphanages in Western Australia

All major churches were involved in the orphanages in Western Australia, so that by 1953, there were 25 church institutions and only one state orphanage (Roe, 1976). As was the pattern in other states, Western Australia was quite willing for the churches to care for the majority of its orphans and destitute children.

The care of orphans in Western Australia, as in other states, has mainly involved the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England. Other Protestant churches such as Methodists, Presbyterians and Salvation Army were involved to lesser degrees. The Roman Catholic Church was highly involved in the care of orphans in Western Australia. In particular, in 1868, the church invited the Christian Brothers to care for orphan boys. The Roman Catholic Christian Brothers managed four homes for boys, while the Sisters of Mercy operated homes for neglected, destitute, girls and boys from broken homes as well as juvenile delinquents. The boys were trained in agriculture, and the girls were trained in domestic service.

From 1897 to 1968, the four Roman Catholic boys' orphanages in Western Australia included the Clontarf Orphanage, Castledare Junior Orphanage, Tardum Farm School, St Joseph's Farm and Trade School Bindoon (Coldrey, 1993). In all of these, the educational and social emphasis was upon equipping the boys for life. In the Castledare Junior Orphanage, pioneering work catered for the intellectually impaired. There were perennial rivalries between the Protestant and Catholic approaches to orphan care, which were similar to those in the other Australian States. However, in the treatment of intellectually backward orphans and other children, the Catholic Church denied that this orphanage would be discriminatory, as expressed by the Western Australian Archbishop at the opening ceremony of the Castledare Junior Orphanage:

> Although this school has been built under the aegis of the Catholic Church – although we rely very much for its success on the religious and moral influence to be brought to bear on our boys – it will be open for all creeds without distinction…..rest assured that no advantage will ever be taken of a feeble intelligence or a weak will to tamper with the faith of any boy entrusted to our care here (The West Australian, Monday, April 22, 1929).

The issue of sexual and physical abuse was raised by Coldrey (1993). He deals with it extensively, and focuses upon the "sexual underworld in institutions", with particular attention to the role and involvement of the Roman Catholic Christian Brothers in these activities.

2.5.2 Legislation and orphanages in Western Australia

The administration of social service provisions for under-privileged children in Western Australia, initially was based on the 1874 Industrial Schools' Act, which provided for the care and concern of under-privileged children, and administrators became accountable to the Colonial Secretary for the colony of Western Australia (Roe, 1976). The state became involved in the welfare of the neglected children, but favoured the institutional-type care. By the 1900s, the institution, as a means of caring for dependent, neglected and delinquent children outside of their homes, was still overwhelmingly predominant in Western Australia (Roe, 1976). Perhaps the West Australian government chose this institutional type of care for neglected, orphaned or destitute children because it was cheaper and easier to monitor or perhaps it was because of a scandalous case involving baby farming where illegitimate children were "farmed out" to unsupervised, and often unscrupulous carers, whose interest was money, and not the care of the children in their charge. This particular case involved a baby farming carer, Mrs Mitchell, whose first 13 children had all died, proved to be pivotal for child welfare legislation in Western

Australia, as Mellor (1990) suggests, ‘ In Western Australia, the scandal of the Mitchell case helped speed the State Children’s Act 1907’ (p. 90).

The State Children Acts 1907-1927 were most specific about the care of orphans, destitute or neglected children in either government or non-government institutions. Similar to legislation in other states, provision was made for the administration of corporal punishment, food, accommodation, clothing and education. The institutions were subject to inspection ‘as often as occasion may require, and shall do so at least once in every six months’ (Section 31 Regulation at 1934 Child Welfare Act 1907-1927). An encouraging section of the 1934 Regulation was Section 81 which enabled an inspector to visit and converse with the wards of the Department wherever they may be, and, if necessary, question them as to whether they are properly treated, fed, and clothed (Section 81, Regulation 1934, Child Welfare Act 1907-1927). Although some of the state wards may have feared retribution if they revealed any maltreatment, at least it was an opportunity for them to express themselves.

The institutions remained until the 1960s, when most other states were phasing out the barrack type institution. Boarding-out was an option, but more often than not, neglected children were placed in industrial schools and orphanages subsidised by the state (Spence, 1907). Legislation for the protection of children was needed, and Spence (1907) called for an Infant Protection Bill to prevent baby farming.

2.6 Tasmania

2.6.1 Role of the churches and orphanages in Tasmania

The care of neglected children in Tasmania, or Van Diemen’s Land, had a different beginning because the colony was originally established as a penal colony. Governor Arthur expressed his concern for the children of the colony (Brown 1972). Governor Arthur’s particular concern was for the destitute, those children living in moral danger

because of the habits of their parents, as well as those genuinely impoverished because of the poor circumstances of their parents. Because Tasmania was a penal colony, it meant that the State had a duty of care towards the children of the convicts. Consequently, the Church of England regarded these children to be children of the state, and thus should worship in the State religion which was Church of England. As in the other states, there was competition amongst the religions to claim 'their" children. Brown (1972) notes that " …in late 1839 and early 1840 the Catholics were agitating for a separate home for Roman Catholic children on the lines of the Government orphanages in New South Wales" (p.68). This appeal was rejected on the basis that other religions would also want similar rights. The state of Tasmania did not follow the example of the other states, in that it did not board-out children in the country, but rather in the suburbs of Hobart (Spence, 1907). Tasmania's Education Department set guidelines for neglected children with an emphasis upon their education. Overall, in Tasmania there were far fewer neglected children admitted to institutions than in the other states. Spence (1907) noted that " either the population is more virtuous or there are less clear ideas as to what constitutes a "neglected child" (p. 126).

As in other Australian states, groups of these children were initially attached to the residence of the parents, such as a prison, factory or home. The establishment of orphanages in Tasmania included The King's Orphans' School for Boys and Girls. It was built in 1828, with the early style based on the orphan schools that operated in New South Wales (1972).

Child abuse is evident in The King's Orphans' Schools where children were ill-fed and severely beaten (Brown, 1972). An example of this physical abuse was when the

Master of the Male Orphan School was dismissed in 1831 after severely beating two boys. Children were rescued from the streets only to suffer at the hands of those whose duty it was to care for them.

The large number of children kept together in an orphanage stifled any individuality and led to children becoming listless and unmotivated. The effect of this was that the large-scale orphanages were eventually closed, and in 1871 the boarding-out scheme was implemented, so that the children could be better treated and brought up in a family. Good church families were sought for this fostering. Mellor (1990) points out:

> The boarding-out system in Tasmania differed from that of other colonies in several important respects. The children were mainly boarded-out with suburban families in Hobart and Launceston, rather than in the country. Also, no voluntary visiting committees were initially set up to place and supervise the children. Instead, these important tasks were left to the already overworked Administrator of Charitable Grants, William Tarlton, assisted by enquiry officers from his department (p. 25).

Voluntary ladies' committees were eventually established in 1881. Ladies from the committees visited the boarded-out children each month. The legacy of the early adoption of the boarding-out system in Tasmania is reflected in Table 2.3 below which indicates small numbers in institutions which were not orphanages but special homes and industrial schools. The others included foster care. Thus the churches played a significant role in helping to safeguard the welfare of the orphaned, destitute and neglected children in the early development of Tasmanian welfare systems.

Table 2.3:The number of children in State care and in Boarding-Out in Tasmania,1900-57

Decade	In institutions	Boarding Out
1900-1909	201	1684
1910-1919	314	2161
1920-1929	242	3435
1930-1939	292	3798
1940-1949	294	2616
1950-	161 (to 1956)	928 (to 1957)
Total	1504	14622

Source: Dickey & Suthern, 1987

Table 2.3 above indicates that the number of state children in boarding-out situations in Tasmania has remained consistently much higher than those in institutions over the last one hundred years. The protection of children in boarding-out situations became a major responsibility of the Tasmanian government.

2.6.2 Legislation and orphanages in Tasmania

Such protection of children was therefore supported by legislation for the children's benefit, as Mellor (1990) indicates, 'boarding-out in Tasmania also commenced in the early 1870s through provisions in the Public Charities Act 1873' (p.24). The major legislation was the passage, in 1895, of The Protection of Cruelty to and Better Protection of Children Act. In the following year, The Neglected Children's and Youthful Offenders Act 1896 was given

assent. This legislation effectively enabled the state to administer and provide better protection for the children of the State. As Brown (1972) states:

> Like South Australia, and unlike the Eastern states, the government in Tasmania had long played a significant part in their total social services, so that the move in emphasis from voluntary to government activity, which on the mainland is regarded as one of the most significant feature of the 1890's, has no equivalent here (p. 170).

In the 1890s, Tasmania differed to the other colonies in its move towards voluntary organisations to assist the orphans, whereas in the other colonies it was towards greater Government control. It appears, then, that Tasmania might have lagged behind the other states in response to neglected and orphan care. Such a stance is vindicated by Brown (1972) who claims that children in Orphan Schools in Tasmania:

> Were fed, clothed and housed, educated after a fashion in the basic subjects and given minimum training in housework and shoemaking… At 14 or 15 they were left to face the world with little personal or educational equipment (pp. 31-32).

Tasmania did, however, improve infant protection and child welfare for its neglected, destitute and orphan children in 1918, as Mellor (1990) indicates:

> In Tasmania, the major statement of children's rights and government's obligations to them was contained in the Children of the State Act 1918, known as the 'Children's Charter'. This included provision for children's courts and the establishment of a Children of the State Department to replace the former Department of Neglected Children (p. 91).

Later, The Child Welfare Act of 1960 made provisions to ensure the welfare of State wards whether they were in boarding-out situations, in apprenticeships or

Children's Boarding Homes or Day Nurseries. Section 47 of the 1960 Child Welfare Act states:

> No person shall wilfully ill-treat or neglect a ward of the State placed out with him under this Act or cause such a ward of the State to be ill-treated or neglected. Penalty: One hundred pounds or 12 months imprisonment

and Section 66 of the Child welfare Act 1960 states:

> No person, who has attained the age of sixteen years and has the custody, care or control of a child who has not attained that age shall wilfully ill-treat, neglect, abandon, or expose that child, or cause that child to be ill-treated, neglected, abandoned or exposed (p. 384).

The legislation was enacted in 1960. This was the year when similar legislation provided for the care of children in orphanages, training schools, boarded-out or in apprenticeships in other states such as Queensland (1965) and Victoria (1960). However, the important point here is that, regardless of legislation, orphaned, destitute and neglected children were being abused in children's institutions across Australia as Section 2.80 of The Forgotten Australians Report (2004) attests:

> Comparisons of what was legislatively permitted regarding punishments, with examples of actual abuses as outlined in the report, demonstrate that laws were broken and actions were illegal at various times in many institutions across Australia. An examination of what was specified under statutes regarding inspections of institutions against claims that such inspections were not undertaken, illustrates that laws were more often not applied. Similarly laws pertaining to the education of children in institutions were very often ignored (p. 35).

The results of such breaches in duty of care related to punishment and the education of children in orphanages are examined also in Chapter 8.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has provided a history of the social conditions, and the various educational and other practices concerned with the care of orphans, and neglected and destitute children in New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, Western Australia and Tasmania from their beginnings as colonies. The focus in all states was upon the differing role of the churches in conjunction with state legislation about the care of the orphans. A common pattern in all of the states was that the churches experimented with a variety of child-care techniques such as large institutions, boarding-out and cottage-type homes. The common practices were that each of the states' church-run orphanages was compliant with the demands of the state in order to obtain subsidies. Each state government was ultimately in control of the lives of orphans in their state.

Chapter 3 Queensland orphanages' educational provisions for children

Because this thesis focuses on the state of Queensland and its policies and practices with orphans, neglected and destitute children, this chapter specifically addresses its approach in these areas.

3.1 Role of the churches and orphanages in Queensland

The colony of Queensland was established in 1859, and the social and economic conditions then did not allow a great deal of time or money to be spent on the care of orphans, neglected or destitute children. As was the trend in the colony of New South Wales, care of such children took place in the asylums, or hospitals where quite often their adult parents had sought refuge, usually because of poverty (Spence, 1907, p. 9). In Queensland, such children were sent to Dunwich on North Stradbroke Island at the mouth of the Brisbane River, in order to remove them from these places of incarceration. A pseudo-orphanage was established there in 1864 when 20 children, related to paupers, were sent to the Benevolent Society at Dunwich and joined other children there. However, because of the economic conditions affected by drought and unemployment in the late 1860s, there was an increase in the number of children being neglected and subsequently admitted to the Orphanage.

The first official orphanage in Queensland was known as the Diamantina Orphanage, named after Lady Roma Diamantina Bowen, the wife of Queensland's first governor. The Diamantina Orphanage was established in 1865 at Greenhills, now Roma Street in Central Brisbane, and then it was re-modelled in 1883 and re-located to South Brisbane when the orphans were transferred from Dunwich. In 1883, Sir Samuel Griffith, the Liberal Premier, allocated specific sums of money for orphan schools (Wood, 1981). The churches might have been expected to take the lead in the establishment of orphanages in Queensland, but following the Declaration of the State of Queensland in 1859, legislation

was passed in 1860 whereby all government funding to religion was to be discontinued. Consequently, churches that wished to assist in social welfare had to do so at their own expense in the early years of Queensland settlement. The newly formed state government thus led the way in social welfare, as Lawson (1970) notes:

> The Queensland government, like its counterparts in the other colonies, had concentrated its attention upon the problems of growth and development in a frontier society….of all the groups in the community, the state was most directly involved in the care of orphaned and destitute children, the mentally ill, and the destitute aged and infirm, for all of whom it provided institutions (p. 195-196).

The difficulty was that the establishment and maintenance of such institutions proved to be an enormous economic burden on the new state, and the institutions for orphaned, neglected or destitute children became over crowded, as explained in Section 2.16 of the Forgotten Australians Report (2004):

> In Queensland, after the 1886 economic collapse, the Diamantina Orphanage was bursting at the seams and the government partly funded the Catholic St Vincent's. Generally throughout 1890-1935 there was a push towards institutional care because it was seen as cost effective. However, by 1930 in Queensland, only 10 per cent of State children were in institutions. This led to problems in securing inspectors to supervise the over 8000 boarded-out children and hence Queensland State children were returned to institutions (p. 21).

The return of children to institutions in Queensland may have eased some of the financial burdens for the state, but it did not address the problems such action created for the orphans.

The next section examines the two most influential church groups in Queensland, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church which established orphanages for the

care of orphaned, neglected or destitute children. The other churches, such as the Salvation Army, Methodist and Presbyterian churches had lesser roles in this area, and are also examined.

3.2 The Church of England

Bishop Tufnell, who was to do so much for orphans in Queensland, arrived in Brisbane in 1860 as head of the Church of England church in this state, without endowment, and with no aid from the State (Church of England Year Book, 1890). The role of the Church of England in child welfare was therefore slowed by this lack of state assistance. The Church of England was the predominant religion in the colony of Queensland in 1860, followed by the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian. There was a conscious effort by the State Diamantina Orphanage to distinguish between Protestant and the Roman Catholic children. For example, in May 1866, Protestant children were sent to St John's church in Central Brisbane, and Roman Catholic children attended a Roman Catholic Church in Fortitude Valley in Brisbane. In 1866, the Church of England faced opposition from the Herbert state government which viewed their actions in social welfare with suspicion. There was opposition to the Church of England assuming its powerful position that it held in England, as Daw (1975) notes:

> In the early years of colonial expansion, it was virtually taken for granted that the established Church of England when transplanted to the colonies was the state church there also. Slowly, and often painfully, it became clear that 'the position of a National Church in the old country is one which does not and cannot reproduce itself in the colony' (p. 360).

The Church of England, regardless of this opposition, still wielded considerable influence.

3.3 Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church, under the leadership of Bishop Quinn, was also subjected to the same government control of orphanages. Bishop Quinn's request to establish a Roman Catholic orphanage in October 1866 was met with the following reply from the Colonial Secretary.

> I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that the proposal has been accepted on the conditions named in your letter, and on the explicit understanding that the payments to be made by the government are to be viewed as refundment of expenses incurred in the sustenance and clothing of the children, and further, that the government shall retain the power to impose such other conditions as are usual with institutions of this character, and may from time to time be deemed expedient (Inspector of Orphanages Annual Report, 1867;1867).

This left no doubt in the minds of the church recipients of the state subsidy that the state wished to control the way in which the money was to be spent, and to maintain its power. This response to Bishop Quinn's request outlined the government's position unequivocally. This characteristic of government subsidy and the inherent accountability, as well as power and control, were to set the pattern for the future in Queensland orphanages.

In the 19th century, orphanages in Queensland were subsidised by the state government, and the level of government control over them depended on the level of subsidy (Bignall, 1973). The greater the level of subsidies meant the greater level of control by the government. Following the early establishment of orphanages by both the Roman Catholic and the Church of England, other churches such as the Methodist, Presbyterian and Salvation Army set up similar institutions, and they were able to do so because of the government subsidies. In 1879, Inspectors of Orphanages were introduced

to ensure that the government subsidies were being used in an appropriate manner. The Inspector paid monthly visits to the orphanages and submitted an annual report to state parliament about them. The bureaucrats in the Inspector's Office in Queensland were then able to shape and control policy in orphanages. The Inspectors of Orphanages were all men whose role was to examine the orphanages to ensure that the standards under the Orphanages Act of 1879 were followed by both the state and church orphanages. The Inspectors of Orphanages were obliged to report to the Queensland Parliament annually with official reports, which indicated their general findings as well as those of the ladies' committees. In Queensland, there were Lady Visitors, who, as members of District Committees, actively and conscientiously visited state wards who were boarded-out, to monitor child abuse as well as their general welfare. These visits were to audit such details as children's health, general welfare and whether they were receiving an adequate education. These ladies' committees monitored the placement and welfare of orphans in boarding-out situations as well as those in the institutions. Children of the state were able to be boarded out, fostered or hired out for rural or domestic service.

The Roman Catholic Church, however, chose to focus upon the development of its barrack-type orphanages and at the beginning of the 1890s, it played a significant role in the care of orphaned and destitute children in the state. Lawson (1970) explains that:

> In 1891 there were five orphanages in the colony [Queensland], three of which were Operated by the state: the Diamantina in Brisbane, and others at Rockhampton and Townsville. The remaining two, St Vincent's at Nudgee, in Brisbane, and another near Rockhampton, were run by the Roman Catholic Church, with a government subsidy of ten pence per child per day. Of a total of 1723 children in the Queensland orphanages, the two Brisbane institutions held 1186 (p. 196-197).

Thus, there were a considerable number of children in the Roman Catholic orphanages, and this was because the Roman Catholic Church did not allow its children to be boarded-out or hired out.

3.4 Salvation Army, Methodist Church, Presbyterian Church

In the 1900s, the Salvation Army, and the Methodist and Presbyterian churches all established orphanages in Queensland. They were all run as a barrack-type of orphanage, and had to conform with the government guidelines of the day in order to be funded. So by the end of the 1950s there were 20 orphanages established in Queensland and they were subject to audit and inspection by the government. This thesis focuses on this time period of from 1940 to 1960. By the late1960s, the trend was to move away from the barrack-type orphanage and to establish family group homes. The Presbyterian and Salvation Army had a preference for the barrack-type orphanage, although, the Methodist church in particular, established family group homes outside the Brisbane metropolitan area.

The Salvation Army church had a major focus on redemption, and orphanages were a secondary consideration, as Evans (1965) explains:

> Church groups committed themselves to the moral exorcism of repentant prostitutes, and the Salvation Army was later to aid inebriates at Colmslie House [in Brisbane]. They accepted some orphanage control, but were not otherwise involved in the State's welfare schemes (p. 302).

In the development of social welfare, the Salvation Army, Methodist and Presbyterian churches were involved with establishing orphanages in Queensland in the 1950s and 1960s but not to the same extent as the Roman Catholic and Church of England churches.

3.5 Legislation and orphanages in Queensland

In 1879, the new Inspectors of Orphanages reinforced their accountability, and no doubt, the control of government funds. In addition, the Queensland government introduced legislation to provide official control, and the institutions that relied upon government subsidies were subject to the Audit Act of 1874, as well as other specific legislation that dealt with orphanages. The first specific piece of legislation affecting orphans and destitute and neglected children in the colony of Queensland was the Orphanages Act of 1879. The preamble of the Queensland Regulations under the Orphanages Act of 1879 states:

> Whereas diverse Orphanages or Asylums for the reception and care of orphans and deserted and neglected children have been established in the Colony of Queensland and are now maintained in the whole or in part at the public expense and whereas it is desirable to make provision for the better management of such institutions and for the establishment of other institutions of a like nature (p. 1).

This legislation was designed to organise the policies and practices for the care of the orphaned, neglected and destitute children of the Moreton Bay settlement now known as Queensland, and to address accountability by the administrators. The Orphanages Act (1879) set out precisely what constituted an orphanage, and defined two types of orphanages as follows:

> "Public orphanage" any institution or asylum for the reception and care of orphans or deserted or neglected children established under this Act.
>
> "Licensed orphanage" any institution or asylum for the purpose aforesaid declared to be a Licensed Orphanage under this Act (p. 1).

As a consequence of these definitions, the division between the two types of orphanages was clearly defined. i.e., the public or state orphanages, and the licensed or church orphanages.

Three government orphanages established prior to the Orphanages Act (1879) were located in Brisbane, Rockhampton and Townsville. These were deemed to be Public Orphanages, and such was the importance of the Orphanages Act (1879), it was reported in Parliament, Queensland Parliamentary Debates (Queensland Parliamentary Debates, 1879) that "it was a very serious duty for the state to step in and become the parent of the children who had no parents, or who were neglected by their natural guardians" (p. 271).

The churches realised the importance of being licensed in order to obtain government subsidy. This then allowed the government to monitor the condition of the children more closely. To place this Act in a legislative historical context, it followed the 1865 Industrial and Reformatory Schools Act, which established special schools for neglected children and offenders younger than 15 years of age. These children lived in orphanages. In the same year, The Offences against Persons Act was passed. This Act provided protection for children in such areas as concealing childbirth. The implication of this was for the illegitimate child to have a better chance of survival. Then, in 1875, The State Education Act set up the Department of Instruction to control the different levels of training and instruction for all children. So, it is not surprising to see that when the Orphanages Act was established four years later in 1879, existing staff of the Department of Instruction would be used to oversee much of the work, similar to the role of inspectors of children under state care.

The Orphanages Act (1879) formalised the role of the state in relation to neglected and destitute children as the Queensland Government's publication, Centenary of Care for Children (1979) states:

> The new legislation enabled a consolidation of the piecemeal situation which had developed during the early years of development of the Queensland colony. The new Act had far reaching provisions to meet all circumstances affecting children. …..The Act provided for destitute and deserted children under the age of 12 years to be sent to an orphanage and to remain there until aged 12 unless lodged with or placed out under licence with a "trustworthy and respectable person" (p. 6).

The 1879 legislation provided for the recognition of the work of private institutions as well as State. The changes in the care and concern for neglected children had an immediate effect. Now, the work of the churches had formal recognition. It is important to recognise that the state would have been unable to care for all the neglected children without the help of the churches. Schofield (1971) points out that, "Provisions of the 1879 Act enlarged state and community responsibility for childcare, while the state retained overall supervision of these services it was the community, which stood in loco parentis by 1900, rather than the state" (p.186-187). The success of this legislation was somewhat dubious, as Bernays (1920) indicates:

> It never reached maturity, but, as everything has to have a beginning, it is of interest to record this was the first legislative note since Separation [of Queensland from New South Wales] in regard to the necessity of caring for the parentless and neglected children, though orphanages not under State control, had previously been established at Brisbane, Rockhampton, and Townsville (p. 291).

As indicated above, according to this 1879 legislation, the Inspector of Orphanages was required to submit an annual report to Parliament. The first Annual Report in December 1879 revealed that the Roman Catholic institution, St.Vincent's Orphanage at Nudgee, in 1878, had 204 children or approximately 44% of the total number of institutionalised children in Queensland. The remainder were in state orphanages

(Queensland Parliamentary Debates, 1879). Thus, the contribution by the Roman Catholic Church in the care of destitute children was substantial from the beginnings of the colony of Queensland, regardless of the financial constraints. Based on the argument that the Australian colonies were founded as a penal colony for convicts, it was a British government responsibility to fund services, in order to provide for the dependants. The British government, in turn, attempted to encourage local initiatives to relieve itself of some of the burden.

Other churches, such as the Church of England and the Methodist Church, provided the Protestant input into what was otherwise a Government or Roman Catholic monopoly. The 1879 Orphanages Act dominated the role of the State and churches for many years, and as new churches applied for registration, so also did they yield their total control to sharing with the State Orphanages (Bernays, 1920). However, the 1879 Orphanages Act provided protection for the neglected children who previously were accommodated in asylums, industrial schools, hospitals, reformatories and orphanages. The Orphanages Act (1879) also meant that the parents of these children were obliged to contribute to their upkeep, either in an orphanage or in a boarding-out situation. This situation was further supported by The Charitable Institutions Act of 1885 which held relatives responsible for assisting in the support of their children in charitable institutions such as orphanages.

Further Queensland legislative protection for children came with the 1896 Children's Protection Act, which placed restrictions on the employment of children and provided punishment for the ill treatment and neglect of children. The Infant Life Protection Act of 1905 then updated the 1896 Children's Protection Act. It afforded protection for children in Nursing Homes, which now had to be registered. All births and deaths had to be registered and reported. This Infant Protection Act (1905) was administered by the Police Department. However, the watershed piece of legislation about children in Queensland

was The State Children Act of 1911. This legislation provided care and protection of children up to the age of 13 years. It established a Director, and set up the State Children's Department, thereby removing it from the Public Instruction portfolio. Essentially this Act, with an amendment in 1917, which allowed children up to the age of 14 years to be protected by the state and for their parents to receive benefits, remained the driving force for child welfare until the 1960s (Services, 1979).

The State Children Amendment Act (1917) also provided a means of social and intellectual mobility for any state wards assessed as having the intellectual ability to obtain a State educational Scholarship at the end of primary school (in Grade 8, about age 12). Here was the chance for neglected, orphaned and destitute children to use education as a conduit to a more fulfilled life, and for the state to benefit from such opportunities. Such opportunities arose as the legislation tried to keep abreast of accompanying legislation for the community at large. For example, the Education Act of 1964 raised the school leaving age to 15 years, and more children in orphanages had the opportunity of a secondary school education. However, very few of the orphanage children received any secondary school education, or if they did, they did not complete it.

In 1965, The Children's Services Act was passed. This Act essentially allowed all children to be raised and educated by their parents. However, the state would intervene if there was evidence of neglect or abuse. In the 1970s the demise of the large dormitory-style orphanage occurred, and the trend was towards smaller group home-type orphanage, as can be seen in the Guidelines from the Methodist Church in 1973 for family group homes in country areas in Queensland. The Guidelines outlined a policy for the establishment and operation of family group homes outside the metropolitan area, in order to decentralise the services of the church. But above all, the homes had to be in or near

cities or towns where there was a branch of the Children's Services Department (Trigge, 1973). Mellor (1990) points out that:

> Family group homes had the advantage that they at least kept children within their own community and this made contact with their natural families easier. It was also claimed that such small intimate groups gave children a better chance to establish relationships similar to those established in a normal family group (p. 144).

It is debatable whether such an artificial environment would produce normal family relationships, but the churches were able assist in child welfare and obtain government subsidies to enable this to occur. It is evident then, that the churches needed government services and subsidies to operate, whether the care of orphaned and neglected children was undertaken in large barrack-type orphanages or in family group homes. Although, as De Maria (1988) indicates, "we can assume the State will not divest itself of its power when it leases charity to the private sector…charity was the Trojan Horse of state intervention. Flying the friendly colours of 'care' and 'benevolence', 'Statized charity' masked the capacity of the State to be despotic. State charity became in a sense the 'model' form of State intervention" (p. 135).

In the 1980s and the 1990s there was evidence of a trend to eliminate orphanages altogether, and to place the assistance directly with the families themselves. Consequently to this day, single mothers receive allowances for their children. Sadly though, this has certainly not eliminated the abuse of children. State legislation has aimed to provide protection for children, as it has done since the beginning of the colony of Queensland in 1859. However, regardless of legislation, systematic abuse of children did occur in orphanages. Although protection of children was the paramount reason for taking them into care initially, abuses of children often resulted from poor policies and practices. Perhaps, as Bromfield and Higgins (2005) suggest, this was because of an

"inability to fill funded positions with appropriate staff, and non-statutory services were unable to cope with demand and thus placed increased pressure on the statutory system and amendments to procedures not yet incorporated into practice manuals" (p.3). Thus, the Forde Report (Forde, 1999) was commissioned to investigate past and current abuse of children in Queensland institutions. One of the outcomes of such a focus on child welfare is that there is now established in Queensland since 2000 a State Department called the Children's Commission to provide protection for the interests of all children.

3.6 Education and orphanages in Queensland

From the beginnings of the colony of Queensland in the 1850s, the education of orphans and destitute children was considered to be important by the State as well as the churches. The State passed its initial educational legislation for Orphanages in 1879, within the portfolio of the Minister of Instruction. Education was valued, and one way of ensuring the welfare of orphans, was to report on their education. This was undertaken very early in Queensland beginning in 1879. The method of educational accountability was by the visit by the Inspectors of Orphanages and the Ladies Committees. One of the first references to schooling was made by the Inspector of Orphanages in 1884, in his Report to the Under Secretary of Public Instruction. He indicated that all children must attend school daily, as required by legislation. In the initial 1879 legislation, there was no mention of the educational provisions for orphans, although in 1880, provision was made in the regulations that set out the conditions relating to the boarding-out of children. Section 3 of the 1880 Regulations of the 1879 Orphanages Act stated:

> Every applicant having children within the school ages specified in the "Education Act" must show that they are attending school in accordance with the requirements of the Act, or give a satisfactory reason for their being detained there from (p. 1).

Emphasis was placed upon education in this Act when compared with the Education Act passed in 1875. The three words 'free, secular and compulsory' highlight the education system of Queensland as set out in that Education Act of 1875. The significance of the word 'secular' is evident in light of the state government's attitude of not allowing state aid funding to church schools. Section 8 of the Education Act Regulations of 1879 also stated:

> The children of school age must be sent to and attend State School regularly, unless their non-attendance is approved by the Minister for Public Instruction on the written recommendations of the Inspector of Orphanages or the committee, or the medical officer authorises in writing their non-attendance (p.1136).

The state government was quite definite in ensuring that the children in state orphanages were given the same educational opportunities as other children under the Education Act (1879) ("Queensland Regulations under the Orphanages Act of 1879," 1879). This expectation of the state was also conveyed to foster parents and the church authorities where state children were boarded-out. At the time of the 1879 Act, the Roman Catholic Church was the only church that boarded-out state children in their orphanages. The question that arises then, is, to what extent was this education mere tokenism, in order to keep children placated by keeping them occupied? The question of the quality of education in such a setting also needs to be considered. Goldman (1978) highlighted the poor quality of education in Queensland orphanages.

> From 1865 to early 1880s the only form of assistance for destitute and neglected children in Queensland was institutional care. In the orphanages, the children's material needs were met after a fashion and they were given a rudimentary education, which was aimed primarily at facilitating their early integration into the work force (p. 30).

The children in these circumstances were destined for the workforce at the age of 12 years, and the traditional path of preparation was for boys to be schooled to work on farms, and for girls to be trained as domestic servants. In most cases the future position in life for these destitute children was predetermined, regardless of their abilities or skills. This lack of emphasis on education, and the use of the girls for domestic labour, at such an early age, seems to prepare the girl orphans for a life of domestic servitude, not unlike the use of such labour in the early 1900s in Queensland, as Evans (1965) indicates:

> In conjunction with other benevolently minded citizens, they [church groups] approached charity with an air of gentility and saw it as a moral duty rather than perplexing social problem. It was a pastime, fit primarily for the attentions of respectable ladies, whose leisure depended partially upon the cheap sources of labour which charitable involvement offered them (p. 302).

The attitude taken by the administrators and staff of some of the orphanages was that children were unfortunate to be raised by charity, and the sooner they were able to no longer be a burden to the government or the church, the better.

Early testimony to this patronising attitude for the inmates of orphanages is evident in Colonial Secretary Palmers' letters (Secretary, 1870) regarding the Diamantina Orphanage in South Brisbane in 1870 . This orphanage was the first state-run orphanage in Queensland. The first aim of the institution was to feed and clothe the children, who were usually babies when they were admitted into the orphanages. The children were then taught skills that would be useful by helping them earn their own living, and not to be a burden upon the charity of others (Secretary, 1870) . Thus, care was taken to place them in service, whenever suitable opportunities occurred. Often it was for the convenience of the early citizens who required a domestic servant or farm worker, rather than the convenience or interests of the child.

Education was not a major priority in the early years of Queensland orphanages. Life there was rather regimented, and the children were merely filling in time until they were old enough to make a meaningful contribution to society. Goldman (1978) indicates that the focus on material care, and the preoccupation with socialising residents to accept and fulfil their roles in the unskilled labour force, forged the major goals and characteristics of the orphanages throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries in Queensland. This pattern of education for specific purposes of supply and demand for unskilled work was not limited to Queensland orphanages. Indeed, in Tasmania also, a rudimentary education was evident, as addressed earlier. Of course, such basic education reflected Australian economic needs during the 1870s which valued manual labour, rather than industrial or intellectual labour. For example, Bleby (1986) states:

> The committee could not contemplate allowing its children to better themselves through education. Those who did achieved it by themselves later on. The committee's attitude was no doubt consistent with that of the society of its time, but the Home [Orphanage] offered a good initial education, which was not allowed by the committee (p. 18).

This attitude may well have been a factor in helping to decide an orphan's fate, but it would be an over-exaggeration to say that the committee would actively discourage children from improving themselves through voluntary education. The emphasis upon education was reinforced by Orphanage Inspectors as well, who reported to state parliament annually. The Inspector's report to the Queensland Parliament in 1885 emphatically states:

> All boarded out and adopted children must attend a state school until they arrive at the age of twelve years. This rule is rigorously enforced by means of a monthly return received from the head teachers of 39 schools attended by

> state children. If a child is reported absent, except for good and sufficient reasons, the foster parents are at once communicated with, and the cause of absence with sifted. They are cautioned first, and if that fails to insure regular attendance the children are withdrawn. Their progress and conduct at school is very fair, and compares favourably with other children of the same age (Inspector of Orphanages Annual Report 1885, 1885) (p. 1).

Head teachers as well as members of the ladies' committees monitored the progress of state children. Although the children were being prepared for a life of some type of servitude, it did not mean they could do so without at least a basic education, and the state ensured that this education would be provided. Indeed, the establishment of the first Queensland State institution 1886, the Diamantina Orphan School in South Brisbane, as mentioned earlier, and the first report of the Committee of the Diamantina Orphan School in the same year, indicated that it had employed a resident schoolmaster. Later, the Orphan School employed female teachers resulting in an improvement of both boys' and girls' education under the tuition of the teachers they employed (Inspector of Orphanages Annual Report 1886, 1886). This report highlighted not only the obvious concern for education, but it also foreshadowed the start of the divisions between church and state education. The Roman Catholic Church made requests to the state authorities of the Diamantina Orphan School to have access to the Roman Catholic children there. The Sisters of Mercy requested that they might be given a room three afternoons a week to instruct the Roman Catholic children. The instruction would most likely have included religious education as well as basic English and Arithmetic education for the children.

The Colonial Secretary made the decision that the Roman Catholic Church had total control of their children, not only of their welfare, but also of their education. Thus, in 1867, Bishop Quinn sought to establish a separate school under the care of the Sisters of

Mercy (Inspector of Orphanages Annual Report 1885, 1885). The state was thus relieved of the burden of 48 of its children, and the Sisters of Mercy established the St. Vincent's orphanage at Nudgee. The education of the children was guaranteed to be of the same standard as the children at the Diamantina Orphan School in South Brisbane. By 1886, the State had many reasons to be pleased, as the Roman Catholic Church cared for 366 children compared with the state's 407 in the Diamantina Orphanage. (Diamantina and St Vincent's Orphanage Report, 1887).

The Queensland government was keen for the state children to have equal opportunities with their counterparts in the wider community. In 1891, the Inspector of Orphanages, Mr Charles Horrocks used the Head Teachers to monitor the children's progress. The Head Teachers were ideally placed to make first-hand observations and comparisons, in order to provide feedback. Opportunities were provided for the orphans to succeed in education, equally with other children. This is reflected in The Inspector of Orphanages Annual Report of 1891 where one Head Teacher's letter indicates "I find that most state children are backward while in the lower classes; but regular attendance and uniform treatment gradually bring them into line with other children" (p.11).

In the 1880s, in Queensland, secondary school education was a luxury for most children, let alone for orphans. Orphans and destitute children had their education structured in different ways. Most were taught within the institutions, later some were boarded-out, whilst others were 'hired-out' once they reached the age of 12. The hiring-out system was in effect a form of apprenticeship, and children were usually hired-out as farm labourers or domestic servants. This did not mean that the government then neglected the interests of the state children. On the contrary, the government encouraged children to write to the government to make them feel that they had a protector in the state. One such letter, written in 1891, exemplifies such a response.

Sir,

I write these few lines to let you know that I received your letter and to express my thankfulness to the Department for the care that they have taken with me when I was young up till now. Had it not been for the Department I might have been thrown out on the world to rob and plunder and to be in gaol and misery all the days of my life.

I remain, Yours obediently,

James G….

(*Inspector of Orphanages Annual Report 1891*, p. 8).

Provided that the wards of the state were able to write these letters without the censorship of their employers or foster parents, if they had been boarded-out, the letters provided a system, albeit a dubious one, of monitoring the welfare of the state wards. Thus, life for orphans in Queensland was rather predictable with the control that the state had over their lives, whether they were in institutions, hired-out or boarded-out.

The effects of legislation such as the Education Act of 1875 and the Orphanages Act of 1879 meant that there was greater concern and protection for the orphan's education and general well-being. With this background, most of the established churches had founded orphanages which operated until the 1960s. The pattern was similar with state control, accountability and subsidy. Educational opportunities varied greatly with the institution's approach. What is evident from the literature is that historically in Queensland there have been neglected, orphan or destitute children requiring educational intervention by the state or churches.

In an overview of the history and sociology of Australian child welfare, and an exploration of the relation between the state and families, Van Krieken (1992) highlights the pattern of power and control. He views the dynamics of this combination of child welfare history, sociology, and state and family relations, including industrial schools and

reformatories, as providing guidelines for present and future directions in child welfare. His major point is that, whether the inmate was in an orphanage, reformatory or industrial school, the state was able to exert its considerable power over each child and his/her education through social and financial control. Similarly, Foucault (1979) with his focus on prisons and mental institutions, emphasizes the power of the state and its institutions over the individual. Van Krieken (1992) takes it further when he states that "the analysis of child welfare in terms of social control is that evidence of this view is almost invariably in the words of the reformers and welfare bureaucrats themselves" (p. 22).

Thus, although the various Australian states had their own policies about the care of orphaned, destitute and neglected children, there were similar patterns where there was a gradual evolution from the large institutions, based originally on the British model and current thinking of those days, to boarding-out, and eventually to government grants provided directly to the parents. However, ultimately it was the various state governments which were able to wield control of the orphans, neglected and destitute children's lives by controlling social and financial policies. The reasons for intervention and approaches to solving the problems of the neglected children were varied, and the pattern for solving these was similar, whether by the church or state.

3.7 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the key legislative and social changes that affected the lives and education of orphans across Australia particularly in Queensland, in state and church orphanages, from 1859 to 1965. The pattern observed was in many ways reflective of developments in other States. Key legislation included The Education Act (1875), The Orphanages Act (1879), The Charitable Institutions Act (1885), The Infant Life Protection Act (1905), The State Children Amendment Act (1917), The Education Act (1964), and The Children's Services Act (1965). The education of orphans and the

new role of the Inspectors of Orphanages as well as the power of the state and its control over the orphans' education were found to be significant. Such legislation was to provide protection for children, particularly orphans, who had the potential to be subjected to child abuse and neglect.

The following chapter deals with the literature on child abuse, its incidence within Australia and within a broader context, and also the types and the effects of such abuse.

Chapter 4 Literature on child abuse and neglect

This chapter examines the literature on definitions of child abuse, the incidence of child abuse in Australia, and the context of these in terms of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Also included, is an examination of the literature on child abuse in orphanages, where children were powerless, and therefore highly vulnerable to abuse, as well as the nature of power and control by authorities in charge of orphanages. The effect of such abuse on the educational, physical and psychological development of such children has been found to be extremely debilitating, and these educational, physical and psychological aspects will be examined later in greater detail in the evidence from field interviews with former residents of orphanages. The justification for such research is attested by Chalk, Gibbons and Scarupa (2002) who note that "despite persistent media headlines about extreme cases of child abuse and neglect, the public remains largely uninformed about the developmental status of children affected by this tragic problem" (p. 3). Child sexual abuse, in particular, has a long history. However, it is only recently, in the last 40 years, that systematic and comprehensive research has been undertaken into the effects of child sexual abuse.

4.1 Varying definitions of child abuse

The issue of child abuse and neglect has come before the United Nations, indicating that it is a significant global problem (Freeman, 2000). One of the difficulties in conceptualising and addressing child sexual abuse is that the definitions of what constitutes child abuse and neglect vary across countries. As Park (1988) says "everyone now agrees that there are several different types of child abuse, although the exact categories vary from country to country" (p. 8).

Park (1988) also maintains that there are five main types of abuse that are now recognised. In Britain, they are physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, neglect,

and failure to thrive. These categories are also generally recognised in the United States, as well as in Australia. Burrows-Horton and Cruise (2001) suggest there is really no universal legally accepted definition, but rather there are common ideological similarities across definitions. However, not to define child abuse and neglect in their various forms is to provide a legal loophole for the perpetrators. Indeed, the US National Research Council indicates that the standardisation of definitions of child abuse and neglect can lead to oversimplification, but the Council points out the need for consistent definitions for better measurement and instrumentation in the area of child abuse. The US National Research Council conceptualises research definitions for child maltreatment as being guided by four principles: consideration of the specific objectives the definition must serve; division into homogeneous subtypes; conceptual clarity; and feasibility in practice. In Australia, the problem of definition of child abuse is also evident. James (2000) notes that "there is no universal definition of child abuse. There appeared to be an increasing area of uncertainty in Australia as to what child abuse and neglect actually involves, with the parameters constantly changing in what is essentially a dynamic process" (p. 2). However, Hatty and Hatty (2001) point out that this is no longer the case. They state that:

> Current legislation on child abuse in Australia establishes definitions of child abuse and provides procedures to be followed in reporting and investigating such reports. Actions to be taken on substantiated cases are also defined within child protection legislation. Abusive treatment is now defined under all Australian legislation within the following categories: neglect or abandonment, physical abuse, emotional abuse, and sexual abuse (p. 4).

The complexity of the problem of definition is taken further by Tomison and Tucci (1997) who indicate that it is no longer acceptable merely to focus upon the traditional areas of physical, psychological and sexual abuse and neglect. They suggest many

children suffer from a combination of these. They also point out that such divisions are artificial, because quite often the boundaries between areas of abuse are often blurred. An important point is made by James (1994a) who claims that government departments often use definitions that vary from those used by community professionals. Regardless of this, James (1994a) maintains that:

> All of the definitions have a reference to the physical or psychological damage caused to the child by the abusive behaviour of others, or the failure of others to protect a child from such damage. Most commonly, the categories of abuse cover physical, emotional and sexual abuse, as well as neglect (p. 2).

Notwithstanding the variety of approaches to a definition, it is helpful to provide definitions for these forms of abuse as a frame of reference from which to measure the incidence of the various forms of abuse. Uncomplicated definitions of child abuse and neglect are provided by the United States National Foundation for Abused and Neglected Children (N.F.AN.C.) which regards child abuse and neglect as occurring when a child is mistreated, resulting in injury or harm. This may be physical, verbal, intellectual, emotional, sexual or neglect. Witnessing domestic violence is also considered another form of child abuse (Stanley & Kovacs, 2003). Each of the different types of abuse of children will now be addressed.

4.1.1 Physical abuse of children

The United States National Foundation for Abused and Neglected Children (2006) defines physical abuse as any act, which, regardless of intent, results in a non-accidental injury. Inflicted physical injury often represents unreasonably severe corporal punishment. This usually happens when the parent is frustrated or angry and strikes, shakes or throws the child, inflicts cigarette burns on the child and exhibits deliberate cruelty. Park (1988) goes further by maintaining that physical abuse occurs when a child is left alone. Such a claim

needs to be specified because it depends upon the length of time the child is left alone, where the child is left alone (e.g., a hot car in summer, near a bathtub full of water), and the prevalence of such neglect.

In contrast, Kempe, Steele, Droegmueller and Silver (1962) first drew attention to the "battered child" syndrome as the major form of physical abuse, almost 45 years ago. Leventhal (2003) indicates that the article written by Kempe et al. (1962) was pioneering in the sense that it highlighted child abuse, not only physically, but also it identified that certain factors in families could lead to abuse. The legacy of Kempe's work is summed up by Leventhal (2003) who notes that:

> Henry Kempe would be pleased at the recent widespread attention on the prevention of abuse and neglect in certain developed countries. This focus has resulted in renewed interest in providing to socially high-risk, first-time parents intensive support, modelling of parenting, advice, and linking to services in the community (p. 3).

Indeed this widespread attention to child abuse in many developed countries, such as Australia, has led to direct support for children who suffer abuse. Supporting services such as "Kids Help Line" allow children to get immediate support by telephone.

4.1.2 Emotional abuse of children

The National Foundation for Abused and Neglected Children (2006) defines emotional abuse as including verbal assaults, ignoring and indifference, or constant family conflict. If a child is degraded sufficiently, she/he will adopt the role model being portrayed by the parents, and become very psychologically damaged. Such abuse is regarded by some as "psychological maltreatment" or psychological abuse, because it has both cognitive and affective components (Horton & Cruise, 2001). It could be argued,

then, that such psychological abuse is inherent in all the other forms of abuse such as sexual, physical and neglect, as well as witnessing domestic violence.

The New South Wales Department of Health defines psychological abuse as the behaviour and attitude of any person who negligently or purposely endangers or impairs the behavioural, intellectual, emotional or physical functioning of a child (NSW, 2000). Emotional abuse is a hidden form of abuse, and is perhaps the least studied of all forms of abuse. Researchers such as Garbarino and Vondra (1987), claim that emotional abuse is the most prevalent form of child maltreatment, and that some professionals see it as producing the most destructive consequences for children. Such a claim seems plausible because emotional abuse can affect all the other aspects of a person's life such as self-harm affecting a person's physical body permanently.

Emotional abuse needs to be clearly defined or it will continue to be regarded with little importance and remain hidden, because its overt signs are less recognisable than other overt signs of physical or sexual abuse. Emotional abuse is not only evident in residential care settings such as orphanages, but also in other settings such as schools where some teachers are emotionally abusive towards students (Briggs & Hawkins 1996; Hart, Germain & Brassard, 1987). Research by Tomison and Tucci **(**1997**)** indicates that this form of hidden abuse has long term consequences for children, and it needs to be identified, or it will remain a difficult task to assist victims.

The difficulty of defining emotional abuse is further highlighted by Garbarino and Garbarino (1989) who claim that any definition of emotional abuse is not feasible. They see the difficulty as being anchored in the tension between the human services, which aim to prevent such abuses, and the law enforcers who need a narrow definition so as to provide punishment. But this really focuses on the processes of public service responses, rather than the characteristics of the abuse itself. Garbarino (1978) sees emotional abuse

as the elusive “crime”, and he points out that “emotional abuse has been discussed and debated, but it has not been operationally defined, nor have appropriate intervention strategies been designed. So, emotional abuse well deserves to be called “the elusive crime” (p.96). In Australia, the difficulty of defining emotional abuse is exacerbated by the fact that the definition of what constitutes emotional abuse varies from state to state. Tomison and Tucci (1997) point out:

> There is currently no national, legal definition of child abuse and neglect in Australia. The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare provides a general definition of child abuse and neglect, as applied to substantiated child abuse notifications reported to the various State and Territory child protection services. Emotional abuse is defined as any ‘act by a person having the care of a child which results in the child suffering any kind of significant emotional deprivation or trauma’ (Broadbent & Bentley 1997, p.75). However, what constitutes ‘significant’ emotional deprivation or trauma is not defined (p. 5).

Thus, the area of emotional abuse, although it is a very significant issue, is an area where debates over its nature, characteristics, congruity and effects remain.

4.1.3 Child sexual abuse

With extensive research studies undertaken, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s, the definition of child sexual abuse has become clarified. Finkelhor (1986) found that many physically abused children revealed that they were also sexually abused. The National Foundation for Abused and Neglected Children defines child sexual abuse as acts of sexual assault and exploitation of minors. Sexual abuse thus encompasses a broad range of behaviours including unwanted touching and sexual assault and may consist of many acts over a period of time, or a single incident. Acts which constitute child sexual abuse include any one or more of the following:

- Any sexual penetration
- Any contact between genitals
- Any intrusion by one person into the genitals or anal area of another, not for medical reasons
- The intentional touching of the genitals or intimate parts of the body of a child, except for normal caretaker responsibilities or acts intended for valid medical purpose
- The intentional exposure of the perpetrator's genitals in the presence of a child or for the purpose of any sexual act for sexual arousal or gratification, aggression, degradation, or other similar purpose
- The sexual exploitation of a child, which includes allowing, encouraging a child to solicit for or engage in prostitution (Abuse Registry-Definitions, 2007).

The nature of sexual abuse, the shame of the child victim, and the possible involvement of trusted parents, step-parents, or other persons in a caretaker role make it extremely difficult for children to come forward to report sexual abuse. Indeed, the exploitation of children by those in trust is evidenced in an Australian study by Goldman and Goldman (1988) who found that both young boys and girls were sexually abused by people they knew and trusted. Further to this, in a recent study by Wolfe, Francis and Straatman (2006) of male adult survivors of child sexual abuse in religiously-affiliated institutions in Canada, most of the men experienced a sense of betrayal which led to lack of trust not only of people, but also of the church and extended to a loss of religious faith as well. Relevant to the focus of this thesis is the evidence identified by Wolfe et al. (2006) that "they [the male survivors of abuse] described a global loss of trust that generalised to other institutions sanctioned by society, such as schools and workplaces" (p. 209).

As will be explained in more detail later, evidence of this lack of trust of authority figures, such as school teachers and priests, is anticipated to be found in the in-depth interviews in Chapter 7 below.

Finkelhor's (1979) definition of sexual abuse is that which involves any sexual activity with a child where consent is not, or cannot be given, whether this sexual contact is obtained by force or implied force. American and Australian states have their own definitions of child sexual abuse and ages of consent to sexual intercourse. The delimitations in defining sexual abuse are also extended to defining the perpetrators of child abuse and the related activity of paedophilia, as stated by Petrie (2000) who claims that:

> Definitions are also open to the vagaries of change in both the terms of culture and time. It is a difficult phenomenon to explain because no single theory or model can explain adequately all the behaviours that can be included as adult-child sexual contact (p. 23).

This is a rather effete approach to the problem of child sexual abuse, and researchers such as Russell (1983) have a much more substantial approach to the problem of child sexual abuse in that they focus on the devastating nature of such sexual contact. Ferrara (2002) found the effects of child sexual abuse to be long term. She explored the lifetime impact of such childhood sexual abuse which led to developmental delays in the use of developmental tasks assigned to age groups ranging from infancy to adulthood, and found that there were residual effects of the sexual abuse unique to each age group. Indeed, Mullen and Fleming (1998) indicate that the effect of child abuse on adult social and economic functioning is an area that needs attention, as it has not been adequately addressed in the past. No matter how sexual abuse is defined, it is a worldwide problem

(Finkelhor, 1994), and it produces horrendous effects upon a child's future development, as well as her or his social and psychological well-being.

4.1.4 Residential institutional abuse of children

In the research literature, residential institutional abuse has received relatively little attention in light of the research emphasis upon the particular aspects of abuse such as physical, emotional and sexual abuses. However, these also occur in institutions. Institutional abuse is defined by Cashmore, Dolby and Brennan (1994) as:

> Harm done to children in the context of policies or programs that are designed to provide care or protection. The child's welfare, development, or security is undermined by the actions of individuals or by the lack of suitable policies, practice and procedures within systems or institutions (p. 10).

For example, abuses such as these were the focal point of the1999 Forde Inquiry into the abuse of children in Queensland institutions. This Commission of Inquiry examined past and current policies and practices in institutions, such as orphanages, other residential centres, as well as detention centres for juveniles. The inquiry found evidence of abuse in many forms such as intellectual, physical, emotional, sexual abuse and neglect (Forde, 1999).

Residential institutional abuse occurs when the emotional and physical needs of children are not met by that institution (Blumenthal, 1994). Such a definition is somewhat limited, as it does not take into account the social, intellectual and educational needs of the children in those institutions. However, Blumenthal (1994) does cite definitive examples of institutional abuses, which are prevalent. As well as the general abuse of children in residential institutions, Blumenthal (1994) includes the removal of children from their families, unacceptable methods of removal, intrusive interviews, and negative labelling of families as institutional abuse. Regardless of the narrowness of his

definition, he highlights an important aspect which was also addressed in the 1993 Enquiries into the Abuse of Children in Local Authority Residential Homes in London. It states that "the clear message emanating from those enquiries is that the potential for abuse is directly related to the extent of regular, rigorous and effective monitoring" (p. 10). Such monitoring was to be carried out by social workers from the Local Authorities in charge of the institutions. Thus, if social workers were overloaded with cases, as is often the case, there was still the possibility of abuse.

According to Doran and Brannan(1996), defining the term "institutions" is difficult and, in reviewing institutional abuse, there is a definite bias towards institutions for working class and vulnerable children. Perpetrators of all abuse come from all classes in society. Modern day residential institutions are seen as replicas of the former residential institutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the abuses are replicated to a lesser degree, but replicated none the less. Such a position is somewhat exaggerated, but Doran and Brannan (1996) highlight the fact that many of the forms of abuse such as physical abuse, evident then, still exist. Doran and Brannan (1996) sum up their focus by indicating that "although the incidence of corporal punishment may have been universally reduced, abusive power and denial of the rights of children are still fundamental to all institutions that are responsible for the care of children" (p.156). The isolation of the institutions, and the unequal power base for relationships are important factors which provide the potential for abuse (Doran & Brannan, 1996).

Indeed, the mere fact of residing in an institution also exposes the child to sexual abuse as Clements, Speck, Crane & Faulkner (2004) indicate:

> Related factors that influence sexual abuse, summarised from an extensive literature review, include: 'age' (children 12 years of age and older account for one-third of child sexual abuse cases): 'gender' (higher risk starts for girls and

> lasts longer): 'disability' (impairments that increase vulnerability, such as dependency, institutionalised care, and communication difficulties, increase risk) (p. 270).

Further, Wolfe et al. (2003) emphasise that:

> Although child abuse by family members has received considerable scientific and professional attention, knowledge of the impact of abuse committed by perpetrators in (nonfamilial) community organizations and institutions is lacking (p. 179).

This may be because community organisations and institutions in the past were competent at concealing such abuses for fear of damaging the reputation of the institution. They could ill afford damaged reputations as often they relied upon the community for financial and other support.

However, research by Bibby (1996) has further raised the profile of this important issue. He points out that institutional abuse is a specialised form of organised abuse where perpetrators establish planned situations to sexually abuse their victims and maintain control over them (p. 8). Studies in the United States have indicated that children placed in residential institutions, whether orphanages, homes for the disabled, or residential child care facilities, are more vulnerable to child abuse than other children (Brannan, Jones, & Murch, 1993). This view supports the findings of the Enquiry into the Selection, Development and Management of Staff in Children's Homes in London, Department of Health (1993) which found that "the significant number of sexually abused children in children's homes poses problems not only for staff but also for other children where the abused child seeks to become the abuser" (p. 20). Thus the most likely perpetrators are most likely to be staff or other residents.

Abuse in residential institutions can be undertaken by lone perpetrators or by an organised group who may recruit other residents to become perpetrators themselves (Brannan et al., 1993). The irony is that children who are institutionalised have usually experienced some form of abuse or neglect, and to then suffer the indignity of further abuse from those who are supposed to be carers, adds a further intense dimension to their abuse. Briggs and Fitzpatrick (1987) acknowledge that there is a "system abuse" whereby children placed in residential institutions are traumatised by procedures, insensitivity and inexperienced caseworkers. Children of refugees in detention centres in Australia have similar experiences. Children in residential institutions are powerless, and have no influence to control events surrounding them. The children are totally dependent upon carers for their every need (Goldman & Ronken, 2000). This dependency is a manifestation of the power of the adult over the child, and such power makes the child extremely vulnerable. This is particularly so for orphans who have no power, and thus become subject to the perpetrators of abuse who are able to manipulate them because of their position of power (Bibby, 1996). Jones (1994) argues that it is more than the formal, legal authority of carers in residential institutions that gives them power over children in order to commit abuses. He argues that it is "tradition" and "charisma" given to the leaders of institutions by the wider community that allow them to have the power to do as they wish in "their" institutions. It may also be noted that as well as "tradition" and "charisma", it is also an imbalance of power and a great fear of reprisal by the residents if they reported the abuse, as addressed in Chapter 7 below.

Further evidence of such a position of power in relation to abuse is provided by a study by Rindfleisch and Bean (1988) who found that there was a wide variation in the number of staff and residents willing to report cases of abuse to authorities. In sampling five states in the United States, 598 respondents from 33 counties were requested to report

on an abuse or neglect situation. Factors which accounted for variation included the resident, the staff, attitude and characteristics of the event. In another study by Blatt (1992), in the United States, of 510 children, there was evidence of extensive child abuse and neglect in residential care settings. It was found that these children were older than abused children in family settings, and younger male staff were more likely to be perpetrators of child abuse than older female staff.

Wolfe (2006) points out that :

> Perpetrators used their position within the organization to obtain the child's compliance; they also used verbal coercion by telling children that such acts were the will of God or that God would punish them if they did not do 'what they were told (p. 209).

4.1.4.1 The importance of a family environment in raising children

The importance of a family environment in raising children is now addressed. Institutional abuse has catastrophic results on the residents. The residential institution is the substitute for a family environment in which the orphan is raised, and this becomes an important factor in considering the long-term effects of abuse. In a study on the effects of child sexual abuse and the family environment on women, Amadeo, Griffin, Clay and Ellis (2005) compared three factors for predicting the effects of child sexual abuse in adults. They used a multi-dimensional child sexual abuse severity scale, the presence or absence of child sexual abuse, and the family environment. They concluded that the specific characteristics of a child sexual abuse experience may be less important than its occurrence and the family environment for predicting long-term outcomes. Runyan, Hunter, Everson and Porter (1993) examined the psychological impact of child sexual abuse within a conceptual framework of individual and family contextual factors, pre-existing family problems, their nature of the sexual abuse, and post disclosure

interventions and social support. They found pre-existing family problems to be a good indicator of the child's current behaviour problems. The nature of the family environment was considered to be vitally important. Thus, the effect of a residential institutional environment as a pseudo-family environment, coupled with child sexual abuse, consequently foreshadows long-term difficulties for the residents.

It would seem that one way to prevent residential institutional abuse is to abolish the institutions themselves. In Eastern and Western Europe there is a move to abolish large institutions that cater for an increasing number of orphans, refugees and other children abandoned because of poverty. Physical, sexual and emotional abuses occurred frequently within these large orphanages. Children residing within such institutions are denied their basic rights. Indeed, their rights under the International Convention of the Rights of the Child are ignored. Evidence for these abuses and denial of rights is supported by research into residential institutions and children's rights in Europe by Gudbrandsson (2006) who claims that large institutions for children in Europe cause many problems, such as abuse, and there needs to be a process of de-institutionalisation. He highlights that the main reasons to de-institutionalise are because institutionalisation contributes to social exclusion and stigma, deprives the child of emotional nourishment, attachment and social skill development, and exposes the child to the sexual, physical and emotional abuses that occur within the institutions (Gudbrandsson, 2006). Interestingly, in his claim for de-institutionalisation, he calls for the development of small group homes. Similarly, The National Research Centre for the Prevention of Child Abuse survey of child protection services across Australia, indicates that most services fell well short of support and protection for children. Consequently, there has been a call for the re-introduction of small-to-medium government residential facilities. Hannan and Wallace (2006) report that:

> It's a return to institutionalisation but a forward looking model rather than a return to the kinds of institutions we had in the past … I am talking about specialist facilities and not huge orphanages, but rather group care that does look after the specialist needs of the kids. You would be looking at relatively small to medium sized facilities, not at the kind of huge orphanages or other institutions that were part of history (p. 1).

One danger of the implementation of these suggestions is that the child is still in a residential institution, and may still suffer the taunts and stigma of being in a "Home" when she/he attends school, as well as the social and emotional deprivation suffered being separated from a parent. Moreover, the child is still vulnerable to sexual and other abuses by care-givers in an institution, regardless of its small size. Indeed, the smaller the size of the institution means there is usually a smaller staff-resident ratio which may increase a child's chances of being abused if one of the carers were a predator.

Thus, residential institutional abuse may vary according to the institution itself, as well as the characteristics of the carers, and the policies and practices of the institution. Indeed, explicit in the definition of residential institutional abuse, provided above by Cashmore et al. (1994), is the omission of suitable policies and procedures for children. Such omissions foreshadow another form of abuse, that of neglect, which is now addressed.

4.1.5 Neglect of children

Like the definitions of other forms of abuse, as addressed above, definitions of neglect also vary greatly. Briere, Berliner, Buckley, Jenny and Reid (1996), however, provide a general definition of child neglect by referring to the United States Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974 which defined abuse and neglect as:

> The physical or mental injury, sexual abuse or exploitation, negligent treatment, or maltreatment of a child under the age of 18, or the age specified by the child protection law of the state in question, by a person who is responsible for the child's welfare under circumstances which indicate that the child's health or welfare is harmed or threatened (p. 6).

This definition reinforces the fact that abuse and neglect are often viewed in tandem. The American National Foundation for Abused and Neglected Children places an emphasis upon physical neglect, which they define as the failure to provide for a child's physical survival needs to the extent that there is harm or risk of harm to the child's health or safety (Children, 1997). Leventhal (1996) is more definitive in his description of what constitutes abuse. He states that, "… abuse occurs when an adult, usually a parent, uses a hand, object, or some other means to strike or hurt a child; neglect occurs when a parent provides inadequate nurturing, such as nutrition, shelter, clothing, or safety" (p. 647). This definition appears to be stronger, but the difficulty of detection of neglect remains a problem, and prosecution is even more problematic.

In a survey of adolescents in New York, a study by Kendall-Tackett and Eckenrode (1996) on neglect in child abuse showed that neglected children performed more poorly academically than their non-maltreated peers. The researchers claimed that neglect alone seemed to have more dire consequences on the abused academic performances rather than neglect in combination with physical or sexual abuse. Either way, Kendall-Tackett and Eckenrode (1996) claim that although neglect is the most common type of child maltreatment, little is known about its effects upon children, let alone the long term effects upon their education. However, Kurz, Baudin, Wodarski and Howing (1993) argue that the effects of neglect on education are catastrophic. They point out "neglected children differed little from children who were neither abused nor neglected on measures

of socio-emotional development, but they displayed severe academic delays" (p. 581). Thus, it would seem that neglect of children, not only has a detrimental effect on their general health but also upon their educational development.

4.1.6 Educational neglect in residential institutions

Another form of abuse is that of educational neglect. It is a major consequence for children raised in residential care, including orphanages. As mentioned earlier, children raised in orphanages in Australia in the early 19th and 20th centuries received a rudimentary education in order to equip boys for work on a farm, or, for girls to work as domestic servants, as Lawson indicates:

> Whether raised in institutions or foster homes and regardless of their individual talents, "orphans", when they reached the age of twelve years, were removed from school and sent to work, the boys as farm labourers and the girls as domestics. Thus, they were given a minimum of education, and inducted at an early age into the lowest status occupations in the society (p. 199).

This neglect of a child's education led to their developmental delays in learning and other areas such as social and inter-personal skills. An American developmental and behavioural paediatrician, Nalven (2003), states that:

> Most children have mild difficulties regarding, for example, attention, language or reading. Certain situations can increase a child's risk for developmental and behavioural problems. Malnutrition, neglect, and abuse, for instance, can all incur long-lasting effects. For these reasons, children who are raised in privation (such as in poor foster care, orphanages, or neglectful primary care) suffer increased risk for a variety of developmental and behavioural issues – education being one of those issues (p. 1).

The problem of educational neglect in orphanages was also highlighted by the Forde Inquiry into Abuse in Queensland Orphanages (Forde, 1999), which found that:

> One of the strongest impressions left on the Inquiry was the poor quality of education received by many witnesses. A number were illiterate, or close to it, despite having spent their childhoods in the care of the State; others who had, in their adult lives, displayed significant ability had not been able to achieve any level higher than Scholarship [about age 13]. This limitation on their education was one of the most profound and enduring losses by former residents (p. 280).

In light of the above literature, educational neglect is anticipated to be a prominent variable to be found in the in-depth interviews as addressed in Chapter 7 below.

Such educational abuses in orphanages are certainly not confined to Australia. Russia, for example, has an estimated 600,000 children in state-run residential institutions. They are referred to as "social orphans", abandoned by or removed from a living parent for one reason or another. These orphans are treated poorly in contravention of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Starting from their abandonment, these Russian children are deprived of basic human rights at every stage of their life – from the most fundamental right to survival and development, to their rights to humane treatment, health, education and full employment of civil rights (Cruelty and Neglect in Russian Orphanages, 1998).

In Australia, children placed in orphanages have experienced developmental delays and learning difficulties. Although the states have made educational opportunities available to such children, the outcomes have varied widely. Tomison and Duffie (2003) point out that "in relation to children in institutional care, some suffer interrupted attendance and school changes often to breakdowns in out-of-home placements. Additionally their educational pathways can be truncated with early departures from

education" (p.5). Further evidence of educational disadvantage of children reared in out-of-home placements, including orphanages, is provided in a longitudinal Australian study by Cashmore and Paxton (1996) who found "23.4% of their sample of children had finished school below Year 10, with only 6.4% completing the High School Certificate" (p. 6).

Notwithstanding these startling statistics, a word of caution is found in a submission to the Australian Senate Standing Committee on Community Affairs Inquiry into Children in Institutional Care (Barnardos, 2003) which states:

> Whilst such poor educational outcomes have life long impact, it is possible that the period of study had different needs for formal qualifications, and that there was a great need for a pool of unskilled or semi-skilled jobs (p. 6).

However, regardless of this, the result is that wards of the state have been ill-equipped educationally for upward social mobility to move from their unskilled or semi-skilled status. In Queensland, the Forde Report (1999) has provided a definitive summary on child abuse and neglect in institutions and orphanages. Forde (1999) found that abuses were widespread in all orphanages and other residential care institutions. Children in residential institutions often have their basic rights jeopardised, and they are unable to change their circumstances because they do not have the power to do so. Thus the orphans' right to a basic sound education was neglected, resulting in drastic consequences for them.

4.1.7 Domestic violence as child abuse

There is a growing trend for researchers to regard exposure to domestic violence, or violence where you live, as yet another form of child abuse. Indeed, Stanley and Kovacs (2003) indicate that:

> Child maltreatment is traditionally categorised into four types; physical abuse, sexual abuse, psychological/emotional abuse, and neglect. Increasingly, exposure to domestic violence is being treated as an additional category of child abuse (p. 1).

To define domestic violence as child abuse supports the belief that there is a concurrence between domestic violence and child abuse. Certainly there is a growing body of researchers who support this view (Hughes 1988; McKerman 1994; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980; Irwin, Waugh, & Wilkinson, 2002). However, to place domestic violence into the category of child abuse creates problems for social workers, as well as for law enforcement officers. The major concern ought to be the welfare of the child who has been directly affected by the domestic violence. However, this has not always been so, with domestic violence frequently being the major focus, and not the child abuse. Irwin, Waugh and Wilkinson (2002) point out that:

> The most likely outcome for confirmed domestic violence-related child abuse was for the case to be either referred and/or closed. In these situations, DoCS [New South Wales Department of Children's Services] did not maintain ongoing contact with these families unless they reported again. There was almost no follow-up of referrals to other agencies (p.10).

In law enforcement, especially in the United States, several states, such as Utah and Georgia, have adopted the policy of regarding domestic violence as another form of child abuse. These states found that where there is a chance of having children caught up in domestic violence, it increases the chances of obtaining a conviction for domestic violence (Whitcomb, 2002). However, there is concern that this new legislation, although resulting in more convictions for domestic violence and child abuse, leads to battered wives also being convicted for neglect by not reporting the domestic violence of their

partners, perpetrated not only on themselves, but also their children. Laing (2003) says that:

> Those who caution against automatically defining exposure to violence as child abuse argue that this fails to take into account the efforts which women are making to protect their children and to deal with the violence in their lives, and that insensitive child protection intervention may place the woman and her children at greater risk (p. 4).

Ultimately such caution is warranted if the woman and the child are placed at potential and/or greater risk of violence and child abuse.

The Utah and Georgia legislation on exposure to domestic violence as child abuse is seen as being manipulated to the extent that the mother and child might become ensnared in its enactment, with the focus being on the domestic violence rather than the child abuse. However, Whitcomb (2002) maintains that:

> In both Salt Lake County, Utah, and Houston County, Georgia, where committing domestic violence in the presence of a child is a new crime of child abuse, prosecutors tend to use these charges as "bargaining chips" to exert leverage toward guilty pleas on domestic violence charges (p. 4).

This attitude is not confined to the United Sates. Irwin, Waugh and Wilkinson (2002) provide evidence from Australia that there are child protection workers who do not respond adequately to meet the needs of the children caught in a domestic violence/child abuse situation.

In a study on the concurrence of domestic violence and child abuse, Edleson (2001) found that often the perpetrator of the violence on the adult spouse was also the same perpetrator of abuse on the child in the same family. Edleson (2001) indicates that sometimes the domestic violence is a way for perpetrators to exert power in order to

maintain control within the family. The fact that the child is exposed to this violence occurring to his/her parent is damaging psychologically, emotionally and often physically. It is, in short, child abuse. In Australia, the scenario is similar to that of the United States involving domestic violence situations where children within the family are quite frequently direct victims or witnesses to violence against a carer. In a Queensland phone-in conducted by the Queensland Domestic Task Force in 1994, James (1994) found that of the 856 respondents 88 percent (580) reported that children were present during domestic violence. The effect of children witnessing such domestic violence leads to the impairment of their psychological development (James, 1994b). Furthermore, Graham-Bermann and Edleson (2001) point out that for a child to witness domestic violence and to be a victim of child maltreatment creates an environment for negative developmental outcomes. This view is also supported by Whitcomb (2002) who claims that:

> Children who witness domestic violence often manifest behavioural and emotional problems, poor academic performance, and delinquency. Sadly, violence against women and violence against children often co-exist in families - the frequency of child abuse doubles in families experiencing intimate partner violence, compared to families with non-violent partners, and the rate of child abuse escalates with the severity and frequency of the abuse against the mother (p. 3).

Furthermore, in a study on the effects of domestic violence on children, Irwin et al. (2002) reported that several women discussed the significance of the effect of their children witnessing domestic violence. They claimed that witnessing such violence often had an effect on the children's academic life, and their ability to establish and maintain social relationships with other children.

The effects of the abuse on the mother are transmitted vicariously to the child who is a witness of such violence. The child may also experience direct abuse as well from the

same perpetrator. Osofsky (1999) claims that the impact of the trauma of a child witnessing domestic violence interferes with the child's development of trust and exploratory behaviours, and that it has an emotional, social, physical and cognitive negative effect. Furthermore, the psychological impact of a child witnessing domestic violence is highlighted by Somer and Braunstein (1999) who also claim that there is severe developmental damage presenting in the form of anxiety, cognitive problems, depression, delinquency, propensity for violence and victimization. They believe that the psychological damage occurring from witnessing domestic violence is even more damaging than the direct physical and neglect because of its role modelling qualities.

As with other definitions such as child abuse as addressed earlier, there is also variation in the definition of domestic violence depending upon the interpreter's viewpoint, whether legal, clinical or social. In Australia, Hegarty, Hindmarsh, and Gilles (2000), three Australian medical practitioners, see domestic violence as a major problem which is often hidden within the community. They view domestic violence as a problem that all clinicians need to be cognisant of. These three Australian medical practitioners claim that the lack of a uniform definition of domestic violence makes it difficult to obtain reliable data to highlight its prevalence. They indicate that "domestic violence is a complex pattern of behaviours that may include, in addition to physical acts of violence, sexual abuse and emotional abuse, such as social isolation and financial deprivation" (p. 1).

In defining domestic violence, another viewpoint is provided by Fantuzzo and Mohr (1999) who state that:

> The term "domestic violence" typically refers to violence between adult intimate partners. The range of conduct included in this term currently varies with the context within which it is used. Clinical definitions are often broader than legal

> definitions. For example, one clinical source defines domestic violence as a pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviours, including physical, sexual, and psychological attacks, as well as economic coercion, that adults or adolescents use against their intimate partners. By contrast, a model code on domestic violence limits its definition to acts of physical harm, including involuntary sexual acts, or the threat of physical harm (p. 22).

A more general definition of domestic violence and abuse is provided by the Australian National Committee on Violence Against Women (1991), which states that "violence and abuse perpetrated by a man upon a female adopted to control his victim which results in physical, sexual and/or psychological damage, forces social isolation or economic deprivation (p.4). What might have once been tolerated behaviour is now totally unacceptable in contemporary society (Irwin et al., 2002). Such a definition, although general, provides a benchmark with which to compare what behaviour is acceptable, and what is not tolerated by society in general.

The recurrence of child maltreatment is highlighted by De Panfilis and Zuravin (1999) who indicate factors such as partner abuse, family stress, social support deficits, child vulnerability and an interaction between family stress and social support deficits, all contribute to child maltreatment. Ultimately, the problem of child abuse and domestic violence, whether there is concurrence or not, presents a problem for society. The implications for the effect of violence on orphans in a residential institution are manifest. Wolfe (2003) explains that there is vicarious trauma associated with witnessing acts of violence, as the witnesses become frightened, not only for the victims, but also for themselves. Wolfe (2003) states that:

> Other children in the institution are often aware of the abuse, even if they themselves are not abused, and may exist in a state of perpetual fear of becoming the

> next victim (Irwin & Roll, 1995) much like child witnesses to domestic violence (Grych, Louriles, Swank, McDonald, & Norwood, 2000) (p. 186).

Such fear of being the next victim helps to ensure the conformity of witnesses and the overt and hidden violence of the perpetrators becomes a means of power and control.

4.2 Indicators of child sexual abuse

Professionals such as medical practitioners or parents may suspect that a child has been sexually abused, and there are indicators that determine whether such suspicions are confirmed or denied. Brilleslijiper, Friedrich and Corwin (2004) outline specifically the indicators of child sexual abuse as follows:

> Physical indicators of sexual abuse include: difficulty walking or sitting; bruises or other injuries to breasts, buttocks, arms, lower abdomen or thighs; pain or itching in the genital area; torn, stained or bloody underwear; sexually transmitted infections; persistent headaches or recurrent urinary tract infections. Behavioural indicators of child sexual abuse include: abrupt changes in behaviour or mood; withdrawn/isolated behaviour or depression; difficulties concentrating; an unexplained drop in school performance; frequent absences from school that are justified by a parent or caregiver; finding reasons to stay at school and not go home; acting-out such as aggression, lying, stealing or running away; difficulty sleeping; a change in eating patterns; seductive behaviour with other youngsters or adults; a knowledge of sex that is age inappropriate; acting out adult sexual behaviour with adults, dolls or other children; reluctance to be touched by adults; reluctance to undress (e.g. for school sporting functions); and self-destructive behaviour (p. 1007).

They make the point that not all precocious sexual behaviour indicates sexual abuse although sexual abuse usually has occurred with such behaviours. Oates (1996), a

renowned paediatrician in the area of child sexual abuse, also has a focus on presenting behaviour of children as a possible indicator of child sexual abuse. He writes:

> The first indicator that a child may have been sexually abused is sometimes a change behaviour or the development of a psychosomatic complaint as an addition of the child's distress … Obviously, a whole variety of stresses in the child's life may be responsible for such symptoms or behaviours. The difference now is that, compared with the past when sexual abuse was seldom considered a possibility when psychosomatic disorders were assessed, child sexual abuse should be considered, along with other problems, as possible causes of these symptoms (p. 70).

Such open-mindedness can only assist children who have been sexually abused and prevent their traumas being overlooked.

4.3 Abuse of aboriginal children

There is very little research literature specifically on aboriginal children in residential orphanages in Queensland, because they were cared for in their own communities and on state government reserves. However, child abuse in aboriginal communities is an important issue for the 2007 federal election, and a bi-partisan agreement has been reached on preventing child sexual abuse in these communities. Aboriginal child abuse is often highlighted in literature dealing with aboriginal communities. Healey (2000), for example, indicates that extensive abuse occurs in aboriginal communities, and makes the point that there is an over-representation of aboriginal children in child abuse cases. He suggests that perhaps this is because of a number of factors such as low socio-economic status, cultural differences in child-rearing practices, and inter-generational effects of previous separations from family and culture. The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare Child Protection Australia 2004-05 (2006) states that:

> Some of the underlying causes of the over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in the child welfare system include:
>
> - the legacy of past policies of the forced removal of Aboriginal children from their families
> - intergenerational effects of previous separations from family and culture;
> - poor socio-economic status; and
> - cultural differences in child-rearing practices. (p. 23).

Other factors include alcohol, drugs, lack of use of contraception and promised brides younger than the age of consent.

Aboriginal child abuse appears to be highly prevalent despite the fact that communities have made attempts to prevent such abuses. Indeed, MacMahon (1996) reports that "Queensland paediatrician Dr John Cox claims that government interventions to improve lives of disadvantaged aboriginal children have been ineffective, failing to improve outcomes" (p.8). The difficulty of dealing with child abuse and neglect in indigenous communities is highlighted by Stanley, Tomison and Pocock (2003) who state that:

> There are significant knowledge gaps about the causes and nature of child abuse and neglect in Indigenous communities. The critical need for better quality evaluation of programs in order to base future service delivery and development on evidence of what works, has been noted. Other important areas of future research include determining the extent of child abuse and neglect across all Indigenous communities, and identifying whether it is concentrated in particular communities or is more common in urban, rural or isolated Indigenous communities (p. 27).

Whether child abuse occurs in all indigenous communities or not, it is important that the issue is addressed within the context of indigenous health generally as indicated in The Australian (2006), "Indigenous children are dying at almost three times the rate of non-Indigenous children…It is inconceivable that a country as wealthy as Australia cannot solve a health crisis affecting less than three percent of its population. Rapid improvements can be achieved in the health of Indigenous peoples by comprehensive, targeted and well resourced government action, through partnership with Indigenous peoples" (p. 5). It is hoped that one of those targeted areas will be child sexual abuse.

4.4 Substantiated cases of child sexual abuse in Australia

The number of substantiated cases of child abuse and neglect in the different States and territories of Australia are provided in Table 4.1 below. No national total is given as Bryant (2006) explains:

> Australian totals have not been provided because the data from the states and territories are not strictly comparable. The legislation, policies and procedures of each state and territory should be taken into account when interpreting these data (p. 15).

Table 4.1: Substantiated cases of children by type of abuse or neglect, by sex and state and territory, 2004-05

Sex and type of abuse or neglect	NSW	Vic	Qld	WA	SA	Tas	ACT	NT
Physical	2122	1713	2991	301	405	194	118	172
Sexual	1629	647	800	228	107	88	47	28
Emotional	3342	3058	4997	143	657	137	458	78
Neglect	2144	1597	97	373	640	218	242	175
Total	9237	7015	12985	1045	1809	637	865	453

Source: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare Child Protection Australia 2004-5 Report, 2006.

Although no national figures are given, this table shows that the problem of child sexual abuse is very common in each of the states. The number of children reported abused and neglected in Queensland has more than doubled in the last 5 years from about 6,919 in 1999 to about 17,307 (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare Child Protection Australia 2004-5 Report, 2006). These figures in the table are questionable because cases of child abuse and neglect that are reported represent a small proportion of those cases of child abuse that go undetected or are not reported for a variety of reasons, as well as the variety of definitions of child abuse used between the States. Goldman and Padayachi (2000) highlight the methodological problems associated with this. Thus the statistics of child sexual abuse shown above may provide a useful guide, but they are not necessarily definitive (See also Finkelhor, 1994).

4.5 Prevalence and incidence of child abuse

The cycle of child abuse is perpetuated by adults' neglect of parenting responses, evading responsibility, marginalising the issue, or by inaction of authorities, which in itself constitutes systems' abuse (About Prevalence and Incidence Statistics, 2003). The definitions of "prevalence" and "incidence" help to clarify the positions of researchers and the validity of the statistics quoted in their research. From a medical viewpoint:

> The prevalence of a condition means the number of people who currently have the condition, whereas incidence refers to the annual number of people who have a case of the condition (About Prevalence and Incidence Statistics, 2003).

Such definitions may readily be applied to medical conditions, but child abuse and neglect are more difficult to identify. However, notwithstanding the definitions used above, a note of caution is issued that:

> Different definitions of prevalence use estimates of people diagnosed, others try also to include estimates of undiagnosed people, and some use different values like 5-year prevalence or 10-year prevalence data (About Prevalence and Incidence Statistics, 2003).

The prevalence of child abuse, like the definitions of child abuse addressed earlier, varies from country to country. Indeed in a survey of Queensland, Australian university students and child sexual abuse, Goldman and Padayachi (1997) found that, "the prevalence rates for both males and females found in this survey are about twice as high as in other studies which used similar research methods and sample" (e.g., Finkelhor, 1979; Fromouth, 1986; Goldman & Goldman, 1988, p. 490).

Child abuse and neglect have been present in all societies in all historical periods to a varying extent. Many children, and, later as adults, have consequently suffered, as Corby (2004) points out, "child abuse is not a new phenomenon, nor is public or state concern

about it" (p. 22). Recognition that there was a problem paralleled the recognition of the child as an individual with human rights (The United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child, 1989). One of the earliest articles published in the Journal of the American Medical Association by Kempe, Steele, Droegmueller and Silver (1962) heralded the awareness of the "battered child" syndrome and the extent of child abuse. Thus, abuses received attention and the prevalence of such incidents was researched. However, there are difficulties associated with determining just how prevalent child abuse is, and as Doran and Brannan (1996) indicate "until there is compulsory recording and reporting of all investigations and findings, and such data is centrally compiled, it will be impossible to gauge the extent of institutional abuse" (p. 157). Compulsory reporting is now prevalent in all Australian states except Western Australia, which has reporting limited to Family Court cases and child care service personnel, but, as James (2000) points out:

> It is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the incidence of child abuse and neglect because the statistics reflect only cases that are reported to the authorities and obviously the number of unreported cases is unknown (p. 3).

Thus it is important to view claims of a reduction in child sexual abuse based on statistics with suspicion, in view of the large number of unreported cases of such abuse. A difficulty such as the huge volume of cases increases the hardships of distinguishing between substantiated and unsubstantiated reports. However, a benefit of mandatory reporting does mean that the report has been logged into the system, and it thus provides a benchmark for future action.

In a survey of state child protection administrators to determine the number of substantiated sexual abuse cases in the United States, Jones, Finkelhor and Kopiec (2001), found that there appeared to be a 39 percent decline nationwide. They cited three major reasons for the decline in the number of substantiated child sexual abuse cases, namely;

increased evidentiary requirements to substantiate cases, increased caseworker caution due to new legal rights for caregivers, and increasing limitations on the types of cases that agencies accept for investigation (p. 1139).

Indeed Chadwick (2002) who maintains that it is not possible to determine whether the decline in child sexual abuse reflects the actual incidence, or is caused by other issues. Chadwick (2002) suggests that " we must develop tools for measurement that will tell us whether child maltreatment and its four recognized forms is increasing, decreasing, or staying constant" (p. 887). Moreover, Leventhal (2001) issues the following caution:

> Because reports to child protective services represent the tip of the iceberg, data about changes in the number of reports or in the number of substantiated cases should be interpreted cautiously when considering how such changes relate to changes in the true occurrence of sexual abuse (p. 1137).

An Australian study by Dunne, Purdie, Cook, Boyle and Najman (2003) examined the age-cohort differences in the prevalence of self-reported child sexual abuse experiences of men and women aged 18-59 years to determine whether child sexual abuse is declining. They claim that their results indicated there was evidence of a decline in the rate of child sexual abuse in Australia. However, they also acknowledged that every measure of child sexual abuse is inevitably flawed to some extent (p. 142). Indeed, Jones and Finkelhor (2003) in their critique of this study highlight such flaws as the lack of police reports or child protection statistics, as well as the need for clearer timing of national sexual abuse prevention or intervention strategies (p. 134). These aspects would act as benchmarks to help determine whether a decline in child sexual abuse was occurring. Thus it appears that Dunne et al. claims of a decline in sexual abuse in Australia are questionable.

In Australia, professionals such as doctors, health workers, social workers and teachers have a legal responsibility to report suspected cases of abuse and neglect to the police and/or the social services department. Although these cases become the documented cases, they occasionally are not followed up, with catastrophic consequences. Some of the statistics deal with the same child who may be subjected to multiple abuses over a period of time. Angus, Wilkinson and Zabar (1994) also contend that there are a great number of cases of abuse and neglect that go unreported. The incidence statistics of child abuse and neglect cases need to clarify the allegations of abuse apart from substantiated ones. Angus, Wilkinson and Zabar (1994) define a report of child abuse as:

> A report of child abuse or neglect has been made when a person or organization makes an allegation to a relevant authority that a child has been, is being currently, or is likely to be abused or neglected in the future, and a decision is made by the relevant department or authority that an investigation is warranted (p. 29).

Fergusson and Mullen (1999) issue a warning in dealing with the prevalence or incidence of child abuse statistics. They cite Finkelhor (1994) as proposing that the real number of cases of child sexual abuse do not reach the attention of authorities, and the tenfold increase in the number of reported cases of child sexual abuse from 1976 to 1983 in the United States was not so much due to an increase in the number of cases of child sexual abuse, but was due more to the fact that there was an increased public awareness of child abuse. In Australia, child abuse in all its forms remains problematical. Indeed, during the period 1999-2000, there were a variety of substantiated forms of abuse such as Physical Abuse 31%, Emotional Abuse 27%, Sexual Abuse 14% and Neglect 28% (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2001). Once again the “iceberg” approach indicates “the statistics are shocking but they tell only part of the story. Much abuse goes

unreported leaving many more children unprotected" (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2001).

Prevalence has been explored to some degree by Wyatt and Peters (1986) who suggested that its discrepancies are based upon factors such as data collection and the various methodologies used to obtain such data. They maintain that:

> Several aspects of methodology appear to have an impact on reported prevalence rates for child sexual abuse. The use of interviews and inverted funnel questioning is associated with much higher prevalence rates than the use of self administered questionnaires (p. 249).

Furthermore, a study in Queensland by Jones, Trudinger and Crawford (2004) highlights that the incidence of child abuse is on the rise. They report that:

> The number of Australian children on Care and Protection Orders and in out-of-home care is increasing. Incidence figures for Queensland in 2000-01 identified a rate of 7.4 per 1000 children subject to substantiated Child Protection notifications, with 14% of these involving child sexual abuse (p. 455).

Suggested reasons for the increasing prevalence of child abuse are greater community awareness, the introduction of mandatory reporting, greater stress on families and lack of good parenting skills (The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare Child Protection Australia 2004-5 Report, 2006).

Despite the problem of child abuse, data on its incidence and prevalence remain suspect even in developed countries (Strang, 1993). Such suspicion can only assist to keep the focus upon child abuse. Similarly, in a survey of 1784 men and women aged 18 to 59 carried out in Queensland by Dunne and Legosz (2000), it was discovered that when men were asked if they had been sexually abused before the age of 16, one in 25 men reported a rape or attempted rape by the time they reached 16, and the older the

respondent, the more likely they had been sexually abused as a child. The incidence of child sexual abuse for women is substantially greater than for men. This is not dissimilar to a study by Goldman and Padayachi (1997) who found a high incidence of unwanted sexual experience amongst university students prior to age 17 of 18.6% for males and 44.6% for females (p.490. (See also Goldman & Goldman, 1988). Furthermore, Angus et al. (1994) provide other Australian statistics that indicate child sexual abuse occurred with children aged 14 years (6.2 cases/1,000), followed by children aged 4 years (5.5 cases) and children under one year of age (5.2 cases), with girls being the most abused (75%). Further studies, such as that by Daly and Wilson (1981) found that children who were at risk of child abuse, in the majority of cases, experienced family instability and financial difficulty. Such a finding is supported by Berger (2005) who found that the risk of child abuse increases with a low level of income, especially in single-parent families. She also contends that the risk of abuse is raised again with high unemployment rates among single-parent families, but not in two-parent families.

Finkelhor (1994) points out that epidemiological research has revealed that child sexual abuse has been widespread for some time. The extent of the problem can be gauged by his non-clinical population study of adults in 19 countries which reveals that the percentages of those abused ranged from 7 to 36% for women and 3 to 29% for men. However, differences in definition and methodology make it difficult to compare countries (Finkelhor, 1994). Russell and Bolen (2003) add to the debate as they disagree with Finkelhor's (1994) claim that at least 20% adult women in North America experienced child sexual abuse. They claim that Finkelhor (1994) does not identify his "more methodologically sophisticated studies", nor does he specifically indicate what his definition of child sexual abuse is. Russell and Bolen (2003) state that:

> Moreover, Finkelhor maintains this 20 percent prevalence rate applies to contact and non-contact sexual abuse, despite the fact that the inclusion or exclusion of non-contact abuse presumably has a great impact on the prevalence rate obtained (p. 183).

Another view on child sexual abuse is provided by Williams (1981) who acknowledges the difficulty of defining the problem of child sexual abuse and accurately collating statistics on child sexual abuse. She claims, like others such as James (2000), that the increase in child abuse might be caused by growing public awareness. However, Williams (1981) claims that:

> Some workers in the field believe that there may also be an actual extension in the amount of sexual abuse occurring in the community. This growth being related to a change in sexual morality, an increase in divorce and change of sexual partners, and a build up in the use of drugs and alcohol (p. 164).

Finkelhor (1994) makes a differentiation between male and female victims of child sexual abuse and he found that the ratio of female victims to male victims is one and a half to three times higher than that of males. Goldman and Goldman (1988) replicated Finkelhor's study in Australia, and found that, among the university student population studied, there was a 50% higher incidence of females who suffered child sexual abuse than males (p. 411). Unfortunately, recent statistics released by the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare Report Child Protection Australia 2004-05 (2006) reveal a similar trend. For example, in Queensland in 2004-05, there were 559 female to 241 male substantiated sexual assault cases (See also Goldman & Padayachi, 1997).

> In all jurisdictions girls were more likely to be the subject of substantiation of sexual abuse. There were about twice as many girls as boys who were the subject of a substantiation of sexual abuse (p. 20).

Overall, child abuse, including all forms of abuse such as physical, emotional and sexual, as well as neglect, has received a high profile only over the last 35 years, in Australia, the United States, Europe and Canada which has identified sexual abuse of children in institutions, in the church and in schools. Further, community awareness has been heightened by ineffectiveness in reporting child sexual abuse cases exhibited by people in public office, and the archbishops and bishops in a number of religious organisations in Australia, Ireland and the United States have attempted to cover up or minimise such abuses. The reputations of the institutions appear to be of more concern to their leaders than are the victims. If accurate incidence numbers could be found, then the statistics on child sexual abuse would no doubt increase dramatically, as Wolfe et al. (2003), suggest "as in all forms of maltreatment, the actual incidence would be much higher if undetected or unreported cases were better known" (p. 180).

Although the exact number of child sexual abuse cases may vary due to the interpretation of prevalence or incidence, the study of these statistics is important, as Corby (2004) notes that:

> Prevalence and incidence studies of child abuse, while riddled with methodological and definitional problems, can, if carefully interpreted, add to our understanding of the problem. It is important to disentangle from them what is valid and relevant to the concerns of different sectors in society (p100-101).

Such differentiation in studies of prevalence and incidence of child sexual abuse if publicized may be used to help raise the awareness of the problem of child sexual abuse in societies around the world.

More exposure is occurring in Queensland with the emergence of privately-funded community groups such as Bravehearts, who attempt to protect children from abuse. In

spite of the debate on statistics, child sexual abuse is a significant problem, not only in Australia, but worldwide (Finkelhor, 1994). Sadly, it is still an on-going problem, as McBride (2007) , a general practitioner in a therapeutic service for children and young people who have been victims of substantiated incidents of child , explains to National Child Protection Clearinghouse Research officer Holzer (2007):

> When I think about the number of children I have on my caseload at the moment, you can tick every box in terms of the kinds of maltreatment they have experienced: physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional trauma, exposure to domestic violence, and neglect. Some of the children I see have experienced enormous environmental neglect and deprivation in terms of their need for cognitive stimulation, affection and interaction with others. I wouldn't say there is a particular maltreatment "type" that we see more than others - we see the whole spectrum really - and, sadly, a number of our clients have endured a combination of all of the above (p. 7).

Exposing the prevalence and incidence of child sexual abuse and neglect by a practising child welfare officer may help to alleviate the problem of such abuse by activating preventative measures.

4.6 Websites on prevalence statistics of child sexual abuse

The problems of child sexual abuse are highlighted in the plethora of websites on the Internet. These websites readily provide a range of varied statistics. While untested in some cases, such data are made more poignant when Australian statistics are juxtaposed with those from the United States. For example, The Abused Children Prayer Register at website http://www.scc.org.au (1998), indicates that in Australia in 1998/98 there were 26,025 substantiated cases of abuse and neglect reported and this suggests an Australian child could be abused or neglected every 20 minutes, whereas in the United States in 1997/98 there were 3.2 million children reported for maltreatment, which suggests an

American child could be abused every 10 seconds. Alarmist as these statistics are, they do serve the purpose of attracting attention to a national and global problem. In a similar vein, websites such as the United States Department of Health and Human Services website has a bold type banner stating " Survey Shows Dramatic Increase in Child Abuse and Neglect, 1986-1996 (Survey Shows Dramatic Increase in Child Abuse and Neglect, 1986-1993, 1996).

Australian Internet websites, which provide statistics, include "Kids First Foundation" (Kids First Child Abuse Agency Lobbies National MPs, 2000), "From Darkness to Light" (Child Sexual Abuse, Bringing Ourselves From Darkness to Light, 1998), "Australians Against Child Abuse" (Australians Against Child Abuse, 2003) and "The National Association for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect, NAPCAN" (Child Abuse a National Issue, 1996). The "Australians against Child Abuse" site indicates that most victims of child sexual abuse are girls, but a quarter of all proven child sexual abuse cases in Australia are boys. At the website "Bringing Ourselves from Darkness to Light" (Child Sexual Abuse, Bringing Ourselves From Darkness to Light, 1998), the prevalence of child sexual abuse is highlighted by the statement that 1 in 4 girls is sexually abused before the age of 14, and one in six boys is sexually abused before the age of 16. These figures are similar to the first Australian incidence figures found by Goldman and Goldman (1988) about 20 years ago. The commonality of these websites is that they make use of statistics to evoke reactions and publicise child abuse.

4.7 The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) outlines a set of articles that support children's interests. Essentially, these Rights provide protection for children regardless of gender, race or religion. The proposal for a Convention on the Rights of the Child began only in 1979, and finally in 1989 the Convention on the Rights

of the Child was ratified by the UN General Assembly. Australia became a signatory to the Convention of the Rights of the Child in 1990. Article 19 of the Convention is particularly pertinent to the protection of children, and states:

> 1. Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent (s), legal guardian (s) or any other person who has the care of the child.
>
> 2. Such protective measures should, as appropriate, include effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and those who have the care of the child, as well as for other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement (1989).

The rights of the child as set out in this Convention emphasise that all children need to be free from abuse and have the right to be protected (Healey, 2000). In 1989, after 10 years of drafting and discussion, the UN General Assembly eventually approved the U.N. Convention on the Rights of the Child. Ratification occurred in 1990 and Australia's implementation of the Convention began officially in January 1991. The Convention is designed to prevent child exploitation, and as Lopatka (1992) points out "the State is also obliged to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and abuse" (p. 49).

In Australia, in the past, not all States have provided this child protection to the same degree, and consequently, there have been marked differences in the type and quality of reporting and protection for children. Often the level of care and protection has depended upon where the child lived, and whether the child was in the mainstream of society, or

was indigenous, or perhaps was a resident of an orphanage (Bromfield and Higgins, 2005). The protection of the indigenous child from abuse and discrimination is a major problem as highlighted by Higgins (2007):

> A keynote address delivered by Jaap Doek, Chairperson of the United Nations Committee for the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in which he stated that the Convention on the Rights of the Child was the only human rights treaty that explicitly mentions Indigenous children. Professor Doek advised that Indigenous children belong to the most vulnerable and discriminated groups of children worldwide, and argued that the Convention on the Rights of the Child can be used to establish services for the promotion of the rights of Indigenous children, while respecting their culture and maintaining connections with their communities (p. 9).

The disparity between the level of care and protection for different children, whether indigenous or non-indigenous, is unacceptable, and, as Bromfield and Higgins (2005) point out "inequality in the care and protection of children runs counter to the principles of the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child" (p. 28).

Healey (2000) points out that in order to de-institutionalise the placement of children, it is necessary to consider what resources are needed to replace these institutions. The move to place children in foster homes, rather than in orphanages, has not protected them from abuse. To be a signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, and to expect the state to provide protection is important, but sometimes the practice is not effective, for, as Healey (2000) reveals in relation to the Burdekin report on Homeless Children in Australia:

> Take one example from the Homeless Children Inquiry: we found that all of the young boys prostituting themselves on the Wall in Darlinghurst, in Sydney one evening, were or had been wards of the State (p.11).

This is indeed a sad indictment on the protection of children from abuse and its effects.

4.8 An overview of the effects of child sexual abuse

The effect of sexual abuse on adult survivors had been examined by Browne and Finkelhor (1986) who analysed 48 clinical studies in the literature and considered questions about what constituted the worst sexual abuse, and what the significant impacts were. Browne and Finkelhor (1986) identified the main effects as fear, anxiety, depression, anger and hostility, aggression and self-destructive behaviour. Donnelly and Oates' (2000) critique of Browne and Finkelhor's (1986) review of the literature on the impact of child sexual abuse addresses the early research of literature and studies dealing with child sexual abuse. Donnelly and Oates (2000) point out that the review highlighted common ground to deal with the impact of child sexual abuse on mental health. Finkelhor (1994) indicates that the observations and conclusions about child sexual abuse were made with more than half of the clinical studies conducted in the 1970s, when there was a lack of standardised terminology. Thus there is an expectation of a wide variance of agreement with the conclusions reached in the early 1970s research on child sexual abuse. In a replication study of Finkelhor (1994) and Goldman and Goldman (1988), Goldman and Padayachi (1997) researched Queensland university students who had experienced sexual abuse prior to Age 17 (p. 3). Regardless of non-standardised terminology, in reference to Finkelhor (1994), Donnelly and Oates (2000) point out "this paper is seminal in that it is the first to critically analyse a divergent body of literature and, despite that literature's shortcomings, to articulate common threads and thereby bring clarity to what had been regarded as an enormously complex, almost incomprehensible subject matter" (p. 217).

This literature has provided a foundation for research into the difficult area of child sexual abuse and its effects on education. Recent literature now suggests that not only

are there major psychological effects as result of child sexual abuse, but also there may be long term physical effects as well, as Merali (2007) indicates:

> Childhood abuse has long been suspected of increasing a person's risk of developing disease later in life. Now researchers studying inflammation in the bloodstream think they know why…Andrea Danese at King's College London and his colleagues monitored 1000 people in New Zealand from birth to the age of 32, noting any factors that created stress, and recorded levels of C-reactive protein in their blood. The protein is a marker of inflammation and has been linked to heart disease. They found that people who reported having been physically or sexually abused, or rejected at a young age, were twice as likely to have significant levels of C-reactive in their blood (p. 8).

The results of child sexual abuse are thus complex and far-reaching.

A review of trends in child maltreatment literature was conducted by Behl, Conyngham and May (2003), who endeavoured to find gaps in child maltreatment literature over a 22-year period. They examined trends for child maltreatment types such as physical abuse, sexual abuse, neglect and emotional abuse as well as the characteristics of the research participants, and sources of participant recruitment. They examined 2090 articles published from 1977 to 1998, coded on the type of child maltreatment such as physical, sexual, emotional abuse and neglect as well as other factors. They concluded:

> CN (child neglect) and CEA (child emotional abuse) literatures need to be developed first by theoretical, then by quantitative works. In addition, the publication of more research on male subjects for CPA (child physical abuse) perpetration and adult CPA victimization is needed (p. 215).

Indeed, the focus on child sexual abuse literature has been expanded in recent years and Behl, Conyngham and May (2003) conclude that "prevalence rates provide one way

to assess the importance of studying specific types of child maltreatment. Comparing publication rates to prevalence rates may help identify important gaps in child maltreatment literature" (p. 216).

Thus the researcher would expect to find a greater number of articles on child sexual abuse if the tendency were to follow an increased incidence in sexual abuse compared to other abuses reported. This is not always the case as non-specific types of abuse expressed in general terms such as "maltreatment" and "abuse" have made it difficult to distinguish between specific abuses (Behl et al., 2003).

4.9 Summary

This chapter has reviewed some of the relevant literature on definitions of child abuse, institutional abuse, Aboriginal child abuse, statistics of child abuse, estimates of the prevalence and incidence of child abuse, website material concerning the prevalence of child abuse, and The United Nations' Convention of the Rights of the Child. The chapter also examined the literature on the abuses that occur in residential institutions, and concluded that these appear to occur more frequently because of the powerlessness, and therefore the enhanced vulnerability of the child residents there. In summary, the literature suggests that there is neither a universally accepted definition of child abuse, nor an application of similar definitions in research on child abuse among countries or states. The literature reveals that child abuse is widespread, highly prevalent and has an increasing public profile due to the encouragement of women, men and children, to report such abuses. The research also highlights that child abuse occurs in numerous settings, including suburban homes, refugee detention centres, and foster homes, and that it remains an area of great concern to many professionals working with children, and also to many adults who were sexually abused as children.

Chapter 5 Theories of child abuse

Similar to the problems of definitions and incidence of child abuse as addressed in Chapter 4, there are also difficulties in agreement about theories of child abuse. Indeed:

> A variety of theories have been put forward to explain the development of abusive and neglectful behaviour in adults. Theories to explain sexual abuse are often quite different from those explaining other forms of child maltreatment. (A Guide for Including Information on Child Abuse and Neglect in the Undergraduate Curriculum, American Psychological Association, Curriculum, 2003).

Petrie (2000) argues that "there is little evidence to suggest a single model, no matter how sophisticated, can subsume all theories and be found to be applicable to all cases of adult-child sexual contact" (p. 4). He suggests a range of theories, including describing sexual abuse as a perpetrator's medical condition, although he argues that such a theory for paedophilia is too simplistic. He also emphasises psychological aspects based on personality disorders, and concludes that an understanding of family systems is central to any theoretical explanations of child abuse, because most child sexual abuse occurs within family settings. Briggs (1988) goes further, and contends far more persuasively, that child sexual abuse involves power, among other issues. She suggests that "sexual abuse usually involves an age gap between abuser and victim and/or the use of coercion, (threats, secrecy, bribes, tricks, blackmail) or force" (p. 7).

Belsky (1978) argues that there are basically three groups of theories of child abuse. He suggests that there are psychological or psychiatric theories, sociological theories and abuse-provoking theories. Iverson and Segal (1990) expanded upon these theories and developed a process of explaining recognised theories of child abuse. They propose that there are seven basic theories or models of maltreatment. They are individual-psychological theory, the social learning model, the ecological theory of maltreatment,

transactional theory, the four-factor theory of child sexual abuse, the stages of sexual abuse theory, and the feminist theory of child sexual abuse. Each of these will now be addressed.

5.1 Individual-Psychological theory

This theory proposes that abuse of children stems from the psychological problems of the individual perpetrator. Iverson and Segal (1990) point out that the individual-psychological model is most applicable to sexual abuse as its perpetrators are considered more deviant than other physical or emotional abusers. Iverson and Segal (1990) indicate that "perpetrators of sexual abuse have been described as emotionally immature, having low self-esteem, and being generally ineffective in their interpersonal relationships" (p. 11). It is the individual parent who has the psychological problem and is often involved in child abuse while in a mentally ill state, although this is not always the case (Belsky, 1978). The focus is psychological and socio-cultural. Environmental factors do not receive the same attention. Physical abuse within this theory of abuse and maltreatment, is supported by Galdston (1965), Kempe (1962) and Stelle and Pollock (1968).

5.2 Social Learning Model

There are three components in the Social Learning Model of maltreatment (Iverson and Segal, 1990). First, the model deals with an individual's learning. Second, certain conditions need to exist that encourage the use of previously learned behaviours. Third, an individual engages in specific behaviours because of the contingencies (rewards and punishments) that these behaviours produce. This Social Learning theory has a focus on physical abuse and the violence and social conditions which encourage violence towards victims. Quite often these social conditions are associated with unemployment and the stresses associated with such a situation. The parents become frustrated and vent their

frustration by abusing the child as Belsky (1978) indicates, "…when families are subjected to stress, violence is likely to result; child abuse is simply one form which this violence may take" (p. 41). Social Learning Theory is thus presented with a focus upon individual perpetrators' social conditions emphasising certain behaviours and punishments received in their childhood. Thus, this theory has a cross generational focus whereby attitudes and behaviours are formed in childhood and then replicated in adulthood. Social theory focuses on the social environment controlling a person's ability to abuse (Gil, 1970). Proponents of this theory include Gelles and Straus (1979) and Gelles (1983).

An integral part of social learning is modelling, since learning often occurs in a social context (Berger, 1988). This involves people basing their behaviour upon that which is modelled by others. She claims that people learn by observing the behaviour of others. In Social Learning Theory, Bussey and Bandura (1984) found that parents had a much stronger influence on the roles that same sex offspring played, rather than casual strangers or male and females portrayed on television, although boys tended to acknowledge the influence of powerful women. They also found that sons repeat the behaviours of their fathers and significant others in their lives. However, for child abuse, Tomison and Duffie (2003) note that:

> Later victimisation appeared to be due to the internalisation of violence as an acceptable means of resolving conflict, combined with having fewer opportunities to learn alternatives to violence, rather than the modelling of victim behaviour (as per social learning theory) in and of itself (p. 8).

It appears that modelling does play an important role in social learning, but it is only one of a number of factors such as the internalisation of violence that determines learning.

5.3 The Ecological Theory of Maltreatment

The Ecological Theory espouses that the individual matures within a system of environments. Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Garbarino and Gilliam (1980) researched backgrounds of individuals in relation to developmental tasks using this system of environments, and found that individuals who were abused could not manage developmental tasks. Bronfenbrenner (1979) makes the point that an individual can only be understood in terms of their network of environments, and the child can only be understood in terms of the network of environments in which the parents interact. Iverson and Segal (1990) point out that:

> Both the primary advantage and disadvantage of the ecological theory are its breadth. By including a variety of etiological factors at various societal levels, the ecological theory is probably the most comprehensive theory of maltreatment … Like theories of social causation, ecological theories are most useful in broadly conceptualizing maltreatment and directing social policy (p. 16).

The Ecological Theory by Bronfenbrenner (1979) had an influence upon Belsky (1978) who proposed described human development from an ecological viewpoint. He advocated that there are four interactive levels such as the ontogenic level or what the parent brings to the child, the microsystem or the child's family environment, the exosystem or the external social environment of the child and the macrosystem or the broader cultural context in which these all interact (Goddard & Carew, 1993).

5.4 Transactional Theory

Transactional Theory is akin to the Ecological Theory where environmental factors are important enough to affect the transactions between parent and child (Cicchetti & Rizley, 1981). Maltreatment involves the individual's sociocultural and environmental

factors which will foreshadow the likelihood of abuse. Maltreatment, including child sexual abuse, is of great concern. Indeed Iverson and Segal (1990) state that:

> Research support for the transactional perspective has primarily focused on the Developmental sequelae of maltreatment. There is ample evidence that maltreatment disrupts the socio-emotional functioning of young children, but the long-term implications of this early disruption have not yet been fully delineated (p. 17).

Whether or not the maltreatment is long-term, the major issue is that the maltreatment of children needs to be addressed. Maltreatment of children needs to be prevented so that they are able to develop physically, socially, intellectually and educationally.

5.5 Four Factor Theory of Child Sexual Abuse

This Four-Factor Model is focused around the research of Finkelhor (1986) and Browne and Finkelhor (1986). They identified the central factors as emotional congruence, sexual arousal, blockage and inhibition. They examine the reasons why adults become perpetrators of child sexual abuse. The emotional congruence establishes a match between the immature nature of the adult and that of the child. The sexual arousal may be as a result of the abuse of the perpetrator as a child, or other aspects of his or her background. The third factor of blockage suggested by Iverson and Segal (1990) is the inability of the adult to obtain normal sexual relationships with an adult. The fourth factor of disinhibition refers to the adult perpetrator's inability to accept the normal adult prohibitions which would prevent the adult from engaging in such abhorrent activity as child sexual abuse. Iverson and Segal (1990) sum up this theory by indicating that the model provides a framework for organising and understanding child sexual abuse. In examining the work by Iverson and Segal (1990) it needs to be borne in mind that this

was an early attempt to understand child maltreatment with an emphasis upon sexual and physical abuse, and it provides an organised framework upon which other researchers are able to build.

5.6 The Stages of Sexual Abuse Theory

The Stages of Sexual Abuse Theory is supported by Sgroi, Blick and Porter (1982). This theory outlines the stages of sexual abuse as engagement, sexual interaction, secrecy, disclosure and suppression. They indicate that engagement involves the setting up of circumstances to allow the perpetrator to have access to the victim. Opportunity and cunning are utilized by the perpetrator to "groom" or engage with the victim. Sexual interaction involves the progression of sexual activity from mildly invasive such as touching to full sexual intercourse. The secrecy phase according to Sgroi, Blick and Porter (1982) involves the perpetrator trying to maintain a secret liaison with the victim in order to evade accountability. Such secrecy may be developed by the perpetrator offering incentives or by threats so as to continue the sexual abuse. The fourth phase of disclosure may be accidental or intentional when someone discovers the sexual relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, or when the victim discloses the sexual abuse in order to end it. Finally Sgori, Blick and Porter (1982) indicate that the suppression stage often has the perpetrator trying to forget the sexual abuse in order to proclaim innocence and pretend that no sexual abuse ever occurred.

The theory by Sgroi, Black and Porter (1982) sets out a sound guide to examine the different stages of child sexual abuse. It also provides an insight into the plight of victims of child sexual abuse as well exposing the cunning of perpetrators. Belsky (1978) sees the development of the intimacy relationship between parent and child as important but also suggests in his abuse-provoking theories that a child may influence the parent. However, as Goddard and Carew (1993) indicate, "such an approach, based on the role of the child

as it is, appears to us to run a very grave risk of blaming the victim. In child sexual abuse, blaming the victim has occurred on a formidable scale." It is timely to see an emphasis upon sexual abuse in this theory, for, as Iverson and Segal (1990) point out:

> Models of maltreatment are in their infancy…most theories are primarily concerned with physical abuse and to some degree with neglect and sexual abuse. Emotional abuse has received little attention in the theoretical literature (p. 19).

These issues of emotional abuse, like physical, sexual abuse and neglect are now receiving widespread community attention.

5.7 The Feminist Theory of Child Sexual Abuse

Itzin (2000) proposes a feminist theory of child sexual abuse claiming that it is predominantly men who are perpetrators of child sexual abuse, whether for power or otherwise. Itzin (2000) states it is a 'men thing' and that the feminist theory is not an anti-male thing, but, as she puts it, sexual abuse is "a problem evidenced unequivocally, both empirically and analytically; and to recognize it as a problem that has to be addressed and resolved if child sexual abuse is to be ended" (p. xx). Itzin (2000) cites Russell (1983) who also provides a feminist position, to claim, rather alarmingly, that between 10 to 15 percent of young adult males reported that they would consider sexual abuse of children if they thought they would be able to do so undetected. Itzen (2000) claims that such a theoretical approach by her is not a "feminist anti-men thing" but merely points to the data which indicate that it is what ordinary men do both intra-family and extra-family. Itzen (2000) suggests that the criminal justice system of placing offenders together in jails merely provides them with an extension of normalising their fantasies with other sex offenders, and establishing networks. Rather, she suggests that there needs to be a program of rehabilitation, reparation and resocialisation (p. 16). The problem of child

sexual abuse is worldwide and in every culture. Indeed, it is as Goddard and Carew (1993) suggest:

> Successful theoretical approaches to the causation of child abuse will require two elements. Firstly, it will be necessary to define more clearly the types of abuse, and separate them from each other...Secondly, we must accept that these theoretical approaches will have to incorporate a number of components, including the role of society, the community, the parent, and the child; each ingredient varying in its contribution with each case and every type of abuse (p. 207).

Indeed, theories of child abuse are varied, but the common thread is that the problem of causation of child sexual abuse can be complex.

5.8 Summary:

Seven theories of child sexual abuse and maltreatment have been identified, namely the Individual-Psychological Theory, Social Learning Theory, Ecological, Transactional, Four Factor Theory of Child Sexual Abuse, Stages of Child Abuse and Feminist Theory of Child Sexual Abuse.

Several of these theories of child sexual abuse and maltreatment have common characteristics such as the Individual-Psychological Theory and the Social Learning Theory which focus upon the perpetrators' childhood experiences as preconditions for subsequently becoming perpetrators themselves in adulthood. Cross generational behaviours are thus possible with these theories of child sexual abuse.

The Ecological and Transactional theories are consistent with each other as they rely upon environmental and developmental background conditions for transactions of maltreatment between parent and child to develop. Similar to the Individual-Psychological theory and the Social Learning Theory there is an emphasis upon the childhood of perpetrators of maltreatment and child sexual abuse.

The Four Factor Theory and The Stages of Sexual Abuse theory have in common the staging in adults becoming perpetrators of child sexual abuse, developing from emotional congruence, grooming, to sexual arousal and sexual abuse. The Feminist Theory of Child Sexual Abuse varies from the other theories because it places an emphasis upon the major perpetrators of child sexual abuse, namely men.

It appears that these theories are generally consistent with each other, and provide a foundation for research in this complex area. This thesis embraces elements of all these theories of child sexual abuse and maltreatment. However, the Stages of Sexual Abuse Theory is particularly significant because of the focus on the factor of sexual abuse in the study. In particular, this theory supports research into the backgrounds of the self-selected interviewees in the study, all being raised in orphanages and sexually abused in childhood while in Queensland orphanages. The perpetrators of this abuse had ready access to their victims and as personnel in orphanages, initiated engagement, sexual interaction, secrecy, disclosure and suppression. Review of the theories of child sexual abuse and maltreatment in light of data obtained from the interviews is examined in Chapter 10.

The subjects, orphans who were sexually abused while children in Queensland orphanages and historically linked to the 1940-1960 era, are the focus because in this time interval, orphanage care evolved from large barrack-type orphanages to the smaller cottage-type orphanages. In addition, the formulation of the interview questions is based on the historical experiences of orphans, and is in response to the perspectives of sexual abuse, established in the literature review.

Chapter 6 Method

6.1 Aim

The aim of this research is to examine the nature, context and implications of the sexual abuse of orphanage children upon their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities. This research focuses on primary school, secondary school and tertiary education. The specific aim is to examine qualitative data from former sexually abused male and female orphans who lived in Queensland orphanages from 1940 to 1960, and to construct their perceptions about how their sexual abuse affected their educational achievement, development and opportunities at all three educational levels. The research does not address nor identify specific levels of academic achievement or criteria such as grades or test scores at school.

The three important factors namely educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity, that were defined in Chapter 1, were chosen as the focus of the study because they are salient phenomena which determine the progress of children towards being competent individuals and as citizens integrated into society (Eckenrode, Laird & Doris, 1993). Delays or barriers in these areas of education for the former orphans who were sexually abused while in care in Queensland orphanages could be expected to be of major significance in their lives.

6.2 Specific objectives and specific research questions

The specific objectives here are to test the following seven specific research questions generated from the literature, and the conceptualisation of the problem, and analyses addressed in this thesis.

Specific Research Questions:

Specific Research Question 1. Did the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational achievement at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

Specific Research Question 2. Did the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

Specific Research Question 3. Did the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational opportunity at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

Specific Research Question 4. Were the sexually-abused male orphans' educational opportunities negatively affected more by individual people than by the circumstances associated with being an orphan? If so, how?

Specific Research Question 5. Did some of the orphanage policies have both a direct and indirect negative effect on the sexually-abused male orphans' educational development? If so, how?

Specific Research Question 6. Did non-educational resources, such as hunger or stigma, hinder sexually-abused male orphans' educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

Specific Research Question 7. Did the lack of educational opportunities experienced by sexually-abused male orphans become inter-generational? If so, how?

6.3 Research design

6.3.1 Research design overview

The research method design to obtain data from the interviewees was based upon a self-selected purposeful sampling process. The research was designed to gather qualitative data

on sexually abused orphans' perceptions of the influences their sexual abuse on their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities. In order to enhance the quality of orphans' responses, in-depth interviews with them in a quiet, private venue were judged to be the most appropriate approach in the research design.

The male interviewer's initial contact with potential respondents by email or telephone was informal, and aimed to gain the initial confidence and trust of the respondents. The research was designed to encourage harmonious initial and subsequent contact between the interviewers and the potential respondents, and to be sensitive to their life experiences as sexually-abused young orphans and later as adult orphans. Enns et al. (1998) emphasise that "an emphatic, supportive, and collaborative relationship is central to creating a context in which past abuses can be addressed" (p.253).

The emphasis in the research design was upon creating a harmonious environment for the interviewees as well as the interviewers. This was done in order to maximise responses, and to reduce any methodological difficulties in data collection. Goldman and Padayachi (2000) point out that there are three major types of data collection used in child sexual abuse research. They are self-administered questionnaires, face-to-face interviews and telephone interviews. They maintain that the face-to-face interview is the best way to maximise the data collected about the experience of child sexual abuse. Thus the research design in the study involved face-to-face interviews of a structured nature. This was applied carefully, for as Enns et al. (1998) note:

> If the client discloses a history of abuse or trauma, the practitioner should screen for post-traumatic symptoms. Careful assessment is necessary for determining whether the client is prepared to deal with traumatic memories and for planning optimal interventions (p. 247).

Screening for possible difficulties with some of the interviewees was facilitated by the interviewers liaising with the social worker and psychologist in attendance at the Sexual Abuse Support Centre described below.

In view of the limited number of potential interviewees who may agree to be interviewed, it was decided to adopt a case study method that would include references to historical data as well as contemporary responses on how child abuse may have affected respondents' early and current education. This study examined the interviewees' perceptions of the influence of childhood sexual abuse upon their educational achievement, development and opportunity. In this context, Yin (2003) notes that:

> Although case studies and histories can overlap, the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence-documents, artefacts, interviews, and observations beyond what might be available in a conventional historical study (p. 8).

In the current research, however, data collection relied essentially on in-depth interviews and, although some photographs and other documents were shown by the interviewees to the researcher, these were not used in the data analysis. The focus was on the interview itself, as well as the audiotaped record of the interview. The audiotape proved to be a valuable resource to confirm and clarify data taken by hand transcript written on the Interview Schedule. The emphasis in the data collection was simplicity, as Silverman (2005) notes that:

> Research design should involve careful thought rather than seeking the most attractive option …Ultimately, everything will depend on the quality of your data analysis rather than upon the quality of your data (p. 63).

With this approach in mind, it was important to establish an optimum environment for the interviews in order to obtain quality data.

6.4 Ethical clearance

Ethical clearance was obtained from the university to undertake this research. University policy now requires all research in its initial stages of planning to be directed through its Ethics Committee. This research about the nature, context and implications of child sexual abuse and its effects on orphans' educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity, is laden with potential risks for subjects and these risks needed to be identified, reduced and managed in the ethical approval process. Enns et al. (1998) note that survivors of trauma need to be treated with care and concern which certainly entails ethical considerations.

The need for ethical clearance when dealing with human participants is important because it ensures that their safety, dignity, and privacy are safeguarded. The guidelines for ethical clearance are aligned with the Australian National Statement on the Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans (1999). Essentially this focuses on three ethical principles, which are:

- Respect for persons, i.e., individuals should be treated as autonomous agents and those with diminished autonomy are entitled to protection. Respect for the individual entails a commitment not to use a person only as a means to an end.
- Benefice, i.e., do no harm. Harm in this context, extends beyond physical harm to a wide range of psychological or emotional stress, discomfort and economic or social disadvantage. Researchers exercise beneficence in assessing the risks of harm and potential benefits to participants, in being sensitive to the rights and interests of people involved in their research and in reflecting on the social and cultural implications of their work.

- Justice, i.e., addressing the resolution of the question of who ought to receive the benefits of research and bear its burdens. Researchers and Human Research Ethics Committees must recognise the potential for injustice where some groups are regularly selected as research subjects because of convenience and without regard to the frequency of research with those populations or to whom the benefits of the research flow (p. 4).

It was imperative for the subjects in the research to be volunteers, and that their participation provided them maximum privacy and respect. An effort was therefore made by the male and female interviewers to ensure that they were able to provide the interviewees with this privacy and respect at all times during, and after the interview. Such a considerate approach was also maintained, when during several interviews it was discovered that the subjects were not suitable for the research. (This was because the respondents did not meet the required variables of being raised in a Queensland orphanage between 1940 and 1960, and sexually abused while residents in the orphanage.) The interviewers maintained their focus with the rejected group, as they did for the others, for the duration of the interviews, and the various protocols of follow-up and acknowledgement were undertaken.

The interviewees were guaranteed anonymity by the interviewers and it was explained that following the completion of the research, the audiotapes and their transcripts would be destroyed. The interviewers addressed confidentiality concerns and difficulties that might have arisen during the interviews. As Silverman (2005) notes:

> One question asked [by students] for 'potential hazards' and the precautions I might take to meet them. The possible contravening of confidentiality was my written response to this enquiry. I undertook to use pseudonyms for the names of staff,

clients and care areas throughout the research to preserve anonymity and to safeguard confidentiality (p. 30).

Benefice was exercised by the interviewers to take into account the sensitive nature of the research and the personal questions that were asked relating to child sexual abuse. Each interviewer told the interviewees to stop at any stage during the interview, especially if they were feeling uncomfortable. During an interview, there was one male interviewee who became upset and was offered the opportunity to terminate the interview, but he insisted that he wanted to proceed once he had composed himself, because it provided him with an opportunity to express himself on a topic that he wished to discuss. A follow-up phone call after the interview by the male interviewer to this male interviewee ensured that there was minimal residual stress from the interview.

In terms of the ethical aspects of justice and the benefits of research, it was made clear to all interviewees that there would be no financial benefits from the research, and that their participation was voluntary and confidential. Indeed, some potential interviewees declined to be interviewed on the grounds that it would cause too much stress. In the final sample of 10 males and 10 females, there was no apparent injustice evident with this group participating in the research because this was the first time that many of them had been interviewed about their childhood sexual abuse. The interviewees gave the impression that they did not feel they were being exploited. One of the benefits not anticipated from the research, was that the male interviewer has subsequently acted as an advocate for several of the interviewees in a Church Tribunal for reparations for the abuses suffered during their childhood in Queensland orphanages. The resulting success of these claims was discussed among the interviewees, and a sense of credibility and trust of the interviewers was increased, although there remains an element of reserve built upon

the respondents' negative childhood experiences of child sexual abuse. The advocacy in the tribunals occurred after the interviews.

There is a dilemma faced by an interviewer concerning the extent to which an interview may produce data for academic convenience and ignore the pain of the interviewee. Further, to what extent should an interviewer build into a research method a strategy to enable respondents to obtain some sense of catharsis? In summary, to what extent does the interviewer need to be careful not to "cross the boundaries" between the needs of the research and the needs of the subjects? An example of this dilemma is reported by Johnson (2000) when he first attempted to examine subjects' knowledge of personal safety by seeking responses to a series of video scenarios involving maltreatment of children. The result was that he needed to be involved in protracted negotiations with parents, teachers and children to ensure that the personal safety of the children would not be jeopardised. Johnson's (2000) study revealed the need for ethical practices and accountability to be given the highest priority in such research. Time became an important factor. That is, the research cannot be rushed to meet a deadline at the expense of the human subjects involved. Johnson (2000) found that he faced three dilemmas: reporting of suspected child abuse, obtaining "informed consent" and the potential harm to the participants. Regardless of these difficulties, Johnson (2000) contends that:

> Numerous difficulties arose… these are serious and not inconsequential methodological and ethical problems associated with showing children scenes of others being maltreated. Yet researchers need to "push the boundaries" of principles to develop more valid, authentic and complex ways of assessing children's thinking about personal safety concepts and strategies (p. 823).

The current research sought to assure respondents that all possible care would be taken during the interview to assist them if they experienced emotional difficulties.

However, in one case, a potential respondent initially declined to be interviewed as family members felt it would be too painful for him to recall his past experiences in the orphanage. However, he subsequently volunteered for an interview, and the male interviewer made a conscious effort, during the interview, to be vigilant for any visible signs of distress. The result was that there were no overt signs of distress, and the researcher established a very good rapport with that respondent.

6.5 The settings for the interviews

The setting for the interviews was in an urban Sexual Abuse Support Centre for abused adults who were former children in Queensland orphanages. This venue was chosen in order to make the interview as stress-free as possible. The Support Centre was established as a direct outcome of a recommendation from the Commission of Inquiry into Abuse of Children in Queensland Institutions (Forde, 1999). Recommendation 40 states:

> That the Queensland Government and responsible religious authorities fund an independent 'one stop shop' for victims of abuse in institutions that provides a range of services such as: ongoing counselling for victims and their families
>
> - facilitation of educational opportunities including literacy programs
> - advice regarding access to individual records, documents and archival papers
> - assistance to former child migrants for reunification with their families (p. xix).

This 'one stop shop' or Sexual Abuse Support Centre was an ideal venue to recruit potential interviewees, as they felt safe in this environment, and they were able to reassure themselves that the process did not involve unnecessary trauma for them. The Sexual Abuse Support Centre is situated centrally in a Queensland city to enable former residents to visit it easily. The Sexual Abuse Support Centre provides a venue for the former

residents to network and share experiences, as well as renew former acquaintances. The male researcher telephoned for an appointment with the head Counsellor of the Sexual Abuse Support Centre, then visited her, and explained the aim of the research. The male researcher established an effective rapport with the counsellor resulting in the participation of six former orphanage residents who were sexually abused as children while in orphanage care, three men and three women, who volunteered to be interviewed later. The Sexual Abuse Support Centre later provided a private room to enable the respondents and interviewer to be free from distractions. Each interview was conducted only when there was a counsellor available in the Sexual Abuse Support Centre who could be available if a respondent became upset.

The setting was familiar to the interviewees who usually visited it weekly for mutual support and counselling. The interview room was used to enhance comfort for both the interviewer and the interviewee, because the interviews lasted between about 50 and 80 minutes each. However, it was not a convenient venue for six other interviewees, and these six were interviewed in their homes. Two interviews of former Queensland orphanage residents were conducted interstate in the privacy of a hotel room. That setting then provided confidentiality and comfort, for both the interviewer and the interviewee. All settings proved to be quiet and there were no interruptions to the interviews.

6.6 Sample

The population studied was a group of adult orphans who had experienced sexual abuse while in institutions as a child, in either a state or church-run orphanage in Queensland from 1940 to 1960. See Appendix 1 for demographic information about the interviewees. All of the interviewees were members of a Support Centre for victims of abuse in Queensland institutions as described in Section 6.5.

In light of the sensitive nature of the questions and the time period associated with the study, a relatively small population from which to draw a sample was anticipated. From an initial population of 15 males and 15 females, the interview data from 10 males and 10 females were found to be valid for analysis. These participants are now aged between 50 to 72 years. The sample may be considered small, but, as Iverson and Segal (1990) point out "samples which have been selected in a very specific manner aid research interpretation" (p. 33). It became clear to the researcher that obtaining a large sample within the described research parameters would not be possible, or necessary. A smaller, purposeful sample was inevitable to meet the specific demographic and time variables in the study. The researcher was well aware of the inherent difficulties of generalizing from such a small sample such as the sample not really being truly representative as Gill and Johnson (2002) indicate:

> ….due to the small samples used, the method can rarely make claims about the representativeness of its samples and therefore any attempt at generalizing is tenuous. But for Mitchell (1983) such a criticism shows confusion between the procedures appropriate to making inferences from statistical data and those appropriate to case study work (p.158).

The small size of the sample and the difficulties in obtaining a larger sample because of the number of survivors of sexual abuse in such a specific era of 1940s-1960s should not automatically exclude the sample from obtaining some degree of representativeness.

The logic of a small sample size in interview-based qualitative research is supported by Crouch and Mckenzie (2006) in a project involving interviews with respondents with a previous history of cancer diagnosis and treatment. They argue that such research involves a penetration into the interviewees' social and private life. The position adopted by Crouch and Mckenzie (2006) is based upon Abbott (1992) who views respondents as

“cases” rather than merely individuals who meet the designated variables. The contention is that the interviewees embody and represent “meaningful experience-structure links”. They conceptualise these “cases” as emerging within a field of a particular set of circumstances, which depicts them as Abbott (1992) indicates. They are “engaged in perpetual dialogue with their environment”, doing or enduring a variety of things, “each of which may be seen as an event arising either in agency (what they do) or in structure (what they endure)” (p.64-65). Thus, Crouch and Mckenzie (2006) affirm that the need for a large sample in such qualitative research is illogical and unnecessary, for, as they point out:

> The interaction of the doing with the enduring is the process under scrutiny in small-sample research. Its approach is therefore clinical, involving as it does careful history-taking, cross-case comparisons, intuitive judgments and reference to extant knowledge. This is not something that can reasonably be done with a large number of cases. Affirmatively restated, such research positively calls for a collection of respondents’ “states”, the size of which can be kept in the researcher’s mind as a totality under investigation at all stages of the research (p.493).

This thesis embodies similar concepts to justify making generalizations from a small sample size.

The specific requirement of those included in the sample was that they had to have been residents of a Queensland orphanage during the 1940s to the 1960s. As well, another specific requirement was that the residents had to have been sexually abused as residents in the orphanages. Such specificity precluded residents who at interview revealed that they had been physically, emotionally or “spiritually” abused or suffered neglect, but were not sexually abused. Thus “sexual abuse as a child” was a main dependent variable in the study. In addition, the sample size was reduced to 10 males and

10 females because the respondents in the research were volunteers. The nature of the sexual abuse that the respondents suffered during their early developmental stages in the closed environment of an orphanage, added to the difficulty of obtaining specific volunteers, as some of these victims explained that they wished to forget the past. These persons were not included.

Selecting a volunteer group is an important aspect in the research process as evidenced by Goldman and Padyachi (2000) who claim:

> Methodological problems are also evident in child sexual abuse research in the choice of sample. There appear to be three major methods employed in the literature for selecting a sample for prevalence studies of child sexual abuse. These include random sampling, nonprobability sampling of college students from a particular class in college, and requesting volunteers from the population (p. 312).

As described, the current research used volunteers from the population attending of the Sexual Abuse Support Centre.

6.7 Sampling frame

The 20 respondents were selected from volunteers who responded to the request for a sample of former residents from Queensland orphanages from 1940 to 1960. This request was made initially through an advertisement in the newsletter for the Australian national organisation of people who had been in a residential care setting, namely, Care Leavers of Australia Network (CLAN). The request was also listed on the CLAN website (http://www.clan.org.au). The researcher initially contacted CLAN by email seeking volunteer interviewees. They suggested that an advertisement be placed on the CLAN website. The advertisement requested that former orphans could make contact with the researcher by telephone, fax or email. Word-of-mouth among respondents resulted in one

of the respondents to the advertisement volunteering to inform a counsellor at the Sexual Abuse Support Centre in Brisbane and other former orphanage residents who receive weekly support there about the study. The counsellor of the Sexual Abuse Support Centre then advised the researcher about people who consented to be interviewed as part of a self-selected sample. The initial request was for 15 male and 15 female interviewees, but this was eventually reduced to 10 male and 10 female interviewees who met the study criteria and ethical protocols.

A former resident was referred by one of his friends as a possible interviewee, but, after an extended telephone call, he declined to be interviewed, and explained that he was in the process of obtaining reparations from the church that operated the orphanage, and that the interview would take much of his emotional energy, as well as possibly jeopardising his financial claim. The sample is also restricted because of the intensely personal nature of the topic, namely the implications of childhood sexual abuse, and also because of the specific detail and depth of the interview process and interview schedule. Iverson and Segal (1990) point out that:

> Research samples in the study of child maltreatment are often poorly representative of the larger population. The samples are typically comprised of low SES individuals and cases in which the maltreatment is relatively severe (p. 36).

Similarly, the sample obtained in the study included individuals of low socio-economic status who had experienced sexual abuse. Eckenrode et al. (1993) note:

> Many of the studies in the literature have limited themselves to either selected types or to a conglomerate group of undifferentiated forms of maltreatment. Other studies have failed to examine the role of major concomitant variables such as social class (p. 53).

This research therefore does involve the role of social class, given that all the interviewees were of low socio-economic class. The effects of this variable coupled with sexual abuse are further examined to determine its influence on their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity. The variable "low socio-economic class" has been found to be related to child maltreatment in a study of 2,760 families by Berger (2005) who found that low income in single-parent families had greater levels of family violence than two-parent families. She found that such a characteristic coupled with other factors such as maternal depression, maternal alcohol use, and intra-family violence patterns all contributed towards child abuse. In an analysis of Berger's (2005) findings that the lower income in single-parent families increases the risk of maltreatment over that observed in two-parent families, Waldfogel (2005) notes:

> This is an important finding, and suggests that the care of children may be more sensitive to economic conditions in families where only one parent is present (perhaps because these families have lower incomes to start with, or because factors other than income play a relatively larger role in two-parent families) (p. 102).

Other factors may include stress or poor parenting skills generally. However, these specific factors may have been associated with some of the residents in the orphanages prior to their admission to the orphanages.

Kinard (1994) conducted research on child maltreatment and found that such a sensitive issue as abuse to children caused difficulty with research methods and sample selection. He expressed concerns about overgeneralising the results of a study as it may be jeopardised by a sample that is not truly representative of the population under research. Kinard (1994) notes that:

> If study samples are limited to recipients of special intervention services, then assessments of the consequences of abuse are likely to be confounded with the effects of treatment. Such groups may be biased toward cases receptive to treatment, particularly if participation in treatment programs is voluntary (p. 649).

The limitations on the size of the sample and the particular human and historical variables involved also influenced the researcher in the present study not to consider a control group or comparison group from the wider population. The selection of a comparison group would serve little purpose, and a comparison between the specific group of sexually-abused orphans and those from the wider population from the same era, not raised in a Queensland orphanage and not sexually abused would not strengthen the conclusions of the study. Indeed, Kinard (1994) points out that:

> Comparison groups of maltreated children should be selected in such a way as to maximize similarities in life experiences and circumstances considered to influence the outcomes under investigation, such as psychological functioning or academic performance. Unless maltreated and non-maltreated groups are similar except for maltreatment, group differences cannot be reasonably attributed to maltreatment (p. 649).

In this context, similarities between the life experiences and circumstances of sexually abused orphans and those of any comparison group outside an orphanage, are too varied to be able to draw effective conclusions that the sexual abuse caused any major differences in personal and academic functioning between the two groups. Further, in a study by Roberts and Taylor (1994) of 84 Scottish children who were sexually abused, there was an attempt to establish a control group of children who were not sexually abused. However, the authenticity of the control group became questionable, as Roberts and Taylor (1994) explain:

> Attempts in this study to obtain a psychologically disturbed control group, matched for age and sex, were unsuccessful because the control group gradually diminished when we asked if the 'control children' had been sexually abused: a significant proportion had. This unexpected finding has been reported elsewhere (Dempster & Roberts, 1991), and calls into question the validity of some other reported control groups (p. 18).

For this reason the current research into the effects of child sexual abuse on the educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity of Queensland orphans deliberately did not have a control or comparison group. The focus of the study was on the in-depth interviews and themes identified among these interviews as they reveal the recalled experiences of the selected participants.

6.8 Interview schedule

The Interview Schedule (See Appendix 2) covered two broad areas; First, the nature and context of orphans' sexual abuse in the orphanages, and second, the implications of how that sexual abuse may have influenced their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities. The questions needed to be sensitive and supportive, but clear, direct and probing to maximise the reliability of responses. The questions about the orphans' childhood sexual abuse were designed to make the interviewees feel as participative as possible, and to maximise rapport and empathy with the interviewer. The design of the questions also aimed to minimise any questions that might be perceived as threatening or overly intrusive. There were no specific questions about the nature of the sexual abuse itself. The Interview Schedule was used to guide the interviewers. The order of the questions generally followed the order as presented in Appendix 2. However, where interviewees' responses flowed to other relevant areas of

the Interview Schedule, the questions followed wherever the respondent went, but later they were guided back to any remaining questions on the Interview Schedule.

The Interview Schedule contained 32 questions, and in order to promote Interviewer-Respondent interest and rapport, the initial questions sought basic demographic characteristics of respondents. The wording of the questions was designed to obtain data that were as consistent as possible across interviewees to allow subsequent analysis and to reflect the literature. The same questions were used for both male and female interviewees.

The exact nature of what comprises sexual abuse or the types of abuse was not discussed with the respondents. There was no need to, because all of the respondents were members of a community Support Centre for sexually abused people and other former residents of Queensland orphanages. That is, all respondents were drawn from the same sub-population as described above. Indeed, in a study examining the long-term outcomes for women sexually abused in childhood, Fassler, Amodeo, Clay and Ellis (2005) found that the specific characteristics of child sexual abuse were not as important as the occurrence of child sexual abuse and the family environment of the women. The interview data relied upon the memories of the abused and their perceptions of the effects of sexual abuse, rather than specific details of the abuse itself. The interviewees' perceptions of abuse were specifically monitored by their responses to questions about the perpetrators, and to whom the abuse was reported. The interviewers were able to determine common patterns such as manipulation and grooming by the perpetrators to ascertain the feasibility of claims of abuse as described in The Stages of Sexual Abuse Theory (Sgroi, Blick & Porter, 1982). This monitoring enabled the interviewers to determine, as far as possible, the accuracy of the interviewee's responses by cross-referencing details with other respondents who had been in the similar situation.

The Interview Schedule was structured into five main sections with specifically focused questions in each. The sections include:

- Demographics of respondents
- Orphanage experiences including sexual abuse in Queensland from 1940 to 1960
- Orphans' child sexual abuse and their primary school education experiences
- Orphans' child sexual abuse and their secondary school education and tertiary experiences
- Orphanage/School Links.

Issues such as the population from which the research sample is drawn, the wording of questions, definitions used and the number of questions involved, are considered important in order to obtain reliable data (Hopper, 2006). As indicated, the questions themselves were designed to elicit general answers to identify the perceptions of the adult survivors of child sexual abuse about their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity. Questions were designed to assist the interviewers to determine the severity of abuse or its perceived influence. On some occasions questions or sub-questions included Likert-type Scale to assist interviewees. This involved a five-point scale, with five indicating the greatest level of severity of the abuse. The different types of abuses identified included physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, neglect and spiritual abuse. The inclusion of spiritual abuse as a form of abuse arose in interviews where two former male and female residents of church-run orphanages indicated that this was a form of abuse because it has dominated their lives, and that they became obsessed about it. One male respondent felt that spiritual abuse was used to condone the use of other forms of abuse, such as sexual abuse. In particular, he stated that the priest who abused him claimed that it was God's will for him to do so.

The sequence of the questions in the Interview Schedule is also important as it sets the tone and pattern for the subsequent questions. Thus, the first questions were general, and they elicited demographic data about years of schooling, age, and the time spent in an orphanage. These questions were followed by more sensitive questions about the types of abuse that occurred, how often they occurred, who the perpetrators were, and the duration of the abuse. Such sequential positioning of questions follows the 'initial question sequence' suggested by Crano and Brewer (2002) who state that:

> How one answers an early question may have a powerful influence on how later questions are answered. In addition to questions of this nature, it is important to understand that the early questions in an interview can play a major role in establishing rapport. Accordingly, the least threatening, least demanding, most general, and most easily answered questions should be presented first (p. 240).

Consequently, in the interviews, interviewees reported little difficulty understanding the questions, and displayed little reluctance to answer the initial, and then later questions, as they settled into the interview.

6.9 Data collection

The procedures of data collection are recognised as important, as Goldman and Padyachi (2000) indicate "two aspects of data collection which appear to account for the discrepancy in their findings are data collection procedures and the structure of questions" (p. 313).

Data were collected using face-to-face, audiotaped in-depth interviews. Each of the two interviewers followed the prepared Interview Schedule (See Appendix 2). Each interviewer used this Schedule to also write any clarifications of interviewees' responses. At the beginning of the interview, the interviewer informed all respondents that they had a choice to answer only those questions about which they felt comfortable. During the

interview, this was repeated to interviewees. Confidentiality was maintained during and after the interviews, by ensuring that the taped data were kept in a secure place. All of the Interview Schedules and tapes were located in a locked cupboard for the duration of the data analysis. When the analysis of the data was completed, the tapes and copies of the transcriptions were either given to the interviewees if they wished, or else destroyed. This face-to-face method of data collection was chosen over other methods such as questionnaires because the sample was restricted and select, and because child sexual abuse is a highly sensitive issue. Further, the male and female interviewers needed to be attuned to the nuances of the respondents, and thus the interviews were seen as a preferable method of data collection as described earlier. Moreover, the interview appears to be an effective method for data collection about child sexual abuse. Research by Wyatt and Peters (1986) involving four studies of the prevalence of sexual abuse, two of which were face-to-face interviews and the other two were self-administered questionnaires, found that:

> …differences in the method of data collection may be a highly significant factor contributing to discrepancies in prevalence rates. In these four studies, the use of face-to-face is associated with higher prevalence rates than those of self-administered questionnaires (p. 247).

The face-to-face interviews in the current research proved to be an effective method of obtaining reliable data in this study.

6.10 The interviews

The two interviewers, an adult male for male interviews, and an adult female for female interviews, trained themselves by preparing, identifying a common approach, and understanding and predicting the type of responses to all questions in the Interview Schedule. The interviewers estimated that these interviews would take about 90 minutes.

The male and female interviewers both understood the importance of adhering to the Interview Schedule, but also to allow the interviewees ample opportunity to express themselves fully. For example, during the interview when an issue of child sexual abuse was initiated by the interviewer, respondents were given the time to elaborate, or move on from the question. Both interviewers were highly conscious of the difficulties such questions on child sexual abuse may have caused for them. However, Roberts and Taylor (1994) indicate that in relation to child sexual abuse, researchers should " ... do their best to be sensitive to verbal and non-verbal cues, which would lead to giving the option of withdrawing or changing the subject"(p. 15). Both the interviewers were sensitive to the verbal and non-verbal cues of the respondents, and occasionally moved on to the next question earlier than planned.

The interviews were not rushed, and the interviewers often checked with the interviewees to see if they felt comfortable when sensitive issues, such as the frequency of their sexual abuse, were being discussed. The importance of not rushing the interviews was to maintain empathy and to collect comprehensive data. Both interviewers wished to establish rapport early with the respondents, and they realised that this might take some time to establish in an interview on a sensitive topic with a stranger. Wyatt and Peters (1986) point out that:

> When more sensitive topics are discussed during the interview, the subject may be more at ease to disclose these events, particularly if more time is spent during the interview and rapport is well established (p. 249).

Thus, the introductory conversation for the interviews was leisurely. The structure of the interview needed to engender trust in the interviewees, as Gillham (2000) points out "interviewing, even in its most unstructured, 'natural' form is not something you rush

into. You have to get to know the setting and the people. You have to establish your credibility and earn people's trust" (p. 62).

In the initial telephone contacts, potential respondents were made aware that the interview would probe their sexual abuse experiences as an orphan, but would also cover other experiences, particularly regarding their education. Therefore, all respondents were aware of this, and none refused to address the issues involved. In fact, all respondents appeared to *want* to talk about their sexual abuse. As indicated, emphasis in the interviews was upon the impact of the abuse on the former orphanage residents' education, and not the explicit details of the sexual abuse itself.

These in-depth face-to-face interviews were intended to maximise empathy by the interviewers for the respondents' recall of stories during a sensitive narrative process when they remembered poignant, often traumatic moments of their childhood in an orphanage. In the use of the face-to-face interviews, Russell (1986) advises that:

> It is necessary to make the distinction between the quality of the interviewing when evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of different modes of data collection. More specifically, skilled unbiased face-to-face interviews on sensitive subjects like child sexual abuse are more effective in obtaining disclosures than self administered questions, whereas unskilled biased interviewing on this topic is inferior to self-administered questionnaires (p. 179).

Both interviewers obtained self-disclosures of child sexual abuse from the respondents during the interviews. The respondents were given time to reflect on the questions, and to answer in their own way. However, if they departed too far from the original question, the interviewers repeated the question using slight variations to aid their return to the intent of the questions.

Roberts and Taylor (1994) highlight this important aspect of reading cues from interviewees accurately, and the need to be sensitive to verbal and non-verbal cues, which would allow the interviewee to withdraw or deflect a question. After each question, all interviewees were allowed time to reflect, to determine if there was anything else they wished to add to their replies. The interviews were structured around a series of five focus questions, as described earlier in Chapter 6.8, some of which were open-ended to encourage self-disclosure, and some of which were closed (See Appendix 2 for Interview Schedule). Many of the interviewees said that the interviews gave them an opportunity to express themselves and to 'tell their story'. This greatly assisted the interview process, for, as Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) point out "the best interviews occur with respondents who want to share their story and knowledge, and, ideally, the interview situation is a rewarding experience for them in and of itself" (p. 124).

In addition to the verbal responses recorded on the tape recorder, hand-written notes and clarifications were scribed on the Interview Schedule for those aspects the two interviewers considered needed clarification or noting. Later, these notes were then compared with the oral discourse on the tapes by the interviewees to ensure the validity and accuracy of recording the interview data.

6.11 Interview pre-test

Pre-testing the Interview Schedule was undertaken to gauge the nature, quality, duration and effectiveness of the interview procedures. Initially, two male respondents were interviewed by the male interviewer and two female respondents were interviewed by the female interviewer. Subsequently, a review of the procedures and questions was undertaken by the interviewers, and minor modifications were made to the Interview Schedule. In particular, it was found that the interviews themselves did not take as long as anticipated. The era in which the interviewees were residents in the orphanages, from the

1940s to 1960s, was a time when secondary education was not universal and the school leaving age was 14 years. Consequently, the interviewers found that many of the interviews were shortened because many of the interviewees did not have the opportunity to complete secondary schooling and thus had little or nothing to contribute in that area. The duration of the interviews also varied according to the openness and talkativeness of the interviewees, especially if rapport took longer to establish. Bolen, Russell and Scannapieco (2000) note that "the duration of the interview might also be relevant to the success of rapport-building, which in turn almost certainly affects the respondent's willingness to disclose experiences of child sexual abuse" (p. 179).

The interview pre-testing also allowed the male and female interviewers to practise questions and to collaborate to ensure that there was consistency and uniformity in the way the same questions were asked. Such consistency is necessary in a structured interview to enable valid comparisons of data to be made between interviewees, as Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) stress:

> Ultimately a structured interview allows for a greater degree of comparison between interviews because the resulting data has a high degree of standardization. The interviewer has acted, relatively speaking, the same during all interviews and asked the same questions. Comparisons between respondents can thus be made (p. 125).

The trial interviews were a valuable part of the overall procedure and allowed for fine tuning of the questions in the Interview Schedule, as well as ensuring a high level of consistency between the interviewers. The two respondents used in the trial interviews were not interviewed again in the study.

6.12 The interviewers

It was essential to have two interviewers, one male and one female. Prior to the interviews both interviewers discussed at length the nature of this research, the procedures appropriate for this sample of middle-aged people who had been sexually-abused as children in Queensland orphanages, and the need for empathy in the interviews to develop the trust of the interviewees. Another way of obtaining this trust was the important issue of gender matching of the interviewers with the interviewees so as to minimise sensitivities or awkwardness in the interviews. Bolen, Russell and Scannapieco (2000) make this point:

> Given the sensitive nature of the topic [child sexual abuse], other issues concerning the interview format such as matching of interviewers and respondents by gender, race, ethnicity, specific interview training on child sexual abuse and duration of the interview might also be significant factors (p. 179).

Moreover, Finkelhor (1986) sees the conceptual framework underpinning research into child sexual abuse as being an abuse of power, mainly by males, with many variables contributing to the enhanced vulnerability of some victims, and the increased opportunities for some abusers (p. 119). Therefore it was deemed necessary to have a trained female and male interviewer for gender matching. Both interviewers were made aware of the Oral History Ethics (1996) guide that states:

> Interviews should guard against possible exploitation of interviewees and be sensitive to the ways in which their interviews might be used. Interviewers must respect the rights of the interviewee to refuse to discuss certain subjects…interviewees should clearly explain these options to all interviewees (p. 2).

The female interviewer who initially interviewed some of the female former orphanage residents knew many of the respondents in her role as a social worker, and thus

she was able to establish early rapport and trust. However, due to circumstances beyond her control, this interviewer had to withdraw from the interview process. All of the four interviews that she had completed were retained and analysed. She was replaced by a professional health worker who had inter-personal skills and experience in the field of public health. The male interviewer and researcher fully prepared the new female interviewer and explained the importance of adhering to the Interview Schedule as well as the other issues such as empathy, privacy and respect of the interviewees as described above. As an extension of the training for the new female interviewer, the male interviewer conducted a mock interview to prepare her for the interviews that she would conduct with the female interviewees.

The significance of the interviewer training is vital in order to delimit interviewer bias and control. On this point, Wyatt and Peters (1986) in an analysis of methodological issues in researching the prevalence of child sexual abuse in two studies note that:

> For the two interview studies, information was also available about the characteristics and training of interviewers. In order to minimise the possibility that sex, ethnicity and skill of the interviewer might influence the subject's responses, both studies attempted to control these characteristics (p. 247).

Such issues were addressed by both interviewers in the current research. Moreover, the interviewers for this research were cognisant of the qualities of a good interviewer as outlined by Yin (2003) who suggests the following skills for a good case study investigator, who:

- should be able to ask good questions-and interpret the answers.
- should be a good " listener" and not be trapped by his or her own ideologies or preconceptions.

- should be adaptive and flexible, so that newly encountered situations can be seen as opportunities, not threats.
- must have a firm grasp of the issues being studied, whether this is a theoretical or policy orientation, even if in an exploratory mode. Such a grasp reduces the relevant events and information to be sought to manageable proportions.
- should be unbiased by preconceived notions, including those derived from theory. Thus, a person should be sensitive and responsive to contradictory evidence (p. 59).

6.13 Validity and reliability

The aspect of validity addressed in this research is defined by Hammersley (1987) as "an account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena, that it intended to describe, explain or theorise" (p. 69). Validity was supported through the structure of the interviews around the literature, responsiveness to participants' circumstances and the subject selection process. The importance of validity was also addressed in the research by each interviewer providing the interviewees with the opportunity to read and confirm the written transcripts of the interviews that were audiotaped. This was completed as soon as possible after each interview was transcribed. Interviewer awareness of validity in surveys and questionnaires is highlighted by Finkelhor (1982) who notes that:

> The kinds of distortions that are alleged to invalidate the surveys can be conveniently divided into two types. One is caused by the inability or refusal of certain kinds of people to participate. Thus there may be a certain segment of the population whose behaviour we never learn about. A second kind of distortion is caused by the inability or refusal of people who do participate to

> report accurately. The first is called volunteer bias, and the second, response invalidity (p. 43).

These two aspects of validity were considered when the research was being conceptualised and the interviews being planned. Kinard (1994) concludes that "regardless of population source, researchers should be alert to potential bias in their study samples. The extent to which results can be generalised depends on how representative the study sample is of the population from which it is drawn" (p.649). The sample chosen for the study was representative of the specific population of orphans who had been abused in Queensland orphanages between the 1940s and the 1960s. The sample emanated from male, female and mixed orphanages that were state-run or church-run institutions. Similar experiences were sought in order to determine the pattern of subjects' recall and validity of the data presented. One test of the validity of this research is whether it is a valid measurement of the respondents' perceptions of the effects of child sexual abuse on their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006).

Reliability refers to the elements of consistency between the interviews and the degree of variation of data, and also the extent of the relationship between items within the interview schedule (Crano & Brewer, 2002). A checklist for evaluating reliability in qualitative studies is provided by Gay and Airasian (2003) who claim that reliability is maintained if the following questions are answered in the positive:

- "Is the researcher's relationship with the group and setting fully described?"
- "Is all field documentation comprehensive, fully cross-referenced and annotated, and rigorously detailed?"
- "Were the observations and interviews documented using multiple means (written notes and recordings for example)?"

- “Is the interviewer’s training documented?”
- “Is construction, planning, and testing of all instruments documented?”
- “Are key informants fully described, including information on groups they represent and their community status?”
- “Are sampling techniques fully documented as being sufficient for the study?” (p. 536).

The two interviewers believe that these elements were all incorporated in the interview process, except perhaps the question about the community status of the key informants. The key informants’ status was proscribed in the study as the group of former residents of Queensland orphanages between 1940 and 1960 who were sexually abused, and who belonged to a group accessing a Sexual Abuse Support Centre in Brisbane.

6.14 Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality were considered important in the design of the sampling procedure, the sample selection, and the interview process itself. As described above, all interviewees were assured of the anonymity of their replies and the venue and settings used were private. Bolen, Russell and Scannapieco (2000) point out “clearly, respondents may be less willing to disclose incidents of childhood sexual abuse if others are present during parts or all of the interview or if it can be overheard” (p. 179).

6.15 Data analysis

The interviewers examined the data for validity and reliability, and where possible cross-checked events and circumstances within, and across, respondent’s replies. Quantitative analyses were undertaken of the demographic data on variables such as age, gender, occupation, income, marital status, duration in an orphanage, frequency of sexual abuse, and educational levels achieved. (See Appendix 1). Qualitative analyses were made of the discourse arising from the interviews. The data were analysed according to the

constant comparison method introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and expanded by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Silverman (2001). Analysis involved the comparison of data in order to generate categories and to reveal similarities, differences, patterns and consistencies of meaning that identified themes. Comparisons were also made between respondents who had shared similar experiences or events. Finally, the data were analysed in order to make recommendations to existing child care systems to enhance the current and future educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity of today's orphans.

6.16 Summary

This study aims to investigate the nature, context and implications of the sexual abuse of orphanage children on their educational achievement, development and opportunities during their primary, secondary and tertiary education in Queensland from 1940 to 1960. Ten male and 10 female face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted by same-sex and same-age interviewers. An Interview Schedule with in-depth questions was used. The interviewers made the respondents feel as comfortable as possible while they told stories of their childhood sexual abuse and education while in orphanage care. Questions were structured to obtain personal narratives about their sexual abuse and its implications on educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities. Data collection was undertaken in an urban Sexual Abuse Support Centre for the sexually abused and in several interviewees' homes. This chapter presented the method used in the research. Responses were audiotaped, and the demographic and narrative data were analysed qualitatively to establish common themes, contexts and assumptions.

Chapter 7 Contextual Profiles

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the contextual profiles of a selection of the sample to highlight the complexities of the interviews and the issues involved. In order to do this, the male interviewer selected transcripts from the interviewees. The selection below is from four males and four females. The selection was made on the basis of representing diversity in age, and the type of orphanage in which the interviewees resided as children. In emphasising education in this study, the selection of interview profiles is based on whether the former orphanage resident received education at a local state school or at a school within the orphanage itself. The contextual profiles were selected on the basis of a respondent's religion. Since the Church of England and Roman Catholic churches were the dominant churches in Queensland, because they founded the early orphanages in Queensland, it is useful to follow the legacies and practices of these church orphanages, particularly about respondents' experiences in education. Another protestant religion, the Brethern, was also selected for profiling to determine whether the pattern of treatment differed from that of the dominant religions of the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England that operated the majority of the orphanages in Queensland between 1940 and 1960.

The excerpts from the four profiles below allow the reader to observe the impact of abuse on educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity within a variety of orphanage contexts. Some of the issues raised are tangential to education, but have been included because they provide a broader context within which to view the impact of child sexual abuse on orphans' educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities.

This chapter also highlights the findings of two very significant government reports into children who were placed into care. The first is the Forde Report (1999) which was a

commission of inquiry into the abuses that children in care suffered while in Queensland institutions. This inquiry set a precedent for further inquiries around Australia, and culminated in a national Senate report on Australians who experienced institutional or out-of-home care as children. This report is known as the Forgotten Australians Report (2004) and comprises many accounts of abuse while children were in care in institutions such as orphanages, industrial or training schools, as well as homes for unmarried mothers. The excerpts are presented directly from the interview tapes, and are both graphic and poignant. They are juxtaposed with statements or accounts from the Forgotten Australians (2004) Report or the Forde Report (1999) to provide contextual authenticity and clarity to the transcripts. Moreover, some of the detail in the transcripts provides revelatory issues that are dealt with in greater detail in the results chapter.

7.1 Male Profiles

7.1.1 Profile A (Male, 66 years, entered orphanage at age 8, left orphanage at age 13).

This 66 year-old male was a resident of a Church of England orphanage for a period of five years. He was placed in the orphanage with his two brothers. His schooling was at a local state primary school. He only completed primary schooling. His occupation was a truck driver. During his time in the orphanage he was subjected to daily sexual, physical, emotional and verbal abuse. His responses at the interview were reserved initially, but later in the interview he expressed himself openly as the following transcript attests. Overall, he felt his life was irrevocably changed by the orphanage experience, and in particular the sexual abuse affected his educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity. Further analysis of this interview is provided in Chapter 8.

Excerpt Transcript from Male A (66 years)

Interviewer: Do you think that the abuse you suffered affected your educational development?

Male A: Yes, absolutely, yes.

Interviewer: The question I am going to ask is how you think the abuse affected it (your educational development) and why?

Male A: Well, we was never given the chance to be educated for a start. An old guy with glasses came to inspect your capabilities and what you were gunna go for. I was told you were only good for farmin'. That's what he said you were only good for farmin'. You are no good for anything else. That's what he said. That was a bit of a put down … yeah.

Discussion:

This short conversation highlights the propensity at the time of confining employment to the role of farm labouring for boys from the orphanages. The pattern of educating boys for farming and girls for domestic service, as mentioned earlier, was well established in the development of Australia which had a developing rural industry in the 1940s and 1950s, as well as a middle class in need of domestic servants (Sandall, 1955). Indeed, a report on Australians who experienced institutional or out-of-home care as children, the Forgotten Australians Report (2004) states:

> Educational achievement did not have a high profile in most institutions. In many instances children were being prepared for work in domestic service or as farm hands so that a 'practical' education was deemed more important than 'formal' education. This usually saw the child removed from school by 14, though many reported being taken out of school at an earlier age to work on the farm or in commercial laundries (p. 110).

This issue of employment will be discussed in greater detail in Results Chapter 8.

Interviewer: Why do think that the sexual abuse you suffered affected your education?

Male A: As I said, they didn't worry about it. I blame the church wholly and solely. I blame the church because they didn't worry about it, about education.

Interviewer: Looking back do you know of any rules or policies, either stated or unstated, of the orphanage that had a direct effect upon your primary school education?

Male A: Yes, being kept at home to do the washing or ironing. I mean you were missing school.

Discussion:

The revelatory aspect of the church being a source of blame for lack of education of boys in the orphanages becomes recurrent throughout the interviews for both males and females.

The lack of education for both males and females was perceived as having a disastrous effect on their life chances (Forde Report, 1999; Forgotten Australians Report, 2004).

Interviewer: Explain to me how being sexually abused had any influence on your primary schooling.

Male A: It did…. because it put you into a phase where you were frightened and you were on your guard all the time in case super (superintendent of the orphanage) would get you… you know.

Discussion:

Fear, and its effect on education is also very common among both the male and female interviewees. Whether the fear was because of sexual abuse or physical abuse is dealt with later in the thesis. What is clear is that fear fuelled hatred and distrust that greatly inhibited the ability of former residents of orphanages to learn in formal education settings.

Interviewer: How did that affect your primary school?

Male A: It did. It affected you, I feel, because your mind wasn't on the job, definitely not on what you were supposed to be on, you know.

Interviewer: If you had to identify three positive things that orphanage life developed for you, what would they be?

Male A: Nothing ...friendship.

Interviewer: If you had to identify three negative things that orphanage life developed for you, what would they be?

Male A: Lack of education would be my top one. Lack of education. It taught me to be a crook … and it taught you to be a liar.

Discussion:

The interviewee felt his opportunities were limited because of his poor education and this was made apparent throughout the interview. The interviewee felt that there was nothing that he gained from his time in an orphanage.

Interviewer: Finally, are there any other factors as a result of your sexual abuse in the orphanage that affected your educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity?

Male A: Any others? Yeah well it made you self conscious. It made you very self conscious… and not trusting anyone. It causes temper tantrums and you rile easily. You rise to the occasion easily you know. You get angry easily, you know.

Interviewer: As a consequence of being raised in an orphanage, what impact do you think this had on your educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity?

Male A: It had a big impact. Not being educated.

Discussion:

This interviewee felt that his greatest disadvantage in life was not receiving an appropriate education. As well, this interviewee indicated that he developed an intense distrust of people and authority and that he was able to survive by his wits e.g., “I learnt to be a liar”. The theme of lack of education is further dealt with in Chapter 8.

7.1.2 Profile B (Male, 59 years, entered orphanage at age 3, left orphanage at age 14).

This 59 year old male is a former resident of a Brisbane Roman Catholic orphanage. He completed all his education within the orphanage itself. He completed school only to year seven (about age 13) of primary school, education and left the orphanage at age 14. He was not offered a chance to do any secondary schooling. During his time at the orphanage, he suffered many forms of abuse which included sexual, physical, verbal, spiritual, emotional and neglect. Medical neglect was the major form of neglect he suffered while there, such as inattention to sores, although he also mentioned hunger and lack of clothing as concerns for him. These forms of abuse and neglect commenced upon his admission to the orphanage, and ceased when he left the orphanage at age 14 years. He claimed that he was abused every day.

Excerpt Transcript from Male B (59 years)

Interviewer: When did the sexual abuse start?

Male B: It started when I was 11 or 12 years old, when Father…. Came down [from the church] there [to the orphanage].

Interviewer: How often did that occur?

Male B: It happened roughly 14 times over two years.

Interviewer: Who was the perpetrator? Who actually did this?

Male B: Fr. Earl …

Interviewer: What was his position?

Male B: The orphanage priest.

Discussion:

The effect of this horrific child sexual abuse was immediate and lasting. Such sexual abuse is a recurrent theme throughout all the interviews. This demeaning sexual abuse occurred within a Queensland orphanage and it fits a pattern of child sexual abuse that existed in orphanages across Australia. The Forgotten Australians Report (2004) attests to the type of child sexual abuse indicated by Male 2.

Section 4.46 of The Forgotten Australians Report (2004) states:

> Submissions and evidence to the Committee provided many accounts of extremely graphic and disturbing descriptions of sexual abuse and assault on girls and boys by a wide range of perpetrators. Sexual abuse was widespread with reports covering all States and type of institution – government and non-government, and between and in foster care. Care leavers retold being sexually abused or assaulted as very young children and through their teenage years. Stories were received of males assaulting males and females, and also of females assaulting females and younger males. Mostly the perpetrators were staff members, including religious and lay, or adult workers (p. 103).

This interviewee was a hapless victim of such institutional abuse. It was exacerbated because the perpetrator was a priest in whom the child had the utmost trust.

Interviewer: How would you describe his personality?

Male B: I could answer that question but I don't think you would like what I would say.

He was the worst thing you could think of … sadistic, you know all those things.

Interviewer: On a scale of one to five, with five being the worst, how would you rate sexual abuse?

Male B: You'd be better off to make it a scale of 1 to 100 and I'd make it a 100.

Interviewer: O.K. With these things, did you tell anyone?

Male B: Sexual abuse, yeah, I told the nursing sister and Mother L…(the Head nun at the orphanage).

Interviewer: What was the outcome of telling them?

Male B: I was flogged for saying that a priest did it, and she turned around and said, "How dare you?" and I was flogged for telling the truth.

Discussion:

A culture of cover-up was thus perpetuated by members of the church which no doubt reflected a community belief that these carers could never be participants in such abominable behaviour such as child sexual abuse.

Interviewer: What did you do about that?

Male B: I put that behind me until a couple of years later when a nun wanted to talk to me about Fr. S ... but I told her to nick off and I didn't want to talk about it. I put it behind me. I left it behind me until the Forde Inquiry came out and it affected me pretty bad.

Interviewer: Do you think that the abuse you suffered affected your education? In particular, what effect did sexual abuse have on your educational development and opportunities?

Male B: Ah well education. The problem is I never thought of education after that

Interviewer: Was that an immediate effect?

Male B: Yep

Discussion:

The impact of the Forde Inquiry (1999) is profound, because it provided an outlet for many lost voices and repressed memories as this interviewee illustrates. The importance

of providing ‘lost voices’ for the children who suffered child abuse while in orphanages is supported by the Forgotten Australians Report (2004) findings which state:

> A number of chapters in the report quote extensively from the submissions, particularly the chapters dealing with institutions, treatment in care and the long-term effects. This is a deliberate effort to give as many care leavers as possible a direct voice in the report by using their actual words (p. 7).

Interviewer: What about long term?

Male B: Long term, yep. Well I can’t stand anyone standing behind me or looking over my shoulder. I was always called a dunce from grade one to grade three … you always got the witches’ hat and shoved in a corner and called a dunce. Aah, I was so frightened you know. Um, even at the age of 14 years old, and even when I left the orphanage, I was still wetting the bed.

Interviewer: The other question is why you think it affected your educational development?

Male B: Mainly because of the beatings…nuns standing over you. I was too scared to look up because you know you are going to get belted across the ears if you get something wrong. The way I can honestly put it. We were beaten to learn how to do schooling.

Discussion:

This section of the interview highlights the need for sound, supportive teaching practices and to eradicate barbaric, humiliating ones. The physical abuse and the climate of fear once again seemed to dominate the thoughts of the former orphanage resident.

Interviewer: During your time in the orphanage, did others suffer sexual abuse?

Male B: Well, at the time I did not know until after the Forde Inquiry.

Interviewer: If you had to talk about their personalities some of the other nuns, what

would you say?

Male B: I was asked a question once by the Forde Inquiry. Do you think that the nuns had an education to teach us? Were qualified enough? My answer to that was, "No".

Discussion:

The quality of the teachers and their lack of qualifications in the orphanage were brought into question. Obviously the quality of those teaching in the school within the orphanage left a lot to be desired compared with the regulated teachers of orphans who attended state schools outside the orphanages. The checks by the orphanage inspectors should have detected the apparent weaknesses in the nuns' teaching within the orphanage.

Interviewer: O.K. Do you think the abuse that others suffered affected their education?

Male B: Yes. Put it this way R … told me that if she had a better education, she would have continued on and gone on to college and that sort of stuff. She was a very good writer, very good speller and that sort of thing but she more-or-less taught herself after she had left there (the orphanage), you know what I mean. There were quite a few kids that were in the orphanage got no education at all … didn't even go to school.

Interviewer: How do you think the abuse affected them?

Male B: How? Ahh, I would say not having any education, not being able to get a job

Interviewer: Why do you think the abuse may have affected their educational development?

Male B: Put it this way I can't read someone else's mind unless they're talking to me and they tell me what actually happened. Just talking I understand myself in the point of view if you lived with that person, grew up with that person, you feel exactly the same as them.

Discussion:

The effect of the above abuse no doubt impeded orphans'educational development as they exhibit symptoms of fear and lack of concentration in school.

Interviewer: Generally or specifically, is there anything else you can remember about how sexual abuse affected your educational opportunity?

Male B: Umm, scared, being scared, whether religious or non-religious teachers tried to give more education. Aah, because you couldn't trust them. The fear in me was when I was raped! And like I said before, until I bought myself a computer, it was then I started learning. When I left the orphanage, I did not know how to tell the time. I did not know how to count. I knew nothing.

Discussion:

Once again, fear and lack of trust is evident. The two interviewees above lived in two different orphanages, but they both claimed that fear and lack of trust were prominent in their early lives within their respective orphanages.

Interviewer: That's after 14 years?

Male B: Umm

Interviewer: That's terrible. So it had a big effect.

Male B: Umm. I couldn't even count money. I was given a one pound note the day I left the orphanage to buy lunch. They pulled up [stopped the train] just below the Toowoomba range. We were allowed half an hour to buy lunch. I went and handed the one pound note (about $2) over to the shop-keeper and bought a pie. I walked off after getting the pie. The shopkeeper ran after me and said "excuse me; you have left your change." I said "What's change?" I didn't even know how to purchase. I stood there for half an hour and I had watched what everyone did, but I didn't see anyone hand anything back.

Discussion:

This anecdote indicates the practical implications of inadequate education and the lack of preparation of orphans for the outside world. Indeed, as Section 4.63 of The Forgotten Australians Report (2004) states:

> Schooling was usually undertaken at the institution under a variety of arrangements. In State institutions teaching would be undertaken by staff from the education Department, the Catholics used nuns or brothers from the order assisted by lay teachers while other non-government groups used outside teachers or sent children to local schools (p. 109).

This interviewee had all of his schooling life within the confines of the Catholic orphanage, but he was still illiterate.

Interviewer: O.K. This is about primary schooling.

Male B: Can you re-phrase that word. I don't understand the word "primary'.

Interviewer: "Primary" is the first lot of schooling you had.

Interviewer: What were some the policies and rules that had a direct effect upon your primary education?

Male B: You would understand the rules. The rules were written by the cane or leather Strap …That's the only answer I can give you.

Interviewer: So physical or corporal punishment. How did that affect your primary schooling?

Male B: How did that affect my schooling? Very severely.

Interviewer: In what way?

Male B: Because I had no education when I left the orphanage … very tiny, a little bit (education).

Discussion:

The lack of education appeared to be this interviewee's major concern about his life chances. This remained a constant concern with the interviewee, and it was reiterated throughout the interview.

Interviewer: Ah huh.

Male B: … and scared to learn. You know what I mean because you have a fear of someone coming up behind you and belting you across the back of the neck or across the ear if you got one number or one letter wrong.

Discussion:

Fear and a lack of trust were raised again as a matter of concern by the interviewee. It was an issue that the interviewee returned to throughout the interview. Indeed, this was demonstrated at the interview, as it took some time before the interviewee was entirely comfortable. He ensured that the physical arrangement of the chairs for the interview produced no invasion of his physical space.

Interviewer: Were there any written-down rules or policies?

Male B: Well we never ever saw them written down, but they were the rules.

Interviewer: Was there anything else?

Male B: Talking to girls. You were flogged for that. In that if you spoke to a girl, the girl was taken off ahh, to have her private parts checked out to see if she had sex. I sat down next to a girl, who grew up with me, once on the verandah. This nun came up behind me and Bang! [She hit me] straight across the ear and I was told to go back to the boys, and she [the girl] was taken inside to have a vaginal examination to see if she had sex. I didn't even know what sex was until I got married. We had no sex education in the orphanage. If they did give you sex education, you would be flogged for knowing about it.

Discussion:

The above conversation highlights an obvious need for sex education and child abuse awareness not only for orphanages but also in the wider community (Goldman, 2005). In addition, McIver (2007) notes that:

> Physical and sexual abuse is the second major concern of young people. We (the young people) are uninformed on this issue, even though it worries us. There need to be pamphlets with statistics and information about child abuse given to all schools. There should even be guest speakers from the National Child Protection Clearing-house and other organisations giving presentations on child abuse prevention in both primary and secondary schools. Getting the information to us and making us aware are the missing links within the issue of child abuse (p. 18).

Interviewer: Do you know of anything that had an indirect effect on your education?

Male B: Well, I have never been able to make friends … I don't trust!!

Interviewer: In terms of educational development, tell me about some of the most positive aspects of living in an orphanage. Was there anything positive?

Male B: No!

Interviewer: What about negative?

Male B: Being called a dunce. Being told to sit in the corner with a dunce cap on. Ahh more or less having very little or no education at all.

Discussion:

The effect of the dunce's cap proved to be devastating in the life of this interviewee as it reinforced his already low self-esteem. It is an example of psychological abuse that extended the child sexual abuse that the interviewee had suffered while at the orphanage.

Interviewer: In primary school was there any particular person who stood out as helping you or encouraging you?

Male B: No.

Interviewer: Was there anyone who stood out as discouraging you?

Male B: Well, they all discouraged you from grade one to grade seven.

Interviewer: How did they do that?

Male B: Fear. That's the only word I could put. Fear.

Interviewer: What was the greatest influence on you to discourage you from your education?

Male B: Same thing ... fear … the strap.

Discussion:

"Fear" is mentioned yet again as the dominant factor in the mind of this interviewee in preventing his educational development. This aspect dominated his life in general as a child.

Interviewer: In your primary schooling were there any non-educational resources, such as not having a good breakfast, hunger, anything like that stopped you from concentrating on your studies?

Male B: No. The only reason you missed out on breakfast was if you were sick.

Interviewer: If you had to identify three positive things that orphanage life did for you?

Male B: Blank, blank, blank... that's it.

Interviewer: Having looked at that, what about three negatives?

Male B: Well, nothing but negativity.

Interviewer: Were there any other factors that as a result of your sexual abuse in an orphanage that you can think of, have affected your educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity in your primary schooling?

Male B: Well, we have more or less talked about that. Having no education. Well where

is it going to get you if you don't have an education? You've gotta have an education these days. There's an old saying, "You can't find a job unless you've got an education."

Interviewer: As a consequence of being raised in an orphanage, what impact do you think this had on your educational opportunities?

Male B: Same thing (no education), fear.

Factors Revealed.

This interviewee appeared to be greatly traumatised by his experiences in the Roman Catholic orphanage and the effects are prominently evident to this day.

The profile of Male B reveals some very interesting data such as fear and the quality of schooling given within the orphanage. These will be examined in more detail in Chapter 8. The excerpts above indicate that there was a climate of fear and distrust pervading this person throughout his orphanage life. What is most pertinent is that it appeared to impinge heavily upon his educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity.

7.2 Female Profiles

7.2.1 Profile A (Female, 45 years, entered orphanage at age 3, left orphanage at age 14).

This female was a resident in an orphanage run by a fundamentalist group, the Plymouth Open Brethren. She completed her primary schooling outside the orphanage, and then she attended an opportunity school for students with learning difficulties. This interviewee is one of the very few orphanage residents who attended secondary school. However, her early traumas within the orphanage at a younger age greatly inhibited her performance at secondary school. The traumas suffered by the interviewee were horrific, but she wanted to reveal them as a way of catharsis and seeking redress.

Excerpt Transcript from Female A (45 years)

Interviewer: During your time in the orphanage did you suffer any forms of abuse? If so, What were they?

Female A: All of those, physical, sexual, emotional, spiritual.

Interviewer: At what age did the abuse occur?

Female A: From what I can remember, around the age of seven until the time I left at 13.

Interviewer: How often did the abuse occur?

Female A: Every day.

Interviewer: What about sexual abuse?

Female A: Yeah, a fair bit of that.

Interviewer: When did that occur?

Female A: Between seven and 14.

Interviewer: How often did it happen?

Female A: A couple of times a week.

Interviewer: Who was the perpetrator?

Female A: A male, the caretaker's son.

Discussion:

The evidence identifying males as the perpetrators of child sexual abuse becomes clear not only from this interview but also from all the other male and female interviews conducted during this research. Males are predominantly the perpetrators of sexual abuse, and child sexual abuse in particular (Finkelhor, 1994; Itzin, 2000). However, the perpetrators of other forms of abuse such as physical, emotional, spiritual, witnessing domestic violence and neglect included both males and females, but predominantly males.

Interviewer: Did you tell anyone?

Female A: Yes, but we copped it after. So we ran away.

Interviewer: What about emotional abuse?

Female A: All the time saying "you're no good" negative, negative, negative.

Interviewer: Was everyone being emotionally abused? Is that what I'm hearing?

Female A: Yep. Everyone copped it. Copped it at school, copped it at church, copped it everywhere we went. Everyone knew I was from the Home [The Orphanage], so everywhere I went I copped being called "homey pigeons etc." You just copped it everywhere.

Interviewer: O.K.

Female A: And schools, school teachers were just as bad too. They all knew where we were from. We used to get the cuts (the cane) back then. I was flogged at school, flogged back at the home, flogged when I got up to get changed (for school), and flogged on the way back. It was ongoing.

Discussion:

This type of physical abuse was found to be present in both the male and female interviews, and is dealt with later in the thesis. The intensity of such physical abuse is highlighted in Section 4.42 of the Forgotten Australians Report (2004) which states:

> Many of the severe beatings handed out as punishment went beyond the sort of corporal punishment which was acceptable at the time. They often took the form of extremely severe physical violence – which can only be described as criminal assault (p. 101).

Interviewer: I am going to ask you about an incident I know you've spoken about, when they tied you to the clothes line like a dog. Are you up to talking about that at all?

Female A: Yeah.

Interviewer: What happened with that?

Female A: They were cooking a roast and I wanted the shank so I asked the cook Mrs S ... if I could have that shank, and she said "No that's for the dog". Later on, I went down and stole it at night time and I got sprung, got caught and got flogged that night and at the office next day I got flogged again with straps.

Interviewer: How old were you when that incident took place?

Female A: I was seven from when I recall events starting to happen to me.

Interviewer: Any other signs of abuse that you can recall?

Female A: No, just being chained up like a dog.

Interviewer: And how long did they leave you there?

Female A: Don't know but it was a while. All the other kids were laughing at me and then they [the staff] chucked the bone at me. They took the collar off the dog, and put it on me and chained me up. In front of all the other kids and the dog.

Interviewer: Cowards umm.

Female A: 'If you are going be like a dog, then be like one'! And that was that.

Interviewer: Did the abuse you suffered affect your education?

Female A: Definitely.

Discussion:

This physical abuse is barbaric, and unfortunately has left a devastating psychological impact upon this interviewee. She has suffered severe trauma, which remains with her, as evidenced by the clarity and detail of the incident she described. Such barbarism affected not only her education, but her life in general.

Interviewer: You said it affected you long term. How did the abuse affect you short term?

Female A: I just know that I couldn't spell anything, and just kept wetting my pants. At school I'd get into trouble for that, and a male teacher would yell at me, and I

would lose it emotionally. Get scared. I just couldn't function. I recall back and I remember trying very hard. I couldn't take it.

Interviewer: Because of the abuse you were sent to an opportunity school.

Female A: Well I dunno if that was the reason, but I kept stealing the kids' lunches at school and bashing them up.

Interviewer: Long term, what do you think the effect has been?

Female A: It still does today in some big ways and focussing is very hard. I can't seem to focus.

Interviewer: Has it affected your educational opportunity?

Female A: Yes, definitely.

Interviewer: In your time at the orphanage, did other children suffer any forms of abuse, if so what types?

Female A: Yes, sexual, physical, emotional. All ages, younger and puberty age and a lot of the older ones who were developed got the odd touch here and there. constantly going on all the time by men.

Interviewer: Do you think the abuse affected their educational development?

Female A: Yes.

Interviewer: Why do you think it affected them?

Female A: Being frightened and nowhere to go. No-one to run to.

Discussion:

Fear is mentioned again as a factor that dominated this interviewee's daily thoughts while in school. The fear factor was common to both male and female interviewees, as evidenced earlier. His transition of fear from the orphanage to fear experienced in school is evident.

Interviewer: Okay

Female A: There was always a threat that if you didn't behave you would be sent to another home or where this other boy was sent.

Interviewer: Long term, how do you think it affected them?

Female A: Long term now, knowing a few people that didn't have sexual but had physical and emotional, umm one has ended up being a teacher.

Interviewer: So you're saying it depends on the type of abuse they experienced?

Female A: From what I've seen, yeah.

Interviewer: So if they weren't sexually abused, do you think they were able to deal with it a little better?

Female A: They seemed to cope a little better as far I can see.

Discussion:

This female interviewee's perception is that the child sexual abuse had a greater impact on the educational development of the abused orphans than those who had not been sexually abused.

Interviewer: So why do you think it has affected everyone's education?

Female A: Well most worked in laundries or as cleaners.

Interviewer: So I'm hearing that what first started off as constant terror, wetting your pants, being put into opportunity schools, this stayed with you and you fell behind in your schooling or dropped out, and therefore without schooling you had limited opportunities later on in life. Am I summing it up ok?

Female A: And it was because of the put downs, put down, nothing positive.

Interviewer: Do you think that your lack of educational opportunity has affected the life of your child?

Female A: In literacy and numeracy. I couldn't help him. But, later in life when I got

out of the home and I got into foster care, I seemed to pick things up a lot better. I'm more ready now, but it's like a whole childhood gone of all these stepping stones of education, building blocks.

Interviewer: Generally or specifically, is there anything else that you can remember about how the sexual abuse affected your educational opportunities?

Female A: Scared, scared of male teachers.

Interviewer: Looking back, do you know of any orphanage policies or rules that were stated or unstated that had a direct effect on your primary school education?

Female A: Wetting pants. I was smacked at school and at the Home for that. Also there was that that you would be sent to another institution if you did not behave and be separated from your brothers or sisters and friends, stuff like that.

Interviewer: What effect did all that have on your education that you would be sent off to another institution?

Female A: Heaps. I couldn't trust anyone, [I was] really, very scared

Discussion:

The aspect of trust or lack of trust is evident with this interviewee, and is further developed as a major issue in the thesis.

Interviewer: Any indirect policies?

Female A: Yes I was very good at swimming and soccer and other sports, but I wasn't allowed to play in teams with others from normal homes. They used to ask me. I wasn't allowed. You had to check with the Home (orphanage).

Interviewer: So it made you resentful?

Female A: Yeah. My oath. I couldn't even be bothered (with school).

Interviewer: Looking back do you know of any actions that had a direct or indirect effect on your primary education?

Female A: Putting me into the opportunity school, yep.

Interviewer: Any positives in your primary school while you were in the orphanage?

Female A: I saved a girl's life in the swimming pool, sailing.

Interviewer: Tell me about the most negative things while you were in primary school while you were in the orphanage.

Female A: Robbing the kids' lunches and bashing them.

Interviewer: Any individual who encouraged or discouraged you?

Female A: One teacher. She was nice. She asked if I had one wish, what would it be? I said "a mother like you".

Interviewer: Did anyone discourage you?

Female A: One teacher who was always nasty.

Interviewer: What about the carers at the home in terms of education?

Female A: They didn't even help.

Interviewer: What was the worst influence on you during your primary schooling?

Female A: The Home.

Interviewer: Any non-educational resources such as being hungry, being teased?

Female A: Yeah. All of that. Always fed, but always hungry.

Interviewer: Do you think that being sexually abused had any influence on your primary schooling? If so, how?

Female A: Yes, constant anxiety. All the time. You were on red alert.

Discussion:

Although secondary schooling was discussed in its own right, it cannot be divorced from the primary school context as many of the fears and trauma that this interviewee suffered in primary school had a huge impact upon her secondary schooling experiences.

Interviewer: In secondary school, who encouraged you?

Female A: I was encouraged by a sewing and cooking teacher.

Interviewer: What was the greatest influence on you in your secondary schooling?

Female A: To show the bastards that I was alright, to prove a point. I was determined to come out with that Junior certificate.

Interviewer: What caused you not to complete Senior certificate?

Female A: I didn't get a good enough pass.

Interviewer: Do you think the sexual abuse that you suffered affected your secondary schooling?

Female A: It was when a boy whistled [at me] and I didn't want to go back to school. It was a trigger. It was that male taking me off my focus.

Interviewer: If you had to identify three positives that orphanage life developed for you, what would they be?

Female A: They taught me how to iron and how to set a table.

Discussion:

The perception of education for this interviewee is given as including the setting of a table and how to iron. Her perception appears to be limited by her horrific abuse. This interviewee displays a capacity to complete secondary schooling but also evidences the continuing influences of fear, low self esteem and the low expectations set for her.

Interviewer: If you had to identify three negatives that orphanage life taught you, what would they be?

Female A: All the abuses, the entire sexual, physical, spiritual, cultural, all that. There was no helping hand to help you.

Interviewer: Are there any other factors as a result of your sexual abuse that affected your educational achievement, development or opportunities?

Female A: It affected everything. Shame.

Interviewer: As a result of being raised in an orphanage, what impact do you think this has had on your educational achievement, educational development or educational opportunity?

Female A: Large impact.

Discussion:

It is quite evident that the trauma of child sexual abuse, as well as degrading physical and emotional abuse has had a major impact upon this interviewee. It is a credit to her determination that she managed to complete her Junior Certificate (Year 10). The pattern of fear and degradation are evident in her excerpts.

7.2.2 Profile B (Female, 60 years, entered orphanage at age 9, left orphanage at age 14).

This female was selected to be profiled as she was a resident in both Roman Catholic and Salvation Army institutions as a child. Thus, her experiences provide an insight into the ways in which these two institutions dealt with her educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity. She was a resident in an orphanage at Wynnum, run by the Roman Catholic Church, and experienced life in a home for unmarried mothers run by the Salvation Army. She subsequently went to another institution run by the Roman Catholic Church, where she learnt domestic skills, but received no formal education. The following discourse places her abuse and its effects on her education in perspective with the other issues that enveloped her later childhood years.

Excerpt Transcript from Female B (Age, 60 years)

Interviewer: How many orphanages were you in?

Female B: Up until I was 14, I would have been three homes or institutions.

Interviewer: What happened up to 14?

Female B: When I was put into the Salvation Army home at 12, they never sent me back to school. They just put me straight down to work in the laundry because they had a big contract all over Queensland, and I had to work everyday except Sunday where I spent all day in church. Such hypocrites. So they just trashed my education just like that.

Interviewer: In those years between 14 and 18, did you do any form of secondary education?

Female B: Not even primary (school). They didn't even let me do primary.

Discussion:

The claim that there was no education for this interviewee between 14 and 18 years was in fact the norm for that era for many children from the wider community. It was common to leave school for work at age 14 years. However she was not allowed to do primary schooling, this was probably illegal at the time.

Interviewer: You were working in the laundry. Did they teach you any other skills?

Female B: No, a little time in the sewing room, and then they put me back in the laundry

Interviewer: When I was 15, I ran away from Home X ... and got pregnant, but I didn't know I was pregnant, and I was sent to Home Y where you have a baby but I went to the pictures (movies) when I shouldn't have so they sent me off to a mental hospital. So I spent two and a half years in a mental hospital where my baby was forcibly aborted … (silence and emotionally upset)

Interviewer: During your time in the orphanage did you suffer any forms of abuse there?

Female B: Yes, I was sexually abused at Home N… by the gardener at the orphanage. Yeah the gardener.

Discussion:

Once again, the perpetrator was a male and a member of the staff of the orphanage. It raises the question of staff selection. No doubt there were no background checks, which is a relatively recent procedure to help guard against child sexual abuse. Such a practice of accepting staff regardless of their background or lack of training is evidenced in Section 5.27 from the Forgotten Australians Report (2004) which states:

> In some homes, the staff provided a level of care and attention for the children but in others, staff were totally indifferent to the children's needs. The evidence received points to an emphasis on orderliness, respect, discipline and 'toeing the line'… The staff were for the most part unaccountable for their actions as inspections by child welfare authorities were infrequent and ineffective. When children did complain they were usually not believed, even where there was evidence of physical and sexual abuse (p. 134).

Interviewer: What about physical abuse while you were at the orphanage? Did that occur?

Female B: Yes, that was severe. Saturday night was the night. You had to wait out on the verandah and then a bigger girl would take you in for the nun to beat you for something you did wrong during the week. I was flogged for playing leap frog. I was held down over the bed, and she (the nun) beat you with four girls holding you. She was a cruel and sadistic person.

Discussion:

This interview revealed for the first time that some of the perpetrators of abuse were female. Other interviews confirmed that nuns were involved in physical abuse of the orphans.

Interviewer: What about the priests? Did they abuse you?

Female B: I was never abused by the priests.

Interviewer: What about emotional abuse that was severe?

Female B: She (the head nun) always used to tell us how stupid we were, and we'd never ever make it in life, and if she found out you were illegitimate, she would make your life harder, and she never knew I was, because my parents never told her.

Interviewer: Of all the homes you went to, was she the worst?

Female B: Yes, she was the worst nun, yes … the worst in the Homes, but later the staff up at the mental hospital, they were worse than her.

Interviewer: But that is really the mental hospital. Here we are looking at the orphanages here and we really need to stick to that.

Female B: The reason I mentioned the mental hospital was because the state government put you in the mental hospital if you ran away from the home twice as punishment.

Discussion:

This interviewee has the perception that she was incarcerated in the mental hospital for the misdemeanour of absconding from the orphanage. It is unclear whether this was accepted practice for the day. Although it seems improbable that this was standard practice, the perception of the interviewee is that it was so, and it causes her a great deal of angst to this day.

Female B: That was the punishment. You got one chance and if you done it again you got put in there. The point is, since I never committed any crime or never done anything wrong, why didn't they just let me out and find me a job.

Interviewer: Here is another question here about neglect.

Female B: Everything was neglected, health, everything.

Interviewer: No-one came to look at the kids?

Female B: No nothing like that, nothing

Interviewer: What about books?

Female B: No, no books. That's what I missed the most, all those teenage years, not being able to pick up a book and read it.

Interviewer: Talk to me about the food, what is your memory about the food?

Female B: Well the food at Home X … was terrible. A lot of it was donated by the farmers in the region. It was all stuff they couldn't sell, so they would use that as a tax write off and donate it.

Discussion:

The issue of neglect, especially about food, was raised frequently by the majority of male and female interviewees. Donations of food were common in most orphanages in Australia as Mellor (1990) points out that, 'as most orphanages were charitable institutions, they had to rely on fundraising and government grants for their finance. They relied on goods donated by business firms: Kithers, a leading Adelaide butcher, supplied the Children's Home with free meat' (p. 17). The lack of a nutritious diet had an effect on orphans' concentration and therefore the schooling.

In addition, the neglect of health is an issue that was raised in interviews. The Forgotten Australians Report (2004) indicates this problem in Section 4.66 which states:

> The Committee heard many stories of minimal medical attention received as children, and the often lack of or late treatment of injury and illness for which many care leavers have suffered long-term complications. Dental health was also poor with again stories of long term dental and oral health problems. Many children grew up believing large doses of Epsom salts cured everything! (p. 111).

This interviewee is one who was well-aware of her health being neglected, and has suffered long-term effects as a result of this neglect.

Interviewer: Were there any other abuses that you can think of?

Female B: Well, the worst abuse was at the mental hospital. Also, I was locked up in a tiny room at K … sometimes for up to three weeks for the most minor offence. This was the Salvation Army.

Interviewer: My goodness, so this was as a punishment?

Female B: Yes, and this is why I've always had claustrophobia, because it started off when I was 12, and then gradually increased over the years when I was in the mental hospital.

Interviewer: Going back to the Salvation Army, what would you have had to do to be locked up in that room?

Female B: Uum, giving cheek, which I did. Not doing your work properly … which I never did because I always did that properly. Little things like that.

Interviewer: Do you think that the abuse you suffered, affected your educational development? Short term, medium term, long term?

Female B: Definitely. It affected my whole life.

Discussion:

The Salvation Army in its treatment of this interviewee was not unlike the Church of England or the Roman Catholic Church where orphanages were run in an extremely authoritarian manner. Occasionally, there were barbaric practices such as the one cited above which were inexcusable. Such treatment merely compounded any sexual abuse and other abuses suffered by the residents.

Interviewer: In your time at the orphanage, did other children suffer any forms of abuse there?

Female B: At Home X… I've seen beatings and um you know the most horrendous

abuse I saw was children with their head held under the water and stuff like that with DDT. You know I never remembered all that. I had blocked that out, but last year I got all my records from the Health Department.

Interviewer: So, other children were beaten. Do you know of other children being sexually abused by people in the orphanage? You said the gardener?

Female B: I don't remember much about Home X… I was only there nine months

Interviewer: What about the other homes?

Female B: Well there was no sexual abuse in Home Y…. because men were not allowed there. In the mental hospital, there was, definitely.

Interviewer: With the staff or the patients?

Female B: No we never allowed near the male patients … and I was raped by a doctor when I was fourteen.

Interviewer: By a doctor?

Female B: Yes, a young doctor. I went there to get treatment for bronchitis. So they locked me up there and he … (silence) … he …Yeah.

Interviewer: That happened in the 1960s?

Female B: I wrote to the head of the AMA last year and he said he can't investigate matters that far back.

Interviewer: Really awful.

Discussion:

The described sexual abuse created severe trauma for this interviewee, and the allegations need to be investigated thoroughly to ensure justice is carried out, and also to bring closure for the interviewee, provided her mental health is able to sustain an investigation.

Female B: I found the orphanage worse to deal with than the mental hospital, because I

was so young and I was so frightened. But by the time I went into the mental hospital at fifteen, I had lost a baby and I had toughened up a lot. I nearly died when I got my file from the Health department saying I was pregnant when I went to the mental hospital.

Interviewer: You didn't understand that you were pregnant?

Female B: I think I did but I blocked it out as I had so much to deal with.

Interviewer: You understood that, when you read your file last year?

Female B: Yes, last year.

Interviewer: Barbaric. Goodness me.

Female B: I knew there was something, but I couldn't deal with too much more, and they got away with it. That's what hurts me.

Interviewer: Do you think that the abuse of others affected their educational development in the orphanages?

Female B: Well there were two nuns to run Home X… with 100 children there. So, how many could they have educated even if they wanted to?

Discussion:

The ratio of teaching staff to the number of children ensured that there was little chance of one-to-one assistance with learning, resulting in many of the children in this orphanage becoming undereducated. Moreover with such a poor teacher-student ratio, the duty of care was severely breached.

Interviewer: Do you feel that the lack of educational opportunity has affected the education of your children?

Female B: Yes, well for one thing, every time a problem comes up, I run away from it, and of course you take your children with you.

Interviewer: Looking back, do you know of any orphanage policies that have had a direct

or indirect influence on your education?

Female B: No I don't remember anything like that.

Interviewer: Who encouraged you the most while you were at school?

Female B: Nobody. I was always out of place in school. My parents were alcoholics, because in the 1950s women didn't drink, but my mother always did. She always shamed me in front of everyone, and I had no self-esteem and so my schooling ... I wasn't any good at school. They seemed to make us feel that we were not worthy of anything.

Discussion:

It is notable that the interviewee had little hope of successful life chances from early in life, and that these were eroded further by the abuses suffered while in the orphanage. The Forgotten Australians Report (2004) refers to the abuses that former residents of orphanages suffered as Secondary abuses. Section 4.40 states:

> Many people referred in submissions to their abuse in institutions as a form of secondary or systemic abuse. Children were taken from their parents who it was claimed could not adequately support or maintain them. The implication was that 'welfare' would be able to provide the care and opportunity that the parents were unable to provide. How then could it be that for many of these children the abuse perpetrated upon them whilst in care in the institutions was far greater than that committed by their parents? To many this is seen as a failure of 'government' to monitor their needs and well-being during the time they were in care (p. 100-101).

Indeed this interviewee suffered further abuses in other government-supervised care, such as in a mental hospital.

Interviewer: So you were made to feel worthless?

Female B: I mean even the Salvation Army. They tended to do that too. Just looked

forward to getting out and we'll get you a job as a cleaner, or we'll get you a job, you know, particularly if you didn't have a home to go to. We'll find you an easy job, so you clean, because that's what you were meant to do.

Interviewer: What was the greatest influence on you during your primary school education?

Female B: The only influence I had was when I went to Home St S … there was a nun there who was always was kind to me, and she made us feel we could all do well, and we did.

Interviewer: I guess you could say encouragement helped a lot.

Female B: I think it was, and I didn't realise it then, was the fact that I had it drummed in to me all my life that I wasn't as good as other people and so I naturally assumed, not only from the state, but from the people I knew when I was a kid, so I naturally assumed that all I could do was menial, and it wasn't until I was in my 30s that I applied for a job somewhere, and I had to do an IQ test. Well, I finished the IQ test about 10 minutes before everyone else and I was just sitting there wondering why they were taking so long, and then after it was over I got told that I had the job. Because I didn't have the schooling, if you pass this test it doesn't matter, and then I knew then that they had lied to me all my life and I knew I wasn't stupid. I had to find that out by myself. I never met one person in all my childhood who ever encouraged me in any shape or form, neither my parents, the nuns, the Salvos, anybody.

Discussion:

The interviewee's self-belief enabled her to overcome some early difficulties. Once she was away from the environment of the orphanage, she was able to achieve so much more in her life.

Interviewer: When you had your own children, were you able to encourage them to do better at school?

Female B: I had no idea how to be a mother and I had great difficulty bringing up children. No, I was a lousy mother.

Interviewer: If you had to identify three positive things orphanage life had for you what would they be?

Female B: Nothing. There was nothing positive about it. Horrendous, sadistic bastards, that's all they were.

Discussion:

The above interview demonstrates the issues that were common throughout all interviews. Fear, sexual abuse, physical abuse, emotional abuse and neglect were ubiquitous in all orphanages, whether they were run by the state or by the churches. To what extent sexual abuse had more severe repercussions on the educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity of the former residents of the orphanages is examined in the following chapters.

7.3 Summary

This chapter examined the contextual profiles of two male and two female former residents who were abused as children in Roman Catholic, Church of England, Salvation Army or Plymouth Brethren Queensland orphanages. The above contextual profiles provide a revelation of common problems of abuse and fear which impacted greatly upon the former orphanage residents' educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity. They show recurring patterns of neglect, abuse in various forms and evidence of the major effects of these factors had upon the interviewees' life chances and education. They also show few if any links between the processes of child care (orphanages) and education, even when the education was provided within the orphanage

or its parent organisation. Education would appear to have been viewed as separate from the responsibilities of the orphanages and, at best, a preparation for life as an unskilled domestic servant or labourer.

The intersection of orphanage ‘care’ and education is universally a negative one, with orphans’ feelings of inadequacy, fear, low self-esteem, and distrust of authority carrying over into the circumstances and experiences of their schooling. These revealed themes show consistency within the examples and consistency also with major government reports.

Chapter 8 Results

This chapter addresses each of the seven Specific Research Questions and the qualitative data relating to educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity obtained from the in-depth interviews with 10 males and 10 females who were sexually abused in Queensland orphanages between 1940 and 1960. The data on males are presented separately to that of females. Data were content analysed according to themes, common experiences identified and foci. Each interviewer read each other's transcripts and listened to the associated audiotapes. A negotiated agreement was made between the two interviewers regarding the common themes and incidents identified in the transcripts of the interviews.

8.1 Males

8.1.1 Specific Research Question 1. Did the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational achievement at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

All of the male respondents who experienced sexual abuse while orphans in the orphanage felt that their sexual abuse had a marked effect on their educational achievement while they were in primary school. Only two males had the opportunity to complete any secondary education, and only one male had the chance to undertake some tertiary education.

The males spoke of the fear that they had of being abused, and that this fear was uppermost in their minds when they were in school and, consequently, it interfered with their concentration and ability to learn. For example, one respondent stated:

"The sexual abuse played on your mind and as a result I cannot stand anyone being [physically] behind me [especially when I was in class]" (Male, 46 years).

This male respondent spoke about the fact that he was raped by a priest in the orphanage and consequently he was then unable to concentrate on his schoolwork. Indeed, 80 percent of the males reported that sexual abuse had a direct and significant effect on their education achievement, as well as and their lives in general. Several parallel responses in this regard include:

- "The abuse went a long way towards affecting my education" (Male, 66 years).
- "Yes, abuse on a weekly basis affected me. It was frightening and I didn't get on in life [through lack of education]" (Male, 46 years).
- "The orphanage abuse makes you nonchalant, and you would not want the teachers [to get] too close to you" (Male, 46 years).

One male explained that he tried to focus on his school work, but he had difficulty when he had to bear the burden of continued sexual abuse, as he explained:

- "The sexual abuse started when I was 11 or 12 years old, and it happened 14 times over two years, and I told a nun [teacher] and when nothing happened I just kept it in the back of my mind" (Male, 46 years).

More general responses highlighted the concurrence that the experience of sexual abuse and life in the orphanage had with lack of educational opportunity:

- "Others also affected by [sexual] abuse were not given a chance to get an education" (Male, 66 years).

For the effects of child sexual abuse on secondary and tertiary education, the one male respondent who attended both secondary and tertiary education was able to achieve a positive outcome. He stated:

- "The sexual abuse had a real bent on your personal confidence. That would be your drive. After years of denigration, you tend to become servile to your own psychology if you like. In your work ethic, you set out to become a high achiever and you become driven" (Male, 60 years).

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However, in contrast to this view, the data from 80 percent of the male respondents appear to provide strong evidence that the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans while

in the orphanage hindered their educational achievement at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This was both direct and indirect. The orphans transferred their fear from the orphanage to the school. They also indicated their lack of capacity to trust others in formal learning relationships and even expressed concerns about physical proximity.

8.1.2 Specific Research Question 2. Did the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

The male respondents were resentful that they were unable to have their educational development fully realised by being in the orphanage, and this resentment increased further by their being subjected to sexual abuse. As with educational achievement, their educational development was linked to their orphanage experience, and the way in which the authorities abused their power. The long-lasting effects of this abuse became evident in almost all the male interviews.

For the specific effects of sexual abuse on educational development, similar responses are evidenced by the following:

- "Sexual abuse is always with you because it lasts. It is not something that is going to happen one minute and then you forget about it….. I didn't try [at school] because you were told you didn't deserve it" (Male, 56 years).

- "The abuse affected my educational development long term. It made me rebellious and not willing to fit into society. It played on your mind all the time and you felt that no-one cares, so why should I care" (Male, 46 years).

The male respondents also provided general responses about the effects of sexual abuse on their educational development.

- "I didn't learn a thing at the orphanage so education-wise I felt like later in life I was a loser. I wasn't educated" (Male, 59 years).

- "The biggest impact was not being educated" (Male, 66 years).

- "By not trying [at school], we thought we were getting back at them, but really you were just hurting yourself" (Male, 56 years).

- “Long term, as I couldn’t concentrate [in school]. I couldn’t comprehend because not only was I frightened, but I was always told I wasn’t good enough” (Male, 56 years).

- “I didn’t have the education because I went to the orphanage” (Male, 56 years).

- “Being called a dunce and being forced to sit in a corner and having to wear a dunce’s cap, as well as leaving with very little or no education at all” (Male, 46 years).

However, there was one male respondent who regarded the sexual abuse as not having the worst effect on their educational development. He explained:

- “To me that [child sexual abuse] wasn’t the worst thing in the world. As I said before, the emotional cycle is the worst thing “(Male, 60 years).

From these data, the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans in the orphanage appears to have hindered their educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This view is well supported by these male respondents’ replies. The effect observed was both direct and indirect.

8.1.3 Specific Research Question 3. Did the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational opportunity at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

Educational opportunities were thwarted by being in an orphanage and the sexual abuse exacerbated this experience. One male respondent felt that the sexual abuse had a major direct effect on his educational opportunities:

- “It [child sexual abuse] was terrible. It held me back [from my schooling] you know. I don’t know how to explain it” (Male, 56 years).

Other respondents also felt that the abuse affected them, but they provided more general responses. Such statements indicate the feelings of lost educational opportunities:

- “The lack of career opportunities because of the lack of education” (Male, 63 years).

- “I never trusted anyone after I was abused, and I didn’t do any education until I got a computer” (Male, 46 years).

- "It was the overall orphanage experience that hindered [my] educational opportunity. There was a lot where they told you that you were no good and you would never amount to anything, and you believed it, and you simply let it happen" (Male, 56 years).

- "I had no opportunities to do any courses. I believe that would have made a big difference for me (Male, 56 years).

One male respondent felt that not only did he suffer because of the sexual abuse, but he thought others did as well. He felt this because others were in the same situation as he was. He said:

> "I know that I was not able to get a job because of my lack of education and the abuse. Others suffered as well. I can't read someone else's mind, but if you grew up with someone, you [know they] felt exactly the same." (Male, 57 years).

When asked this question about secondary education, most respondents simply replied that they did not receive any secondary education. One respondent replied:

> "No. I didn't have the opportunity to do anything because in those days you needed an apprenticeship. I couldn't get an apprenticeship because you had to have your papers signed and I couldn't [get them signed] and that has been against me all of my life basically" (Male, 56 years).

Another respondent felt that it was more than the sexual abuse that affected his educational opportunity. He explained:

> "It was the emotional effect of being in the orphanage" (Male, 64years).

One male respondent felt that the sexual abuse he suffered in the orphanage led to a lack of trust by him, and this had a marked effect on his educational opportunities.

> "There was a lack of trust and you became aware of others leaning over your shoulder [in class] or getting too close. You wouldn't trust anyone" (Male, 62 years).

The sexual abuse that these male participants suffered stayed with them during their primary schooling, and they felt that this preoccupation did indeed stifle and destroy their educational opportunities. Thus, these male respondents' replies appear to support the

view that the sexual abuse experienced by male orphans in the orphanage hindered their educational opportunity at primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

8.1.4 Specific Research Question 4. Were the sexually-abused male orphans' educational opportunities negatively affected more by individual people than by the circumstances associated with being an orphan? If so, how?

During the interviews, the interviewers noted that many of the male respondents became emotional when reflecting on the influence of individual people on their lives as children in orphanages. The males provided evidence of intense hatred of some particular orphanage staff, as well as a genuine affection for others who, in one way or another, helped to shape their lives. The names of particular influential individuals were foremost in the minds of the respondents, and they did not need any time to recall their names. The individuals who helped them and hindered them fell into the two categories of former teachers and orphanage personnel.

Responses referred to individual orphanage personnel, such as managers, superintendents and priests, who had a negative influence on the lives and education of the former orphans, and included the following orphanage personnel whose sexual abuse negatively affected attitudes to orphanage life and school:

- "I tried to dodge Mr H … as he abused me. He was called the "Boss" and he was terrifying for an eight year old" (Male, 56 years).
- "I was abused by the Manager and the Assistant Manager who were barbaric in their cruelty" (Male, 60 years).
- "Father S …, priest, was a sadist, deviant and pervert who sexually abused me when I was 12 years. He was the worst thing you could think of. He was a pervert (Male, 57 years).

References to former teachers included the following:

"There were a lot of men teachers there, but you didn't trust them" (Male, 56 years).

- "Not being encouraged by teachers" (Male, 60 years).

- “The majority of teachers discouraged us as they didn’t care, and left us to the side. That was the worst. That was emotional abuse too” (Male, 56 years).

- “[The teacher] Mr Bruce R … discouraged us because of the physical abuse of us students. We had no-one to encourage us” (Male, 56 years).

- “All the teaching nuns had a negative influence and discouraged me, and I had a great fear of them. The strap was the greatest fear that I had” (Male, 57 years).

However, not all the teachers had a negative effect on the former male orphans. Several respondents had positive experiences with particular teachers, and once again, the names of these teachers were readily recalled. The men replied:

- “Mr. Mc … was a positive influence as he was my football coach, and who showed me kindness” (Male 56 years).

- “Mr M ..., a primary school teacher, who advised me to avoid a flogging by keeping out of trouble. He encouraged me” (Male, 66 years).

- “A positive teacher of Maths and Technical Drawing encouraged me, and I wanted to go on to do drafting” (Male, 46 years).

- “I found a lot of teachers in their own way tried to help” (Male, 61years).

These men perceived that it was the individual teacher, rather than the circumstances, who determined the educational opportunities of the students from the orphanages. Overwhelmingly, the respondents felt that it was individuals, whether teachers or workers from the orphanages, who had a negative or positive effect on their educational opportunities. Many of the males also felt a sense of betrayal by the perpetrators who initially formed close bonds in a nurturing sense, and this affected them negatively or positively towards school life and orphanage life.

The sexually-abused male orphans’ educational opportunities appear to have been negatively affected more by individual people than by the circumstances associated with being an orphan. This is well supported by these male respondents’ replies.

8.1.5 Specific Research Question 5. Did some of the orphanage policies have both a direct and indirect negative effect on the sexually-abused male orphans' educational development? If so, how?

It appears from the interviews that many of the interviewees were unaware of any orphanage written policies and rules about behaviour, corporal punishment and management, but there were many *un*written rules and policies which were part of the daily operations of the orphanages, and the expectations of these were often enforced by physical punishment. Among these expectations was the necessity for the boys to work as farm labourers, which led to their low expectations about their educational achievements. It is not surprising that many of the boys did become farm labourers, not only because of the perceived expectations of the orphanages, but also because of the expectations of some school teachers who were content to allow the "Home Kids" to work alone, albeit at a poor standard, as long as they did not interrupt the progress of other students. There was also an expectation from farmers around the state of Queensland for the orphanages to provide a ready source of labour as they had always done historically. However, there was no government legislation mandating the necessity for orphans to become farm labourers, although this appears to have been the extant policy at the time.

Farm work for all boys

Some of the orphanages tried to be self-sufficient by running farmlets. These were subsidised by State government grants, and they provided limited skill training for the boys who could be placed in similar farming situations once they had turned 13 years old. The work on the orphanage farms certainly stifled career opportunities in areas, other than rural pursuits, such as in trades or clerical positions.

Several of these male interviewees perceived the work on the orphanage farmlets as a form of slave labour which had a detrimental effect on their educational development. The following excerpts from several men attest to these feelings:

- "The education you had was affected simply because of the abuse you suffered and it wasn't only that. It was work on the farm and getting up at 5am as well as the abuse" (Male, 56 years).

- "I was up at 4am to work on the farm before and after school as well. The result was that I became lethargic when I went to class and you couldn't concentrate" (Male, 46 years).

- "Being kept [at the] Home to do the washing, gardening or ironing and so I missed out on school. You weren't given the chance of a full education" (Male, 66 years).

- "Working on the farm before and after school. This led to me falling asleep in school" (Male, 56 years).

- "We were too tired to think. Actually we were child slaves and [tired] by the time you got to school, and you had to listen to the crap" (Male, 56 years).

The farm work was compulsory for all boys. One respondent was astute enough to realise this when he stated:

- "Yes, I think the Home (orphanage) was only there as a resource for fodder for [free] farm labourers. I think that's all they wanted [no educational focus]" (Male, 61years).

Not allowed to talk to girls

The other major unwritten policy that deeply affected several of the respondents was that boy orphans were not allowed to talk to girl orphans, or to girls from outside the orphanage either, although this was not the policy for all orphanages. The policy of not allowing boy orphans to talk to girls had a direct negative effect on their social education to the point where they failed to develop effective social skills. The following statements indicate that the male orphans were unable to make effective social contact with other males, let alone girls.

- "I found it very hard having to run to Home and back [to school] at lunch time. We missed out on playtime and interaction with the other kids" (Male, 61 years).

- “No support. It required us to go to the Home [Orphanage] everyday, and we had no interaction with your classmates, that would encourage you to be comfortable in a learning environment within the school” (Male, 60 years).

One forthright comment from a middle-aged man summed up his interpretation of the implementation of any policies written or unwritten, when he pointed out:

- “The rules were written by the cane or the leather strap. That’s the only answer I can give you. It affected my schooling very severely because I had no education when I left the orphanage and I was scared to learn because you feared someone coming up behind you and belting you across the ear” (Male, 46 years).

Regardless of whether the policies and rules of the orphanages were written or unwritten, they had both short and long term effects on the boys’ education. In light of these data, it appears that some orphanage policies did have both direct and indirect negative effects on the sexually-abused male orphans’ educational development. This is well supported by these male respondents’ replies. New dimensions of limited social development and generalised fatigue are introduced.

8.1.6 Specific Research Question 6. Did non-educational resources, such as hunger or stigma, hinder sexually-abused male orphans’ educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

The male respondents all felt that this was an issue, but it did not seem to evoke as emotive a response as some of the questions just addressed above. Almost all of the respondents felt that hunger was a non-educational resource that hindered their educational development. Similar responses included the following:

- “Constant hunger. That is why we were eating eels and magpies. [We couldn’t concentrate in class]” (Male, 66 years).

- “Yes, we always had breakfast but just being teased because of the orphanage clothes and that. Because we stood out like a sore thumb, didn’t we [feel inadequate in school]” (Male, 56 years).

- “Having no breakfast, constant hunger, being teased over the clothes worn, and verbal abuse by teachers, as well as being placed in the orphanage and not being wanted [affected our schooling] (Male, 56 years).

The issues of not having enough resources and being teased were identified, but it appeared that they did not have the same impact upon their education as much as hunger. Other comments included:

- "The clothing we wore, for example. That had an enormous effect on appearances. I would be leaning towards a stigmatisation. You are dressed like a bagman in old army clothing and so on and everybody else, your fellow students, were in school uniform and what have you, and you stuck out" (Male, 60 years).

- "Another thing I had trouble with was begging to get essay books to write in, and you had to go in front of the whole class when you filled your book up and show the teacher you had used every page. I found it very hard to beg. We never had the normal rewards of the other children and it must have affected our education (Male, 61 years).

- "There was a lot of teasing and the teachers developed "pets", as a result you did not let people near you" (Male, 46 years).

- "We all looked the same, as we did our schooling in the Home [Orphanage]" (Male, 57 years).

Although hunger appears to have had a greater impact than social stigma for the male respondents, the effect of both on non-educational resources was felt strongly. It appears that the non-educational resources, such as hunger or stigma, did hinder male orphans' educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This is well supported as evidenced by these male respondents' interviews.

8.1.7 Specific Research Question 7. Did the lack of educational opportunities experienced by sexually-abused male orphans become inter-generational? If so, how?

All the ten males who were interviewed had no difficulty in responding to the questions about inter-generational educational opportunities. The majority of respondents became most animated when discussing their children. The respondents had been fiercely determined to see that the opportunities that they were denied were not passed on to their children.

Responses indicating that there was an inter-generational lack of educational opportunities was a residual issue:

- "No, because you educated your children. I saw that they needed education to get good work and I educated them" (Male, 66 years).
- "I was lucky. I married a highly educated woman and there was never a problem. Our kids were going to go through to Grade 12" (Male, 61 years).
- "No, because the abuse and being in the Home [Orphanage] prevented me from getting married and having children" (Male, 56 years).
- "No, I never married and had children." (Male, 46 years).
- "No, I had no children. I had a vasectomy because of what happened to me in the orphanage" (Male, 57years).
- "No, [because of] what happened to me. I wouldn't let [it] happen to them (Male, 64 years).

Another comment included the following:

- "No, I tried to concentrate to get things right for them, but I was unable to help them with their homework" (Male, 56 years).

Regardless of some male respondents' inability to assist their children with their homework, the children were still able to succeed by being encouraged by them.

From these data it appears that the lack of educational opportunities experienced by the sexually-abused male orphans is *not inter-generational*. This is indicated by these male respondents' replies, although this was often because some of these respondents had not been able to have or sustain families.

8.2 Females

This section provides the data from the 10 females about the effect that child sexual abuse had on their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity.

8.2.1 Specific Research Question 1. Did the sexual abuse experienced by female orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational achievement at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

The female respondents had overwhelming feelings, similar to the male respondents, that the sexual abuse they suffered while residents of orphanages had a profound effect on their educational achievement. The trauma suffered by the female respondents was most apparent during the interviews, and several expressed anger at the individuals in the Home (Orphanage) and in the school, as well as the system that provided little support for them.

Responses typical of this include:

- "I couldn't study. I couldn't concentrate" (Female, 58 years).
- "I just didn't want to learn after it [child sexual abuse]" (Female, 47 years).
- "I just couldn't learn. It was something inside of me that I was just so emotionally locked down that I couldn't do it"(Female, 57 years).

What also became apparent was the fear that some of the respondents felt towards, not just the perpetrators of child sexual abuse in the orphanages, but also school teachers and, in particular, male teachers. Thus, it is not surprising, that the sexual abuse in the orphanage and the associated trauma in relation to dominating male teachers affected the female educational achievement, as two female respondents stated:

- "Yes, I am very scared of male teachers. You were always on red alert. You couldn't watch the blackboard" (Female, 44 years).
- "I was young and frightened [of male teachers]" (Female, 59 years).

Although all the sexually-abused females felt that the abuse had a deep effect on their educational achievement, there was one respondent who felt there were other factors. She said:

- "Everything affected your education, and sexual abuse wasn't the worst thing that affected it. [It was everything together]" (Female, 58 years).

This female interviewee then explained that the physical and emotional abuse which occurred daily had a bigger impact upon her educational achievement than the sexual abuse which occurred on a few occasions. From these data, it appears that the sexual abuse experienced by the female orphans in the orphanage did hinder their educational achievement at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This is well supported by these female respondents' replies.

8.2.2 Specific Research Question 2. Did the sexual abuse experienced by female orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

All the female respondents felt that the sexual abuse impaired their educational development as well as their attitude towards some of their teachers. Several respondents indicated that the sexual abuse stifled their educational development:

- "Abuse I suffered affected my educational development. I was never good at school" (Female, 57 years).
- "The abuse affected my educational development. It affected mine because I really had no education" (Female, 72 years).

Several respondents reported that a major factor stemming from their abuse was fear, and they claimed that fear impeded their educational development just as it did their educational achievement. They pointed out:

- "When you experience a lot of abuse, nothing is ever normal again. It was like I was in constant fear that haunted me for years after. Yes, it certainly did affect my educational development" (Female, 62 years).
- "The only way that it influenced it was that I was terrified of facing any major exam" (Female, 63 years).
- "I just kept wetting my pants and when a male teacher would yell at me, I would just lose it emotionally. I just couldn't function. I know from what I can recall back. I tried very hard and I couldn't focus [in class]" (Female, 44 yrs).

Some of this fear was caused by the fear of physical punishment, and when compounded with sexual abuse, it had a profound effect upon educational development:

- "My education was about fear. We were caned for making mistakes" (Female, 62 years).

- "All I remember is nuns walking up and down with straps and a cane at the back of you and if you looked up, they'd flog you wherever they happened to hit and I never learnt anything because I was so frightened" (Female, 47 years).

- "Physical abuse was when I was smacked in the face and my nose bled. I missed one question in the catechism and she [teaching nun] gave me a back hander. The abuse I suffered affected my educational development" (Female, 72 years).

Thus the sexual abuse experienced by female orphans in the orphanage appears to have hindered their educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This is well supported by the responses of the female participants.

8.2.3 Specific Research Question 3. Did the sexual abuse experienced by female orphans in the orphanage hinder their educational opportunity at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

The females felt that the sexual abuse diminished their educational opportunities to varying degrees:

- "The abuse has definitely restricted my [educational] opportunities, and sexual abuse also occurred to others as well, and a few of them [my friends] ended up in an opportunity school [for slow learners]" (Female, 44 years).

- "It robbed me of the [educational] opportunity to be the person I should have been" (Female, 57 years).

- "I never had the opportunity to further my education. I am 61 years old and have never achieved anything in the world of education and work. The sexual abuse was pretty bad, as well as the physical and psychological abuse" (Female, 61 years).

- "It was the shame of being sexually abused. I didn't understand. We were not taught sex education" (Female, 62 years).

- "You had no chance. You spent 99% of your time doing nothing [at school]" (Female, 57 years).

One respondent felt that her destiny for domestic service was determined very early at the orphanage. She indicated:

- "[There was] no opportunity to do secondary school. They didn't even let me do primary education. They taught me to sew at… [Orphanage A] and then put me back in the laundry. I'd be surprised if any state wards did any schooling, secondary or primary (Female, 59 years).

A similar pattern to that of the males became evident for the females concerning educational opportunity where they all experienced some years of primary school education, but only one female respondent had an opportunity to enrol in secondary education. However, she did not complete her secondary education. No female respondents had an opportunity to do any form of tertiary education. The effects of sexual abuse played a major factor in their lack of educational opportunities, and several perceived that any learning would lead to nothing in the long term.

It appears the sexual abuse experienced by female orphans in the orphanage did hinder their educational opportunity at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This is well supported in this data from these female respondents' replies.

8.2.4 Specific Research Question 4. Were the sexually-abused female orphans' educational opportunities negatively affected more by individual people than by the circumstances associated with being an orphan? If so, how?

The responses to the questions of individuals who negatively affected the former residents were general and varied. They included:

- "No-one. I was just scared [of all male teachers]" (Female, 57 years).
- "No-one encouraged me. There was no [educational] opportunity at all" (Female, 62 years).
- "Nobody encouraged me, and I was naturally good at school, but I had no self-esteem" (Female, 59 years).

However, there were a few respondents who felt they were positively influenced by some individuals.

- "Positive was Roslyn S… who always praised me in Home Economics, and a teacher who was pregnant and got me to make her maternity wear" (Female, 44 years).

However, this same respondent vividly recalls a sadistic act at the orphanage that strongly negated any positive influences that these teachers had upon her education:

- "Yes, being tied up like a dog and having the dog collar out around my neck, and having a bone thrown to me because I wanted the shank and not [another] piece of meat [at a meal]. I asked for the shank which I was told was for the dog" (Female, 44 years).

One respondent explained how her education was affected by a priest when she was 11 years old. Her sexual abuse by this priest had a lasting effect upon her education and life, as she explained:

- "A priest once put his hands on my breast, but I pushed him away. I would have been about eleven years old" (Female, 72 years).

The respondents generally felt that the sexual abuse they suffered did have a lasting effect upon their educational opportunities. The sexually-abused female orphans' educational opportunities appear to have been negatively affected more by individual people than circumstances associated with being an orphan. This is well supported by these female respondents' replies.

8.2.5 Specific Research Question 5. Did some orphanage policies have both a direct and indirect negative effect on the sexually-abused female orphans' educational development? If so, how?

The responses to the questions here varied, and some of the respondents found it difficult to identify a precise policy. However, other respondents highlighted policies that had a massive impact upon their educational development, as indicated:

- "A lot of the nuns were in prayer and [in] church, and so that is probably why we

were allocated the [little] children to mind. This caused our education to be neglected" (Female, 72 years).

- "The policy of making you do work from the time you were six had a huge effect on my educational development" (Female, 62 years).

For one respondent, her perception of a government policy or not was most poignant. Whether this was a government policy or not, it certainly had a lasting impact upon her educational development. She stated:

- "The government put you in a mental hospital if you ran away. I ran away twice and that's where I ended up. Why did they do that? Why didn't they let me out when I ran away and find me a job?"(Female, 59 years).

None of the respondents offered anything that was positive about orphanage policies. It appears that some orphanage policies had both direct and indirect negative effects on the female sexually-abused orphans' educational development. This is well supported by the disclosure from these female respondents.

8.2.6 Specific Research Question 6. Did non-educational resources, such as hunger, or stigma, inhibit sexually abused female orphans' educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels? If so, how?

All the female respondents, except for one, had a major focus upon hunger as something that distracted them from their studies thereby inhibiting their educational development:

- "Hunger made it difficult to learn" (Female, 56 years).

- "The stress of hunger [affected my concentration in class]. We were always hungry, even looking in bins for scraps, even eating clover" (Female, 62 years).

- "I remember the doctor coming and he said that this child is suffering from malnutrition, not getting enough to eat you know" (Female, 72 years).

Once again, the responses about the effect of hunger impacting upon the females' educational performance were very similar to the impact that they had upon the male respondents. This issue also occurred in all the orphanages regardless of which church ran the institution.

There was only one respondent who mentioned teasing as having an effect on her educational development. She stated:

- "Being teased. We got teased a lot from other children in the state school [and lost concentration]" (Female, 47 years).

Another respondent felt that her neglect had a huge impact upon her. She pointed out:

- "I can remember wearing the same clothes and never having a bath and we would go down to the shed to wash our feet. We lived in our undies [and were very self-conscious at school]" (Female, 72 years).

Yet another woman felt humiliated as well as being profoundly neglected. She indicated:

- "I wore the same dress for five weeks when I was put in the Home [low self-esteem at school]" (Female, 57 years).

It appears that non-educational resources, such as hunger, or social stigma, inhibited sexually-abused female orphans' educational development at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This is well supported by these female respondents' replies.

8.2.7 Specific Research Question 7. Did the lack of educational opportunities experienced by sexually-abused female orphans become inter-generational? If so, how?

In contrast to the males, all the females indicated that the lack of educational opportunities experienced by them has become inter-generational. Their responses vary, but essentially there is a common pattern to indicate that their children suffered as a result of their mothers' poor educational experiences:

- "Yes, it has affected the education of my child, not in all ways but in literacy, [and] numeracy as I couldn't help him" (Female, 44 years).

- “Yeah, because they’re not [as] good as they could be. Because I didn’t have the education to help them” (Female, 56 years).

- “Yes, it had a negative effect on my children’s education” (Female, 63 years).

- “My lack of educational opportunities definitely affected my children as I couldn’t teach them. They were supposed to do their homework, and they would come and give it to me, but I couldn’t do the work. I couldn’t help them” (Female, 58 years).

- “Yes, because my children have actually gone through what I have gone through. My children have suffered child sexual abuse from my partner and this has affected their education” (Female, 47 years).

- “Yes, because I couldn’t help them and I suppose it greatly affected the education of my children. No, I wasn’t equipped to help them, and number two because of the abuse I suffered, I made a lot of decisions in my life for the protection of my children so that I would not get into another relationship. My children have paid a high cost for my childhood because I am so withdrawn and ill-equipped to deal with a lot of things (57 years).

- “I reckon it has. Yes. I feel H’s… [her son’s] achievement is genetic I suppose but it is self-teaching too [I couldn’t help him]” (Female, 72 years).

- “Yeah. Even though my [children] went through to Grade 12. My youngest daughter struggled a lot at school from grade 1 to Grade 12” (Female, 57 years).

- “Yes, well for one thing, I have always had this urge, because I’ve never been treated for it, that every time a problem comes up, I run away from the problem and of course when you’ve got kids and you run away you naturally take them with you, and of course their schooling was disrupted” (Female, 59 years).

It appears that the lack of educational opportunities experienced by sexually-abused female orphans has become inter-generational. This is well supported by these female respondents’ replies.

Overall, the responses, by both males and females, to the questions linked to the specific research questions varied, but they follow a similar pattern regardless of gender or the orphanage in which the respondents were raised.

8.3 Summary

This chapter outlined responses to the questions posed in the in-depth interviews by the 10 males and 10 females who were subjected to child sexual abuse while living in

Queensland orphanages from the 1940s to the 1960s. All respondents had been sexually abused and their responses about the effects that this abuse had on their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity varied to some extent. However, strong common elements emerged in the narratives, and they all felt that such experiences had an adverse effect upon their educational development. The most notable disparity in the responses between the males and the females was with Specific Research Question 7; Has the lack of educational opportunities experienced by the sexually-abused female orphans become inter-generational? The males felt that the educational disadvantage was not as clearly inter-generational, whereas the females felt that it was. However, it is also notable that some of the males felt that they could not have children or families, perhaps as a consequence of their orphanage experiences which included no enhancement of social skills.

Chapter 9 Discussion

From the data presented in Chapter 8, it is clear that all of the interviewees felt that their lives were greatly affected by the sexual and other abuses that they suffered while child residents in the orphanages. In particular, it is quite clear in relation to the seven specific research questions that their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities were severely impeded by this sexual abuse. These orphans were over-controlled, vulnerable and violated at a time when being a child prevented them, through lack of power, to be able to redress these issues. Thus, they were subjected to on-going institutional abuse and its protracted effects remain with them today. Indeed, Viellaris (2007), reporting on a scheme to provide free access to Queensland state government services for former state wards, highlights such protracted effects. She quotes a former resident who states, "We missed out on education. We've missed out on opportunities in life…we've had to take on the dirty, menial, low-paid jobs that others wouldn't take. We were forever hungry in those hell holes and forever in second-hand, patch-me-up clothes" (p. 1). Furthermore, Bibby (1996) confirms "abuse in institutions comprises any system which violates the rights of a child to healthy physical and psychological development" (p. 156).

All the respondents, both male and female, felt that they had their physical and psychological development restricted or violated because they were all subjected to sexual abuse. Their psychological responses to the sexual abuse, although varying to a degree, followed a similar pattern. This commonality, regardless of gender, was expressed through their specific individual traumas. They all felt a sense of abandonment. They were all placed in orphanages, and this immediately delimited their childhood development which would play such an important part in their educational development, and significantly determine their future. In a study on the relationships between different

types of maltreatment during childhood and adjustment in adulthood, Higgins and McCabe (2000) found that the childhood familial environment is most important for the long-term adjustment of adults. Unfortunately for the respondents here, all were in environments that had a devastating effect upon their later development, personally, socially and educationally. According to Perez and Widom (1994), there has been limited research into the effects of such environments and their consequences for adulthood academic achievement. They point out that:

> Abused and neglected children often undergo substantial social, emotional, and environmental changes and disruptions during their development. However, evidence for the long-term consequences of childhood victimization on measured intellectual functioning and academic outcomes is sparse (p. 617).

For this sample of respondents, in the orphanage environment, all were preyed upon by the organisations and individuals involved. All were perceived to be very frightened by their experiences. All were wary of adults, and all expressed anger to varying degrees. All felt powerless and unable to confront the perpetrators or the abusive system itself. They had no way of addressing the violations committed against them. Indeed, the effects of children not disclosing sexual abuse, are known to be catastrophic (Alaggia & Kirshenbaum, 2005).

The interviews revealed that trust was an important factor in the interviewees' lives, and it took a reasonable amount of time, sometimes up to 30 minutes, for the interviewer to develop this trust before the respondents would freely self-disclose their child sexual abuse and its effects upon their education. Briggs (1993) states that "the trust issue is extremely important to survivors…When child victims find that their main caregivers cannot be trusted, they lose trust in everyone, including themselves" (p. 177). This sense

of betrayal by adults for whom they may have developed fondness, exacerbated the impact of their abuse. Indeed Kendall-Tackett, Williams and Finkelhor (1993) point out:

> The identity of the perpetrator is another factor that has been related to the impact of abuse. The weight of the evidence indicated that a perpetrator who was close to the victim caused more serious effects than one who was less close … Researchers should try to determine a measure of emotional closeness or degree of caretaking responsibility rather than relying on the kinship label of the perpetrator-victim relationship (p. 170).

Thus, the respondents were not able to trust themselves or others to further their education in either secondary or post-secondary settings. They were unable to trust their ability to learn, their competence to remember, their competence in getting educational information, their educational task and skills-coping mechanisms, or their ability to "endure" an educational course of study.

Initially, in the interview, the male respondents were somewhat hesitant to discuss their child sexual abuse, let alone discuss the effects that it had on their education. The male interviewer perceived this as partially due to establishing trust and feeling comfortable at interview with another male, but also, perhaps, because child sexual abuse is rarely discussed among males. Not withstanding this specialised group study of sexually abused former orphans, this reluctance among males appears to be common in the wider community, as O'Leary (2005) confirms:

> At age eight, Jim Smith (not his real name) was sexually abused over several months by a family friend while living in a South Australian country town. It has taken him nearly 50 years to deal with the resulting anguish. He is part of what researchers believe is a hidden epidemic among Australian men; but now victims are learning to talk about how it affected their youth, family relationships and work (p. 24).

By contrast, the female interviewees appeared to be more willing to self-disclose about their childhood sexual abuse experiences to their female interviewer. Thus, respondents, both male and female, exhibited varying degrees of self-disclosure when discussing their child sexual abuse, perhaps because of trust and trauma issues, or for males because of male cultural inhibitions. However, it needs to be pointed out that this study aimed to examine the impact of child sexual abuse on the education of these former orphanage residents, and not the intimate details of the child sexual abuse itself. The design of the interview questions aimed to reflect this, and focussed on how the sexual abuse may have affected their education. Consequently, the seven specific research questions were specifically formulated to focus essentially upon the nature of their educational achievement, educational development, and educational opportunity. Each of the specific research questions and its data are now further analysed to provide an overall picture of the orphans' response

9.1 Child sexual abuse in orphanages hindered orphans' educational achievement

Both male and female respondents felt that the sexual abuse they experienced while residents in the orphanage had a significant direct effect on their educational achievement. Many felt bitter, to such an extent, that they were not able to achieve at primary school, secondary school or any other educational level such as in TAFE studies. It is difficult to measure the impact of child sexual abuse on their achievement as there are factors, other than sexual abuse, which would also have had an impact, such as the individual's ability, competencies, diligence, interests and motivation; all of which are standard educational achievement and individual students' variables. What is evident is that their lack of educational opportunity was compounded by sexual and other forms of abuse.

Evidence of the orphans' lack of power is expressed in their responses to questions about sexual abuse, where both males and females reported that they had no one to reveal

their abuse to, and also they felt that they would not be believed anyway. Briggs (1993) identifies that there are certain conditions which lead to sexual offences against children, one of which is a "desire to feel powerful and capable of controlling others" (p. 29). Further evidence of the power imbalance and the difficulty of disclosure of abuses by the residents within an orphanage is evidenced by a finding of the Forde Report (1999):

> Disclosure, difficult for any victim of sexual abuse, is even more difficult with the power imbalances and vulnerability encountered in residential or institutional care. Children are often fearful that if they tell others about the abuse it may result in further abuse or re-victimisation by the system. Many witnesses said they were disbelieved and often punished for reporting abuse (p. iv).

During the interviews this consequence was also reported, and several respondents stated that there was no point in trying to disclose sexual abuse to any orphanage or school personnel because they feared being beaten for telling lies. They realised that they were in a 'no-win' situation, and had no power, and thus they endured the unspeakable. The perpetrators in these orphanages really did not need to exercise sexually-abusive power, as power was endemic to their positions in the orphanage. These positions included superintendents, managers, priests, nuns, doctors, matrons and other personnel such as gardeners.

Another factor which exacerbated the orphans' inability to focus upon their education was the frequency of the sexual abuse. Both male and female respondents reported that this occurred frequently ranging from once a week to many times per week. All reported that this had severe implications for their education. Both male and female orphans indicated that fear was also a significant factor which prevented them from achieving their educational potential. They indicated that it was judicious not to draw unnecessary attention to themselves for fear of being the next victim. This behaviour led to conformity

in a group environment not unlike Victor Frankl's survival during his concentration camp experiences during World War II. Frankl (1984) wrote:

> Just like sheep that crowd timidly into the center of a herd, each of us tried to get into the middle of our formations…The central position had the added advantage of affording protection against the bitter winds. It was, therefore, in an attempt to save one's own skin that one literally tried to submerge into the crowd (p. 71).

The former residents tried to blend into their crowd, and not excel or stand out by reporting abuse of themselves or their friends.

9.2 Child sexual abuse in orphanages hindered orphans' educational development

Both male and female respondents felt that their educational development was severely thwarted by child sexual abuse. All respondents felt that they were unable to develop educationally because the sexual abuse they suffered was coupled with the emotional impact and social inadequacy that accompanied such abuse.

A connection between sexual abuse and physical abuse was identified by both the male and female respondents. All of the respondents were sexually abused, and alarmingly, 90 percent of these were also physically abused. Whether the physical abuse occurred at the same time as the sexual abuse was not clarified in the interviews. However, for their educational development this dual abuse engendered a climate of fear. This study is focused upon the sexual abuse effects, but the physical abuse cannot be ignored entirely. Finkelhor (1984) suggests that the distinction between the two needs to be clear:

> As a problem that has come to light through the child welfare system, sexual abuse is frequently thought of in the same context as physical abuse. However, sexual abuse has many complexities it does not share with physical abuse.

Sexual abuse remains an emotional subject that sets off conflicts for almost everyone (p. 10).

One of the conflicts that became evident during the interviews was the difficulty respondents had with concentrating on their studies after such trauma. Often respondents explained that they did not know when they would be assaulted again. Quite often, this fear of assault was transferred from the orphanage to the school through a lack of trust of authority figures such as school teachers.

Regardless of gender, the impact of child sexual abuse was very similar for educational development. Both male and female participants felt that their educational development was not important to the orphanage personnel or to their school teachers. This may have been partly due to the fact that the authorities of the orphanages may have deliberately inhibited the orphans' educational development in order to produce unskilled, cheap labour, a policy at the time.

9.3 Child sexual abuse in orphanages hindered orphans' educational opportunities

It appears from the interviews that child sexual abuse was the most devastating aspect of many of the respondents' lives, affecting, not only their educational achievement and development, but also their educational opportunity. The orphans were unable to either fulfil their ambitions or further develop themselves into adulthood because they were so emotionally, socially and intellectually damaged by their childhood sexual abuse. Both males and females claimed that they were unable to "move forward" because nearly all of them did not have any formal educational qualifications. This pattern was ubiquitous regardless of which orphanage they attended. The major difference in what could be termed "educational abuse" became apparent in interviews where the respondents reported that the churches differed in their approach to school attendance. Some interviewees claimed that the Roman Catholic Church with its teaching orders controlled

their education to the extent that they paid lip-service to the needs of a solid academic curriculum, but instead focussed on religious education, thereby neglecting the orphans' sound secular preparation for the workforce and adulthood. This may be classified as another form of control and manipulation to the detriment of the respondents, thereby reinforcing their sense of powerlessness. By having schooling within the orphanage, educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity, led to manipulation to suit the needs of the orphanage and the church, rather than the needs of the orphans themselves.

The lack of on-going contact between the orphanages and the local schools where the orphans attended further eroded the development of educational opportunities. The interviewees reported that they knew of no links between the orphanages and the local schools. However, these links did exist especially because the orphans were frequently blamed for incidents that occurred in the schools. Such incidents were reported to the orphanage authorities. Several male respondents indicated that they were blamed at the school for incidents, because they were from the orphanage. They felt this had a debilitating effect on their educational opportunity, because they believed it was a denial of natural justice. The lack of care from school teachers, separate from the orphanage, is more difficult to understand. There was little, if any formal or informal communication between orphanages and state schools. Thus the attitudes of the teachers could have been formed more by the appearance and behaviour of the orphans, or "home" children, in their classes. Such attitudes may well have been unwittingly reinforced by the children themselves in their fear of and distrust of authority, and their developed capacity to submerge their identity and presence to avoid recognition. That is, a less direct and more subtle form of neglect resulted.

9.4 Individual adult personnel negatively affected educational opportunities

It appears that individual adult personnel in orphanages or schools did have a marked effect upon the educational opportunities of many of the orphans. These individuals were people in positions of power, and it is interesting to note that there is a direct link between the perpetrators of the sexual abuse and those who had the responsibility for the care and education of the respondents; frequently they were the same people. Such individuals included orphanage superintendents, priests, nuns and school teachers. The effects of their demeaning and abusive acts upon the orphans were that the children then did not trust anyone, and typically would not do their best at school. The orphans felt multiple betrayals. The effects of the betrayal of trust and its long term effects are noted by Briggs (1986): "the long- term effects of child sexual abuse are psychologically devastating, especially if the abuser is betraying the child's trust" (p. 8). This lack of trust is taken further by Mullen and Fleming (1998) who perceive the degree of lack of trust as being dependent upon the stage of development of the child when the sexual abuse occurred. They note that the impact of the sexual abuse upon the child's developing capacities for intimacy, agency and sexuality as well as trust, is acute. The contrast with the trauma of child sexual abuse and the impact that it had on the orphans, compared with others in a more stable environment, at the time of the child sexual abuse, is identified by Mullen and Fleming (1998):

> A child from a more secure and privileged background may well be equally distressed at the time by the abuse, but is likely to sustain less long-term developmental damage. These suppositions are borne out by studies that have demonstrated powerful interactions between the child's prior exposure to potentially damaging situations, and the degree of adult disturbance apparently associated with a history of child sexual abuse (Mullen et al. 1993 and 1994; Fergusson et al 1996, 1997) (p. 8).

The lack of a secure background is reflected in the data presented in Chapters 7 and 8 which reveal that 80 percent of the male respondents felt that they were totally alone, that no individual really cared for them, and they were not encouraged to achieve educationally. The female respondents had similar experiences, but they cited examples of cruelty and humiliation, in addition to the sexual abuse suffered. Perhaps this was because of the particular vulnerability of the females, and the common chauvinistic attitude of many males of that era who commonly perceived females as submissive sex objects.

The orphans were also asked to describe any individual who encouraged them. Both male and female respondents were able to name some individuals. However, the contrast between males and females was that males often cited male teachers who encouraged their sporting prowess rather than their educational development. Perhaps this was more readily identifiable, or because male sport has traditionally been used in schools as a high status achievement for the schools themselves. In contrast, the females who did describe individual teachers who assisted them with their education, usually focussed upon subjects such as cooking and mothercraft, which were stereotypical for females at that time. Although such a focus may seem to be admirable for its time, it did not provide any incentive for the orphan to achieve educationally at a higher level.

The perpetrators of child sexual abuse in the orphanages were adult men and women, and the victims were males and females also. Finkelhor (1984) points out that "the data from a variety of studies seem to support clearly the presumption that most sexual offenses against children are perpetrated by males" (p. 177). He also states "as we know from many reports, victims include both girls and boys, although girls predominate" (p. 23).

However, it needs to be pointed out that the victims in this study were in the controlled environments of single-sex and mixed-sex orphanages, and the perpetrators were able to choose victims at random with little fear of repercussions. Unfortunately, the end result was the same for the victims of child sexual abuse in the closed "society" of an orphanage; their educational opportunities were irreparably damaged by particular individuals in positions of authority.

9.5 The direct and indirect effect of some orphanage policies on the sexually-abused orphans' educational development.

During the interviews, it was noted that both male and female interviewees had difficulty with this concept. Many of them had a problem distinguishing between direct and indirect effects of policy, and some were unsure about what a policy was, and what was written or unwritten at the time. It also became apparent that they were unsure, not only because of the passage of time, but also because they had no power, and were not in a position to question instructions, rules or policies laid down for them. Several respondents claimed that they were not courageous enough to question rules, but had to obey, for fear of reprisals. Thus it is not surprising that respondents felt that their educational futures were beyond their control. Indeed, Wolfe (2003) claims that "the use of the institution's power structure, rules, or belief system to gain a child's trust or maintain silence often leaves the victim feeling disillusioned and betrayed by the institution or organization" (p. 184).

Both males and females reported that they had no input into any policy that might have had an effect on their lives, not only within orphanages, but also within schools. To place this observation within the wider context of the era, it can be argued that this was the norm for the educational community. That is, from the 1940s to the 1960s in

Queensland, students had minimal input into policy affecting their education. For students without families, that is, orphans, this situation was exacerbated.

Several respondents, both male and female, commented on the policy of having their schooling occurring within the orphanage itself. This left them at the whim of the orphanage teaching authorities, whether teaching nuns or brothers in the Catholic Church. The major complaint was that there was not enough time spent on education, and an excessive amount of time spent on religious studies or performing unpaid chores for the running of the institution. In contrast, orphans who went to the state school within their local community seemed to have a marginally greater potential for opportunities to improve their education. However, in the environment of local state schools, the orphans were subjected to teasing and the stigma of being an orphan, more than if they were taught within the confines of the orphanage. So for most orphans, it was a "lose-lose" educational situation. The outcomes of policies and actions at the time were that they also impacted negatively upon the orphans' educational development.

9.6 Non-educational resources such as hunger or stigma hindered educational development.

Both male and female respondents indicated that the overwhelming non-educational resource of hunger affected their educational development. It is interesting to note that the incidence of hunger occurred regularly for both males and females, and it occurred in all the orphanages regardless of which church ran the orphanage. One reason for this could be that the churches ran to a strict budget and had to cope as best as they could. One unsuccessful method of trying to work within a budget was for the orphanages to establish farmlets, which although designed as training for the boys, often led to overworked, hungry children whose education was further neglected.

Stigma also played a significant part in affecting the educational development of orphans. Many of them mentioned being teased by children who lived with their families, and this reinforced their low self-esteem, which in turn impacted upon their educational development.

9.7 The lack of educational opportunities experienced by sexually-abused orphans has become inter-generational

Inter-generational educational opportunities were examined. This refers to the possibility that the effects of the orphans' childhood sexual abuse on educational opportunities were later transmitted to their children resulting in their children's educational opportunities being adversely affected. This aspect of the effect of child sexual abuse on educational opportunity, as being inter-generational, was the only area where there was a notable difference between the male and female respondents. Some males said that it was not necessarily inter-generational, whereas all the females said that it was inter-generational. As noted, several males never established families.

There is also a possible explanation that the adult orphan females felt this way because they perceive themselves as ineffective parents, having had no parenting role models or parenting education. It is most unlikely that males would have felt this way, as the role of parenting was considered a female role in the 1940s to the 1960s. This also reflects female responses to their positions of having less power than the males in society and in the family. To place this in the context of the wider community of the time, the common attitude in Queensland from the 1940s to the 1960s was that females were subordinate to males. Unfortunately, for many female orphans, this attitude then became a reality from their childhood into their teen years, and then into their adulthood.

9.8 Overall analysis

From the analysis of data from the interviews, it is evident that these orphans who were institutionalised suffered severe trauma from the institutionalisation itself, but when coupled with sexual abuse by the very people who were supposed to care for them, it had devastating, short and long term effects on their educational achievement, educational development, and educational opportunity.

It is important to note that whether the respondents were male or female, or whether the orphanage was church-or state-run, the overall pattern was that all the respondents felt that the trauma of child sexual abuse, while they were in the orphanage, significantly affected their educational achievement, educational development, and educational opportunity. While the effects of child sexual abuse on the respondents' education appear to be identifiable in this study, it is identified as an "end" result because these orphans were interviewed as adults. Indeed, Finkelhor (1984) suggests:

> Questions surrounding the long-term effects of abuse also need much greater elaboration. What is desperately needed is a study which follows a cohort of victimized children throughout their development and charts the on-going effects at different stages of development (pp. 230-231).

Further, it is important to distinguish between the long-term effects and the immediate effects of child sexual abuse. The focus needs to be on what were the effects of the child sexual abuse in childhood, and that some subsequent adult reflections may be wrongfully attributed to childhood sexual abuse. Mullen and Fleming (1998) point out:

> In studies on the long-term impact of child sexual abuse that employ adult subjects, it is all too easy to forget the abuse occurred in childhood, and to resort to applying inappropriately adult-centred conceptualisations. In deriving models of the link between child sexual abuse and adult difficulties, the heavy reliance on the concept of post-traumatic stress disorder may be an example of such error (p. 7).

The interviews revealed that only two males and two females attempted some secondary education, while only one male completed some tertiary education, and that was skills-oriented in TAFE studies.

The validity of the data appears to be as sound as possible because in the study evidence was provided that was confirmed by evidence from other respondents who cited the same or related incidents. The interviewers made strenuous efforts to be aware of any marked variation of similar incidents as recalled by different interviewees. Wolfe et al. (2006) in a study of Canadian male survivors of child abuse in church-run institutions highlight that their study was limited by the retrospective nature of the accounts of abuse and the susceptibility to distortion and memory bias. They took steps to avoid this by cross-referencing and thorough investigation. This was also the case in the present study. This was done by verification within each narrative for consistency of the content of the interviewees' transcripts (Silverman, 2005). For example, comparisons were made to check if the alleged perpetrators were at the orphanage at the stated years. In addition, verification was made of the narratives in accord with the social conditions of the era 1940s-1960s. Verification of the narratives was also made in alignment with Queensland state educational policies from 1940s -1960s. This was undertaken by comparing stated school policies with the broader state policies of the 1940s -1960s.

A pattern of similar responses to the interview questions emerged in this research and it appeared to make little difference whether the respondents were male or female, or in which orphanage they were residents. The commonalities appear to be the effect of the child sexual abuse they suffered in combination with the trauma of living in an orphanage, inhibiting even eliminating their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities. As children, there was little or nothing that the orphans could

do to prevent the sexual abuse which negatively affected their life-long educational achievement, educational development, and educational opportunity.

9.9 Summary

This chapter analysed further the responses of the 10 male and 10 female former residents of Queensland orphanages from 1940 to 1960 who had been subjected to child sexual abuse, and the subsequent effects on their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity. In the analysis of their responses, their child sexual abuse is reported as having a major impact upon them and their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity. The effect of such abuse as reported, is still evident in their lives. The analysis of the data is supported by similar themes in the literature. What is also discussed is the acknowledged effects in the individuals' personal, social and sexual development as in previous studies. In particular the focus is upon the short and long-term consequences for the educational development of orphans in the period under study.

Chapter 10 Conclusion and Recommendations

10.1 Conclusion

Based upon the analysis of the data obtained from the structured face-to-face in-depth interviews, and from informal discussions as a follow-up after the interview, it is apparent that all the former residents of Queensland orphanages in this study's sample had their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity negatively affected by the sexual abuse that they endured while residents in Queensland orphanages during the 1940s to the 1960s.

10.1.1 Theory validation

From the data obtained from the interviews, it appears that each of the theories of child abuse and maltreatment identified earlier has some validity. Each of the theories deals with both the perpetrators and their victims. However, the data here have focussed on the victims' perceptions, and to a lesser extent their perceptions of the perpetrators. The data also highlight differing foci of a number of the theories presented in Chapter 5. Each is now succinctly addressed.

- Individual-Psychological Theory

  This theory of child sexual abuse has an emphasis on individual perpetrators, and the evidence found here identifies perpetrators such as gardeners and priests who are deviant, with low self-esteem and emotionally immature.

- Social Learning Theory

  This social learning model of maltreatment has a focus upon an individual perpetrator's learning, with certain conditions co-existing, so that the deviant behaviours can be rewarded. The data from the interviews showed that there were certain conditions, such as the ready availability of powerless children, existing in the orphanages where the perpetrators were able to repeat sexual abuse acts.

- Ecological Theory of Maltreatment

  This theory of maltreatment maintains that the maturation of the individual depends upon a system of environments within which they are exposed. The subjects of this thesis were all exposed to similar environments; that of Queensland orphanages in the 1940s to 1960s, which proved to be cruel, sadistic, and repressive environments which were to determine orphans' futures with enduring consequences.

- Transactional Theory

  This theory of maltreatment involves the sociocultural and environmental factors likely to foreshadow abuse. Here, the former orphans all had similar sociocultural and environmental factors replicated in all the various orphanages of the 1940s to 1960s in Queensland, and undoubtedly the orphans' socio-emotional functioning was manifestly impaired.

- The Stages of Sexual Abuse

  This theory of child sexual abuse highlights stages of sexual abuse such as engagement, sexual interaction, secrecy, disclosure and suppression. In the data found here, there was evidence of; engagement, sexual interaction, secrecy, disclosure and suppression in the respondent's disclosures. Although the first three stages were evident sequentially in this study, it is only due to the Forde Report (1999) and other research literature (Bolen 2001; Waters 2007), that the last two stages have become evident.

- Four Factor Theory

  This theory of child sexual abuse focuses on why adults become perpetrators of child sexual abuse, and like The Stages of Sexual Abuse Theory, it outlines

staging such as arousal and grooming leading to sexual abuse. Data here highlight evidence of perpetrators grooming their victims and controlling them by fear.

- Feminist Theory

  This theory of child sexual abuse emphasises that the main perpetrators of child sexual abuse are males. Indeed, data from this research indicates that all perpetrators of child sexual abuse of the former residents of the orphanages were male. However, perpetrators of physical, emotional and neglect in these orphanages included both males such as teachers, and females such as nuns.

Thus, the data from this research have provided evidence of some of the important characteristics of most of the theories of child sexual abuse and maltreatment considered in the literature earlier.

10.2 Further aspects from the research

Although these orphanage residents suffered other forms of abuse such as emotional deprivation, physical punishment, regular verbal abuse, witnessing extreme violence to others and intellectual deprivation, it appears that sexual abuse had the greatest impact upon most of them. This sexual abuse was exacerbated for many of the former residents, when they reported their sexual abuse to staff but they were not believed, and frequently were punished for telling “lies”. Such was the educational climate in the era of the 1940s to the 1960s, that now it seems impossible to believe that staff such as priests, teachers or others in the care and nurture of children were capable of such acts of sexual violation of children, and also that the church and/or state authorities simply covered up such practices by suppressing them; thus condoning them. Indeed, the Independent Inquiry into the past handling of complaints of sexual abuse in the Anglican Church Diocese of Brisbane by Briggs and O’Callaghan (2003) indicated that such abuses did take place and were covered-up, or the victims placated to protect the church’s image. That Board of Inquiry

was given the task of addressing five specific sets of complaints. Although the Inquiry revealed shortcomings of the Anglican Church, its terms of reference were limited, and its findings only covered the periphery of child sexual abuse. However, many churches, such as the Anglican Church, have now developed protocols to provide access for victims of abuse to be heard as noted in The Australian (2005) "it (The Anglican Church) will also create a professional standards committee to make it easier for victims of sexual misconduct and abuse to lodge a complaint against both clergy and lay leaders" (p. 2). Indeed the creation of such a committee acknowledges that sexual abuses did occur within the church, and it is a proactive stance to safeguard all individuals, especially children. At the 2006 Synod of the Diocese of Brisbane, a Professional Standards Canon developed by the Professional Standards Committee was aligned with the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Australia. This is in the form of a code of conduct for all clergy and church workers. The Anglican Church's Safe Ministry Policy Statement is a move to protect children and others from sexual abuse. This statement commits to:

> "The Anglican Diocese of Brisbane is committed to the physical, emotional and spiritual welfare and safety of all people, particularly within its own community. The Church will:
>
> - carefully recruit and train its clergy and church workers;
> - adopt and encourage safe ministry practices by its clergy and lay church workers;
> - respond promptly to each concern raised about the behaviour of its clergy and lay workers;
> - offer pastoral support to any person who has suffered abuse; and
> - provide pastoral support to and supervision of any person known to have abused a child or another vulnerable person" (Synod, 2006).

One shortcoming of this Professional Standards Canon is that it is a voluntary code of conduct presented by church authorities, and is not legally binding. Further, it does not have the strength of government codes of conduct, such as in the teaching profession, where a person who knows of someone in a sexual relationship with a student and does not report that person is subject to a fine of $1500. The statement, from the Professional Standards Canon (Synod, 2006) "that the church will provide pastoral support to and supervision of any person known to have abused a child or another vulnerable person" (p. 1), is a cause for concern if the past practice of protecting such offenders by transferring them to another parish is allowed to recur. Such a statement also appears to support the offender rather than the victim. Inspite of these shortcomings, the Professional Standards Canon is a positive step to provide some protection of children against child sexual abuse. It is to be hoped that other church organisations including those which operated the orphanages in this study, will follow this approach.

Regardless of these safeguards, there will probably always be some perpetrators who find their way into situations to take advantage of vulnerable children. Jones (1994) argues that there will always be those deemed to be authority figures who will exercise their power to exploit children in care. He argues that they will use either their traditional power given to them, because of their position in the community as head of a residential facility, or they will use their personal and communication capacities to strategically place themselves to abuse children in their care. Unless these ongoing risks are addressed, then the improvement in formal rules and regulations will be of little value in preventing abuse in institutions (Jones, 1994).

The Queensland state government has also adopted safeguards to protect children from sexual abuse. Initiatives such as the introduction of a Children's Commissioner, the Child Protection Department, a new Department of Child Safety and compulsory criminal

background checks, with the issue of a suitability card known in Queensland as a “Blue Card”, for all staff working with children are positive steps to provide protection for children. Further increased public awareness of child sexual abuse has made employees working with children more vigilant about cases of sexual abuse and the severe effects that it has upon victims. There is not only a need for vigilance by professionals who work with children, but also an understanding of issues involved in reporting sexual abuse (Goldman, 2005). As Alaggia and Kirshenbaum (2005) point out “Practitioners need to have sound information about what barriers might exist for both children and adults to disclose CSA. Information about family risk factors can be used to conduct astute assessments and implement appropriate interventions” (p. 233).

Sexual abuse causes severe problems in learning as well as psychological and social problems (Mullen, Anderson, Romans, & Herbison, 1993; Romans, Martin, & Mullen, 1997; Tong, Oates, & McDowel, 1987). However, when it is combined with an amalgam of other abuses, it is not surprising to find that the education of these respondents is significantly impaired, for as Mrazek and Mrazek (1981) indicate “possible short-term and long-term effects of child sexual abuse identified via literature review include: problems in sexual adjustment, interpersonal problems, educational problems; and other psychological symptoms” (p. 235).

Further, the trauma of being placed in an institutional environment, such as an orphanage where there was little one-to-one contact between residents and staff, helped minimise the important nurturing phase of development physically, emotionally and intellectually. However, even where there was an opportunity to obtain schooling within the confines of the orphanage itself, without the fear of social stigma and teasing from non-orphanage children, the educational development of the residents of these orphanages was unable to progress because of the ongoing effects of the damaging acts by teachers

and Home (Orphanage) staff. Where orphans were integrated into local schools, they often had to suffer the humiliation of being labelled as “Home Kids” because of their uniform, drab clothing and lack of other resources such as books and suitable food. These factors all influenced the education of former residents in this study.

The state government of Queensland did make attempts to have orphans receive education through legislation such as in the Orphanage Act 1879 regulations, but it failed to monitor the orphanages sufficiently to prevent the educational neglect and sexual abuse that greatly affected the orphans’ educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity, thereby making the Education Regulation of the Orphanage Act 1879 ineffective in practice. The state government was conscious of its inability to provide equal opportunities for children in orphanages, and this was acknowledged in the 1891 Report by the Inspector of Orphanages.

The Queensland state orphanage system did not allow orphans to meet privately with the inspectors to voice concerns about their abuse. However, once the orphans left an orphanage and gained employment or were placed in boarding-out situations, the state did encourage them to write about their experiences and concerns, although censorship by the employer or foster parents would have ensured that such correspondence was positive.

Institutional staff had a marked effect on the lives of the former residents of orphanages. Although some staff assisted the children in general, unfortunately the orphanages became an ideal environment for sexual predators of children, and there was little that children could do but suffer the effects of sexual abuse from abusers who chose victims at will with little fear of consequences. The impact of this child sexual abuse on the respondents’ education at the time is evident and its effects are on-going, some 60 years later.

This study has focussed on the impact of child sexual abuse and of the Queensland orphanage system itself on the educational achievement, educational development and

educational opportunity of the survivors. To what extent the impact of child sexual abuse had on the survivors, and to what extent being raised in an orphanage with all its privations had on education, is difficult to fully tease out in isolation from other variables of influence. However, this research has attempted to explore the perceptions of adult survivors of the orphanage system and the impact of sexual abuse on their early lives, and in particular on their education. The research has made no attempt to subject the survivors of the orphanage system and sexual abuse to a range of tests, but rather to examine their perceptions in adulthood with the advantage of hindsight. Regardless of the limitations of sample size caused by the specific controlling variables, the findings of the research did reveal patterns of distinct educational disadvantage because of the sexual abuse and being raised in an orphanage.

10.3 Recommendations

10.3.1 Early interventional support for victims of child sexual abuse

One major recommendation is that there needs to be early intervention with counselling and support of victims. The earlier the intervention to provide emotional and academic support for sexually abused children, the better it should be for their educational development. Gray et al. (2000) examined the academic progress of children who attended a preschool for abused children as a follow-up to a project called "Keepsafe". The focus was upon ensuring the well-being of these young children by intervening early in their development. Specifically, Gray et al. (2000), point out that:

> In 1995, Oates and colleagues reported on therapeutic preschool as an intervention for abused/neglected children. At onset of intervention it was thought that all 24 children in his study population were unable to participate in public education. The therapeutic preschool program provided early intervention and therapy to ameliorate these children's cognitive, social and emotional delays (p. 25).

The findings were that such intervention was warranted as most of the abused children were able to progress into the public school system.

10.3.2 Selection of institutional staff

Although orphanages with large barrack-type structures no longer exist in Queensland, it is important to note that other residential institutions do remain. In particular these are homes for the disabled, the elderly, respite centres for babies and other specialist homes for children. Other areas where young children may be exposed to sexual abuse include residential camps for recreation or specialist study such as music and physical education. This research has found that within these orphanages, much child sexual abuse appears to have been opportunistic. Thus, it is important for staff recruiters in residential institutions or other areas such as in boarding schools to be most vigilant in the selection process of supervising staff.

10.3.3 Listen to complaints

It is important for any institutional staff and outsiders to listen to the complaints of children, and to act upon them where necessary for children to develop trust and counter any power imbalance. Doran and Brannan (1996) point out that "it is important for us to listen to the victims and understand the power and influence that perpetrators of institutional abuse have over them, and also the power and status that we invest in the abusers (p. 166).

10.3.4 Need for monitoring

It is necessary to have an on-going monitoring system of staff and children in institutions to deny opportunities for abuses to be committed against children. Indeed, the lack of monitoring of children in care is a cause of much concern for adult survivors of abuse. A current allegation of abuse of 13 men who were former residents in a South

Australian orphanage run by the Salvation Army involves the lack of monitoring of the residents as a major issue. Hunt (2007) quotes one of the abused who claims:

> I want everyone to know what has gone on. They must be held accountable for what has taken place. The SA (South Australian) government must also be held accountable for putting us in there and not monitoring what was going on (p. 23).

Perhaps one of the most important aspects arising out of this research is that both the male and female former orphanage residents felt powerless and needed to be able to report their abuses to someone in authority who would ameliorate the incidence of abuse. Thus, in contemporary institutions, this needs to be addressed.

10.3.5 Need for training of counsellors

The victims who were raised in orphanages were not believed when they reported child sexual abuse and were frequently beaten for telling "lies". The effect of this compounded the trauma of the initial abuse, and allowed the perpetrators to then be serial offenders. Insufficient support has been given to victims who have been accused of suffering from " false memory syndrome", and the media has unfortunately supported unproven claims of "false memory syndrome" (Whitfield, 2001; Whitfield, Silberg, & Fink, 2001). An allegation of abuse based on memory is a complex area, as Oates (2000) indicates "whatever country one comes from, the more one thinks about true and false allegations of sexual abuse, the more complex the area seems to become" (p. 3). Furthermore Oates (2007) claims "well people have three concerns about children's ability to tell the truth, and one is whether they're honest or not, and the second is whether they're suggestible and the third is whether they're prone to fantasy … now there isn't any evidence that children, of six certainly, are prone to fantasy, and hardly any evidence at all that children fantasise about sexual abuse." Such children cannot be allowed to be victimised again by dismissing their claims of sexual abuse as lies.

In a study of male and female victims of child sexual abuse and the impact of family dynamics on child sexual abuse disclosures, Alaggia and Kirshenbaum (2005) found that disclosure can be significantly reduced because of the existence of certain conditions such as rigidly fixed gender roles based on a patriarchy-based family structure; family violence; closed, indirect communication patterns, and social isolation. These researchers indicate that it is important to identify disclosure barriers in order to reduce them (p. 227). Some children may not be able to disclose child sexual abuse for various reasons such as fear, or being powerless, and it may well be that the nature of the abuse may be too traumatic for the victim to re-live the abuse so soon after it has occurred. Thus, Alaggia and Kirshenbaum (2005) suggest that Family Therapists and Counsellors should develop skills to identify subtle cues, and other factors such as distinct patterns of behaviour. They add the warning that one cue does not constitute suppressed disclosure of child sexual abuse (p. 233).

10.3.6 Teacher training and mandatory reporting

Reporting by professionals ought to be mandatory where there is a suspicion of child abuse. A positive outcome of recent Australian publicity about child sexual abuse is that the various states of Australia have established statutory obligations to report child protection concerns. South Australia pioneered child protection with the work by Catherine Spence (1907), so it is not surprising that South Australia has had a Mandated Notification Training Program for teachers available since 1989. An evaluation study by Hawkins and McCallum (2001) found that the training program was successful for teachers in improving their skills to deal with and to understand child abuse. However, the problem of reporting of abuse remains a concern. They point out “while the mandate to report may seem straight forward, the decision to report (or not report) is often difficult and stressful because of definitional vagueness and evidential ambiguities”(p. 1605). In a

study of student-teachers' conceptualisation of child sexual abuse, Goldman (2000) found that they do not think about child sexual abuse at very high cognitive levels, and she recommends much more effective and comprehensive teacher education in child sexual abuse.

In 2004 Queensland set up a separate specialist department for child protection called the Department of Child Safety. Relevant State legislation to support this Department includes the Child Protection Amendment Act 2001 Act, the Child Protection Act 1999, the Health Act 1937 (amended 2004), the Commission for Children and Young People Act 2000 and the Education (General Provisions) Act 1989 (amended 2003). Such legislation supporting the specialist Departments provides safeguards for child welfare that were lacking in the era of Queensland orphanages from the 1940s to the 1960s.

10.3.7 Need for community awareness of child sexual abuse

It is important for the community to realise that child sexual abuse is a widespread problem, and it needs to be reported. Tucci, Goddard and Mitchell (2001) conceptualise child abuse as a serious social problem that is poorly understood by the community, who only pay attention to such abuse when reminded of them by public reporting. The three authors believe that members of the public perceive child abuse as occurring to someone else's children and in places other than in their community, reflecting the NIMBY ("Not In My Backyard") syndrome. Further, these researchers state that there is a need for greater public awareness of the extent of the problem, and the need for government funding to help alleviate the problem. Consequently, any research into child abuse and child sexual abuse in particular, needs any publicity available. Child abuse is a problem that needs ongoing attention for, as Tucci et al. (2001) indicate:

> It is clear that child abuse is a marginalised problem that nonetheless underpins many health and social problems in adulthood. Until the value of children is recognised by

> our community and the issue of child abuse treated as a mainstream community problem, the impact of abuse and neglect will continue to be felt at every level of society both in the short and long term. Reports of child abuse and neglect are on the increase. A commitment to the prevention of child abuse and neglect will address the immediate safety and well-being of our community's children and also reduce the incidence and social cost of a range of pressing social issues (p.22).

Recognition of the problem of child abuse is a necessity, but as Tucci et al. (2001) conclude, there needs to be a commitment to prevent it.

10.3.8 Need for on-going research

Research into ways of solving the problem of child sexual abuse plays an important role. One hope for research into child sexual abuse is that it will not only highlight the gravity of it, but will also provide an impetus to establish programs that will help *prevent* child sexual abuse. The perpetrators themselves also need to be addressed in such programs, particularly in terms of their cognition, value systems, parenting capacities and deficits, attitudes to male sexual behaviour, and feelings of dominance over children.

During the current research on the influence of the child sexual abuse on the education of former residents of orphanages, some of these issues were identified, such as facing unresolved issues and obtaining further insights into child sexual abuse. The effects of child sexual abuse have a large impact on juvenile delinquency, such as facing unresolved issues in health, employment and education. These create a huge economic cost in treatment. Hayes (2003), writing to the Australian House of Representatives Families and Community Affairs Committee, points out why the inquiry into the welfare of Australia's youth is timely. He sees the aspects of family, child and community as being important in addressing areas of abuse and neglect which lead to school failure and ultimately to criminality. He argues that Australia has been too slow to come to terms

with the outcomes of childhood risk such as child abuse and neglect. Child abuse and child sexual abuse in particular is on the national agenda, however the need to address it is exigent.

10.3.9 Institutional responsibility

A major concern about child sexual abuse and its prevention in institutions is to ensure that the institutions themselves face responsibilities for the actions of their employees. The liability of the institutions will assist in helping to prevent child sexual abuse, by having the employers be more vigilant, and strengthen monitoring of children in residential care. The Australian High Court does not fully appreciate the role of power in child sexual assault, residential care situations and consideration of the child's point of view (Wangmann, 2004).

10.3.10 Redress for victims of child sexual abuse in institutions

An inquiry into Australians' experiences of institutional and out-of-home care report, Forgotten Australians (2004), listed six major terms of reference, one of which was to determine the extent and impact of the long-term social and economic consequences of child abuse and neglect on individuals, families and Australian society, and the adequacy of existing remedies and support mechanisms. The research findings here have identified that there is a substantial loss to the Australian community educationally, socially and economically because of the sexual abuse suffered by former residents of Queensland orphanages from the 1940s to the 1960s. The child sexual abuse not only had a major impact on the former orphanage residents' educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunity, but it also affected their life chances economically, socially, personally and medically. It is therefore pleasing to note that the Australian Government Senate Community Affairs Committee (2003) made 39 recommendations to redress the major issues raised in response to their terms of reference.

In relation to the findings in this thesis, Recommendation 33 provides ameliorative support to former residents of Queensland orphanages. Recommendation 33 states:

> That the Commonwealth and States commit to implementing a "whole of government" approach to the provision of programs and services for care leavers and their families across policy areas. Services should include the:
> -investigation of the options for alternative entry pathways to higher education courses for ex-residents of institutions and their children (p. xxvi).

Further, it is also encouraging to see South Australia proposing child welfare recommendations following a Commission of Inquiry into the sex abuse of children in state care (2006). The Commissioner recommended that the former child abuse victims, who were abused in state care be treated similarly to former war veterans. That is, the former abused state wards and present state wards would be entitled to services such as medical, psychological, educational and financial services. Indeed, Roberts (2007) quotes Commissioner Mullighan who asks, "Should any distinction be made between those who were injured in the service of their country and those who were injured while in the care of their country and when vulnerable as children?" (p. 8).

10.3.11 Long-term follow up of victims of child sexual abuse

A study by Jonzon and Lindblad (2006) examining risk and protective factors in relation to health among adult female victims of child sexual abuse, found that resources seemed to be important for health outcomes of childhood sexual abuse victims. They also pointed out that self-esteem and social support were important factors in the healing process for the former victims. Thus programs such as those recommended by the Australian Government Senate Community Affairs Committee (2003) would be of great value in assisting the victims such as those identified in the current research. Regardless

of the program to assist victims of child sexual abuse, there is a need to review the program and follow through on the issues of concern relating to the welfare of the child. Oates (2000) provides sound advice when he notes that:

> Throughout the world, there is a need to carefully evaluate the effectiveness of what we do in the management of abused and neglected children. There are far too many programs which provide services but which do not do the longer-term follow-up to show whether or not the treatment has really been effective (p. 4).

10.3.12 Power imbalance

Another major concern that emerged from this study on the effects of child sexual abuse on the education of former residents of Queensland orphanages was that many of the respondents felt that they were always in a powerless situation. They expressed concerns that all decisions were made for them and without any consultation with them. On the need for promoting the participation of children and young people in care today, Cashmore (2002) states:

> The way in which decisions are made in relation to children and young people in care is different in a number of ways from that for children living with their families without state intervention. Apart from any legislative requirements to consult children and young people, the reasons for involving them in decision-making that affects them are also arguably more cogent when those children and young people are in state care (p. 838).

This contemporary approach is far more child-centred, humane and caring, and is supported by the findings of his study.

10.4 Summary of recommendations

From the analysis in Section 10.2, a summary of the recommendations is as follows;

- There needs to be early intervention with counselling and support of victims of child sexual abuse.
- It is important for careful selection of staff in situations where contact with children is made.
- Complaints of children should be listened to in order to counteract any power imbalance and give them the benefit of a hearing.
- An on-going monitoring system of staff and children ought to be made to help prevent child sexual abuse.
- Therapists, counsellors and other professionals dealing with children need to be trained to identify cues that may indicate child sexual abuse.
- More effective and comprehensive teacher education in child sexual abuse needs to be developed.
- There is a need for greater public awareness of child sexual abuse and its effects.
- There needs to be on-going research into ways of preventing the problem of child sexual abuse in the first instance, e.g. promoting better Parenting Education to all high school students.
- Institutions where child sexual abuse has occurred need to face responsibilities for the actions of their employees.
- Commissions of inquiry into historical child sexual abuse need to provide entitlements for the victims to counteract educational, medical and economic disadvantage.
- There needs to be long-term follow up of child sexual abuse victims to determine the success of services and treatment provided for them.
- Power imbalances need rectification so children in institutions are consulted, especially about decisions affecting their life chances.

10.5 Areas for future research

It is apparent from this research that the children who were in "care" from the 1940s to the 1960s in Queensland orphanages, both state and non-state, were subjected to horrendous sexual abuse as well as other abuses. These abuses had, and still have, a major impact upon their development educationally, psychologically, socially and economically. Such findings may be used to assist the development of services for residents in current institutions whether they are for other minorities such as the disabled or aged. It is to be hoped that research programs, with their rigorous evaluation, will help to prevent child abuse of any kind in the future. The National Research Council cites five reasons for the continuation of child abuse or maltreatment research. They are;

1. Research on child maltreatment can provide scientific information that will help with the solution of a broad range of individual and social disorders.
2. Research on child maltreatment can provide insights and knowledge that can directly benefit victims of child abuse and neglect and their families.
3. Research on child maltreatment can reduce long-term economic costs associated with treating the consequences of child maltreatment, in areas such as mental health services, foster care, juvenile delinquency, and family violence.
4. Research on child maltreatment can provide empirical evidence to improve the quality of many legal and organizational decisions that have broad-based social implications.
5. Research on the aetiology of child maltreatment can provide a scientific basis for primary prevention of child abuse - that is, through programs that will counteract etiological factors before they have a chance to produce child abuse in the next generation (pp. 2-3).

(Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect, 1993)

Further research also needs to be conducted on the problem of the perpetrators themselves, and to establish prevention programs. Research indicates that 95% of the perpetrators of female abuse are men, and 80% of the perpetrators of male abuse are men (Finkelhor, 1982; Russell, 1986). Thus research needs to examine further the individual, psychological and educational social factors of male perpetrators to determine why men are the main perpetrators. For example, psycho-social studies should examine how perpetrators develop and understand that sexual abuse behaviours are part of their self-concept and value systems. This would also address where they obtained their education and information on sexuality and sexual acts when they were growing up. Tomison and Wise (1999) suggest that one strategy to help prevent child abuse and neglect is to focus upon the adoption of a developmental prevention approach whereby positive factors contribute to positive outcomes. Such an approach involves a community-based focus, but it is doubtful whether it would fully address the problem of individual men as perpetrators of child sexual abuse. This seems to be so if community institutions such as courts appear not to take seriously factors which may prevent child abuse.

However, one proactive approach to help prevent child sexual abuse is by earlier and better quality sexuality education. Brennan (2006) highlights the fact that a forum to help prevent child sexual abuse by means of sexuality education is based on the premise that children who are informed are therefore less vulnerable to abuse and exploitation (Briggs, 1991). Young children need to be educated about their bodies because they become curious in a natural way (Goldman & Goldman, 1988). Although a young child feels intimidated by a sexual predator, nevertheless, a child can be educated to know what appropriate behaviour is and what is not, as Brennan (2006) concludes:

> Age-appropriate education involves teaching children the correct names for and functions of their body parts and teaching them to care for, respect, and protect their bodies. It means talking with them about "healthy touch". It does not involve talking about "monsters", "bad people", "down there" and "those bits". Age-appropriate education is clear, accurate, positive and protective (p. 19).

Such sexuality education has merit, and yet as Brennan (2006) indicates, it is basically ignored by policy makers. Such education may not hinder or stop all perpetrators, but it may empower children to raise their awareness of abuse and thus help them to confront potential perpetrators by knowing what behaviour is acceptable e.g. hugging, and what behaviour is not acceptable.

Further, it is recommended that the psychological effects of the sexual abuse, particularly as they relate to the learning difficulties of former orphans, be researched because many of the interviewees were unable to improve their educational achievement, educational development and educational opportunities because of the psychological trauma associated with their childhood sexual abuse when they were residents in orphanages.

As well, there is a need to research the causes and effects of child sexual abuse with the major emphasis on the level of causality (Bolen et al., 2000), so that hopefully with a greater understanding of these issues, the problems of child sexual abuse may be minimised by early intervention.

It is commendable that the Queensland government has established a Child Safety Research Strategy 2006-2009 which encourages research in the vital area of child protection. The research themes that the Research Section of the Child Safety Department have focussed upon are Service delivery, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, Partnerships and Organisational capacity. Research in these areas could provide

meaningful assistance to protect children. For children who have been or who will be taken into care, the mission of this State Government Department proposes to provide environments that provide care, safety and cater for the diverse needs of children (Safety, 2006). Research also needs to be undertaken on the children who are placed in foster care and to determine measures for providing protection from abuse for them.

Research to establish what is effective and what is not effective practice can help direct policy and practice in child care, as Senator McCluskey, the Chairperson of the Senate Committee Report on Australians who experienced institutional or out-of-home care as children (2004) states:

> ...I hope that funds are made available for detailed research that addresses not just the social and political consequences but also the intergenerational consequences of abuse and neglect, so that we all learn from past policy and practice (p. 335).

Such research will generate better quality outcomes for all young children for generations to come. Indeed, this thesis adopted an historical approach that highlights the sexual abuse and other forms of abuse that were prevalent in Queensland orphanages up to and including the 1940-1960 era. It is to be hoped that this study will provide future policy makers, who are responsible for policies of the care of children, with some further insight to continue to improve their policies and practices for the benefit of all children who rely on adults for their safe, secure and happy childhood when they can learn and be educated to their maximum potential.

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Appendices **Appendix 1**

Demographic Summary

1.1 Males: Data from10 males

Females: Data from10 females

1.2 Orphanages:

Tufnell Home, St. Vincent's Nudgee, Enoggera Boys Home, St Vincent's Neerocol Rockhampton, Margaret Marr Home, Silky Oaks Home, Boys Town Beaudesert, Westbrook Home for Boys, Salvation Army Boys Home Indooroopilly, Salvation Army Boys Home Riverview

1.3 Churches:

Church of England, Roman Catholic, Gospel Hall, Salvation Army, Methodist, Presbyterian

1.4 Ages of respondents:

Males: 66, 65, 63, 62, 57, 56, 56, 46, 46, 37 years of age

Females: 72, 63, 62, 59, 58, 57, 57, 56, 47, 44, years of age

1.5 Current/Last Occupation:

Males: Sales Assistant, truck driver, labourer, cleaner, mixed farmer, bus driver, disability pensioner, storeman and packer, shop assistant, truck driver, air force sergeant

Females: Dressmaker, pensioner, factory worker, dry cleaner, hairdresser, barmaid, book-keeper, domestic, RSL volunteer worker, cashier

1.6 Years spent in orphanages during Primary Schooling:

Males: 14, 14, 14,13.5, 8, 8, 6, 5,4, 1

Females: 16, 14, 11, 8, 8, 8, 8, 5, 5, 3, Age at leaving Primary School:

Males: 14, 14, 14, 14, 14, 14, 13, 13, 13, 13

Females: 15, 15, 14, 14, 13, 12, 11, 6, 6, 5

1.7 Secondary School

Two males attended Secondary School. One dropped out in Year 8, and the other left after Year 10.

Two females attended Secondary School. One dropped out in Year 10, and the other after Year 12.

1.8 Table 2(a) Males and types of abuse

Types of abuse	Age- yrs to- 7yrs to 13yrs	Frequency of abuse	Total duration of abuse	Perpetrator Gender/Position	Your perception of his/her personality
Physical abuse	Yes	Daily, 10 males	From 2yrs to 13 yrs	Male and female Nuns, Superintendent	Jekyll & Hyde Bitch, disturbed
Sexual abuse	yes	Anytime, 10 males	from 2yrs to 13yrs	Head workman, priest Older boys	Sado-Masocist Perverted
Emotional abuse	yes	Daily, 10 males	The total time in the orphanage	Manager, Assistant Nuns, Carpenter	Real bitch Dog
Neglect	yes	Daily, 9 males	Time spent in the orphanage	Superintendent Officer-in-charge	Sadistic
Other abuses spiritual, psych.	yes	Daily, 6 males	Time in the orphanage	Priests, Nuns	Perverted

1.9 Table 2(b) Females and types of abuse

Types of abuse	Age- yrs to- 7yrs to 13yrs	Frequency of abuse	Total duration of abuse	Perpetrator Gender/Position	Your perception of his/her personality
Physical abuse	Yes	Constant, 9 females	from 2yrs to 13 yrs	Nuns/girls in charge matron	Feared cruel
Sexual abuse	yes	Anytime, 10 females	from 2yrs to 13yrs	Priest, gardener Sibling, worker	Cruel, hated Angry, creepy
Emotional abuse	yes	Daily, 9 females	The total time in the orphanage	Nuns	feared
Neglect	yes	Daily, 7 females	Time spent in the orphanage	Superintendent Officer-in-charge	scary
Other abuses spiritual, psych.	yes	Daily, 6 females	Time in the orphanage	Priests, Nuns	scary

1.10 Table 2(c) Males Scale of abuse

Types of abuse	Worst abuse (Scale 1-5) 5 = most severe	Who did you tell? What was the outcome?	How did you deal with this?
Physical abuse	5 (7 males), 3 (3 males)	No-one, teachers Nothing, nursing sister	What could be done? Violent towards others
Sexual abuse	5 (8 males) 4 (1 male) 3 (1 male)	No-one, nothing Nun, bashed for lying	Put up with it Cop it, tolerate it Comfort each other
Emotional abuse	5(8 males), 4 (1 male), 3 (1 male)	No-one, nothing	Made me angry
Neglect	5(6 males), 4 (3 males)	No-one, nothing	Put it behind me
Spiritual, psychologica	5(2 males), 4 (1 male), 3 (3 males)	No-one, nothing could be done	Made you sick Cop it, helpless

1.11 Table 2(d) Females Scale of abuse

Types of abuse	Worst abuse (Scale 1-5)	Who did you tell? What was the outcome?	How did you deal with this?
Physical abuse	5 (7 males), 4 (1 male), 3 (1 male)	No-one to tell, teachers	Cried for them
Sexual abuse	5 (8 males), 4 (1 male), 3 (1 male)	No-one, Nun, accused of lying	Angry and distressed
Emotional abuse	5 (7 males), 4 (1 male), 3 (1 male)	No-one	Made me angry
Neglect	5 (5 males), 4 (2 males)	No-one, nothing	Blocked it out
Spiritual, psychologica	5 (4 males), 3 (1 male), 4 (1 male)	No-one, nothing could be done	I'd hide Never recovered

1.12 Table 2(e**)** Males: Do you think the abuse you suffered affected your educational development?

Duration of abuse	How did the abuse affect your educational development?
Short term (up to 1 yr)	• I was nervous, low self-esteem • I became rebellious, couldn't concentrate • Going to school and coping
Medium term (1-5 yrs)	• I was frightened of the beltings • It was the neglect, no opportunities
Long term (5+ yrs)	• I feared authority, later in life, never given the chance • I was not able to get a job-didn't have the education

1.13 Table 2(e): Males: Do you think the abuse you suffered affected your educational development?

Duration of abuse	Why do you think it affected your educational development?
Short term (up to 1 yr)	• Being called a dunce • Nuns standing over you and you were too scared to look up
Medium term (1-5 yrs)	I felt no-one cares so why should I care Because I wasn't getting personal help in school
Long term (5+ yrs)	• I didn't have the education because I went to the orphanages • I didn't have the opportunity and I was unable to blank it out • I cannot stand people behind me

1.14 Table 2(e**)** Females: Do you think the abuse you suffered affected your educational development?

Duration of abuse	How did the abuse affect your educational development?
Short term (up to 1 yr)	• It wrecked my life • It affected my whole life
Medium term (1-5 yrs)	• No progress • No education
Long term (5+ yrs)	• No education

1.15 Table 2(e): Females: Do you think the abuse you suffered affected your educational development?

Duration of abuse	Why do you think it affected your educational development?
Short term (up to 1 yr)	• Can't learn, Unable to remember
Medium term (1-5 yrs)	• No homework
Long term (5+ yrs)	• Couldn't learn to read or write, Life-long problem

1.16 Table 2(f) Males: Orphanage policies or rules, stated or unstated, that had a direct effect on your primary school education.

Orphanage policies or rules	How did the orphanage policies or rules directly affect your primary school education?
Go to school and do as you are told	• I was too scared to do other than what I was told • Too scared to do other than what you were told • Lack of trust
Work on the farm	• It was abuse- getting up at 5am to work on the farm before and after school

Going to work on a farm at age 13	• No chance of further education
I had to go to school at 8am and not allowed to speak to other children not from the Home. Talking to girls Not allowed to talk to girls Could not talk at meal times and not allowed to sit next to or talk to girls	• Fear of getting a hiding • The emotional effect • I hated it all, I had no lasting friends • Fear of getting flogged • Get a belting • I did not develop communication skills • Lack of trust
Unstated orphanage policies or rules	How did the unstated orphanage policies or rules directly affect your primary school education?
Kept home to assist with washing or ironing	I missed education
Run home for lunch	Looking after smaller brother made you miss school
Talking and friendships with others outside not allowed	Couldn't mix or socialise with others
	Hated it all
	No lasting friends
	Enough education to obtain reasonable grades

1.17 Table 2(g) Females: Orphanage policies or rules, stated or unstated, that had a direct effect on your primary school education.

Orphanage policies or rules	How did the orphanage policies or rules directly affect your primary school education?
• School	• No help at school
• No education	• No individual tuition
Unstated orphanage policies or rules	How did the unstated orphanage policies or rules directly affect your primary school education?
• Religion	• Helped her to get through
• Too much work	• No individual tuition, nuns often stayed for short periods • Too many prayer times affecting study
• Abuse	• No self confidence, not care about yourself
• Nursing work	• I get tired

1.18 Table 2 (h) Males: Individuals who encouraged/discouraged you to complete Primary School

Name of Person	Encouraged	Discouraged	How did this affect Your Primary education
Teacher		2	• Physical abuse
Teacher	1	2	• Football
Teacher Father	 1		• Took on holiday
Teacher No-one Teacher	1 1	 2	• Fear • Lower grades • Avoid flogging
Teaching nuns Superintendent		1 1	• Fear • Hitting children

1.19 Table 2 (h) Females: Individuals who encouraged/discouraged you to complete Primary School

Name of Person	Encouraged	Discouraged	How did this affect Your Primary education
Teacher	1		• Encouraged me
Teacher	1	1	• Mothercraft
Teaching nuns		1	• Treated you like a dunce • No-one was there for me

1.20 Table 2 (h) Males: Orphanage actions which had a direct/indirect effect on their Primary education

Actions	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	How did the direct/ indirect action affect your Primary education?
Physical Abuse	yes		• Angry at whole world
Home for lunch	yes		• No interaction with classmates
Clothing	Yes		• Stigma as others In school uniform

Discipline Going to HT Farm work	Yes Yes Yes		• Did not want the cane- tried harder • Missed school • Slept in school

1.21 Table 2 (h) Females: Orphanage actions which had a direct/indirect effect on their Primary education

Actions	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	How did the direct/ indirect action affect your Primary education?
Abuse	yes		• Lack of concentration
Abuse	yes		• Stressed 7 unable to complete exam
Mothercraft Picnics/ sailing	Yes Yes		• Enjoyed it • No floggings
Punishments Bed wetting Abuse	Yes Yes		• Fear – no education • Treated like a dunce • No concentration • Nightmares

Appendix 2

Interview Schedule

Dear Respondent,

Thank you very much for being willing to participate in this research. I wish to assure you that anything we discuss remains anonymous and confidential. That is, all the information is only for research purposes and you will not be identified in any specific way. The interviews will follow a series of questions set out below. If you are agreeable, the interviews will be audio-taped to ensure your information is clearly understood. If at any time you feel uncomfortable and wish to stop or postpone the interview, then please let me know. Shortly after the interview, if you wish, the transcripts of the audio-tape will be available for you to verify. I appreciate your contribution to this research. It will be very helpful indeed.

Thank you very much for participating in this research.

Andrew Bode

PhD research candidate May 2004

A. Demographic Sheet

Name (Optional) …….Pseudonym …….. ...…….Date of Birth:…… ..

Current/Last Occupation: …….

Current Marital Status……

No. of Children: Male……D.O.B……../

Female……D.O.B.…… /

Male…….D.O.B……../

Female…….D.O.B……../

Male…… D.O.B……../

Female…… D.O.B.……/

1. (a) Would you tell me about your years at Primary school?

Years e.g. 1940-	Grade	Name of School	Name of Orphanage	Religious or State-run Orphanage?

(b) How many years did you spend in Queensland orphanages during your Primary Schooling ?.....

(c) At what age did you leave Primary School?.....

(d) Did you repeat any grades in Primary School? Yes/No/DK……

(e) If so, which grades?.....

2. (a) Would you tell me about your years at Secondary school?

Years e.g. 1940-	Grade	Name of School	Name of Orphanage	Religious or State-run Orphanage?

2. (b) How many years did you spend in Queensland orphanages during your Secondary Schooling?.....

(c) At what age did you leave Secondary School?.....

(d) Did you repeat any grades in Secondary School? Yes/No/DK. ……

(e) If so, which grades?.....

3. (a) Did you achieve your Queensland Junior Certificate? (Year 10 Schooling?.....

(b) Did you achieve your Queensland Senior Certificate? (Year 12 Certificate).Yes/No/DK…….

4. (a) Did you ever complete a tertiary course (e.g. TAFE and/or university)? Yes/No/DK……..

(b) If you completed a tertiary course, which course was it?.....

(c) How old were you when you started it?.....

(d) How old were you when you completed it?.....

(e) If you started a tertiary course, but did NOT complete it, which course was it?.....

(f) How old were you when you started it?.....

B. Your orphanage experience/s in Queensland 1940 to 1960

Could we now talk about your experiences in the orphanage/s

1. (a) During your time in the orphanage did you suffer any forms of abuse there? yes/no/unsure……

(b) If so, what forms of abuse were they?.....

Table 1

2. Do you think the abuse you suffered affected your educational development? If so, tell me how.

Types of Abuse	Age yrs- to_ y	Frequency of abuse (e.g. x1 per week)	Total duration of abuse (e.g. over 2 years)	Perpetrator Gender/Position	Your perception of his/her personality	Abuse? (Scale 1-5)	Who did you tell? Outcome?	How did you deal with this?
Physical abuse								
Sexual abuse								
Emotional abuse								
Neglect								
Other abuses								

Table 2 How did the abuse affect your educational development long term, medium term, short term?

Duration of abuse	How did the abuse affect your educational development?	Why do you think it affected your educational development?
Short term (Up to 1 yr)		
Medium term (1-5 yrs)		
Long term (5+ yrs)		

3 (a) In your time in the orphanage did other children suffer any forms of abuse there? Yes/No/DK……

(b) If so, what forms of abuse were they?.....

Table 3 What was the frequency and duration of the abuse? Who was the perpetrator? What was your perception of his/her personality? What was the worst abuse? Who did you tell? What was the outcome? How did you deal with this?

Types of Abuse	Age_ yrs to_ yrs	Frequency of abuse (e.g. x1 per week)	Total duration of abuse (e.g. over 2 years)	Perpetrator Gender/Position	Your perception of his/her personality	Worst abuse? (Scale1-5)	Who did you tell? Outcome?	How did You deal With this?
Physical abuse								
Sexual abuse								
Emotional abuse								
Neglect								
Other abuses								

4. Do you think that the abuse that others suffered affected their educational development? Yes/No/DK. If yes, how?

Table 4 What were the effects of the abuse on others? How do you think it affected their educational development?

Duration of abuse	How did the abuse affect their educational development?	Why do you think it affected their educational development?
Short term (Up to 1yr)		
Medium term (1-5 yrs)		
Long term (5+yrs)		

5. (a)(i) Do you feel that your lack of educational opportunity has affected the education of your child/children? Yes/No/Unsure

(ii) If so, why do you feel this?.....

(iii) If not, why do you feel this way?.....

(b)Do you feel that your enhanced educational opportunity affected the education of your children? Yes/No/DK……

6 (a)(i) Generally or specifically, is there anything else you can remember about how the sexual abuse/s affected your educational opportunity?

C. Your Primary School Education Experiences

Now can we talk about your Primary schooling?

6. Looking back, do you know of any orphanage policies or rules, stated or unstated, that had a direct effect on your Primary school education?

Table 5

7. What were the effects of orphanage policies or rules whether stated or unstated?

Orphanage policies or rules	How did the orphanage policies or rules directly affect your Primary school education?
Unstated orphanage policies or rules	How did the unstated orphanage policies or rules directly affect your Primary school education?

Table 6

8. Do you know of any orphanage policies or rules, stated or unstated, that had an indirect effect on your Primary school educational development?

Orphanage policies or rules	How did the orphanage policies or rules have an indirect effect on your Primary school education?
Unstated orphanage policies or rules	How did the unstated orphanage policies or rules have an indirect effect on your Primary school education?

Table 7

9. Looking back, do you know of any orphanage actions which had a direct /indirect effect on your Primary school education at the time?

Actions	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	How did the direct/indirect action affect your primary school educational development?

10 (a) In terms of your educational development, tell me about some of the most positive moments of your Primary school education while you were in the orphanage?

.....

.....

(b) In terms of your educational development, tell me about some of the most negative moments of your Primary school education while you were in the orphanage

.....

.....

11 (a) If you completed Primary school, who was/were the greatest influence/s on you ?

.....

.....

(b) Who encouraged or discouraged you to complete your Primary school education?

.....

.....

Table 8

Who encouraged/discouraged you? How did it affect your Primary school education?

Name of Person	Encouraged	Discouraged	How did the person's encouragement or discouragement affect your Primary school educational achievement?

12 (a) What was the greatest influence on you during your Primary school education to encourage or discourage you to complete your Primary school education?

.....

.....

Table 9

What was the influence and how did encourage/discourage your Primary school completion?

What was the influence?	Encouraged	Discouraged	How did this influence encourage/discourage you to complete your Primary school education?

(b) If you did not complete your Primary school education, what was the worst influence on you causing you not to complete it?

.....

.....

13. In your Primary Schooling were there any non-educational resources that inhibited your education? (e.g. Having no breakfast, constant hunger, being teased by others because of the orphanage clothing worn by you, etc.)

.....

.....

14. Looking back on your Primary Schooling, what were the most long-term educationally significant aspects of it to you?

.....

.....

15. Explain, to me, as detailed as you can, if and how being sexually abused had any influence on your Primary Schooling?

.....

.....

D. Your Secondary School Education Experiences

Now can we talk about your Secondary schooling?

Table 10

16. Looking back, do you know of any orphanage policies or rules, stated or unstated, had a direct effect on your Secondary school education?

Orphanage policies or rules	How did the orphanage policies or rules directly affect your secondary school education?
Unstated orphanage policies or rules	

Table 11

17. Do you know of any orphanage policies or rules, stated or unstated, that had an indirect effect on your Secondary school educational development?

Orphanage policies or rules	How did the orphanage policies or rules have an indirect effect on your Secondary school education?
Unstated orphanage policies or rules	How did the unstated orphanage policies or rules have an indirect effect on your Secondary school education?

Table 12

18. Looking back, do you know of any orphanage actions which had a direct/indirect effect on your Secondary education at the time?

Actions	Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	How did the direct/indirect action affect your secondary school educational development?

19. (a) In terms of your educational development, tell me about some of the most positive moments of your Secondary school education while you were in the orphanage.

.....
.....

In terms of your educational development, tell me about some of the most negative moments of your Secondary school education while you were in the orphanage.

.....
.....

20. (a) If you completed Secondary school, who was/were the greatest influence/s on you?

.....

Table 13

(b) Who encouraged or discouraged you to complete your Secondary school education?

Name of person	Encouraged	Discouraged	How did the person's encouragement or discouragement affect your Secondary school educational achievement?

Table 14

21. (a) What was the greatest influence on you during your Secondary school education to encourage or discourage you to complete your Secondary school education?

What was the influence?	Encouraged	Discouraged	How did this influence encourage/discourage you to complete your Secondary school education?

(b) If you did not complete your Secondary school education, what was the worst influence on you causing you not to complete it?

.....
.....

22. In your Secondary Schooling were there any non-educational resources that inhibited your education? (e.g. Having no breakfast, constant hunger, being teased by others because of the orphanage clothing worn by you, etc.)

.....
.....

23. Looking back on your Secondary Schooling, what were the most long-term educationally significant aspects of it to you?

.....

24. Explain to me, as detailed as you can, if and how being sexually abused had any influence on your Secondary Schooling?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

E. Tertiary Education

25. (a) If you completed a course of tertiary education that you commenced, to what extent did sexual abuse influence your educational development?

.....
.....

(b) If you did not complete a course of tertiary education that you commenced, to what extent did sexual abuse influence your educational development?

.....
.....

F. Orphanage/School Links

26. (a) If you had to identify three positives that orphanage life developed for you, what would they be?

(i).....……..

(ii).....……..
(iii).....…….

26. (b) If you had to identify three negatives that orphanage life created for you, what would they be?

(i).....……
(ii).....……
(iii).....……

27. Are there any other aspects of your Secondary education, while you were in the orphanage that helped or hindered you in adult life?

.....…
.....…

28. (a) What formal connections existed between your Secondary School and the orphanage?

.....….
.....….

(b) What informal connections existed between your Secondary School and the orphanage?

29. Were there any other factors, as a result of your sexual abuse in an orphanage that you can think of that have affected your educational achievement, development or opportunities? in;

(a) Your Primary school education……..

(b) Your Secondary school education…….....

(c) Your Tertiary education (e.g. TAFE, university)……..

(d) Your personal life……..

30. As a consequence of being raised in an orphanage, what impact do you think this had on your educational development, achievement or opportunity?.....

31. Is there anything that we have not talked about today concerning your sexual abuse in the orphanage, that you feel had an impact on your education?.....

We have now come to the end of the interview. Thank you very much for your time. I appreciate it greatly. If you remember any more about your orphanage sexual abuse experiences and its effect on your education, and you wish to talk further about them, please feel free to call me.

Thank you. Mr Andrew Bode

END